PROCEEDINGS SOCIETY OF DANCE HISTORY SCHOLARS

Joint Conference with The Congress on Research in Dance

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts
New York City
11-13 June 1993

Proceedings

Society of Dance History Scholars

Of, By, and For the People....

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This collection of papers has been compiled from camera-ready copies provided by individual authors who wished to contribute their papers as a record of the 1993 Society of Dance History Scholars--Congress on Research in Dance joint conference. In order to achieve a volume speedily available to the group, no editing, a time consuming process, has been done.

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Society of Dance History Scholars and
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Linda J. Tomko, Compiler

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A NEW ENGLAND FAMILY TRADITION OF "LANCASHIRE" CLOG:
ISSUES OF ETHNICITY AND FAMILY IDENTITY IN AMERICAN WOODEN SHOE DANCING

Anthony G. Barrand, Ph.D. and Kathryn Kari A. Smith

Fifty-seven years ago, on June 21st, 1936, the duet of Jimmy and Ann Marley of Rockville, CT, performed their wooden shoe or clog dances in New York, over at Radio City Music Hall, on "Major Bowes," the nationally broadcast Chase and Sanborn Amateur Hour. (Figure 1) At the time Ted Mack, who in 1948 took the "Amateur Hour" onto television, was an assistant to "the Major." We are going to dance the routine the "Dancing Marleys" used in winning the competition that night, a combination of "Straight Jig" (to the tune of "Miss McCloud's Reel"), "Clog" (to the tune of "The Marley Clog" specially composed for the family[1]), and "Buck and Wing" (to the tune of "I'm Gonna Sit Right Down and Write Myself a Letter"). To accompany us, and make sure we get it more or less right, we are proud and pleased to present Miss Anna Mae Marley.

[Authors danced Marleys' Major Bowes Sequence]

Thanks to the Library of Congress and a little luck, a portion of the tape from June 21st. 1936 survived so we can hear what it sounded like that night.

[The Marleys' performance segment from the June 21st, 1936 Major Bowes show was played.[2] Ends with "The Major" noting that Bill Robinson was in the balcony.]

Major Bowes and the Dancing Marleys

Bill "Bojangles" Robinson was in the audience! He was the only nationally known figure at the time who danced in wooden soled shoes, and he wore "split-soles," the sole and heel joined by leather, whereas the Marleys' clogs were a single unhinged block, the more difficult to dance in "fixed sole."

Anna was 19 and her brother, Jim, 35 when they auditioned for Major Bowes on Thursday, June 18th, 1936. Mill workers in Rockville, about 12 miles east of Hartford, they were participating in the "rags to riches" dream which made the Major Bowes (and, later, Ted Mack) "Amateur Hour" shows a powerful and compelling entertainment for a country still reeling from the "Great Depression." Work, when it was available, was an insecure existence. Major Bowes "amateurs," described in reviews as "fresh" and not "jaded like professionals," the entertainment workers, had the chance to "make it" and be paid for being who they were, for doing what they loved to do. The winners got to join the Major Bowes traveling "Units," playing theaters in the fashion of itinerant vaudeville troupes. A national radio audience sighed with vicarious pleasure every Sunday night, in-between exhortations to buy Chase and Sanborn coffee and Camel cigarettes. Frank Sinatra was a winner on Major Bowes the previous year. If mill workers from Rockville, CT could change their lives so dramatically, so could anyone.

The Major, an old-fashioned kind of impressario, fed this hope. All of the performers were selected and instructed, and the whole show structured to reinforce the America-as-the-land-of-opportunity myth. The Marleys were no exception. "Are you still in a mill?" he asked. Following instructions, Jim replies:

> Yes but it's an on and off job ... things are pretty desperate in that line ... and if we could get by alright with you I think it would be our way out.[3]



Figure 1
Jim and Anna Marley
with Major Bowes, 1936



Figure 2
Anna and Jim Marley on tour
"The Dancing Marleys" 1936



Figure 3
Major Bowes Unit #1, 1936
Anna and Jim are third and fourth from the left

Jim and Anna were told in advance they were going to get the largest number of call-in votes. He required them to make theirs a "song-and-dance" act, forcing Anna, as the youngest, to make a rare public performance as a vocalist. He even choreographed the overall shape of their routine, telling them to start with a "jig" sequence on the marble pedestal, something they did not usually perform. The Major had his own firm idea of what a wooden shoe performance, basically gone from vaudeville by the 1920s, was supposed to include.

That the Major planned every piece of his operation was well known. The *Hartford Herald* reported:

> Even the smash lines spoken by Jimmy during their little chat with the major, before they actually started dancing, were written in advance by the major's tear-jerking script men, as is the case with every tug at the heartstrings during the broadcast.[4]

On returning home, they quit their mill jobs and by Friday they were in St. Paul, Minnesota for the beginning of a four shows a day, 16,000 mile bus ride across America with Major Bowes "All Star Unit." (Figures 2 and 3) The whole Rockville community was excited as they left and the rest of the family supported their opportunity. Jim's wife, Delia, willingly took on the burden of being a "single parent" to two children, Eleanor (12) and Jim (10), because she expected they would get rich.[5] They didn't. After 178 days on the road, they arrived home in December. In the diary he kept of the trip, Jim concludes:

> Back where we started and no richer.[6]

But for Jim and Anna, "making it" as clog dancers was more than just a dream of two individuals with talent trying to better themselves. Their father, William Marley, had always believed he was "good enough to be on vaudeville."[7] The Major's scriptwriters picked up on this, having Jim say that when his father died "...he made me promise that my sister would take his place."[8]

It is somewhat ironic that it is on a show for "amateurs" that Jim and Anna were, then, also fulfilling a part of what they interpreted as their father's dream, to be a "professional." They had grown up with and adopted this as a family ethos as clog dancers. Theirs was not a domestic step-dance tradition, what we would now call a "folk" activity; it belonged on the stage for paying customers. Dancing at home was not merely for pleasure but was always a rehearsal for a show. William Marley, Sr. had in fact auditioned successfully for the famous Keith vaudeville circuit, possibly on more than one occasion. He saw himself as a "professional" and seemed to need to prove every so often that he *could* have "made it big" but chose not to abandon his family responsibilities to be an *itinerant* performer. Not that he abandoned his activities as a performer, however.

The Major Bowes show, in fact, comes just about in the middle of a one hundred year history of four generations of the Marley family entertaining with their wooden shoe dances. We have found it useful to think of these in seven phases. In each, the Marley dances and the dancing can be seen as major factors *in* family life, in determining what counts as "family," in ethnic identity, and in the Marleys' role in the community.

I: Farley and Marley: a non-family tradition duo or solo (ca 1895-1915)

William Marley, born 1870 of Irish immigrant parents, seems to have learned his dancing in Taunton, MA, where, during the 1890s he danced with William "Professor" Farley, a Taunton barber. In dancing as a duet, Farley and Marley, were extending a distinctive American form of wooden shoe dance performance popular since shortly after the first references we have found to a solo "Lancashire Clog Hornpipe" being performed in Boston in 1845.[9] (Figures 4, 5a and 5b)

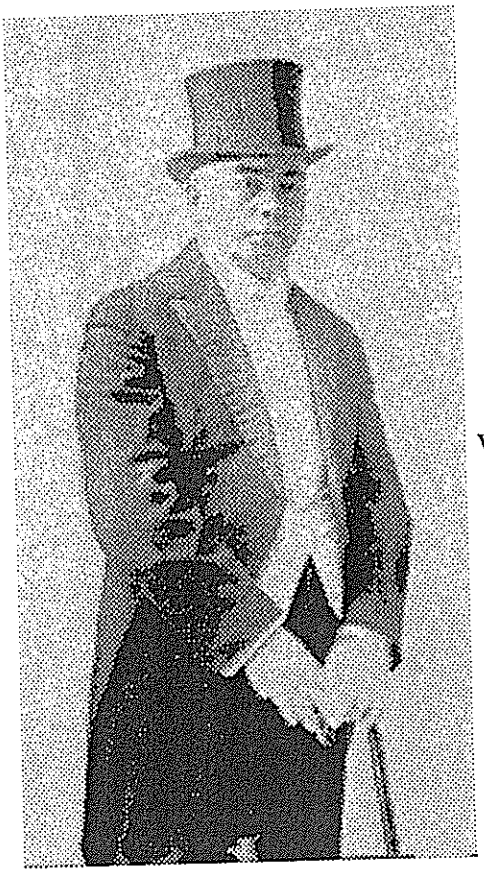
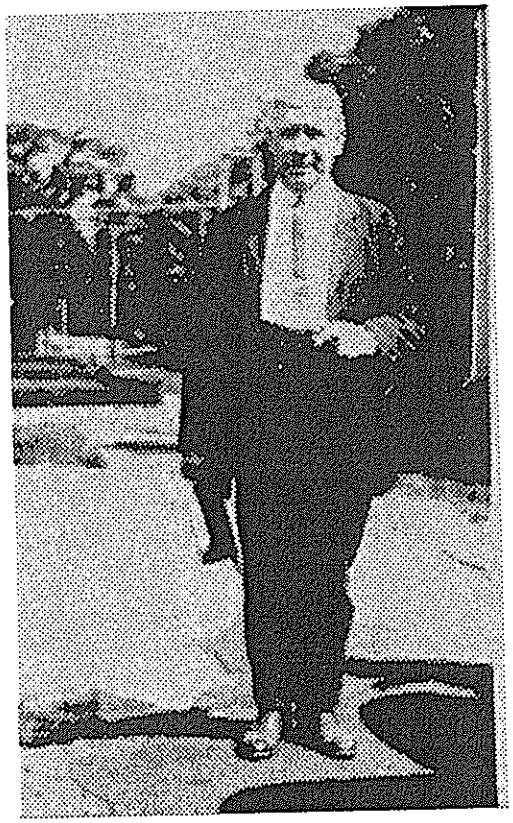


Figure 4
William Marley, ca. 1915





Figures 5a and 5b
William "Professor" Farley

"LANCASHIRE" CLOG DANCING IN THE U.S. (ca 1840-1895)

The hornpipe, particularly the "Sailor's Hornpipe," was a familiar solo stage dance in America by the beginning of the 19th century. John Durang, sometimes called the "first American dancer" was widely known for his *Pas de Matelot* [10] to the tune of "Durang's Hornpipe" after he first performed it in 1785. Members of his family were still dancing it in the 1850s and various versions of the Sailor's Hornpipe continue to be a staple of children's dance schools two hundred years later.[11] Perhaps because of the cartoon character "Popeye the Sailorman," the tune which has become known as the "Sailor's Hornpipe"[12] continues to evoke nautical images for Americans of all generations.

The "Lancashire Clog Hornpipe" was something radically new, however. The Sailor's Hornpipe seems to have been a soft shoe or barefoot dance, but a hornpipe danced in Lancashire clogs[13]with laced or buckled leather uppers and rigid wooden soles must have caused a sensation. The focus switched from whole body gestures imitative of sailors' work activities (hauling lines, looking out to sea, etc.) to controlled tapping sounds on the floor. Examination of minstrel show flyers or handbills from the 1850s on indicate that "clog" quickly established itself as a staple of the bill. (Figures 6, 7 and 8)

There are several distinctive features which differentiate the "Lancashire" clog hornpipe from other forms of step dance and which have remained an essential part of the dance for the one hundred and fifty years that it has been performed in the U.S. and England.

1. It is exclusively performed to the dotted 4/4 tunes in two 8-bar phrases which in England are called "hornpipes" and in 19th century American tunebooks were called "Clogs."[14] This is basically the "Swanee River"[15] or "Tea for Two" rhythm but it is executed without the long notes of those tunes, each measure being filled with sequences of triplets or pairs of dotted 1/4 notes and 1/8th notes. They invariably end with three repeated quarter notes. This rhythm is attractive for complex steps because the basic 12 beat measure can be broken up into various triple- and duple-time combinations. In the tradition of Durang, and following the best traditions of salesmanship, it was not uncommon for performers to have a Clog composed for and named after them.

2. Also like Durang's "Sailor's Hornpipe" and other English-derived step dances, it kept the formal structure of six bars of "something" repeated in 1 bar or 2-bar phrases off one foot and then the other followed by a 2-bar "break."[16] Not only was this pattern immediately evident in the Marley dances but Anna began with what she called "the first step" which was identical to the first step one is taught in England, often called "First Lancs" or "First Lancashire Step."

3. It remains invariably associated with rigid-sole clogs. Large numbers of clogs from Lancashire, with the distinctive decorative effect of the nails which join the leather to the wood, were imported in the 19th century.[17] (Figure 9a)

4. It probably was introduced in the U.S. as a solo dance. This remains the primary performance mode in England.[18] A recently published English account of clogs and clog dancing suggests :

> The purist would dance alone, on some hard wood or slate slab on a stage or purpose-built pedestal...[19]

5. The Lancashire Clog and pedestals are inseparable and it is of special interest that the Marleys kept up their pedestal dancing. Though the Clog, of course could be danced on the floor, if people danced on pedestals, it was the dance of choice.[20]

When this new form of dancing reached the minstrel shows, duet dancing quickly became the order of the day. (Figure 10[21]) Pairs of clog dancers became household names. (Figures 11 - 18) The public image of clog dancing two at a time was so well established by the 1870s that the cover of a published collection of notations called *Clog Dancing Made Easy*[22] featured a facsimile from Sheridan and Mack's publicity picture (Figure 19, cf.

The Celebrated European Stars,

THE TUDORS!

JOHN AND AMY.

In their own Specialties,—Musical Sketch. Miss Amy's Wonderful Clog Exercise on a high Mechanical Pedestal, making four complete changes of costume and showing twelve national flags, without leaving the Pedestal. John's Comedy Specialty,—On Papa's Shoulders—concluding with their world renowned $500 Challenge Combat Dance, appearing in the most Gorgeous Armor Dress ever seen in America.

Figure 6
Harvard Theatre
Collection

First appearance of Mr.

DICK SANDS,

In his Champion Single Clog Dance on a Slab of Marble

Everything in the Clog is New.

MATINEE EVERY SATURDAY.

Figure 7
Harvard Theatre
Collection

ANNIVERSARY WEEK!

Second Week of the World Renowned



THE GREAT CLOG DANCER.

A GREAT BILL FOR THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF

MORRIS BROS. PELL & TROWBRIDGE'S

MINSTRELS

And COW-BELL-O-GIANS!

Figure 8
Harvard Theatre Collection

Figure 9a
Lancashire Clogs
(below left)
from *Traditional Step-Dancing in Lakeland*
by J. F. and T. M. Flett, 1979
and Figure 9b
William Farley's Wooden-Soled Shoes
(below right)

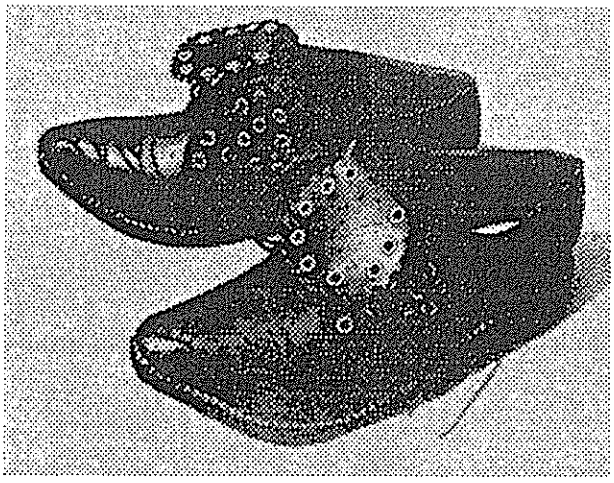






Figure 10
"Trick Clog," ca1860-1875
from *Chronicles of the American Dance*
edited by Paul Magriel, 1948

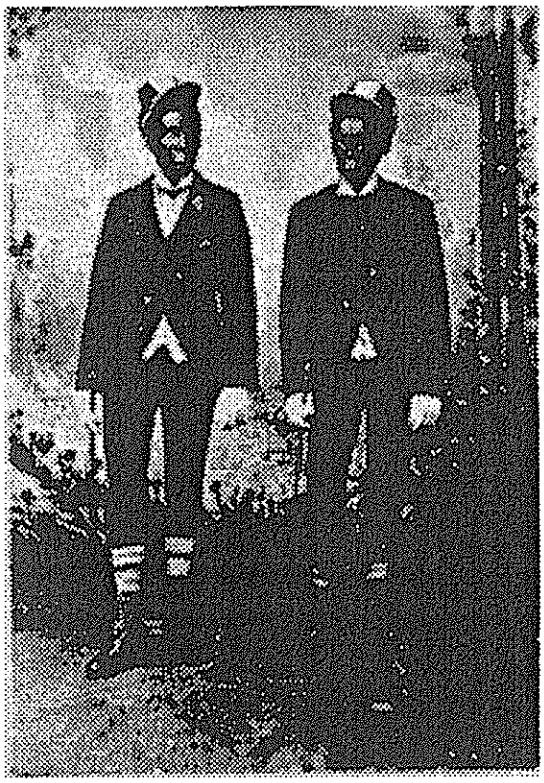


Figure 11
Delmanning Brothers, ca 1870
Harvard Theatre Collection



Figure 12
Thomas Hengler
Harvard Theatre Collection

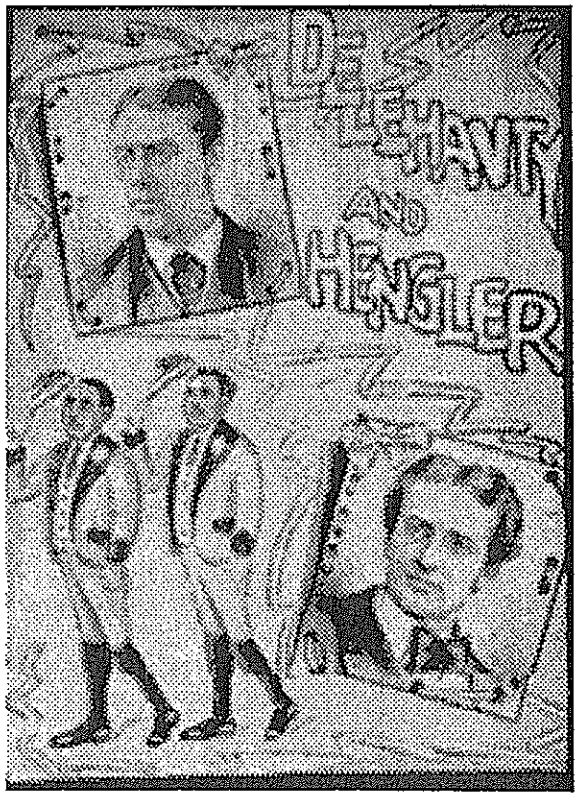


Figure 13
Delahanty and Hengler
Harvard Theatre Collection

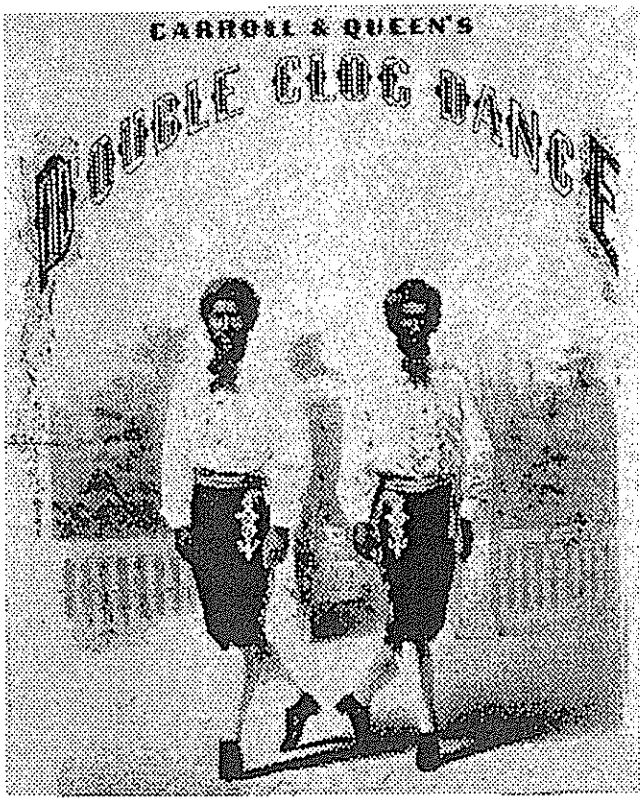


Figure 14
Carroll and Queen, ca. 1860



Figure 15
Dick Carroll
Harvard Theatre Collection



Figure 16
Johnny Queen
Harvard Theatre Collection

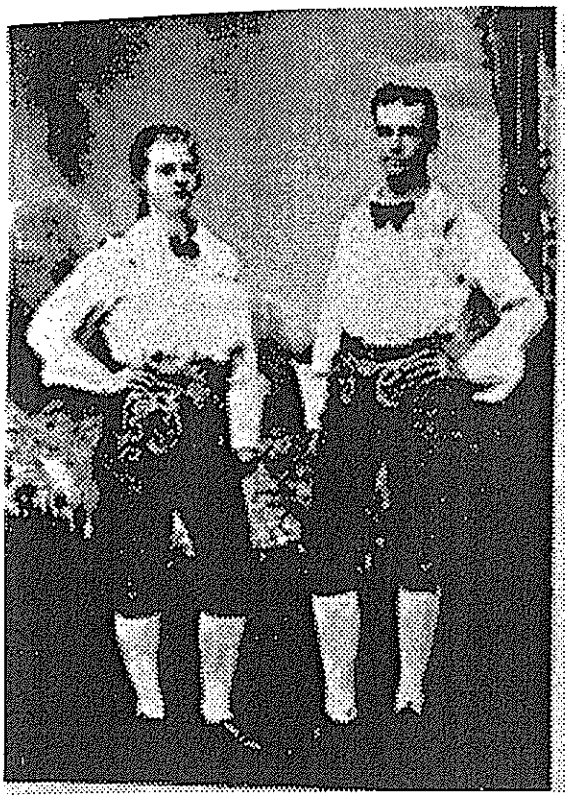


Figure 17
The Peasleys
Harvard Theatre Collection

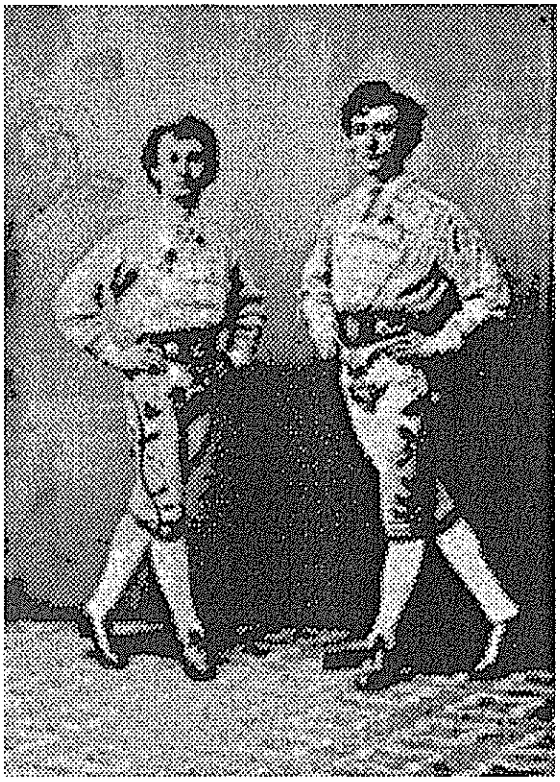


Figure 18
Sheridan and Mack, ca. 1870
Harvard Theatre Collection



Figure 19
Cover of *Clog Dancing Made Easy*
by Henry Tucker, 1874

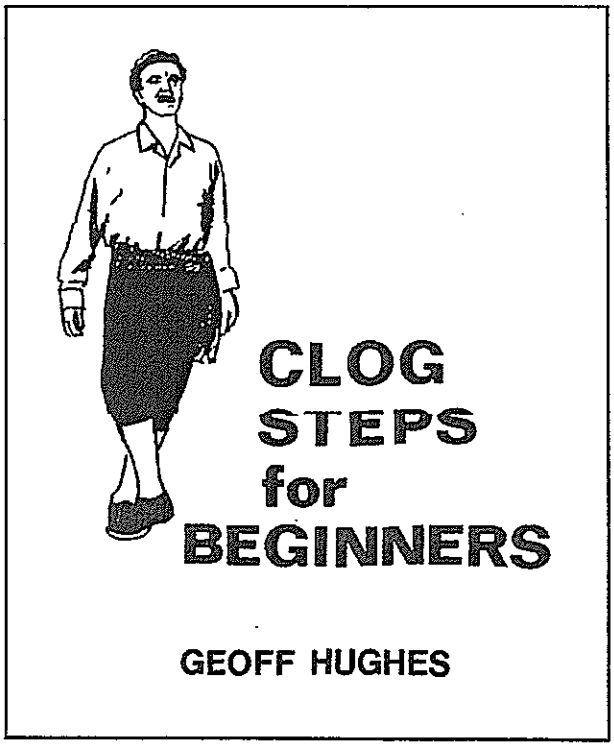


Figure 20
Cover of *Clog Steps for Beginners*
by Geoff Hughes, 1975

Figure 18), even though the notations give no indications of a need for more than one dancer.

Notice that all of these duet teams are wearing waist sashes and knee britches, which got increasingly tighter as the century progressed. This was the stereotypical attire of the hornpipe clog dancer throughout the 19th century on both sides of the Atlantic and remains so in England. The cover of a recent collection of notations, *Clog Steps for Beginners*,[23] reflects the contemporary English image of a solo clog dancer wearing a sash and knee britches. (Figure 20) The attire and the formal structure of the Clog must have been equally recognizable in both England and America because there was a considerable amount of traffic of performers and minstrel troupes, including clog dancers, between England and the U.S. as early as the 1840s.[24]

We have no information on the costume worn by Farley and Marley in the 1890s, but since, in dancing as a duo they were following in a well-established American tradition, it is likely that they conformed with the rest of the expectations for clog dancers. Farley, from what we know, was certainly the type to appear in tight knee britches. He was a jolly character, who later painted his and his pupil's clogs gold. His nephew, Phil Farley,[25] reports hating the tight costumes he had to wear as a boy dancing with the Professor. William Marley, though a stern authoritarian as a father, was a popular hale-fellow-well-met type in the men's associations and it isn't outrageous to think that in his twenties he was enough of a conservative to wear what one was expected to wear for clog dancing.

He married Margaret Donovan, also of Irish Catholic parentage, and left Taunton, MA in 1899 to work in a mill in Rockville, CT, close to his wife's home in East Windsor. Farley and his new partner, Dugan, danced on the Keith vaudeville circuit until he retired in 1923 and went back to cutting hair and performing locally with students from his dancing school.

II: The Dancing Marleys: William and Jim Marley 1915-1923

A significant part of the story of the Marley Family dancing is that several of the Rockville mills were owned by people from Lancashire, giving them an ethnic tie to the "Lancashire" clog dances. Marley, from shortly after the move, seems to have been an indispensable entertainer, a little bit of "back home," at dinner parties given at the big houses up on "Millionaires Row."

William Marley was what we might now call a "jock" and must have been an instant "local personality." He moved to Rockville in part to play catcher for the local baseball team, and regarded clog dancing as a professional enterprise and a serious form of exercise, even to the extent of taking a hot bath and getting a rub-down from his wife after practising. He clearly saw regular practice at 7.00 P.M. as a high priority. Anna tells of her mother having to play piano for his nightly practice even when her hands were bleeding from household work. One of Anna's sisters commented that "the living room smelled like a sweatshop."

When his second son, Jim, was 15, William saw him perform an Irish jig at St. Bernard's Catholic School and decided to teach him the clog dances. Notice (Figures 21 and 22) that the knee britches have gone, and the wooden-soled shoes look like "Oxfords" rather than Lancashire "clogs" (Figure 9b).[26]

Finally, William had a replacement for Farley, with whom he remained competitive. Farley had, after all, "made it" on vaudeville. A favorite family story is of a visit paid by William and Jim to Farley in Taunton. Jim's daughter, Eleanor, recounts that before Jim danced Farley claimed he would "soon put him in the attic." After Jim danced, Farley's son commented that "you won't be putting *him* in the attic anytime soon."

Jim was a special dancer. Another favorite Marley anecdote, told with great pride, is that sometime after the Major Bowes show, Jim and Anna went to see Bill Robinson play in Hartford. Jim sent a card back to the dressing room asking if Bojangles remembered



Figure 21
Jim Marley, ca. 1915



Figure 22
William and Jim Marley, ca. 1915



Figure 23
Gert, Matty, and Anna Marley
ca. 1923



Figure 24
Bill Marley, ca. 1923

him. The great man is said to have replied, "Jim Marley? Of course, I do! He was the only one who could have given me competition."

III: The Dancing Marleys: Family Act 1923-1929

By 1923, the duet had been incorporated into a family act, "The Marley Family" or "The Dancing Marleys" with the three youngest girls (Matty, Ann, and Gert, the baby) dancing (Figure 23), and accompaniment by Margaret Donovan Marley on piano, oldest brother Bill, Connecticut State Banjo champion (Figure 24), and youngest brother Dan on Mandolin and curtains.

This was not just family fun and games. The "Dancing Marleys" were a professional act. William sought out engagements and demanded a level of rehearsal as intense as the one he maintained. Anna relates that, during this time, lunch-hour for the girls was a routine of 10 minutes to walk home from school, 30 minutes of practice, 10 minutes for lunch and 10 more minutes to walk back to school. Bill's daughter, Helen, brought up by Margaret Donovan after her mother died in childbirth remembers watching the girls practice through a gap under the door to the living room where the 20' x 3' roll-up mat of maple strips was laid out.

During this period, new dances, such as a jump-rope waltz clog which Anna was told, even ordered, to work out, were added to the basic Buck-and-Wing, Waltz Clog and Pedestal Clog that probably came from Farley and Marley. There are several ways in which this period of new dances can be seen as one in which they took more ownership of the repertoire. The dancing went from being an activity that belonged exclusively to William Sr. to being an activity in which almost the entire immediate family was involved. The repertoire also went from being one that was "fixed" to one that grew in response to the needs of performance. Even when Jim was enlisted by his father to be his dance partner, the repertoire, so far as we know, consisted of those dances William knew and "passed on" to son Jim. With the enlistment of the girls as another set of dancers, the opportunity to create other routines was taken up. For the children of William Marley, the tradition they participated in was an expanding one that also maintained the inheritance from their father as its center.

Every aspect of family life was oriented around clog dancing. Teenagers Marge and Kay refused to dance and still remember with some vehemence how much they hated not having curtains in the living room because their father wanted as much light as possible for the dancing. The younger girls did not have that choice. Gert is equally emphatic today about how glad she was to give up dancing when William died in 1929.

IV: The Dancing Marleys: Jim and Anna Marley 1929-1936

Anna and Jim were dance zealots, however. Regardless of whether or not it was true that William told him to take Anna on as partner, Jim had inherited his father's need to show they were good enough to "make it." On tour with Unit #1, they performed Buck and Wing, Pedestal Clog and Waltz Clog. Under orders from the Major, their eight-minute show included imitations of Bill Robinson and Pat Rooney, the Irish-American waltz clogger. Jim at this point clearly put his own stamp on the dances. Though they still used "The Marley Clog" tune, the old "Dancing Marleys" waltz tune disappeared to be replaced by a tune Anna refers to as "Jim's favorite" and the Buck and Wing was no longer danced to "Soldier's Joy" as William insisted but to "Yankee Doodle Dandy" because, Jim said, *he* was an American. While teaching the Buck and Wing to me, Anna suggested rather strongly at times that the reason I wasn't getting it was that I would never be a "Yankee Doodle Dandy."

They continued to invent but apparently not perform new routines, including a Military heel-and-toe routine (to "American Patrol" and "Girl I Left Behind Me") and a softshoe (in clogs!) that Jim would not dance on stage because he thought he was "not graceful enough."

After the Major Bowes moment, they continued to perform in their local area. In the months immediately following their return from the tour they were much in demand, and were very much celebrated by their local community because of having made the Major Bowes tour. Via the tour they had indeed become professionals, and celebrities, having achieved notoriety not only locally (which had been true before), but, as far as the Rockville community was concerned, nationally as well.

Jim, however, also backed away from performing *outside* the local area. When, early in 1937 Major Bowes contacted them for their next tour, to England,[27] Jim cancelled out at the last minute, and Anna, at age 19, was persuaded by her family not to go alone. They both went back to mill work through World War II. The emphasis switched to local performance opportunities, and particularly, for a family with Irish identity, St. Patrick's Day and Hibernian Society[28] concerts and the local "Minstrels," as local variety shows were called throughout New England after a revival in the 1920s.[29]

Jim's decline to tour abroad came as something of a shock to the young and talented Anna. She wanted very much to continue the dance career that had seemed to open before her. As opportunities arose, and family allowed, Anna performed alone, even travelling north as far as Rockport, Maine. She had one last fling with the Major Bowes connection when she danced solo, again on the radio, for the Ted Mack Amateur Hour in 1947 just before it went onto television. She also took up playing piano for the dancing, and in this way further supported Jim, as well as other family members, in their dancing.

V. The Marleys in Local Minstrels: 1944-ca. 1960

A program from a minstrel show in Rockville, dated 1946,[30] lists Jim and his daughter, Eleanor (Marley Lessig), dancing the Buck and Wing with Anna Marley on piano. Eleanor joined Jim in these performances between graduating from high school in 1944 and getting married in 1948. The local audience loved the Marleys. Jim and Anna were popular local figures. Their adulation can be heard on this recording from a minstrel of 1946 or 47 of Jim and Eleanor dancing the Buck and Wing.[31] *[played Buck &Wing from tape]* Having been privileged to learn the dancing while Anna was playing, it is easy to hear on that tape why Jim refused to dance to anyone else's accompaniment. The down side was that she sacrificed her own talents as a dancer to provide music so that Jim's considerable ability could be heard to best advantage.

Jim was slated also on this 1946 bill to dance the pedestal clog, solo, and Anna's niece-cum-sister, Helen (christened Gertrude), who used the stage name "Babe," performed a tap dance.[32] After 1948 Eleanor and Helen had both married and stopped clog dancing in public. During the period between the end of vaudeville (1930s) and the beginnings of the dance revival through folk festivals (1970s), when the Marleys might have been seen as "traditional" and "national treasures," there were, of course, fewer national opportunities for a performance of something as old-fashioned as clog dancing. Local events in the Rockville area, and particularly through St. Bernard's Church, continued to provide one or two occasions a year for Jim to present the pedestal clog with Anna on piano. (Figures 25 and 26)

VI: The Ann Marley School of Dance 1946-1986

From 1946-86, however, another outlet for the Marley dances and for family members to express their connections through the dancing existed as Anna held annual recitals in the high school auditorium for the students of the Ann Marley School of Dance. The Marley dancing became more than just the clog over this 40 year period. Anna choreographed many new routines in modern, jazz, and tap styles as well as adding to the clog dance repertoire. She added a staircase routine and an eight-person Irish Jig.

Classes were offered in local halls and some years there were as many as 400 students in Rockville and neighboring Vernon. A partial set of programs which were kept by family pack-rats[33] from these recitals yielded over 1200 different names. When we

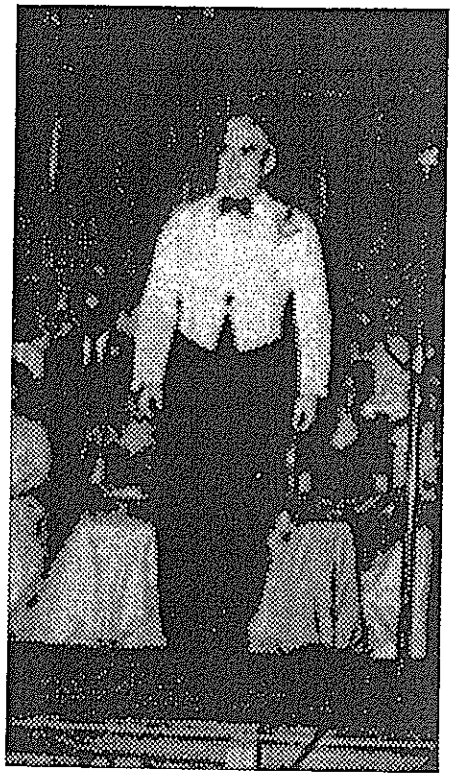


Figure 25
Jim Marley, ca. 1960

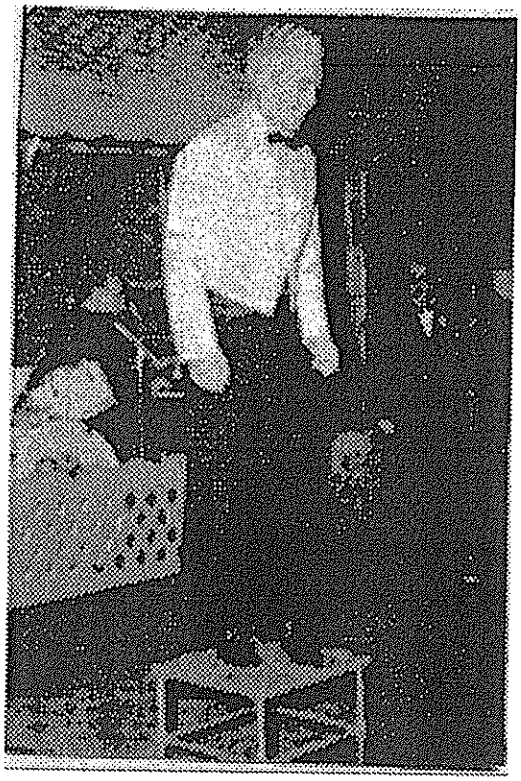


Figure 26
Jim Marley, ca. 1960

Figure 27
Margaret Donovan Marley



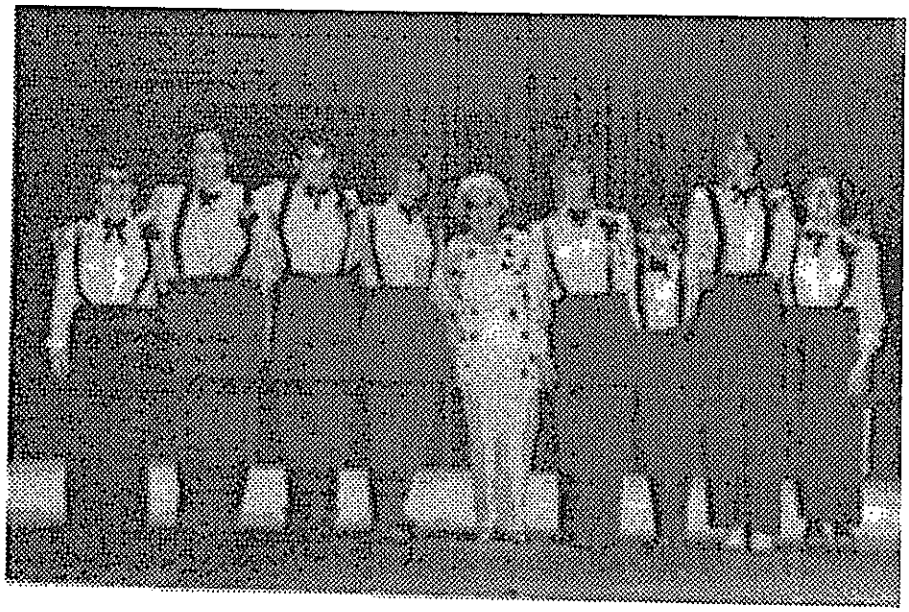


Figure 28
Anna Marley with nieces and great-nieces
ca. 1983

mentioned trying to reach them to advertise a recent display of Marley dances in Rockville, Eleanor said: "But that's half of Rockville!"

The broader community became more involved as dancers and not just observers of the Marley repertoire and, accordingly, the "family" participation expanded beyond the offspring of William and Margaret Marley. Anna's nieces and great-nieces "took" from her and then, in many cases, sent their daughters. This culminated in 1983-4 with performances by nine nieces and great-nieces dancing the Buck and Wing (six women, 1983) and the eight-person "Irish Jig" (1984) (Figure 28).[34]

These productions could not have been run without a lot of family support. The earliest programs indicate Anna's mother, Margaret (Figure 27) helped make costumes, sisters Marge, Kae, Gert and Helen formed the usherette corps, and brother Dan organized the children backstage. It is interesting that during this time the sisters (Marge and Kae) who would not dance as children, one (Gert) who couldn't wait to quit, and a brother (Dan) who said that his father wouldn't teach him because he didn't keep his arms by his sides, are deeply involved, even essential, in helping the recitals happen. Anna's school enlarged the ways in which a family member could be part of the "Marley Clog."

This was also true for much of the community, as we have seen happen in Boston Irish-American neighborhoods where all of the children, particularly the girls learn the step dances. We saw evidence of the emotional linkage of Rockville people to the dancing at a recent gathering of clog dancers at St. Bernard's. The "American Wooden Shoe Dance Challenge"[35] featured a class by Anna and a display of Marley routines which was attended by about 150 former pupils and parents of former pupils who showed up to watch. In the way they greeted each other and expressed their thanks and appreciation to Anna and shared memories the way people do at reunions, one had the sense that the Marley dancing became a "family" thing for many people stretching in some cases over three generations. Women who had "taken" from Anna as children brought their children to see these memories.

One of our favorite illustrations of the force of the wooden shoe dances as a family tradition involves Theresa, a great-niece who was part of the Marley women Irish Jig performance at age 11 in 1983. Before graduation from the Catholic high school at St. Joseph's, it is a custom that each student give a solo presentation or performance for his or her class. Theresa chose to ask Anna, by then retired in 1989, to rehearse her in a dance sequence on a pedestal for use as her class show-and-tell piece, a unique display of her heritage.

VII: The New Dancing Marleys 1989-present

Tony met Anna in October, 1988 when she had been retired for two years. At first she refused to teach the dances because "they were really Jim's dances" and he had been taken into intensive care the previous day. After Jim died, Anna said she would teach Tony because she and her sisters had decided that the steps would be lost. They were now Anna's.

From the first meeting and the first lesson, it has been evident that the dancing is driven by its connection to "family" and by the family ethos of "professionalism". Anna was attracted by the information that Tony was a performer who would take the dances on stage. Anna's teaching style began and continues in large measure in ways that are reminiscent of the "Generalissimo," as he was known, who controlled the village display or Morris dances in rural England. If you were going to do it, it had to be right. The steps had to be learned in the right order. One step had to be learned before one would be taught another. This was what Anna's father and "we" (the Marleys) did, and it was how she would work and we had to learn.

The family stories communicated to us that not only was the dancing just "what the Marley family did", but that it was on a very high level. Their father had instilled in them very high standards for the dancing, and also a sense of themselves as special. Jim and

later Anna maintained that, and Eleanor brings another voice to lessons insisting that it be done right.

She has voiced the thought that at times our learning and performing the Marley dances seems like a way of "laying Jim's ghost." She was very close to her father. As illustration of this she notes that he would always turn up on the day in spring when she decided to put up window screens when nothing had been said about it. Sometimes we will be in the middle of a routine and she will look very close to tears. "That's the Marley Clog!" Something we did revives vivid memories of Jim dancing, to the extent that he seems to be standing at her shoulder watching, and that makes it right.

As strict as the adherence is to what William did or what Jim did, Anna is not loathe to expand the repertoire by borrowing or inventing steps. She and Eleanor between them have not been able to remember two of the steps in the Clog routine on the tape of the 1946 minstrel performance. While trying to figure them out, we were showing elements culled from English hornpipe steps. "I like that," said Anna, "use that one. I think it's one we did." Other times, Anna will of a sudden stare at the wall while sitting at the piano thinking with her feet (she can still dance better sitting down than we will ever be able to standing up). "Try this," she'll say. Did she make it up? Did she remember it? We have taken to a new definition of tradition as a result of our learning to dance under Anna Marley: "Tradition is what Anna says it is: today." The puzzle for the dance scholar to get at "how the informant *actually* did it" seems an elusive and almost inappropriate goal. There was no one way and yet there was absolutely only one way to do it. There was conservancy and there was creativity.

The family is so embedded in the dances that learning them one becomes "family," as happened to a large part of Rockville-Vernon while Anna was teaching. Anna called one morning before our usual Friday lesson to ask if we would come early to help her nephew-in-law, Don Wilson, fetch Helen Downes from the nursing home. Anna asked because we were "family." It is such a present and powerful part of the dancing that every lesson can be like a holiday gathering when stories are told. Each step or way of getting up on and down from a pedestal potentially unlocks a memory.

The extension of "family" also reflects an extension in the boundaries of ownership to include those, such as ourselves, who now try to master the Marley stepping. As one routine we learned finally worked its way up to "Marley speed," Anna commented, "Now it's yours!" One thing this means is that we can now teach the routines. For us though, the dances are so interconnected with the Marleys we know in person or through the stories and with Rockville, that it seems essential for anyone learning to dance in this style to see the mills in Rockville, hear the stories of the family members who danced and those who pulled the curtains or showed proud parents at a "Dan-Sa-Tions" recital to their seats. It gives a different focus to a class of clog dancers learning the Marley Irish Jig, as happened this past April, to do it in St. Bernard's church hall in Rockville and see a photograph of Jim dancing on the stage in that hall.

Final thoughts:

In each phase, the connection to family depends on at least one key individual, a zealot: William, Anna and Jim, Anna, Smith and Barrand. But it is not just enough to be a zealot. There has to be a self-motivated interest in getting others to do it and a community which supports that effort. The Marleys, particularly through William, whose community was the children, and Anna, maintained a continuity because there was a reaching out to create and bind the "family" through participation in the dance some way. There is a new phase of that now as we teach the dances and bring clog dancers from England, Canada, and the U.S. to Rockville to learn from us in the presence of Anna. When it's not "right," not what William or Jim did, Anna lets people know immediately. Eleanor tells one of us privately that it wasn't right and expects us to remember that for the next time.

It is interesting to contrast this with the other branch of Farley and Marley. The Professor had almost no-one in his family take lessons except for a nephew, Phil Farley,

who felt forced to do it and "hated it because of the tight costumes." Phil stopped dancing when his leg was shot up while serving in the Marines in World War II. An outstanding pupil, Dick Belcher, successfully performed through his teenage years in the 1930s billed as "The New England Wooden Shoe Champion." Dick was an only child and the Belcher family life during this period was completely oriented around Dick's clogging career. It stopped when he was 18 and joined the service in 1942 and never danced again. He says he wanted to fight and kept his dancing a secret because he didn't want to be assigned to an entertainment unit. He then married someone who "hated dancing" and his children are to this day not aware that he was a dancer even though his mother, Dorrice, kept two detailed and extensive scrapbooks containing press clippings and other notes on his performances from 1927-1942 which Dick's children have never seen. He became a teacher and recently retired as a school superintendent. The family support and community opportunities were certainly missing after the war and the new teacher may not have wanted to be seen locally as an entertainer, but one wonders whether it was Dick or Dorrice who had the spiritual relationship to the dance because to this day he is reluctant and she eager to talk about those times.

There were community opportunities for Farley. He and selected members of his school in Taunton took part in minstrels and other relatively local performance situations. But he made little effort to incorporate more of his immediate family. Partly this was because his own children were grown by the time he retired from the life of an itinerant entertainer on vaudeville. But it was also because he, unlike Anna, never created the situations in which members of his immediate family could participate *without* being dancers. Many of them Anna did not have to create. She took advantage of existing occasions in the local Irish community.

The Marleys claim Irishness. Anna and Jim's grandparents were Irish immigrants. Jim loved to visit Ireland. As we speak his daughter, Eleanor, is on a trip there with her husband, Bob Lessig. They express no real interest in visiting England. But, except perhaps for the Irish Jig (danced to the "Irish Washerwoman" and "The Kerry Dancers"), they do not claim the dances as Irish. Rather they identify them as English, making particular connection to "Lancashire" as the source. Not that this reflects any inside information on where their particular version of it originates. A visiting English dancer, Pat Tracey, won special favor with Anna and Eleanor not just because she is an extraordinarily nice person and an outstanding wooden shoe artiste who dances very like the Marleys, i.e. fast and in a small space, but because she is from the County of Lancashire.

The parallels between Marley dancing and English dancing are real and were evident from the first lesson on the Buck and Wing. There was a recognizable structure, (6 bars and a brake), manner of body carriage (arms at rest), aesthetic (small space, steps repeated "off both feet") very like English clog dancing, and the tune, Soldier's Joy, Anna's father (and a lot of English dancing masters) said "had all the steps in it."

But meeting English dancers has also served to emphasize to Anna and Eleanor how "American" the Marley dancing is or at least has become. It depends as much if not more on its vaudeville/minstrel show history as it does on any connections with "Lancashire." We love and are just beginning to explore the complexity and subtlety of an "Irish" family doing "English" dancing which is completely "American." For all that, it is primarily *Marley* dancing and the reason those of us who have chosen to fit these dances into our lives enjoy calling ourselves the "New Dancing Marleys." It seems appropriate to finish by showing a few more new dancers doing a uniquely Marley creation, a softshoe in clogs.

[The "Softshoe" was performed by Kari Smith, Tony and Margaret Dale Barrand, and Renee Camus to the accompaniment of Anna Marley on piano.]

[1] One of two "Clogs" arranged and, possibly, composed by Will Finley of Rockville, CT for the Marleys. The tune Anna now plays as "The Marley Clog" was originally arranged as "Dancing Marleys." The other, which Anna does not now remember was "Marley's Clog" and the original manuscript from Will Finley indicates that it was for "Children's." Will Finley also set a Waltz Clog called "Dancing Marleys."

[2] Library of Congress tape # LWO 5799 R36.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Clipping from the *Hartford Herald*, ca. July 1st. 1936, taken from Marley scrapbook.

[5] Interview with Delia Marley, 8/17/90.

[6] Jim Marley's Diary, entry for December 14, 1936.

[7] Anna Marley and Eleanor Marley, personal communication.

[8] Library of Congress tape # LWO 5799 R36.

[9] "Mr. William Thompson, a house dancer at the [Boston] Museum, performed...a 'Lancashire Clog Hornpipe.'" quoted from Krause, Rhett, "Step dancing on the Boston Stage: 1841-1869", Country Dance and Song Society, 1992. Barney Fagan, a major clog dancer performer and "burnt cork entertainer," believed that clog dancing was introduced by English sailors in the 1830s. (Krause, ibid). First clog hornpipe is recorded in England as early as 1819. (Flett, J.F. and T.M., *Traditional Step-Dancing in Lakeland*, London: English Folk Dance and Song Society, 1979, p.9.) Dr. Krause's research has been crucial to the progress of this study of American wooden shoe dancing. All of the photographs, posters, and illustrations used here by permission of the Harvard Theatre Collection and the Carroll and Queen flyer were brought to light as a result of his efforts and we are the beneficiaries of his generosity.

[10] Charles Durang, John 's son, published a notation for the dance in 1855 where it is called by the French name. Reprinted in an article by Lillian Moore entitled "John Durang, The First American Dancer", in *Chronicles of the American Dance*, edited by Paul Magriel, Henry Holt and Company, 1948.

[11] Anna Marley, for example, taught a version of it to her students at various times.

[12] Usually published in tunebooks as "The College Hornpipe." See, for example, *One Thousand Fiddle Tunes, M.M. Cole Publishing Co., 1940, p.87.*

[13] The county of Lancashire dominated the manufacturing and wearing of clogs from the earliest years of the industrial revolution. See Evelyn Vigeon, *Clogs or Wooden Soled Shoes*, reprinted from *The Journal of the Costume Society*, 1977.

[14] Patrick Sky has recently completed an excellent study of the major 19th century dance tune collection, known as *Ryan's Mammoth Collection*. See Patrick Sky, "Elias Howe and William Bradford Ryan: Producers of *Ryan's Mammoth Collection*," Master's Thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1993.

[15] Properly called "De Old Folks at Home" by Stephen Foster.

[16] Anna Marley calls this a "brake." The term is not common in England anymore, most dancers calling the final two measures a "shuffle-off" or some similar expression. Chris Metherell, personal communication.

[17] Quantities of these can be seen at the Peabody and Essex Museum in Salem, MA.

[18] Even when teams incorporate clog hornpipe (usually just called "hornpipe") as part of the street displays now common in England (and, to some extent, the U.S.) as an alternative to forms of the Morris, several dancers will simply perform the same solo dance simultaneously.

[19] Dobson, Bob, *Concerning Clogs*, Landy Publishing, 1993, p. 31.

[20] Chris Metherell, one of the English authorities on clog dancing and leader of "Instep," a clog dance research group, commented last year that pedestal dancing of the hornpipe had not survived well in England. The Ellwood family of Northumberland kept up the practice but most dancers maintained it only in memory.

[21] *Chronicles of the American Dance*, edited by Paul Magriel, Henry Holt and Company, 1948, p. 52.

[22] Tucker, Henry, *Clog Dancing Made Easy: The Elements and Practice of That Art Arranged, Simplified and Corrected - with Examples*, N.Y. : DeWitt Publishing Co., 1874. It has been reprinted by Chris Brady (ed) of the Reading Cloggies dance and research group (ISBN 0-9514402-0-9).

[23] Hughes, Geoff, *Clog Steps for Beginners*, London: English Folk Dance and Song Society, 1975.

[24] The first American clog dancer to visit England was probably Fred Wilson. See Krause, Rhett, "Step Dancing on the Boston Stage: 1841-1869," *Country Dance and Song*, 1992.

25 Interview 6/13/89.

26 Marley and Farley had identical clogs made by Neely in Chicago.

27 It is not yet known whether more than one request came for further touring with Major Bowes' units, or whether one request has been mis-remembered. Anna says that a request to go to England came in January 1937. The last entry in the scrapbook is a request from "Tyro Productions" to go with the "Transcontinental Unit" in May, 1937.

28 Personal communication, Kae Marley.

29 We have an extensive collection of newspaper clippings of clog dancers appearing on local shows in New England performed as fund-raisers for charitable organizations and loosely modeled on the old minstrel shows. Basically they adopted the presentational format (a chorus on stage, performers seated in a semi-circle with an interlocutor, and six (usually) "end-men" who carried tambourines and were often in black-face. Such shows are still being performed up in our area along the Vermont/Massachusetts border. see, for example, " 'Aunt Effie' delivers homespun humor" in the *Brattleboro Reformer*, Saturday, January 4th, 1992, p. 11.

30 Original program in the collection of Helen Marley Downes.

31 Tape copied from cassette owned by Anna Mae Marley. The show was recorded on vinyl.

32 The small surviving piece (fire and rot) of the Marley dance mat was used by Helen for practice and performance (?) who wrote the nickname "Babe" on it. Indications she danced at least waltz clog with her father Bill.

33 Primarily Gertrude "Helen" Marley Downes and Dan Marley.

34 Buck and Wing Special : Judy and Debbie Koehler, Carolyn and Erin Marley, Eleanor Lessig, and Gail Wilson; Irish Jig: Judy, Karen and Debbie Koehler, Carolyn and Erin Marley, Gail Wilson, Bonnie and Theresa Luetgen.

35 First held in Boston in October, 1991, as the "American Wooden Shoe Competition," it was held in Rockville, CT on April 17th, 1993.

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HOW CAN THE BROWN FEMALE SUBALTERN, FEMINIST, SPEAK?

Ananya Chatterjea

I would like to preface my presentation with one of my most strongly held beliefs, which is in fact the base of much of my work and research: that the avant-garde, or indeed the contemporary, in Indian dance, must be based on a total remoulding of the existing dance: by which I mean that in order to be considered contemporary or avant-garde, Indian choreographers must work towards reforming idiom, form, choreographic structure and of course philosophy. This particular presentation is based on a project for a course I took in the last semester entitled "Women, dance and the body", my attempt having been to explore feminist discourse in order to find a theoretical framework for my experiences within the piece I was creating as part of the project.

A clear delimitation in this paper is the ground from which I speak: I can only speak with conviction from within the realm in which my experience is located--that of a middle-class, educated, Indian woman dancer and choreographer, who has grown up in the post-independence world of India. Also, though the choreography has three parts to it, each focussing on one of the three protagonists, this paper will delve deeply into only one of them: Draupadi.

The piece upon which this paper is based is a work-in-progress called "Multitudinous trio", because the experience of the three protagonists can, in fact, be expanded to resonate the lives of many women. The protagonists are Draupadi, the epical figure from the Mahabharata who is married to the five Pandava brothers, who suffers the enemy's attempt to disrobe her in public, and who vows terrible revenge for this dishonour; Urvashi, the first apsara (semi-divine, semi-human female), who was created when a sage drew her with the end of a mango leaf-stalk on his thigh and then was endowed with life by the gods because she was such a beautiful conception, and who is regarded to be the most beautiful woman and the most talented dancer; and Savitri, who marries Satyavan knowing he has not long to live, who decides to get her husband back and follows Yama, the god of death, when he comes to take away her husband's body, and who finally wins back her husband's life in a battle of wits with Yama.

My conception of this project is based on certain beliefs, which were reinforced by my readings. One of the first was that the avant-garde in Indian dance must create its own norms, the subterranean belief being that the refusal to allow repetition of the first-world cultural imperialism to take over emergent third-world cultural trends makes this a feminist issue, particularly because of a long history of colonization, cultural imperialism, the designation of "third-world", and orientalist readings of Eastern cultures. Hazel Carby (1989) emphasizes the necessity of bringing the whole weight of racialization to feminist issues and has argued that "If we are not in a state of constant political confrontation with the imperialist discourse that structures metropolitan education systems, then we merely confirm our exoticism" (Carby, 1989, p. 38). Certainly to speak of the avant-garde in Asian, African, or Middle Eastern performance in the face of the exoticizing and mystifying Orientalist discourse is a political agenda, for the polarized "other" comes too close, while yet remaining distant, for the dominant culture to gain definition through it. On the other hand, it maintains its inalienable and distinct core, so it resists attempts to be subsumed under the dominant Western aesthetic. Through the clarification of her own norms, the subaltern insists on being perceived in her own terms and thus keeps the pressure on the first-world viewer to acknowledge their closeness, which then disallows the abdication of responsibility for endeavouring to understand the work in the creator's terms through the excuse of cultural difference. It was particularly important for me to realize the full weight of this agenda for speaking as I am, from the international margin, of re-presenting the centre, which itself has been marginalized in the major map of world events ("third world", not first or second), puts me in a particularly vulnerable situation.

One of the consequences of this is the realization that one must speak in terms of "feminisms" and to acknowledge that this field is, in effect, a discourse-in-process which is constantly problematized by the interlinked issues of race, class and gender. Carol Martin (1987-88) analyzes the problematic as it specifically plays itself out in the context of performance:

> How can a Western formulated feminist analysis create a discussion inclusive of other cultures? Should we look at other cultures with a Western value system and agenda, irrespective of Others' beliefs about what they are doing? Even if our understanding is grounded in political motivations we believe are beneficial for all women, such an approach is an appropriation. This kind of imperialist stance is, after all, one of the foundations of missionaries...as a symbolic construct, the body is subject to cultural histories and mythologies and the variant experiences they portray and create. With this difference in mind, feminist questions have to be addressed without denying the existence of a culturally distinct Other. (pp. 33-4.)

The importance of locating oneself within the situation that one is aiming to critique was one of vital importance to me within the scope of this project. For while I had chosen to choreograph reinterpretations of legendary figures from a contemporary, feminist perspective, I had to keep myself grounded in the reality of their lived situation, so as not to create a travesty of traditionally held values. Further, while I had the "epistemic privilege"of belonging to the society which formed the context for my voice and of having experienced the particular modes of oppression, I had to be careful not to abuse it by missing an acknowledgement of the changed circumstances of time, place and context. Thus, while I personally may not uphold the value of sindur as a symbol of marriage, it was imperative for me to realize the romance, richness, and prestige associated with it within the traditional value-system.

In India, the ability of a woman to tell a "good story", through which she subtly accomplishes the moral, and some cultural, education of her children, is highly valued. Several of the religious ceremonies are observed by the woman re-telling the "vrat-katha", the story related to that particular event, each time she observes it. The Natyashastra upholds the importance of educating the audience about the cultural and religious traditions and mythology through the "abhinaya" (expressional, particularly story-telling) aspect of performance. One of the richest sources of magic for the avant-garde dance in India, is thus, for me, the narrative. I am not referring to the linear, cause-and-effect, typically male narrative. This narrative progresses as a kind of stream-of-consciousness, as the woman tells a story, bringing in a wealth of intimate detail, little details which may be overlooked in a gross overview, but which are the source of felt truth and experience.

Interestingly, Von Morstein (1988), who also talks about story-telling as "a necessary component of philosophical enquiry into the nature of knowledge" (p. 48) confirmed my initial sense of the inspiration for this project, through her insistence that story-telling from a woman's point of view is a revolutionary act. She quotes Carol P. Christ: "The simple act of telling a woman's story from a woman's point of view is a revolutionary act: it has never been done before" (In Von Morstein, 1989, p. 48). Traditionally, it is true, women have generally been relegated to a position where they do not or cannot assume agency for writing their own stories. It was during the gestation period for the choreography that I realized that my three protagonists had never been re-conceived, their bodies had never been re-written in some mode of l'ecriture feminine, after their initial conception in patriarchal texts--and that it was important to do so. One of the "stories" which influenced my thinking considerably was Gayatri

Chakravorty Spivak's translation of Mahasweta Devi's fiction Draupadi, which re-writes the epical story. Clearly this is a story written from a woman's perspective: Draupadi, in this story is a peasant woman who is an important figure in the 1967 Naxalbari revolution of North Bengal. The Brechtian overturning happens when Mahasweta Devi's narrative questions Draupadi's "legitimized pluralization" (as a wife among husbands) by placing her protagonist first in "a comradely, activist, monogamous marriage" and then in a situation of multiple rape by her captors (Chakravorty Spivak, 1987, p. 183).

I also came to this work with a strong belief in the distinct nature of womanist epistemology and methodology. In all three sections of the piece, for instance, I constantly looked to the body for information. For in recreating the mythology, I had to uncover the submerged sub-text of the woman's perspective, which could virtually be described as the "un-text"--there being no documentation of any alternative ways of reading these myths. The information had to be created by me, something I could only achieve by imagining myself in their bodies and allowing it to speak for me. The bio-grammar of the woman's body, loaded as it is with cultural and social conditioning, proved, in infinite subtle ways, to be the most authentic source of information that I could ever have. This also reflected itself in the process of the characters' arrival at new knowledge. Thus, Draupadi's most wrenching question arises when the dancing body collides the gestures of the remembered disrobing and of marital sexuality, and in her horrified reaction to her own movement lies the germ of her realization that her marriages have in fact been, like the disrobing, similar to experiences of rape.

The woman's consciousness of the distinctness of her body and its potency--her breasts, hips, her vagina, the sense of their vulnerability, and the need to protect them--of her gender being in fact mapped across her body, was also my source for much of the movement idiom. The woman's body is, certainly in the Indian context, a social construct, and contains within it, a felt realization of culture and social thought. I strongly felt that, if I was to move away from a socially constructed, familiar, dance grammar, the richest source of knowledge available to me was within my body, shorn, to the degree possible, of its external training in the traditional dance modes, and reacting instinctively to the situation.

My insistence on the narrative continuum which proceeds through details is also related to the idea of a feminist epistemology and methodology. Forte (1988) refers to the "personal clutter" (p. 222) that characterizes the work of Carol Schneemann, which highlights the feminist perspective on the personal as the political, and contrasts the "masculine" from the "feminine" modes of addressing the world. She continues to say that

> As is clear from Schneemann's example, the feminine mode is devalued by the male-dominated art world for its lack of logic, rationality, and distance...Schneemann's 'personal clutter' thus defies conventional (male) preference for artistic detachment...This 'position of intimacy' is one of the most noteworthy characteristics of women's performance, and one of the primary appeals of the genre for women (Forte, 1988, pp. 222-223).

This mode necessarily posits a "knowing subject" whose subjective and intimate observations and experiences constitutes knowledge. And as Code (1993) states with regard to the positivist-empiricist legacy in Western epistemology,

> The legislated (not 'found') context-independence of the model generates the conclusion that knowledge worthy of the name must transcend the particularities of experience to achieve objective purity and value neutrality. This is a model within which the issue of taking subjectivity into account simply does not arise

(p. 19).

Yet, feminist and subaltern scholarship have indubitably proved that knowledge is always relative to specifiable circumstances and that realism and relativism are not, in fact, mutually opposed. As Narayan (1989) says, "No point of view is 'neutral' because no one exists unembedded in the world. Knowledge is seen as gained not by solitary individuals but by socially constituted members of groups that emerge and change through history" (p. 262). Though I had not reflected on this issue prior to choreographing, I had naturally been working on the assumption of the validity of the wisdom of the "knowing subject" while realizing that the subject is simultaneously the "product of particular regimes of truth" (Hawkesworth, 1989, p. 344). My Urvashi, Draupadi, and Savitri rely on the intimacy of the knowledge churned from within themselves, once they have acknowledged themselves as subjects of history, which means that they operate from within an acceptance of their social, cultural, political, context. But because their body, their thinking which refers to the intimate details, their subjective beings, give them information that questions the traditional structures of patriarchy, they are forced to act upon it and thus open up a new powerful space for the woman. Thus when Urvashi, created from a male conception of the most beautiful woman, is drawn to reflect upon the nature of beauty and of its relationship to dance, she finds that her dancing body takes immense joy in distorting "bhangis" (poses) traditionally, and often from the point of view of male voyeurism, held to represent beauty--this leads her to creating an alternative concept of beauty and the beautiful dance from a womanist perspective. I find the particular realism of womanist epistemology located in the very groundedness of the woman's mode of knowing. Knowledge comes from lived experience, with the feet planted in the ground, not from abstract ratiocination.

Narayan's statements bring up another feature of feminist epistemology--that of the cognitive aspect of emotions, which criticizes the traditional Dumb View of the emotions as impediments to knowledge. As Jaggar (1989) explains, the thrust of much feminist theory has been to "define or identify emotions not by the quality or character of the physiological sensation that may be associated with them but rather by their intentional aspect, the associated judgement" (Jaggar, 1989, p. 149). Thus, for Draupadi, the emotional recognition of horror at what her body's confusion has just revealed to her--the contiguity of her marriages and her disrobing--leads her to question her traditional values and leads her to a new sphere of knowing.

However, there is a difference in the "position of intimacy" that Forte (1988) calls the hallmark of Western feminist performance and where the intimacy seems to me to be located in the subaltern context. According to Forte (1988), "Rather than masking the self, women's performance is born from self-revelation as a political move" (p. 224). It is perfectly true that women performers challenge the symbolic order when they assert their own selves as knowing and articulating subjects and defy the patriarchal construction of discourse. However, in a situation where the feminine body, and particularly the performing feminine body, has been subject to relentless tabooing and reconstructing, through the process of colonization, national cultural revivalism, and the creation of a new national identity through the woman's body, the personal authorship and self-revelation does not work quite in the same mode. The woman dancer, here, is outside yet within the tradition of the "devadasi"--the dancing woman, whose sexual morals did not sit well with the new English-educated, Catholicism-influenced, "bhadralok" (genteel) community of Indian intelligensia, and who had therefore to be banished from the temple precincts. The devadasi's body was metaphorically desiccated by this rude rejection and by the laws that made her lineage an illegality, while her dance was arrogated by the nationalists and "cleansed" to be representative of "high" Indian culture. In order to re-

find their lost bodies, contemporary Indian dancers who believe in avant-garde performance and in feminism, have almost necessarily to speak through reinterpretations of myth and mythology. It is almost as if we find ourselves and our empowerment more accessible in referring back through tradition to myth, as if knowledge of self is mediated through inhabiting the bodies of our ancestors, whose bodies were not ravaged by centuries of patriarchal exploitation, by colonization, and the ensuing political agenda. This does not obliterate the active authorship, because none of these mythical figures are presented without a twist in the original conception. The self is revealed through the reinterpretation of myth in the light of avant-garde feminism, which often sets the traditional conception on its head. For me, this clearly signals a feminist moment which I enact by going beyond the logos or the written text, the tradition, to dig up the "untext" to re-tell the mythical story.

Personally, I believe this is one of the most potent spaces of Indian avant-garde dance: it opens up possibilities for Brecht's Verfremdungseffeckt, for deconstructing what has remained a social construct for years. Diamond (1988) defines this cornerstone of Brechtian theory as "the technique of defamiliarizing a word, an idea, a gesture so as to enable the spectator to see or hear it afresh...The A-effect consists of turning an object from something ordinary and immediately accessible into something peculiar, striking, and unexpected" (In Diamond, 1988, p. 84). Particularly with reference to my piece, I chose to re-interpret myths so as to upset traditional conceptions. Thus, an unexpected idea is brought into the familiar story of Draupadi when her curse is seen as happening as a result of her breaking out of the protected bridal space into a space where she is self-empowered and decides to take matters into her own hand instead of relying on her husbands. I tried to work in the same way idiomatically: the dance is stripped of all but two anthropological hand gestures (as opposed to the decorative "mudra"), the "lingam" and the "yoni", the male and female phallic symbols. While I use them to signify marriage, I use them in conjunction with body movements which suggest appropriation, ownership, force, thereby setting up a tension with the traditional virtues associated with marriage. My idea was to suggest that the lovely, young bride who submits all of herself to her husband because she has been instructed to do so, in fact becomes an unwitting agent in the patriarchal structure, where her body and mind will be subjected to some kind of rape or violence.

One of my basic agendas in this piece was to work towards dis-membering the fetishized female body (representing, therefore, not-woman-in-herself) and to posit in its stead a reconstituted, whole female body, woman-as-she-sees-herself. I had already seen, with Diamond, the possibilities inherent in an intertextual reading of Brechtian and feminist theories for "If feminist theory sees the body as culturally mapped and gendered, Brechtian historicization insists that this body is not a fixed essence but a site of struggle and change" (Diamond, 1988, p. 89). I found optimum scope for exploring this concept in choreographing the section on Urvashi. As she is represented in sculpture, painting, and literature, in traditionally "feminine" poses of adorning or dancing, she connotes the perfect fetish, what Mulvey (1975) calls "to-be-looked-at-ness" (p. 434). Urvashi, by actively distorting and deconstructing these poses and finding a new kind of beauty in movements and gestures she creates, experiences freedom not only in her dancing body, but also in her stance of "looking-at-and-reacting-to-being-looked-at-ness."

In conclusion I will explore some of my significant experiences during the creation of this piece. To recapitulate briefly the setting of this piece, Draupadi, the central female figure in the Hindu epic Mahabharata, was married to Arjuna, the second of the five Pandava brothers, who was successful in a contest among many warriors and princes who desired to marry her. As she was brought home by the five brothers, their mother Kunti, hearing their footsteps, unwittingly called out that, as always, the brothers should share equally among themselves

whatever they had brought home--not realizing that this day the Pandavas had brought home, not food, but a person. Because the mother's sacred word cannot be ignored, Draupadi is consequently married to all five brothers. It is interesting to mention in this context that in the last pilgrimage the Pandavas and Draupadi undertake at the end of their lives--the story with which the Mahabharata ends--she is the first to fall. Strangely enough, Yudhisthira, the eldest of the Pandava brothers and "Dharma" (wisdom) incarnate, can only attribute her falling to the inequality of her love for her husbands--she had loved Arjuna the most. Certainly it seems but natural that she should have loved that husband the most, marriage with whom she had entered into with full consent. For me this became one of the key points in choreographing this piece, for if she had loved Arjuna the most, her marriages to the other four brothers could have at best been unwillingly acquiesced in.

However, in a tradition where the ceremony of marriage is predicated upon practices where the husband vows before the sacred fire to feed, clothe, and protect his wife all through his life, the feeling engendered by marriage is most often one of security. Draupadi must have felt enclosed within a protective space with five husbands to protect her. However, this feeling of security is turned on its head, when in a game of dice with the Kauravas, the arch enemies of the Pandavas, Yudhisthira, gambles everything, including his brothers and Draupadi, away. When Draupadi is summoned before the open court, she sends the servant back saying that she was in her period and could not appear in public. Then Duhshashan, the youngest Kaurava brother comes to force her to follow instructions and Draupadi, in terrible anger, asks the crucial question--if Yudhisthira had already sold himself and was no longer in possession of anything, how could he stake her freedom? She receives no answer as she is dragged by her hair into the open court by Duhshashan and as he, directed by Duryodhan, the eldest Kaurava, attempts to disrobe her and dishonour her in public. Draupadi's friend, however, is Lord Krishna, and he prevents this from happening by extending her garment endlessly: the more Duhshashan pulls off, the more fabric appears. In the midst of this, Duryodhan exposes his thigh to Draupadi suggesting that he, not her husbands, could truly fulfill her sexual desires. Ultimately, Duhshashan is exhausted from the effort and Draupadi is still fully clothed. The inability of the Pandava brothers to protect their wife has been attributed to the fact that their hands were tied: they had been sold themselves and could not legally go against the conditions of the dice game. But was not the vow taken before the fire more sacred? Could it have truly been circumvented by a set of conditions agreed to in a game of dice? Or was it fear of transgressing a pact agreed upon by men?

At any rate, Draupadi then vows dreadful revenge: she curses Duhshashan, saying that she will leave her hair untied till the day she can wash it on his spilt blood, and she curses Duryodhana, saying that his death will come with the shattering of the very thigh he had exposed to her.

In this particular piece, much of the action happens in Draupadi's mind as it moves from a projection into the future, when her dishonour shall be avenged, her curses will fulfill themselves, to the past, to a remembrance of her marriages, to the undying memory of the disrobing--a psychological rape. The piece begins with her imaginary realization of her curse: she exults at the sight of spilt blood, of her gory hands, of her blood-steeped hair, and at last, she can touch her body and feel herself reconstituted. From this moment memory swings her back to the past: as she relives her marriages and the reassurances of love and protection, she is seized by a terrible anger at the futility of these, and her remembrance of the disrobing is followed by a furious breaking of the illusory protected space surrounding her. In effect, Draupadi has to look after herself, inspite of the veneer of multiple layers of "protection." For me, she can only empower herself to avenge her insult when she has been able to break out of this illusion of "protected space." Choreographically this happens when she has struggled to

her feet after the attempted disrobing: she suddenly realizes that all of this has happened in a court filled with people respected patriarchs of her household none of whom has prevented her shame. Out of her utter shock at his realization comes her breaking of this illusive space bubble: the "yoni" splits apart. Only then, once this space has been shattered, can Draupadi step forward to take charge of her own life. She steps to the edge of the Kaurava realm and curses her brother-in-law. Her process of empowerment begins once she has broken out of this patriarchal protection: she realizes she has to rely on herself to avenge the terrible crime perpetrated upon her.

But it is after she has uttered her curse and begins to move away from the memory of that entire episode that the present jolts her into a realization because her body collides the two compartmentalized concepts of marital sexuality and the psychological rape of the disrobing. This is the moment when Draupadi really has to assume agency, not for avenging her dishonour within a patriarchal scheme of things, but because, after this realization she is now irrevocably changed. She is forced to question the value of her "lajja" (literally shame, metaphorically that-which-prevents-shame, garments), which at this point becomes symbolic of all its traditional associations with marriage, notions of female sexuality. The question is complex and Draupadi does not resolve it: she is left, after a series of oscillations discarding the symbolic veil and clutching it back, pondering even as the veil lies at her feet. Draupadi's dilemma is mine, and that of many Indian women in my generation: How do we strip off the skins of history?

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WHO PAYS THE PIPER, WHO CALLS THE TUNE?

Hilary Crampton

"If we are to understand the role that art plays in the construction of consent, we must examine the range of institutional forces that act upon culture, and discover the ways they work together" (Bolton 12).

This quote from an article by Richard Bolton provides the rationale for this paper which attempts to demonstrate the complex dialectic that exists between artist, patron and public taste. It considers how cultural manifestations (in this instance dance) are used to gain credibility and consent from the populace at large for the agendas of the powerful few and how the bestowal of patronage reflects upon the patron legitimizing their actions and in turn influencing public taste.

While in contemporary democratic societies we pay lip service to notions of equality nobody would seriously argue that all share equally in the distribution of power or wealth. How then do those who hold power legitimize that power and gain acceptance. In an extensive article on the relationship between the avant-garde and corporate support Richard Bolton suggests that "a crucial part of legitimacy is gained in the cultural sphere" (12).

An examination of what dance receives patronage also begs the question as to why certain aesthetic elements and dance genres established at a time and in a cultural and political context far distant from those of either contemporary Australia or the United States could still be considered dominant even though the patrons who support those values may occupy a very different position in a very different society to their progenitors. Anthropologist Mary Douglas writes:

> The instituted community blocks personal curiosity, organizes public memory, and heroically imposes certainty on uncertainty. In marking its own boundaries it affects all lower level thinking, so that persons realize their own identities and classify each other through community affiliation. (102)

By considering how patronage is reflected in the distribution of funding within the dance world we might come to recognize how old thought patterns in new guise reinforce certain long held values. Those values are maintained through a process of subtle coercion by which means "power works through the cultural sphere to control dissent" (Bolton 12).

Historically patronage has ranged from the genuinely altruistic to the politically repressive, from the single enlightened connoisseur to the mega-corporation which exercises choice

through its marketing department. In this paper I use the term "patronage" fairly broadly to cover all forms of support for dance that are typically described as contributed or unearned income. This therefore includes patronage both royal and aristocratic, direct government funding, commissioning from any sources, corporate sponsorship and philanthropic contributions from both corporate and private sources. It does not include box office patronage as my hypothesis is that the primary forms of patronage define and therefore limit what options the box office patron may have to choose from.

Bolton writes "those with power in a society will strive to create a culture that reflects their interests and aims" (12). By allying themselves with and supporting those artists deemed to be outstanding, by appearing to condone not only the established but also the new, the innovative, even the apparently critical, those in power "frame alternatives and contain opportunities, to win and shape consent, so that the granting of legitimacy to the dominant classes appears not only 'spontaneous' but natural and normal" (Clark et al in Bolton 12).*

Patrons of the visual arts have been able to objectify the return received for money spent. The work of art upon the wall is a very tangible manifestation of the benefits derived from patronage. Music, literature and theatre have all metamorphosed into marketable commodities through the mediums of audio print and film or video. Dance has been less easily translatable into product. Even the advent of video has only generated a limited pool of connoisseur consumers.

So what attracts patrons to dance? The patron of dance buys an alliance and association with a culturally defined and accepted physical ideal. The specific form of that ideal may change somewhat through history or differ according to culturally specific preferences. Deborah Jowitt in her book *Time and the Dancing Image* describes the dominant ideal in present day American and Australian society.

> The dancer, like athlete and acrobat, presents speed, equilibrium, coordination, limberness, strength - human attributes that, although within the reach of almost everybody, rarely combine as excellently in life as we'd like them to. But because the dancer is not limited by the athlete's concrete purposes and the acrobat's single-minded focus, he or she more freely presents us with an ideal vision of ourselves. (366)

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* Clark et al. "Subcultures, Cultures and Class," in Resistance Through Rituals: Youth subculture in post-war Britain, ed. Stuart Hall and tony Jefferson. London: Hutchinson and CCCS. 1976).

A brief excursion through history reveals the relationship between patronage of the performing arts and desirable public image. For the Great Dionysia, a festival of drama central to Athenian culture in the fifth century B.C., responsibility for financing the presentation of the plays of selected writers was delegated to wealthy citizens who fulfilled a civic duty by undertaking to pay for items essential to the national economy. The role of *choregos* brought with it significant prestige and a high public profile during the festival which was attended not only by virtually the entire Athenian population but also by visitors from far and wide. The presentation of the dramatic aspects of the festival took the form of a competition with victory accorded by public acclaim.

> The ceremonial crowning of playwright, *choregos*, and (after 449 B.C.) actor was performed by the *archon* before the entire audience as a fitting climax to the festival. The crown and an inscription in official records gave evidence of the favor of the god and bestowed an honor similar to that of a victory in the Olympic games. (Walton 71)

Given the apparent centrality and popularity of these events in the life of Greek society, to have one's name attached to a successful presentation could be considered equivalent to naming rights on a prime time television blockbuster featuring the three tenors.

Moving on from ancient Greece we next turn to the spectacles of the Renaissance princes, and the extroardinary extravaganzas that eventually evolved into the ballet. History records that Lorenzo de Medici, a noted patron and lover of the arts, could move freely between the idioms of popular and courtly culture. With the emergence of the professional dancing masters who came from the lower classes the appropriation and adaptation of popular dance to accord with courtly customs became commonplace. In transferring popular to court, the dance inevitably underwent a transformation to accommodate the values of courtly life, influenced by clothing, etiquette and venue. The refined form was reflected back to the populace as an example not only of wealth and power but also, by extension, as something to aspire to, a code of bearing and behaviour that exemplified social status, offering a code of acceptable behaviour to be aped by the upwardly aspiring middle classes.

We are all familiar with Louis XIV's indulgence in the ballet. Noted art critic Robert Hughes writes the "joining of a more than Roman *gravitas* to an insatiable desire for glory made him the central motif of French social myth and so of French culture. He was hailed as the new Caesar Augustus, the bringer of a literal golden age of peace and wealth" (Hughes 38). In his role as the Sun King in *Le Ballet de la Nuit* he became a symbol of benign power, restoring light and banishing evil. The presentation of the ballet not only within the courts but

also within the city square, provided the general populace with a vicarious opportunity to share in the glory. The extension of the spectacle into revels with apparently free mixing between courtiers and lesser citizens lends credence to Bolton's notion that "[c]ulture provides the ruling class with subtle opportunities to enter the public imagination, with ways to legitimate the agendas of the ruling class by associating them with the 'universal' human spirit" (12).

Only certain styles of dance in a variety of cultures have received royal patronage. The list includes classical ballet in its original manifestation in the French court continuing into the 19th and 20th century in Denmark and Russia. Prior to colonisation the ruling families of Hawaii known as the *Alii* supported the training in and presentation of *Hula* for religious and state functions.

Today in the pages of travel brochures we are offered tantalising glimpses of exotic Asian dance styles showing images of Indian, Thai, Balinese and Javanese dance whose origins are in court and temple, many of them bearing the title of "classical" or "royal". All of these styles are highly refined and codified. Those performers who are recognized as outstanding exemplify culturally constructed ideals of physical beauty imposed from above through the values of the privileged and the powerful. In particular within these styles the images of women exemplify the ideals of sweetness, charm, submissiveness and silence. In many instances under past regimes the dancers were quite literally the property of the reigning monarch. Long after the disappearance of royalty as any real force in government or politics these forms of dance are still being utilised by governments as vehicles for cultural diplomacy and as exemplifications of cultural identity.

In some instances traditional forms in colonised cultures have been appropriated and distorted to fit romanticised notions of the "exotic other". *Hula*, has been corrupted according to the values of the invading culture to fulfill Hollywood fantasies of Pacific paradise maidens. As a result of global dissemination through the medium of film this corrupted image has now become the dominant one. The economic imperative of the tourist dollar has made a commodity of traditional forms prescribing an artistic product against which the new and the critical have difficulty competing. Have you ever seen an travel poster showing contemporary Indian dance or ancient *Hula*? Yet these forms exist and are valued by both artists and the cultures from which they arise.

In other instances dance has been accorded state patronage as a blatant vehicle for promoting particular political ideologies. In his drive to unite the vast Chinese masses under the banner of Communism Mao Tse-Tung provided substantial support for the performing arts, maintaining an already established tradition

of using them as a means of educating the largely illiterate peasant populace and of changing social consciousness. Many of you will have seen photographs from *The Red Detachment of Women* which are a graphic example of the impact of control on artistic content. Similar examples could be quoted from those works choreographed in post-revolutionary Russia. Only those works that were "ideologically sound" received offical sanction. What is remarkable is the fact that in both the USSR and the People's Republic of China the ballet, whose origins were most decidely in the courts of the aristocracy, maintained a high level of support. The ideological differences were conveniently disregarded. Ballet was appropriated in turn by the newly powerful.

The development of the arts council model since the 1950s in Great Britain, Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand was an attempt to provide a mechanism for support for the arts predicated on the notion of a political ideology of freedom of expression. This model offered a means of allocating funds that avoided the imposition of individual taste on a national culture. An important feature of this form of support is that of "'peer review', the involvement of artists and those associated with the arts in decision making" (Australia House of Reps.49)

The particular model developed in the United States is based on a principle of "matching" funds which originally meant that for every dollar given directly by the Federal Government through the National Endowment for the Arts, the recipient was expected to attract an equivalent or greater amount from private or corporate sources. It is a model that seems to me to offer mixed blessings for on the one hand it offers the possibility of a distanced, objective allocation of funds, while on the other hand it demands an association with the marketplace which tends to impose a degree of conservatism or a demand for popular appeal.

It is clear that only those artists and styles that attract large audiences are likely to also attract significant corporate sponsorship, for sponsors look for exposure to a large market. There are those that believe that this is at odds with the ways that arts function, potentially undermining their impact by replacing symbolic and spiritual value with that of the commodity. As Robert Hughes writes "[art's] social reach is smaller than that of the mass media, and it finds the grounds for its survival in being what the mass media are not" (15).

I have spoken extensively with policy makers and artists. While the policy makers like to believe that policies on arts funding impose no constraint or undue direction upon artistic practice or content many artists have expressed the view that the pressure to maintain a company and to get support for their

work can subtly influence methods of practice if not actual content.

Perhaps one of the most creative responses to the pressures of funding was that undertaken by David Gordon and his Pick Up Co., in the "United States" project. Even after many years as a noted choreographer and receiver of significant awards, Gordon's work is still considered difficult to classify, and not easy to sell. By an ingenious linking of artistic vision to target audiences and local presenters he and his producer came up with an idea that attracted an unprecedented number of presenters prepared to support the work through the formation of a mega-consortium.

> The epic "United States" project grew out of an offhand remark of Mr. Gordon's. The traditional Western "swing" music he was using...Mr. Gordon told his producer, was interesting him in exploring "music that makes geographic reference." Ms. Dissette mulled that over, brainstormed with a couple of presenters, and came up with the "United States" concept: An evolving series of place-inspired pieces, with the order and selection of the segments shifting to suit the locale of the presenters (Lambert A12).

Whether or not this work was considered a critical or artistic success, what does seem clear is that it was certainly market driven to a significant degree with, it would seem, as much creative imagination going into developing support as into the actual dance.

Australia does not have a strongly established culture of private and corporate philanthropy and sponsorship, although all levels of government are making very strong noises about the desirability of shifting the onus for support onto such sources. Unfortunately the government does not seem to recognize that a culture of private and corporate giving needs to be fostered through incentives and leadership. What corporate funding does exist is only applied to dance companies or events that offer a high profile in the larger population centres. Dance North, a small regionally based contemporary dance company with an excellent reputation was offered substantial support through the Foreign Affairs Department to tour to Vietnam. However, despite an extensive campaign seeking matching support from the private sector, the company was repeatedly turned down. The reason given was that because its home base is outside the major population centres it does not provide a sufficiently attractive profile (Stock 27 May 93).

With the impact of the current economic recession sponsors are being extremely selective, choosing vehicles that will most suit their own desired outcomes. The relationship seems to be

more strongly influenced by market values than by artistic values. In a 1992 interview Australian consultant Dr. Peter Sheldrake said "companies are no longer spreading their sponsorship over several projects but are concentrating on one major sponsorship. 'This way they are assured of more control and more sustained exposure'"(Synnott 6).

In addition to the established forms of government funding already mentioned there are occasional one-off initiatives from other sources such as the Green Mill Dance Project. This festival was developed in response strongly articulated needs in a number of State and Federal reviews on support for dance in Australia. With an election imminent the Victorian State Premier was prepared to offer a significant amount of seeding money to assist a project which had the potential to attract favourable publicity. Needless to say this did not come without strings attached for implicit in the offer was an expectation of a popular, high profile event. The question for the board was whether we could run such an event without compromising the artistic ideals of the original proposal, and without placing ourselves at considerable financial risk. As a new, different, and untried event on the performing arts calendar we had very little clout to pull in any significant sponsorship. We somehow managed to achieve an effective compromise that satisfied our professional needs and fulfilled the expectations of both the previous and the new government. However, there is no question that if the project had not achieved a satisfactory public profile the board would have born the responsibility not those who funded the project and the credibility of the dance community would have suffered a serious setback in the state of Victoria.

With the entry of corporate funding into support for the arts the power of the market place is assuming an ever more dominant role. While to impoverished artists the dollars offered must seem desirable, the implications for their work according to both Richard Bolton and Robert Hughes should be regarded with caution. For the marketplace brings with it "the victory of promotion over connoisseurship, the manufacture of art-related glamour..." (Hughes 7).

As part of their funding agreement corporations not infrequently link the objects of their patronage with their own products in extensive advertising campaigns. Unlike the arts events which, for the most part, will only be seen by a relatively limited number of people, the corporate advertising will be widely disseminated. The images they choose and the messages allied with those images subtly impose and reinforce specific values not only about the products being advertised but also about dance.

Even where alternative or avant garde artists are the subject of support and advertising, the net effect is to create a market value for those artists, to turn them into a consumable

commodity that diffuses the impact of their critique and creates an alliance between the potentially critical values of the artist and the market values of the sponsor. In appropriating the critical and incorporating it into their own image, corporations have converted critical practice "into an aestheticized version of politics....the "progressive" avant-garde has been brought into harmony with the "progressive" form of the commodity and the "progressive" structure of late capitalism" (Bolton 17).

A further extension of marketplace appropriation has been the increasing appropriation of dance for advertising purposes without even the reciprocation of some form of funding or support for the art form. Almost inevitably, the images and styles utilised are drawn from the conservative (and often elite) or the commercially popular elements of the spectrum. Where any attempt is made to go beyond the conventional it is almost inevitably related to a wish to appeal to an alternative market.

In looking at the evidence one has to ask whether artists who wish to present an alternative or critical view have any hope of making their presence felt. As suggested at the beginning of this paper artists need to recognize the complexity of forces that act upon them if they hope to create a space for a dance that is not commodified. To understand how public memory is organized is to open up the possibility of disorganizing it or of developing another organizational base.

It is clear that the arts and dance in particular cannot function without some patronage. It seems to me that for all its flaws the arms length, peer review process has enabled the development of policies rather than the imposition of individual taste. This creates a space for two very important factors in support of the arts:

1) the opportunity for artists across the spectrum of dance practice to have a voice in policy development and funding allocation; and

2) a commitment to support for the innovative and the critical, no matter how small that support may seem.

In the United States dance artists have consistently found ways to develop and present their work, albeit on a budget that most accountants would consider grounds for declaring themselves bankrupt. Initiatives such as the National Performance Network that have largely come from artists themselves provide a means for attracting public attention and further support.

In Australia the dance community is at last developing a political profile and defining how it wishes to be supported and to be seen. The Green Mill Dance Project was one such

example, and has injected a real energy boost into the dance community.

While Robert Hughes writes that "the United States has no dominant cultural institutions that are not tied into the market" (19) Richard Bolton suggests that to assume there are no alternatives is to give way to "chic nihilism..." (18).

He urges that:

> ...we should insist that there are times when possibility is created, when critical spaces are created that, while not outside the constraints of the present, still point to a different future. The marketplace is not automatically safe from challenge. Instead, the market must win consent; it does this by creating the belief that there is nothing outside the marketplace. Thus one can work to subvert the commodity, or one can choose to accept its limits. The former approach offers the possibility of constructing alternative experience and social change. The latter view cannot help but serve the status quo (18).

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THE ROLE OF DANCE PRESENTERS: ARE WE SOCIAL WORKERS OR POWER BROKERS?

Dena Davida

The elementary school teacher, a student of mine in an arts' certificate program in Quebec, was attending her second contemporary dance concert. After scribbling diligent notes for some time, she suddenly leaned over and whispered fervently that question. "I am beginning to understand all of this," she said,"but how do know if it's good?"

"What a question!" I responded. "Save it for the next class, and we'll work on it together." At our next meeting the teachers and I discussed the various processes through which our contemporary theatrical dances acquire value. "Who decides which dances are valuable?" I asked. A short silence. And then they began to realize that unlike the folk and social dances with which they were already familiar, the value of these artistic dances cannot be taken for granted. Various groups of people form judgments based on their personal taste and views, and each one's approval builds a consensus of credibility for the choreographer. We all agreed that opinions are offered by audiences, critics and historians, private sponsors, public funders and other artists. No one knew about the critical role of presenters, whose influence has become pervasive in the international dance community. It is largely these people whose personal vision and aesthetic taste determine which dances will be seen, where and by whom, and in some cases even which dances will be made.

Contemporary dance presenters might perceive themselves as working artists, arts administrators or historians, educators, or arts enthusiasts. They range from self-employed entrepreneurs to full time-institutional employees. Their business cards read variously: impresario, artistic director, promoter, programmer, curator. And like many other professionals, most of these presenters participate in national and international networks, conferences and performing arts trade fairs. In India I understand that much of the dance presenting is state sanctioned. The government itself organizes tours for the artists they choose, and even selects the audience members through a system of personal invitations. In France the contemporary dance programmers call themselves *Les décideurs de la danse.* Closely linked to the national cultural ministry, they are quite literally Those Who Make the Decisions

for Dance. In England, where presenters keep a cautious distance from funders and artists are judged by their peers, they tend to ally themselves with the *dance animateur* movement, with its mission to implant dance deeply into community centers, local theaters and schools. (Tolley, 1988). In 1992 I attended two annual gatherings of both large and small scale US presenters. To my mind, these US networks seem preoccupied with the challenges of generating activities that assure financial viability, social relevance and support artists' career development. While in Canada we are merely a handful of geographically isolated individuals who have lobbied for the status of dance curators--knowledgeable purveyors of taste working for the betterment of the Canadian dance community.

I am a Canadian dance presenter (U.S. born) and consider myself to be a kind of hybrid dance specialist. I practice and teach dance and analyze dances. I also devote over twenty-five hours a week to selecting, organizing, and soliciting funding for a full season of concerts by various dance groups and persuading audiences to attend performances. This combination of occupations has led me to adopt the view that contemporary theatrical dance is an ephemeral medium which acquires value and crystallizes its meaning at the moment when it is performed for a public. (This is of course the very definition of "performing arts".) And so I have devoted my time to creating this meeting of the dancer and the dance viewer under the best possible circumstances.

My influence on Quebec choreography is the result of the role I play as artistic director of the Tangente dance laboratory space and as one of the programming directors of the world class *Festival international de nouvelle danse* (FIND). These two presenting organizations are responsible for organizing the majority of dance performances in Montreal. (It is possible for artists to work outside of this system, and some do, but at the peril of plunging into personal debt.) They illustrate two opposing approaches to presenting, though it is true that they cross purposes at several points. While Tangente operates like an informal dance community organization, the festival strives to take its place among the top cultural industries in the world. A short portrait of each reveals some of the dynamics of their role in creating value and meaning for theatrical dances in the case of Montreal.

Tangente began, like many other dance spaces, as a choreographer's collective. Twelve years after our precarious foundation, we are still a small-scale laboratory theater with a modest

budget, but are now comfortably housed in a beautiful new dance complex. Our season is thirty-four weeks long and accommodates the performances and some rehearsals of about fifty choreographer's new works. We still offer workshops, panels, improvisational events, and rehearsals. Tangente provides these services to choreographers at all stages of their development, but particularly during the risky early years and turning points. We characterize ourselves as a performance space, service organization and documentation center. A booking at Tangente provides the first professional credit for the majority of local choreographers. We offer them free space, technical and publicity assistance and a small guaranteed fee. I favor work that I feel is experimental, powerful and unique, and try to maintain an eclectic mix of aesthetics. The architecture of the new dance building is a Victorian/post-modern fusion, and provides a tasteful artistic ambiance as audiences enter. Audiences remain small and somewhat ingrown. Though audience development is a presently a priority, contemporary dance stubbornly retains the reputation for the Quebec population of being inaccessible and uninteresting. Low ticket prices and off-beat publicity images position the performances as intimate and experimental. People are greeted warmly in the lobby by a staff member, given a program with an artists' statement and biography, and a kiosk display offers a glimpse of choreographers' notes and writing. As audience enters the space, there is no curtain, but ninety bright blue seats and a stage that is narrow and deep. A second floor café provides an informal meeting place for audience to chat.

The festival is in its eighth year and fifth manifesttaion (we recently shifted from bi-annual to annual). The budget has hit the two million mark, with 500,000$ alone spent on marketing. Quebecois in the last decade have grown enormously fond of their festivals, and the air of celebration they offer. The festival is nearly the only contemporary dance event that attracts the public on a large scale, and audiences expect to see the "best contemporary companies in the world". For a local choreographer, needless to say, being chosen by the festival programmers (I am one of three) is the highest form of approval one can receive locally. A large corps of (over 150) international presenters attend the festival to prospect for new choreographies. Artists presented on one of the eight mainstages can expect all of their expenses for the performing event to be paid by the festival and its co-sponsors, and a guaranteed artists' fee at the market level value of their reputation and ability to attract audiences. Each performance is framed with elegant personnel, programs and wine-and-cheese receptions. Festival director Chantal Pontbriand has established the festival as a

powerful lobby for contemporary dance and the highest form of sanction for Quebec choreographers.

Anthropologist Joann Kealiinohomoku must have been thinking of contemporary dance presenters when she wrote in 1976 "Every society that embraces the concept of Dance [as an institution, a specialization] provides sanctions for appropriate audiences, and it provides mechanisms for that concept of Dance to be manifested...". (Kealiinohomoku, 1976) In other words, wherever professional dance exists, there will also be dance venues, audiences, critics and all manner of other dance personnel. And so it has become self-evident that in twentieth-century theatrical dance the choreographer creates the dance and the dance presenter creates the dance event. But it is still widely unknown that it is this small, powerful group of dance presenters whose aesthetic priorities and cultural mandates largely determine the value of contemporary theatrical dances.

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KINESIC CONVERSATIONS:

STATEMENTS ABOUT IDENTITY AND WORLDVIEW IN APPALACHIAN DANCE

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Introduction

I remember as a child visiting my grandparents in Canton, North Carolina. We would often have supper with my father's best friend, Charles Duckett, and his family. These gatherings had a predictable structure--after eating and talking about old times, Dr. Duckett would ask his daughter, Sally, to dance for us. Shy yet proud, she would always say, "but I don't have any music," feigning reluctance. Each time we all responded by humming a tune like "Down Yonder" in chorus while clapping and tapping our feet to make "music" for her. Sally would move to the center of the kitchen and dance to the tune, patting out each note with her feet. Sometimes other siblings and even my father would join in. He would lean forward at the waist a bit, bend his legs at the knee, hyperextend his back ever so slightly, and move his feet--just barely lifting them off the ground--shuffling in time with our mouth music. He and the other dancers would imitate each other, trading off footwork in a call and response fashion.

I remember how special Sally was within our group--a child who was able to command the attention of all these adults, just because she could dance. The multifaceted importance of this dance intrigued me. My father and his friends called it "buckdance." Later at social dances in the area I learned about freestyle clogging, a marriage between percussive footwork and big circle square dancing. I was determined to learn these dances that opened doors to local acceptance and even respect. I remember absorbing an understanding of the dance rhythms through my partners' hands, gradually developing my own footwork style. I also remember the thrill that I felt one evening when, finally, I was asked to join four other virtuoso "buckdancers" as they showed off for each other inbetween dance sets. I had made it, I had arrived[1]. Years later, when I enrolled in graduate school at Indiana University, I heard about a local clogging group and was very excited about joining. But to my surprise, the precision clogging I encountered in this group differed radically from the improvised footwork I associated with the term "clogging."

While visiting my friends back in North Carolina, they told me about other dancers near Asheville who had also adopted this newer style of precision dancing. Locals nicknamed this new dance "flatland" clogging. My academic curiosity was piqued by the range and differences associated with this constellation of dance forms. What was the significance of this formal variation? Why were freestyle and buck dancers often disturbed by precision clogging? What did this dance complex as a whole mean to the inhabitants of Haywood County? And, finally, what role did the dances play in their lives? In probing further, I realized that

these dances had many levels of meaning; that the practitioners of these dances were in fact carrying on a kinesic dialogue abou regional values and identity.

Since 1981 I have conducted research in the Haywood County area of North Carolina interviewing dozens of dancers, participating in and observing public social dances, private house dances and competitions. I chose this county not only because of its reputation as a hotbed of traditional dance, but also because my father was raised there, in the papermill town o: Canton; I have drawn on his knowledge of the area and my own dance experiences to aid my research.

In the following pages I hope to convey not only the technical details of these dances, but also the meaning that eac dance has for its constituency, the statement that each dancer i making about his or her identity. I also want readers to consider the connections between this recent proliferation of Southern Appalachian square dance forms and the overwhelming socio-economic changes in the mountains since the 1920s.

As a trained folklorist, most people expect me to know the "true" origin of things. Unfortunately, the history of using percussive footwork while square dancing is very elusive. Hundreds of years of ethnic exchange has led to a "chicken and egg" conundrum. I doubt that anyone will ever determine the exact lineage of "clogging" or "buckdancing" but they almost certainly are an amalgam of traditional African, British Isles, German, and possibly Native American dance styles[2].

During interviews with dancers I often received unsolicited etiological explanations. The opinions that these dancers expressed about their dance origins are far more important than historic speculations because these stories show the mental association that Haywood Countians make between clogging or buckdance and Appalachian identity. Each dancer's explanation o the dance's heritage is derived from the individual's perception of what it means to be from the Southern Appalachians.

Kyle Edwards perceives the culture as being relatively homogenous;

> Since our community is situated in the remoteness of the Appalachians ... the purity of the old English style remained intact here and was not influenced by western styl dancing until the advent of television.

In contrast, Albert Burnette favors a more pluralistic explanation of mountain dance;

> They called it [mountain dance] "buck and wing" because really it started off, it's an old dance, been handed down through the generations. I guess maybe they call it the buck and wing after maybe the Indians...The Indians used to dance, too, you know. That's a body expression--everybody has it... The Irishman, he does the jig. The Scotsman, he'll do the highland fling. The English people, they taught 'em to do the old Virginia Reel. Lot that came down through the courts of England. They took all that stuff and mixed it up together and when they brought it to the mountains it stayed. They call that just buck and wing dancing.

Despite the fact that Kyle Edwards, Albert Burnette, and the other dancers in Haywood County disagree about the cultural constituents that produced mountain square dance, they are all concerned with the quality and integrity of contemporary performance.

Dance and Tradition

Dance terms, like fiddle tune and quilt names, vary from area to area--the understandings of this community may be different from the understandings of dancers even a few counties away.[3] In confusion, uninformed observers fail to distinguish between precision clogging, freestyle clogging, and buck dance, lumping all dance that involves percussive manipulation of the feet together as "clogging." Many older dancers do not think of themselves as "cloggers" because their style does not have the noise or downward pulse associated with clogging. While older dancers adamantly maintain that "clogging" was not a part of the early dances and that traditional dance was "smooth," it is a mistake to conclude that early dancers did not engage in percussive stepping[4]. Dance hall owner Hazel Bradshaw provided this description of buck dance

> It's just a "feather dance," that's just a little toe dance. You just kind of move from your knees down. The old timers said that when you were a smooth dancer... you could dance with a bucket of water on your head and never spill it... just a real smooth shuffle.

It is amusing to note that, although most people do not distinguish between old style dance and newer forms of clogging, the people who perform each these of dances have very strong opinions about the other regional dance forms. As with distinctions between various protestant religious denominations, features which may seem minor to the uninitiated are crucial to the practitioner.

This proliferation of dance forms is congruent with the many changes that Western North Carolinians have witnessed during the past 70 years as they have become increasingly connected with the non-mountain world: just after the turn of the century summer tourists began to flock to the mountainous area to escape malaria, then this region witnessed massive enlistment during World War II, and road improvements and the advent of electricity in the 1950s and 60s made communication without and within even easier, further initiating a cultural exchange between mountain and non-mountain people. Today, the choice of mountain dance style has become one way for individuals to make a statement about their preferred lifestyle, worldview, and relationship to change.

Ironically enough it is often a confrontation with change that helps us clarify the essence, importance, and meaning of our traditions. Dance, as well as culture in general, must change in order to keep up with the needs of the people. We are constantly figuring out which new cultural options we will embrace or reject. This is one reason why change is often difficult and scary for many people, because it involves a very complicated process of self-examination and re-evaluation.

Comparing the Dance Forms

While buck and freestyle dancing differ radically from precision clogging, all three forms value a still upper torso. This is why Hazel Bradshaw boasts of dancers who can dance with a bucket of water on their heads and not spill a drop[5]. The smoothness is not just part of the aesthetic, it also enables freestyle groups to execute square dance figures[6] smoothly without disrupting the personal step rhythms of fellow dancers. Buckdancers and freestylers value a relaxed attitude in which hands are held loosely and the torso is cushioned by flexing the back, knees, and ankles. In contrast, precision dancers have tensed arms and are often stiff-backed, dancing in an angular fashion with their free hands on their hips--in a manner similar to Irish-American jig dancing.

Buck and freestyle dancers rarely raise their hands above their belt lines. Their arms are still, yet relaxed with what one dancer called a "common swing." The footwork is very subtle and light, as Hazel Bradshaw noted when she described buckdance as a "feather dance" or a "toe dance." The legs are rarely raised more than six inches off the floor and stepping usually stays within the duple meter, although some buckdancers will "double step" triplets. This relatively demure dancing differs radically from the hops, waves, and synchronized stepping of modern precision clogging teams such as the Bailey Mountain Cloggers of Mars Hill College.

Buck and freestyle dance are not bound to a set of standardized steps, such as one encounters in the waltz step or the box step. Although there are step names such as "Georgia Backstep" and "Double Shuffle" (the meaning of which will vary depending on who you ask for a definition), there is no "Basic Step." Each dancer develops his or her own repertoire of percussive foot movements that match their own interpretation of the music. So, in order to learn how to dance traditionally, one must learn first the guidelines of the aesthetic (i.e. keep the torso still, dance with your feet low to the ground) and then develop unique dance movements that do not violate the aesthetic. This method of learning takes many years. Traditional dancers not only internalize "how to" dance, they also develop an individualized movement repertoire that becomes part of their identity--similar to variations in individual speech patterns. No two mountain dancers ever dance alike. However, regional styles or, continuing the speech metaphor, regional dance "accents," do develop.

To the freestyle dancer, "Appalachian Dance" is a beautifully balanced combination of freedom and discipline. The square dancers come together to execute geometrical figures; this is the element of discipline in mountain dance. Yet in freedom of footwork and style the dancers are able to express their individuality. For this reason Kyle Edwards calls traditional style dancing "the freedom dance."

For the participants, the excitement lies in this combination of freedom and group cooperation, in which the accumulation of individual rhythms combine to create cross rhythms within the overall square dance structure. The resulting

feeling is similar to the excitement of hearing a hot jazz ensemble, in which musical improvisation occurs within a chordal structure, creating multiple levels of interaction and meaning. Both types of performance, jazz and freestyle dance, require artists who are skilled and immersed in their traditions, co-participants in structured spontaneity. This interaction between structure and improvisation creates a tension that traditional dancers and audiences find aesthetically appealing.

Cultural and Stylistic Change

Ironically, Haywood County's long standing reputation as a tourist's haven has helped perpetuate traditional dance in addition to encouraging dance style change. While other mountain communities gave up square dance in favor of more urban amusement, Haywood Countians discovered that tourists enjoyed participating in social dances while on vacation. Many social dances or barn dances during the 1940s up until the 1980s were multi-layered events that included strong local followings as well as seasonal tourists. This freestyle form, with its combination of individual improvisation and community structure, was sufficiently flexible to accommodate tourist participants without violating local dancers' relationship to their own community.

The late 1920s witnessed the emergence of freestyle square dance teams[7]. All evidence indicates that before this time dances were purely social in nature and any competition was informal. At the inception of team dancing, there was very little difference between stage performances and social dancing. Early square dancers performed big circle dance sets interspersed with buck dances and the occasional waltz. On the technical level no changes were evident between the early square dance teams and the social square dances--each dancer still had an individualistic footwork style.

Sometime between the mid 1940s and the early 1950s team dancing began to change. These years witnessed the birth of "clogging." For the first time, team costuming became de rigueur. The female clogging costume consisted of fluffy crinoline petticoats which supported dresses with closely tailored bodices and full skirts. This costume was in accordance with fashions of the day, yet, hemlines aside, the basic clogging outfit design has changed very little in the past forty years. The male clogging team members simply wear matching shirts and pants.

With the advent of loud PA systems, concrete flooring, and bluegrass music, dancers began using taps so their feet could be heard on hard floors and above the increased volume. The advent of tap shoes signaled the beginning of clogging as we know it today. Taps profoundly changed the dancers' movements and posture because they only sound good when the music is fast (160 beats per minute or faster) and in order to "work" the taps the body weight must be centered over the heel. By "work" the tap I mean that footwork is designed to make the taps jingle. This resulted in shifting the dancer's center of gravity from the toe to the heel, creating the heavier looking dance style that we

associate with clogging. There are still a few clogging teams that do not require taps, but most cloggers wear them.

Callers in this region typically dance with their teams, belting out a suite[8] of succinct commands for figures that include initial and concluding group patterns and an interim sequence of two couple calls during which dancers progress from couple to couple around the room--like a contra line bent to form a continuous circle. These calls are not pre-ordained, the caller improvises the structure of each dance, drawing formulaic sequences from a commonly-known repertoire of calls[9]. The original clogging teams of the 1950s were all freestyle teams; thus freestyle clogging is often referred to as "traditional clogging" or "Southern Appalachian" clogging.

Precision clogging, a dance that involves two or more people executing the same step at the same time, was reportedly "invented" in the late 1950s by a dance choreographer named James Kesterson who felt that it was time to update and modernize this traditional dance[10]. In this dance the calls and footwork are pre-choreographed down to the last detail, including non-traditional head movements, claps, and arm gestures. Unlike all other forms of mountain dance, the precision clog footwork places an emphasis on speed and technique over individualistic expression. This speed allows precision dancers to show off an almost athletic endurance--in fact Mars Hill College, sponsor for Bailey Mountain Cloggers, offers clogging scholarships along with their other athletic scholarships. When asked what the dance means to them, precision dancers often refer to the dance as a sport or art, playing down the notions of tradition and heritage.

The advent of precision clogging has stimulated a discussion about the role and purpose of dance within the region; many community members describe "traditional" dance with a clarity and verve which would probably not have been possible before increased diversification.

Amazingly enough, all three dance forms now co-exist (albeit not so peacefully) in western North Carolina. Thus, the development and history of dance in this area has been an additive process. Each of my informants had an ardent opinion about the "best" style of dance and described the shortcomings of other styles. Dancer Bob Phillips mentions that his distaste for precision style clogging stems not from any lack of proficiency on the part of precision dancers, rather from the fact that he has a different set of values. He says

> Now they are good I'm not arguing that. It takes a lot of practice and a lot of work and it's difficult and I can't do it. But the point is, the best judge of what the dancers like, what did your daddy or great-grandaddy or mother do? And they were wild and yet they were really subdued in their dance.

In response, precision dancers note that the innovations they have introduced have proved crucial in maintaining the interest of a younger generation.

Dance and Identity: Layers of Meaning

There are many reasons why some people feel compelled to

dance; some of these reasons are obvious, while others are more subtle. Many of my informants stated that they dance because it is fun and it helps to keep them physically fit. This motivation for physical exercise is probably more important today than it was in the past, when most dancers got plenty of exercise while farming. Another obvious reason for dance is that it facilitates non-threatening interaction between unmarried males and females. A less obvious, but clearly articulated aspect of mountain dance is its role as a source of identity for individuals within the community. Mountain dance increases self esteem because it allows an individual to excel and master a skill that is respected by other members of the culture.

I mentioned earlier that freestyle dance entails an interaction between the opposing forces of restraint and freedom. The square dance form itself provides restraint in its overall geometrical structure while individual dancers have freedom of footwork with in the established form. The values of freestyle dance center around the need for a balance between opposing forces of tradition and variation, order and freedom, communalism and individualism. This ability to operate well as an independent person within a larger group effort was undoubtedly crucial to the farming and harvesting of agrarian life.

When precision cloggers choreograph their footwork along with the square dance calls, they alter the traditional balance between individual freedom and community responsibility. Precision dancing's mechanical aesthetic downplays the dancer's personal creativity, emulating mass production--the technical rigor, standardized aesthetics, and precise goals of the twentieth century. Some instruction booklets even refer to precision as "modern" clogging[11]. Where freestyle clogging is experienced-based and participant-oriented, precision clogging is performance-based and audience-oriented. Where freestyle clogging lodges creativity in the individual, precision clogging subsumes individual variation in order to accomplish a visually dramatic, creative group composition.

Dancers in Western North Carolina now have their choice between a variety of dance forms--buck, freestyle, and precision. In deciding how they will dance, they also make a statement about how they relate to the concepts heritage, innovation, tradition, and modernity. Stylistic choice has become a non-verbal statement about the way an individual thinks things "ought" to be[12], about the correlation that should or should not exist between dance, lifestyle, and worldview.

NOTES

1. This type of kinesic learning is common in traditional dance communities. For an excellent definition and description of "dance communities," see Kealiinomoku (1977).

2. See Abrahams (1992--especially chapter four), Szwed and Marks (1988), Matthews (1983), Bradley (1978), Royce (1977), March and Holt (1977), Stearns and Stearns (1964), Smith (1955), and Speck (1951). The Native American connections are the most tenuous, primarily because the research on southeastern Native American social dance is scanty. Cherokees were known to have participated in Soco Gap social dances, even forming their own teams in the 1950s. Some locals speculate that this interaction may account for the animistic movement names, such as "buck" and "wing."

3. See Whisnant (p. 148, footnote #42, 1980), who found that smooth vs. percussive dance traditions in the Candler area of North Carolina differed historically from those in the Soco Gap region. While the Candler area dancers interviewed by Whisnant considered percussive stepping to be a relatively new phenomenon in their town, they did note that percussive stepping had been a part of social dance in Haywood County for as long as they could remember (back to the first part of this century). It is unclea why stepping, or "cutting a dido," was part of Haywood's dance heritage and not part of dance in nearby Candler. Perhaps percussive steps were retained in the more remote mountains of Haywood while discarded in Candler, which is located closer to the cosmopolitan city of Asheville. Perhaps nearby Cherokee dancers influenced Haywood's percussive dance traditions. In an event, the Candler dancers' statements have been erroneously use to assert that percussive stepping--by whatever name--was not originally part of mountain dance traditions.

4. "Smooth" is a relative term that can be used by mountain dancers as either an adjective to describe dance quality or as a proper noun, "Smooth Dance," to describe a dance competition category that has been developed within the past 50 years. When I interviewed Gertrude Plott Welch, who was a member of the legendary Soco Gap dance group that performed in the 1920s and '30s, she repeatedly stressed that they did a "real smooth step" and did not "clog" while square dancing. Curious, I asked her t show me how they used to dance. She proceeded to demonstrate a repeating percussive step pattern that was close to the ground.

5. See Abrahams (p. 97, 1992) for connections between buckdance descriptions and early African-American "struts." His sources also describe dancing with buckets of water on their heads.

6. A "figure" is a sequence of movements that the dancers do together, such as "all join hands and circle left" or "allemande left."

7. See Whisnant (1980) for more information about Bascom Lamar Lunsford and his role in the development of dance teams.

8. For a discussion of dance "suites," see Szwed and Marks (1988).

9. This improvisational approach to calling is similar to earlier observations about the use of formulae in epic singing, African-American preaching, and other forms of narrative composition. For an introduction to the oral-formulaic theory of composition, see Lord (1960).

10. See March and Holt (1977).

11. See Callahan and Austin (1972).

12. For more on the relationship between values and folklife, see Glassie (1983).

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DANCE AS COMMUNITY IDENTITY AMONG SELECTED BERBER NATIONS OF MOROCCO
FROM the ETHEREAL and SUBLIME to the EROTIC and SEXUAL

by CAROLINA VARGA DINICU ("MOROCCO")

I. GUEDRA: SPREADING SOUL'S LOVE & PEACE to the BEAT of the HEART

In a nomadic society, what can be carried by one person is limited, so every item must be essential and multi-purpose.

In classical Arabic, the word "guedra" means cauldron/cooking pot. That pot was covered with an animal skin to make a drum, also called "guedra", to play the heart-beat rhythm (life's basic rhythm) - also called "guedra", for the female performer - also called a "guedra", of the ritual, which is also called "Guedra" ONLY as long as it is being done on the knees: when the "guedra" stands up (or starts the ritual standing up), it is called T'bal. In the 30 years I've been researching/doing/teaching Guedra, nobody has been able to explain the reason for the difference - not even my teacher, B'shara.

Guedra belongs to the Blue People of the Tuareg Berbers, from that part of the Sahara Desert which ranges from Mauritania into Morocco and Algeria (Spanish and French Sahara). When, due to current long-term drought or economic conditions, Blue People choose to live in a town in Morocco, it is usually Goulmim or TanTan.

Why are they called "Blue People"? Because they love to use indigo stones to color pieces of fabric by pounding the stones into powder and the powder into the fabric - as versus dying by hot-water dip. The bluer and shinier the resulting fabric, the more beautiful the item of clothing and the higher the status of the wearer, since more was spent to get the richer color.

In the course of wearing fabric so treated, little by little, some of the blue powder gets on the skin of the wearer. In a desert, one can't take daily showers, so the wearer's skin actually takes on a bluish tinge, which is considered beautiful and desirable. The good news is that this powder also protects the skin from drying out from the terrible desert sun and heat by locking in natural moisture and acting as an extremely effective sunscreen. All "Blue People" are Tuareg, but not all Tuaregs are "Blue".

The Blue People have a matriarchal society:unusual enough in terms of "Western" cultures, almost unbelievable in context of what is assumed to be "Islamic". Women keep all the household keys, show off their "strength" by impromptu wrestling matches, go unveiled - while the men modestly cover their noses and mouths with the end of their tagelmousses (several meters of gauze, wrapped around the head in a turban), and have equal - if not greater rights to choose/take as many lovers as they wish before marriage: it only increases their value, skill and desirability. (1,2,3)

Why do Blue men, feared to this day for their ferocity and skill as warriors and respected as businessmen, "veil" and defer to their own women? Because of their belief that the world has a great number of evil "spirits" eager to invade the body via any opening - especially the mouth and nostrils, so they must cover/protect the entranceways, but since women know the secret of life: only they can conceive and give birth, they have natural protection against these evil spirits.

For the Blue People, Guedra isn't merely a dance, it is a ritual in which anybody and everybody can participate, although the central figure/s is/are the female Guedra/s (sometimes two women do it together, or a man and woman or woman and child of either sex). Unlike the Zar (Sudan/Libya/Egypt) or the Hadra (Morocco), the Guedra's aim is NOT to exorcise a person or place of evil spirits, but to envelop all present with "good energy", peace and spiritual love - as versus carnal, transmitted from the depths of the guedra's soul via her fingers and hands.

The entire accompaniment consists of the drum (guedra), which can be played by anyone, of any sex or age, with the skill and desire to do so, rhythmical clapping and chanting by any and all others present. Nowadays, a gourd instrument that is slapped and shaken is sometimes added. Chants are in Tamahaq (their language) or Maghrebi (Moroccan Arabic) and can be about anything from Islamic exhortations calling on the name of Allah: El hamdu illa Allah, Allah, Allah (all praise to Allah, oh Allah, oh Allah); Wahad, Wahad, Wahad (God is one); to praise or comments about King Hassan II or expressions of thanks for good fortune or a wish granted. Most often, they call upon God and goodness, to be shared with all humanity.

Clothing often has a tremendous effect on the movements and styles of dances and rituals, especially in ethnic forms, where tradition leaves very little leeway for individual choice or expression. Those garments, their styles and reasons for being that way, usually predated the dances and rituals done while wearing them. Not so theatre dance, where costumes are (hopefully) designed to facilitate and accentuate the choreography. (Exceptions do exist.)

Usually over a caftan (long, loose robe), sometimes not, Blue women wear a length of fabric, five to six meters long by about two meters wide. Wound around the body, folded over a bit in the front, both front and back portions are caught at the collar bones after each turn by two elaborate fibulae: the world's first "safety pins". Long chains are suspended from the fibulae to hold them in place and as ornamentation. A rope or belt is tied around the waist and fabric pulled up for a blouson effect and so the skirt just reaches the top of the foot. The last two meters are left unwound, to be pulled up and draped over the wearer's headdress, should circumstances or the desert heat require it. This train-cum-veil plays a very important part in desert survival - and the Guedra.

The Blue woman's unique headdress is also a result of adaptation to desert conditions - and germane to the overall effect of the Guedra. Anywhere from two to six inches high (or more), the front is made of leather, canvas, felt or woven horsehair decorated with cowry shells, silver coins, turquoise, coral and the occasional mother-of-pearl button or Coca-cola bottle top. From this front, a circlet of wire sits on the crown of the head and the wearer's hair, interwoven with horsehair and braided over and down, fastens it firmly to the head. Cowrie shells, silver, turquoise and coral beads are also woven into the multiple braids. From the back of the circlet, a "handle" rises to the same height as the front piece, up and over the center of the head, approaching but not touching the front "crown". Horsehair or wool is woven around it. Such a time-consuming and elaborate hairdo is usually redone every one to one and a half months. The headdress supports the aforementioned two-meter fabric end, keeping it off the the wearer's head and leaving an air space that maintains her normal body temperature of 98.6F, thereby keeping her cooler in the heat of the day and warmer in the cold desert night.

Guedra is a nighttime ritual, around a fire under the light of the moon or inside one of the larger tents. When done for real, as versus for an audience, it's most often in a circle. The drum throbs with the heartbeat rhythm: da da dum da da, da da dum da da and the clapping starts. Shrill zagareet (ululations) ring out, the chanting swells. Inspiration calls, a woman from the circle answers: for now, she is the guedra. Pulling the tail of her robe over her headdress, so it covers her head, face and chest, she puts on the "magic" necklace. It's up to her as to whether she starts standing up or on her knees.

The "veil" covering the guedra's head, shoulders and chest signifies darkness, the unknown, lack of knowledge. Her hands and fingers are moving under the covering, flicking at it, trying to escape into the light. When she feels the time is right, the guedra's hands emerge from the veil's sides. With hand-to-head gestures, she salutes the four corners: North, South, East and West, followed by obeisances to the four elements: Fire (the sun), Earth, Wind and Water. She touches her abdomen, heart and head, then quickly flicks her fingers towards all others present, in life or spirit, sending blessings to them from the depths of her soul's energy.

Why does she touch her abdomen? In the East, the heart is known to be fickle and unreliable. When somebody wishes to convey true depth of affections or emotions, the way of expressing it is to say: "You are in my liver.", not "You are in my heart.", as we do in the West. By indicating any approximate spot on her abdomen - not necessarily the anatomically correct location - the guedra underscores the depth and sincerity of her blessing.

In the West, we used to believe the third (ring) finger of the left hand lead to the heart, ergo the custom of wearing engagement and/or

wedding rings there. Blue people believe their second fingers to be direct lines to the soul, with power to transmit blessings or curses, so the guedra directs most of her mini-bolts of energy through them, gently holding them a bit lower than the others. This energy can be specifically focused on an individual, present or not, to a group or the entire world.

Once again, when the guedra feels the time is "right", she takes off the magic necklace, uncovers her face, drapes the fabric on top of her headdress or out-of-the-way, replaces the necklace and focuses her gaze and blessings more strongly and specifically. The drumming, clapping and chanting increase in tempo and intensity at each phase, as does the guedra's breathing.

If her hands flick to the front, the guedra sends blessings for the future, to the side - the present, in back - the past. Overhead - to the Sun, down - to the Earth, from side to side - to the waters and winds. Time is a circle.

In the Guedra, the vast majority of movement flows from the fingers and hands, with some arm movement from the elbows down. The ribcage is lifted and lowered/relaxed, as in some African dances, when extra emphasis is called for. The head can be gently turned from side-to-side, causing the braids to sway. As the guedra comes to a crescendo, accent in the chest movements transfers from lift to lowering and the head swings more strongly from side-to-side with chin lifts, causing the braids to "fly".

When done "for real", the Guedra goes on for quite awhile, gradually increasing in tempo and intensity, but still keeping the heartbeat rhythm. Likewise, the guedra's breathing also increases in depth and intensity, until she collapses in a trance.

When a man joins in, it is as an accompaniment, to induce a woman of his choice to accept the magic necklace from him and bless him - and the others with her soul's energy via the Guedra. After she accepts and takes the necklace, he unfolds the shoulder drapings of his dra, holding it out in his fingers to its full width, dipping and swaying from side to side, until she is ready to focus her energy and go on with the ritual alone. In the group, the men concentrate on driving and maintaining the clapping and chanting that encourage the guedra and deepen her trance.

Blue people consider Guedra their direct contact with the elements, spirits and universe, the deepest expression of their souls and protection against a hostile environment and evil spirits. So seriously is it taken by Moroccans in general, that his majesty, King Hassan II, had his own personal Guedra, B'shara of Guelmim, who I was fortunate enough to have known as a friend and teacher from 1963 to her death from cancer in 1992.

II. BETROTHAL DANCE of TISSINT: PURSUIT, PERSISTENCE and VICTORY

Tissint is located in the south of the Anti Atlas, about 40km from the Algerian border. The women's festival clothing is marvelous: a long, flowing black overrobe with multicolored zigzag embroidery at the shoulders and across the chest, tied at the waist with a multi-colored woven wool belt ending in tassels hanging almost to the feet. The black head veil is held in place by embroidered bands hung with silver coins and almost unbelievably elaborate large silver jewelry, chains and ornaments. Very large silver hoop "earrings" hang from both sides of this headwear. Many necklaces of graduated size, made of silver coins, some interspersed with large amber, turquoise and coral beads, adorn the chest. Large silver bracelets circle each wrist.

The men wear flowing blue ghandouras over white kaftans, with black cloth wound into turbans on their heads: similar to, but not as big or elaborate as the dras and tagelmousses of the Blue Men. Each has a dagger at his left hip, its sheath attached to a braided cord hung over the right shoulder and across the chest. Some of their ghandouras have elaborate, thin-cord embroiderd ornamentation on the chest and pocket.

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The bendir players, clappers and chanters are from the community and not professionals. They sit in a circle, in the center of the dance space, not only musicians and accompanists for the festivities, but chaperones making sure the limits of propriety are adhered to.

After the group of mostly young men and women dance awhile to a relatively lively tempo, one of the young women detaches herself from the group. One of the young men stands, holding overhead the corded belt from which his silver dagger dangles: he offers his protection. It is an official, public proposal of marriage. (Usually known about and agreed to in advance, but not always: surprises do occur.)

He dances after her, whirling and swooping, the dagger, held high, swaying on its cord. She constantly flutters her shoulders like a frightened bird, hands palms up, elbows gracefully bent, while she flees from him for awhile, then approaches, coyly whirling and escaping at the last moment.

When done "for real", this "mating dance" goes on for quite awhile, to show that she is "hard to get" and he is undaunted in the face of resistance, because he truly wants her for his wife. Once she lingers in front of him long enough for him to slip the corded belt over her head, they are officially betrothed. He kneels before her beauty and acceptance of his proposal. She, shoulders still fluttering, makes a last circuit of the group, showing off his dagger around her neck: she is under his protection.

This danced ceremony, involving the whole community, predates Islam. It continues in spite of efforts by conservative religious elements and bureaucrats to convince the people of Tissint to abandon it as heretical and against the Hadith, and use only religious contracts, ceremonies and bureaucratic paperwork to legalize their unions. Fortunately, its continued inclusion in the Marrakesh Folk Festival by the Ministry of Culture keeps the anti-dance wolves in Tissint at bay for the present.

III. AHOUACHE of IMIN TANOUT: DANCING the NIGHT AWAY

The musicians sit in a circle around the fire, heating their bendirs and getting ready for a long haul. The night air is still, then the bendirs and small drums start to thrum and reverberate. The "Rais", or leader, prepares to direct the group's formations and sequences, somewhat like a square dance caller, but in a more general, laissez-faire manner: closer to a traffic cop on a crowded urban street. He is there mostly to make sure the proprieties and distances are kept, for this is a dance in which only the unmarried can take part: it is their socially acceptable way to "check each other out" - all night.

Everyone wears his or her best: the men in long, loose, hooded white 'dras over close-fitting white thobes, white head-wraps and with the requisite daggers on thick cord belts draped over their right shoulders, resting at their left hips, yellow babouches on their feet; the girls, some very young, in individual, multicolored kaftans and d'finas, over which all have tied white "skirts" made from lengths of wide fabric, folded over cords to form two tiers and gathered (no sewing needed, just fold to store away!) under their belts, fringed, patterned headscarves (red a predominant color) held in place by two-rowed bands of silver coins attached with chains and hooks, the babouches on their feet and, most important for this dance, around their necks, each young girl has a many-tiered, large chestpiece of silver coins and semi-precious stones.

Standing in a line shoulder-to-shoulder, the (mostly) young men sing their paeans to the young women's beauty. They clap rhythmically, as the young women, in a separate line of their own, sing out their answer. This call-and-response alternates for a bit.

At a signal from the rais, keeping their line, the young girls run forward, stop, and, holding hands, both feet flat on the ground, bob up and down to make their heavy chestpieces jingle loudly. Arms pumping with the beat, the sound of the coins becomes part of the music. They divide into two lines, with the rais at the center, and run towards each other, form a circle, drop to one knee, join hands and, swinging their arms back and forth to the beat, vibrate their chestpieces again. Jumping up, they form two lines again and drop to one knee, facing the young men, to repeat the arm swinging and coin vibrating. This continues for a while, since their main purpose is to

show off for their possible future husbands: not only their beauty, but even more important in the harsh realities of the Berber world, their physical strength and endurance.

When it is the men's turn, they sing, clap rhythmically, lean from side-to-side in unison, then run forward, stop and stamp their feet furiously to the beat.

Which group does what and when is up to the rais, who usually alternates the men and women every fifteen minutes or so. The dancing is over at dawn. These Ahouaches are held at every appropriate holiday or public event, since this is the only way young people can get to know who is eligible outside of their immediate families: teen hangouts, school dances and Western-style dating are totally unknown and unacceptable within this mainly traditional, agrarian culture.

Imin Tanout is located halfway between Marrakesh and Agadir. Ahouache is danced all over southern Morocco, in the High Atlas, Dades Valley, Ouarzazate and Kelaa M'Gouna as well as Imin Tanout. Often, the distinctive dress of the women of each Berber tribe is the only way to determine which is dancing.

IV. KELAA of M'GOUNA: UNBELIEVABLE PRECISION amid the SCENT of ROSES

El Kelaa M'Gouna (sometimes called Kelaa des M'Gouna) is on the Kasbah Road, in the Dades Valley, 90 kms north of Ouarzazate and south of Tinghir. A place blessed with abundant water and fertile soil, it has a rich agricultural tradition. World famous for its vast, fragrant rose gardens, it holds an annual Rose Festival in May.

It is believed that these rose fields are of Yemenite origin, but the houses of the Ait Atta, strangely resembling those of Nepal, and their high cheekbones and slanted eyes point to more far eastern or Oriental origins.

Their dance is a type of Ahidous, very similar to the Ahouache, but a bit more "dignified", with the rais in total control of the movement shapes and sequences. As with the Ahouache of Imin Tanout, only unmarried women can participate in the dance and it is the village's socially acceptable venue for its young people to get close enough to look each other over and make (hopefully) lifetime matches.

The men wear the same sort of white thobes and hooded dras as those of Imin Tanout, with one significant exception: in place of the daggers hanging on thick cords at the left hip, they have leather bags.

Over their kaftans and d'finas, the women's dress is something else entirely: a floor-length piece of black cloth passes under the right arm, over the chest and back, caught at the left shoulder by a fibula, while a second piece of white cloth passes under the left arm,

over the chest and back, caught at the right shoulder by the second fibula, a chain hanging from the bottom of both fibulae. Several red cords are tied around the waist, the ends left to dangle in bunches at the front. They wear decorated leather shoes with front and back pieces that come up over the ankle. Necklaces of large amber beads, interspersed with silver, adorn each neck, as do second necklaces of elaborately twisted strands of colored beads. They all have the same hairdo: very short, fluffy bangs and one big braid, doubled over, at each ear. Their high headpieces, held in place with tiny gold chains circling their foreheads under the bangs, are covered in strands of colored wool with metal sequins dangling down all over. Hanging from the back of the headpiece is a black kerchief, fringed with short strands of the same colored wool.

All the men play bendirs while they dance, including the rais, who's there to direct the movements and make sure the men and women don't get too close.

The women cross their arms in front and take a hand of the dancer on each side. The men, shoulder-to-shoulder, play their bendirs. They rush towards each other, almost meet, then return, moving backwards. Forward again, only to separate at the last moment into four sides of a square. The two male sides rush towards each other, swivel by one another in the middle and change sides. The women do likewise. Both figures are repeated several times, then both sides circle one another, going in opposite directions: men on the inside, women always on the outside - it wouldn't be right for them to be surrounded by men. Forming a cross, they move with strides of varying length in order to keep its shape as they circle counter-clockwise. The precision of their patterns and movements, especially their rushing feet, is mind-boggling.

APOCHRYPHAL ANECDOTE

Several years in a row, I noticed the same woman in the Kelaa at the Marrakesh Folk Festival and, realizing that only unmarried women can dance in the Kelaa, I assumed she was a spinster, divorcee or widow. I later learned that she was the wife of the rais of the best Kelaa M'Gouna group and its lynchpin dancer. He temporarily divorced her each year before the Folk Festival, so she could participate, bringing honor to him and their village with her skill.

V. HOUARA, MOTHER of FLAMENCO

South of Agadir, less than ten km. inland from the Atlantic coast of Morocco, lies Inezgane, home of the Houara tribe, branches of which are also found in Ouled Teima, approximately 30 km to the east and slightly north, midway between Inezgane and Taroudant. Although in the heart of the Berber Souss, the Ait Houara speak and sing in Arabic.

The men are all in white thobes and hooded djellabas, with babouches on their feet. Sometimes the djellabas have black vertical stripes. The women are in belted kaftans and d'finas. Fringed scarves, tied in the back, hide most of their hair.

The main instrument for the Houara, aside from coordinated staccato clapping (as in flamenco), is a metal tire center, played with two long metal nails or sticks: da-da-dum-da-da, da-da-dum-da-da.

The group is almost entirely composed of men, with one or two women: the best dancers and most daring souls of their sex from within the Houara. This dance isn't a religious communion with the spirits and sharing of the soul - like Guedra, nor a group courtship "look each other over" dance - like the Ahouache of Imin Tanout or the Kelaa of the Ait M'Gouna (or all Ahidous), nor an actual ancient wedding rite - like the betrothal dance of Tissint. This is a show-off demonstration of superior skill for one's friends and peers, pure and simple.

They start by singing in loud voices, short bursts of song followed by crescendos of rapid footwork as a group. Two or three rounds in this manner, then the next bursts of song end with one or two of the men running forward, beating feet like crazy for a few seconds, then rushing back to the line. As it goes on, the men end their "solos" with high leaps or sharp flamenco-like barrel turns, sometimes both.

After several rounds of these macho outbursts/challenges, when the rhythm and excitement reach their peak, one of the women rushes forward. Her footwork is even more skilled and complex than the men's, her solo longer. Flinging the front halves of her d'fina, she makes several vueltas quebradas and jumps into the air, bending her knees, tucking her calves to her thighs. Sometimes, her hips move with the footwork, sometimes she uses them to manipulate a dagger under her d'fina, moving as if she's on horseback, her feet the horse's hooves.

After a while, one of the men, unable to resist, rushes forward and, facing each other, they begin to dance together. He blends his footwork with hers, they spin and leap in unison, his arms, elbows bent, in front and behind him as he spins, she, flinging her d'fina furiously as she spins. They resemble the courtship fight of a rooster and hen - or Kate and Petrucchio (Taylor and Burton?) in "Taming of the Shrew". Occasionally, two women from the circle challenge each other.

Like flamenco? Meet its mother. The Moors - that is, the Moroccans - ruled Andalucia for several hundred years. Approximately ten per cent of the Spanish language has Arabic roots, e.g.: el algodon, el alfombra, el almoada, el aceituna, el Alhambra, el Albaicin, el Cid, ojala, OLE (just try shouting "Allah" under Ferdinand and Isabella, their "most Catholic majesties", who threw the Moors and Jews out of Spain, and see how fast you'd be turned into a crispy critter by the

Inquisition...). The very word "flamenco" comes from Arabic, though Spanish chauvinists try to translate it as "flamingo" or, worse yet, "Flemish". The root is the Arabic word "fellah": peasant, farmer, poor person.

(Re what eurocentrics would like to think is "Spanish" architecture: Meknes' architectural style existed well before Moors got to Spain and turned it into a center of architecture, art, music and poetry.)

VI: SCHIKHATT: FROM SEX EDUCATION to SOCIAL RECREATION

In Classical Arabic, the word "sheikha" is the feminine of "sheikh": a person with knowledge, experience, wisdom. In Maghrebi (Moroccan Arabic), "sheikha" limits its meaning to specify a woman with carnal knowledge extensive enough to teach others.

Under prevailing interpretations of Islam and Sharia, both the bride and groom, but certainly and especially the bride, are expected to be virgins before their wedding. In many areas, to avoid any possibility of dishonoring a family via an illegitimate pregnancy, girls are married off even before puberty.

Before the marriage ceremony, at which, as custom demands, the young bride is conspicuous by her absence - she is represented by a male relative - there are many sex-segregated festivities and ceremonies. For at least three days, sometimes a week or more with wealthy city families, preceding the signing of the marriage contract and ritual carrying of the bride to the house of the groom's family, day-long women's parties are hosted in the home of the bride's family to display her dowry, clothing and beauty.

She sits motionless on a "throne" set apart, eating nothing all day, leaving only to change her elaborate clothes at least three times a day, while the massed female relatives loudly discuss her flaws and attributes in front of her. Several times a day, she will be lifted in her chair by two or three women and carried around the room, to better show off the details of her finery. Fortunately, the family has hired a sheikha and her all-female group of schikhatt musicians and dancers to liven things up.

The sheikha, who usually knows all the local gossip and, therefore, everything about everybody at the party, begins by singing impromptu raucous verses poking fun at the foibles and defects of family and guests alike. Between the verses, her troupe vigorously dances the Schikhatt, exaggeratedly moving hips, stomach and breasts, for this is very definitely an erotic dance and the movements have to be visible in spite of the large, loose kaftans and d'finas they wear. The Schikhatt has nothing to do with Raks Sharki, despite the fact both consist mainly of control and articulation of torso muscles - versus limbs, as in Western dance. Lately, however, due to recent exposure to Lebanese and Egyptian movies and videotapes, Raks Sharki movemen

is showing up in the Schikhatts of sophisiticated city-dwellers, in an effort to elevate it, make it more artistic.

Musical accompaniment can be as simple as bendirs, clapping and voices singing the refrain to the sheikha's ribald improvised verses, or with a guimbry (stringed instrument, held horizontally, plucked and played like a banjo) or kemanjeh (violin, held vertically on the knee and bowed) added. More skilled Schikhatt dancers play sagat (finger cymbals), but only three - not four: two on the right hand, one on the left; some hold a small taarija (drum) in one hand, hitting the other hand with it as they dance; some play bendirs while executing the movements.

When she feels the time is proper and her "stage" has been set, the sheikha, herself, dances in front of the bride to be, singing verses about the pleasures of marital relations that await the bride after the ordeal of the wedding night and the loss of her virginity. With the Schikhatt movements, she demonstrates how the bride will be expected to move in the marriage bed.

(It's interesting to note that, in a culture where a woman's public role is so circumscribed and her behavior so restricted vis-a-vis men, references to and discussion of matters sexual and physical are so much more frank, open and specific by women with and among other women and within the circle of the family.)

Both before and moreso after the sheikha's dance for the bride, all the women get up at one time or another to dance with the troupe and each other, until they are tired and ready to go home for the day. Depending on her finances and personal scruples, the sheikha will either go home or to the men's party, to entertain them with much bawdier songs and behavior.

It's not socially acceptable for a "good" woman to be a professional Schikhatt dancer, but everyone dances the Schikhatt - at home and at parties. It's OK for a man to take a Schikhatt dancer as his second, or better yet, third wife, but she is forbidden to perform in public as long as the marriage lasts. Men do it too, but if tbey are professionals - and there are many - they dress in drag or, at the very least, wear a woman's kaftan and d'fina, to acknowledge that it's a woman's dance.

Family men come home from work for their main meal at midday, nap, then return to work until evening. The household women's whole morning is taken in its preparation. Leftovers, bread and cheese suffice for dinner, so after the men go back to work, the afternoon is for a bit of diversion with one's fellow females.

Typical, respectable Moroccan city women have no access to exercise centers, spas, dance classes, movie matinees. They must make their own amusements at home, within the family enclosure or visiting the

other women in their homes. They don't "lunch". What they do do is dance the Schikhatt with and for each other, making up verses or repeating those they've heard and liked. They egg each other on and do their own steps and variations solo or duo. They add movements seen on television and at other women's parties. City Schikhatts are far more "laid back" and varied than the schleuh (village) variety, which tend to be more direct and energetic.

COMMENTS IN CONCLUSION:

There are about two hundred different Berber tribes in Morocco, each with its distinctive dress - especially the women's, language, dance and social customs. For each and every one of them, dance is an integral and constant affirmation of who and what they are: a form of self and group expression and pleasure: they dance throughout their entire lives.

Some tribes pray and send blessings by dance; others celebrate plantings, harvests, holidays, seasonal changes and births with dance; so many meet and court during dance; challenge one another, show off and communicate in dance; several seal marriages with a dance; most city and many country women get their sex education via dance; most tribes have their macho, warrior dances for the men. All assimilated - as versus studied - in the normal course of family and tribal life and not in special schools or courses. It's not for a theater show or to play a part: it IS their pride, a statement of their specific ethnicity, for each village, tribe, age, sex, class has its own special dance with which it identifies and declares itself.

FOOTNOTES:

Over 30 years of frequent in person observation/conversation - and

1) National Geographic: Ref.- household keys: Aug., 1973 - Pp. 222-3
Blue Men's veils: ibid - Pp. 220, 228; Apr., 1974 - Pp. 552-
& May, 1958 - Pp. 689 & 691
Matriarchy: May, 1958 - pg. 689

2) Natural History Magazine, Volume 101 Number 11, November, 1992
"Where All the Women Are Strong" Pp. 54-63

3) "Faces In the Smoke" by Douchan Gersi: Why Blue men blue: pg. 69
Sexual freedom: pg. 76 Men's veiling: pg. 36

4) Bendir: circular, wooden frame tambour with sheep or goatskin he
two strings along the inside add a vibratory sound

5) Babouches: backless Moroccan slippers

6) Sharia: Islamic law & social codes, drawn from the Koran & Hadi

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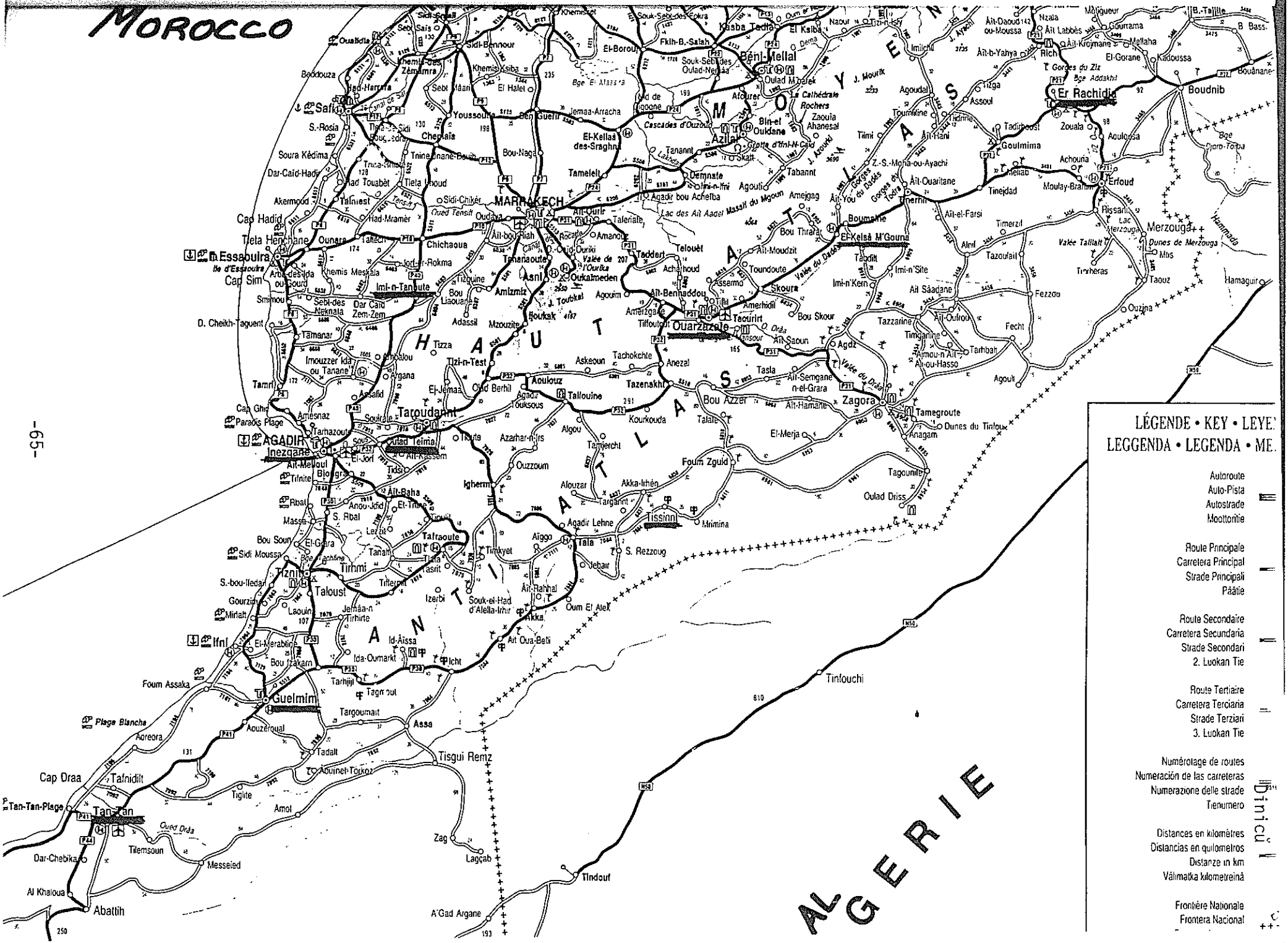
MOROCCO
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ALGERIE
LÉGENDE • KEY • LEYE
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Carretera Secundaria
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Route Tertiaire
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Strade Terziari
3. Luokan Tie
Numérotage de routes
Numeración de las carreteras
Numerazione delle strade
Tienumero
Distances en kilomètres
Distancias en quilometros
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Välimatka kilometreinä
Frontière Nationale
Frontera Nacional
Essaouira
Safi
Agadir
Inezgane
Taroudannt
Tiznit
Guelmim
Tan-Tan
Tan-Tan-Plage
Sidi Ifni
Plage Blanche
Cap Draa
Cap Ghir
Cap Sim
Cap Hadid
Paradis Plage
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Al Khaloua
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A'Gad Argane
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El-Kelaâ M'Gouna
Er Rachidia
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Zagora
Tamegroute
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Tissint
Foum Zguid
Bou Azzer
Tazenakht
Talioune
Aoulouz
Tata
Akka
Bin-el Ouidane
Azilal
Beni-Mellal
Kasba Tadla
Khenifra
Ifrane
Azrou
Midelt
Errachidia
Goulmima
Tinejdad
Rissani
Taouz
Ouzina
Tinghir
Todra
Gorges du Dadès
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Vallée du Drâa
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Lac des Ait Aadel
Lac Merzouga
Hammada
Tizi-n-Test
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Tizi-n-Kachla
Tizi-n-Bachkoum
Tizi-n-Zad
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DANCE OF THE ETHIOPIAN JEWS

Ruth Eshel

This survey endeavors to describe the dance of the Ethiopian Jews in Israel and to follow changes that occur in their dances since their arrival. It is based on interviews the author conducted and approximately 30 hours of video recording which were taken during the years 1990-1993 while documenting the Ethiopian Jewish community in Israel[1].

A survey of the literature [2] reveals abundant research about the Ethiopian Jews both in Ethiopia and in Israel from many aspects including historical, anthropological, sociological and musical concepts. In contrast there are scarcely any research works on their dance.

Israel is a country of constant immigration[3] from all over the world. From past experience, those coming from underdeveloped countries suffer a cultural shock in their integration into Israel. In their desire to accelerate their assimilation into the new modern society, they reject their own culture. Often, this is accompanied by loss of self esteem and symptoms of inferiority complex. However, probably the best example of how a small ethnic community achieved recognition and built self respect through dance is that of the Yemenite Jews[4]. Both in the Yemenite and the Ethiopian Jewish communities, in their appearance and their history, they have many similarities between them: geographically they are situated on both sides of the Red Sea (although historians doubt whether they knew of each other's existence); physically they are both dark skinned Jews and both from ancient communities living for generations in isolation in their areas.

The first wave of Yemenite Jews, small in number, reached Israel by foot at the beginning of this century and in 1948 most of the remaining community was trasferred by the new Israeli airplanes (known as the "Magic Carpet" operation). Once in Israel, the Yemenites continued to keep their dancing traditions within their communities and it was the veteran European-Jewish community of artists which noticed their rich culture. For example, Rina Nikova, a Russian ballerina who had performances in the '30s in Tel Aviv formed her Yemenite Singing Ballet composed of seven Yemenite women which toured Europe to great success between 1937-39. Ten years later, the first Yemenite dancer and choreographer, Rachel Nadav, who had been soloist at Nikova's Ballet established her own groups and introduced Yemenite stepping motifs into Israeli folkdances. Sara Levi-Tanai, an orphan of Yemenite origin was educated in European culture, discovered her ethnic origins as an adult. Obssessed with an idea, in 1947 she established what became the Inbal Dance Theatre, which she based on Yemenite culture. The

performers were all Yemenite dancers. From this group grew many artists who in the'60s developed individual careers. The growing interest in preserving the dance traditions inspired Gurit Kadman to create the Israel Ethnic Dance Project which she established in 1971. To day, ethnic dances are part of the curriculum in high schools dance departments as well as in higher education studies.

In Ethiopia, the Ethiopian Jews were called by their Christians neighbors "Falashas", which means strangers, but they themselves considered this derogatory and preferred to call themselves "Beta Israel", meaning the "House of Israel". There are many speculations as to the origin of Ethiopian Jews, but they themselves believe they are descendants of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. They had their own kingdom, but pressure grew from the Moslems in the north, and the Christians in the south, squeezing their territory until they finaly lost their kingdom in the 16th century.

Those who remained Jews [5] resisting Christian conversion, lived in small isolated villages around Lake Tana in north west Ethiopia in the areas known as Gondar, Simens and Tigre. These areas are mainly populated by the Amhara and Tigre Ethiopian tribes. Within the Jewish Ethiopians, or "Beta Israel", religious traditions and celebrations of the cycle of life were conducted by their "kess" (religious leaders), according to the Jewish laws of the Bible established before the Talmudic period[6].

The villages were always situated near water source, necessary for daily purification rituals of both men and women. Generally, the role of women included raising the children and making simple clay works for home use and sale. The men's role included cultivating the land, which they were not permitted to own, and also working as blacksmiths for the general public, a profession despised by the Ethiopians."Beta Israel" lived in isolation as they regarded the Christians as impure. Jewish children were not sent outside their village to study. Great effort was put into trainning a child to be "chawa"[7] which means to be free. He is taught to be well mannered and soft-spoken, graced with courtesy and refinement, and especially to be quiet and respectful in the presence of all figures of authority. "Beta Israel" danced the same dances as their neighbors, barefoot, men and women, in the open air or inside a wooden structure erected for a special event.

After a long and bitter debate within the Jewish rabbinate about the authenticity of their Judaism, "Beta Israel" emigrated to Israel in two mass immigration waves. The first in 1984 (10,000 Jews), was conducted by the Israeli government and consisted of a secret and perilous journey crossing the desert of Sudan by foot. The second, in 1991, included negotiations between Israel and the Ethiopian government, just before it fell into the hands of the rebels. In 24 hours, 14,087 Jews were

transferred by Israeli airplanes directly from Addis- Ababa to Ben Gurion airport in Israel[8].

Today in Israel, "Beta Israel", in contrast to Ethiopia, live in urban areas. Men work in industry, children go to school. One can notice in those who arrived ten years ago a difference in their body language. The former introverted and delicate way of their body carriage and expression has been replaced by a more pushy, agressive behavior. Ironically, this new behavior is the mark of what the "Beta Israel" call "balge" which means to be a slave, a way of behaving that the Ethiopian has usually tried to avoid. "The typical Ethiopian parent is not oriented to encourage behavior between the two extremes"[9].

Enthusiastically they are trying to rush into the 20th century, leaving behind many of their former traditions. What stays the same is that the entire community gathers for family celebrations in days of happiness or mourning. They also keep the dances and songs of which they are still proud. In Israel, most of the traditional dances take place in marriage ceremonies and "bar-mitzvah"[10].

"Beta Israel" dance and sing like their neighbors, the Amhara and Tigre tribes. The chief characteristic of the Amhara dance is the "eskesta", consisting of variants of shoulder movements. "The 'eskesta' indicates emotions from the softest feeling of love up to the wildest explosion of warlike spirit, or the ecstasy of happiness"[11]. A first glance of the "eskesta" or shoulder dance reveals a repetitive dance performed by men and women, but a deeper observation reveals richness of motifs in the shoulders that differ from each other in rhythm, direction, and quality. The "eskesta" of "Beta Israel" can move vertically, horizontally, diagonally and in a twist. The shoulders may move in parallel symmetrically position, or asymmetrically. The basic moves are enhanced according to an abstract "scale", following an imaginary map of movement levels (reminds one of batterie[12] that enriches the jumps in classical ballet).

From normal position the shoulders move upwards three levels to the highest position; there are also three points forwards and three points backwards as well as two levels, each lower than the other starting from the normal position.[13]

There are two qualities of moving, one in jerky movements passing through two or three shoulder positions concluding with a sudden, clean- cut accent. The other quality is one of shaking with an "eskesta" pattern with movement traveling consecutively between two close positions, something like a tremolo in music. The dancer may use one quality or another, pass through any position in different rhythms counted in a 2/4 or 3/4 musical bar.

The "eskesta" is accompanied by bounces of the knees and transfer of weight from one leg to another, as well as forward and backward lunges. The hand has a specific shape: the thumb clasps the waist; elbows are held to the side, and in the

shakings, arms are usually relaxed, hanging along the torso.

In Israel the dance is accompanied by taped Amhara music. Occasionally, one can still hear a singer and "Krar" (lyre) and "Mesenqo" (fiddle) players. The instruments made by amatuerish musicians and now have electrical outlets to attach amplifiers.

In my survey I asked my informants why are shoulders emphasized amongst the Amhara? I did not receive any answer. Maybe this movement is a natural solution to their fragile, linear physicality and gentle introverted character. They lack a prominent pelvis or a heavy trunk, which would demand a dance close to the earth, accompanied by low base tones. Their high pitched singing is a delicate and complicated embroidery of sounds, appropriate accompaniment to the "eskesta". It is also possible, that the "eskesta" is a natural evolution to the long and excited hand clappings that introduce the "eskesta". When I myself joined a group of dancers who were moving in a circle for several minutes, I felt that the clapping was also circular. As the ecstasy mounted, the moves became wider and my shoulders began to rise and fall of their own accord, as a preparation for the "eskesta" soon to commence.

An adaptation to fast-paced Israeli society, is the shortening of the wedding celebration. Whereas in Ethiopia it lasted 8 to 10 days, in Israel it is squeezed into a few hours. Men and women sit apart, even those who arrived in 1984 respect this partition. They eat "injara" [14] dressed with hot spices and drink beer. For the other Israelis they prepare an oriental dish consisting mainly of "humus" [15] which is more to their taste.

A group of young men clapping their hands accompany the couple who enters the hall for the religious ceremony. This is a shortened version of the big processions that accompanied the bride to the grooms village in Ethiopia. The ceremony is conducted by a rabbi and sometimes a "Kess" will give a short blessing. "Beta Israel" wedding ceremenoy as conducted in Ethiopia does not exist any longer in Israel. Accepting the "Beta Israel" in their new country includes the sad fact that the rabbis of the Ministry of Religion do not recognize the religious ceremonies counducted by the "Kess".

The dances start immediatley after the wedding ceremony. The male guests start to walk counter-clockwise in a circle, clapping their hands in a 2/4 rhythm. What is striking is the tightness of the walking, with the bodies touching, giving a feeling of togetherness. This walking continues approximatly 15-20 minutes and is a kind of warm up. Then the group stops moving forward and changes direction, forearm joins forearm to make an inpenetrable human wall. They bounce as if in second position parallel position and continue to clap hands, accumulating energy. In the center of the human mass a small circle forms about one meter in radius, and two soloists enter the center competing in a virtuoso demonstration that is improvised. As the excitment reaches new heights, the mass of dancers around them

starts to jump, first on both feet and then from one to another. Later they move in a circle, vibrating their shoulders. This patern repeats itself several times, and the dance can be prolonged for up to an hour.

Although there is no law that forbids mixed dancing, I have noticed that women usually dance apart from men. Near the orchestra one could always find a bunch of children, imitating the adults and excelling in dancing.

The other dance style observed, the Tigre dance, is characterized by its circular walking form. Drummers play a dominant role in this dance and initiate the movement. Three or more drummers with "Kabaros" (kettle drums) on their shoulders move while playing a 3/8 beat. They invite the community to form a big circle and start to walk counterclockwise in asingle file. During this dance they feel compelled to wear the traditional white scarf, even if they wear western dress during the rest of the ceremony. The men put the scarf around their waist, the women are covered all over by a white cloth, so that only their faces and feet can be seen.

They might use one of the basic foot motifs. For example: Right foot steps forward (♪), left ball of foot touches right ankle (♪), left foot slides forward with no weight (♪). Delicate "eskesta" can be added to ornament the walking and the body swings lightly to the sides. Inside the circle, the drummers continue to set the atmosphere, making it more joyful by adding bounces and hops to their walking. They may move forwards or backwards, or turn on the spot. From time to time they add an accent with a plie or stamping or big jumps that sometimes resemble a parallel "temps leve" or "sissonne ferme". The excited drummers may join the circle as if leading it, or continue to excite the dancers from outside of the circle.

Following the walking circle part of the dance is a short "eskesta". Dancers stop walking, face the center and dance "eskesta" jerking motifs, giving the movement a delicate quality. Later, they start to move sideways (rigt foot stepping sideways and left foot closing). To excite the dancers, some male dancers encircle the drummers and form an inner circle. They clap hands vigorously and face the outer circle which moves facing them in a big sideways circle. This form repeats itself several times.

Apart from their traditional dances the younger men adore to dance break-dance to pop music which they imitate from TV. Greek folk music is also very popular amongst them, hence one may observe a strange mixture of "Greek" feet and Ethiopian shoulders moving together. Also popular is Arabic music and they improvise moving in delicate circular hip movements. Small girls, can be seen doing belly dance copied from the Arab programs they see on Israeli TV. In one marriage ceremonial[16] a blonde belly dancer was invited and a mass of males encircled her, clapping their hands and jumping, leaving her hardly any

space in the center, just as they do for their own soloists in the Amhara dances. Suprisingly, those "born dancers" find it difficult to dance the Israeli Hora, because they have to imitate an exact movement and to fit into the regular rhythm of the Hora.

The shoulder moves are intriguing for the Israelis. At some weddings I observed guests trying to join in the "eskesta", to obvious approval of the Ethiopian hosts. Some of those joining were middle aged Israeli women of oriental extraction (Jews from Arab countries), well versed in hip movements and chest shimmy, as well as in the ululating tremolo sounds used in the Middle East and Ethiopia for merry making. One of the ladies made bold and even joined the inner circle of solo dancers. A waiter[17] who recently arrived from Russia began to shake his shoulders in "eskesta" - fashion, while balancing a tray of drinks with one hand.

While "Beta Israel" admit that their secular dances are Ethiopian Folk dances, the "Kesses" proclaim that the movements accompanying the prayers are from ancient Hebrew traditions. In response to the question in which parts of the liturgy they dance, the "Kess"[18] answer was that usually dance accompanies prayers depicting the victory of good over evil. For example, when the text celebrates Moses' victory over Pharoh's magicians, the "Kesses" dance with their sticks[19]. When, during the prayers, Jerusalem is mentioned, they often clap their hands. The movement vocabulary includes bounces with an accented downbeat, small jumps with both feet moving forward and backward with a dignified and rather heavy quality. Elbows are close to hips and hands open and close accompanying the text; other arm gestures for either one or both hands include small figure eight motifs.

Some of the prayers are accompanied by gestures of supplication such as the arms held diagonally upward. In other prayers, like in the final prayer of Shabbat, they spread both arms up in supplication and bow down on their knees, torso spread out on the floor. Many members of the congregation are used to holding a small horsehair flywhisk in their right hand, which they shake to the rhythms of the prayer. They are so used to holding this fly whisk, that even when their hands are empty, they tend to move the right hand as if it held the implement.

Most of the dancing occurs during Yom Kippur, The Day of Attonement. The "Kesses" state that dancing is a certain way of castigating the body and soul through strenuous effort, such expiation of sins "bringing redemption closer". And if deliverance is approaching, that is a good reason to rejoice in dance. In addition to knee movements and their accompanying embelishments there are other specific motifs: right palms are flexed and held close to the shoulders; hands folded in front of the chest and moving up and down in zigzag or wave -like

ɔtions while the torso moves with delicate impulses. The Kesses" say[20] these movements describe Israel's historical rossing of the Red Sea fleeing Pharaoh's army.

These undulating hand movements remind one of Yemenite ancing. There exist several theories as to the geographic rigin of the "Beta Israel" Jews. One of these (though not enerallyaccepted[21]), holds that they arrived in Ethiopia from emen.[22] Perhaps these movements are an indication of such a onnection.

In my survey I came across a remarkable woman's ceremony. he belief in good and evil spirits is widely held among the thiopian Jews. One kind of spirit is the "Zaar". According to n ancient legend, Eve gave birth to many children. She wished o conceal the most beautiful of the offspring from God. In rder to retaliate, God made them immortal in the form of Zaar pirits. The Zaar is often supposed to attack women; a woman who s out of her mind is deamed to be 'ridden by a Zaar'. In such ases, the spirit is exorcised by means of dancing.

At night, the possessed woman is brought to the hut of the ealer, in which women of her kind used to gather in the past. he leader of the group is one who has had contact with spirits y means of aromatic herbs. Yael Kahana in her book "Achim hchorim" (Black Brothers) describes the proceedings thus: Meanwhile soft drumming starts, accompanied by singing and hand lapping. Each member of the group commences dancing 'as the pirits move her [...]. She [the senior member of the group] egins to shake her shoulders. Slowly she rises and is seized by n orgasmic ecstasy. She then turns around on her axis at an ccelerating speed until she kneels over and falls to the ground ...]. The possessed woman observes the dance until she too egins spinning, at first as if her body was very heavy, etrified. Several hours may pass until she commences her lancing. When she starts moving, it is taken as a good sign; an men that her "Zaar" is willing to stop 'riding on her'. It is he beginning of the recuperation. The patient is in a trance ...]. As the patient's dance increases and becomes wilder, the ealer analyzes her dance and makes his [her] diagnosis judging er state by forms of the movement [...]. The healer then asks he spirit, whether she is willing to accept a 'love gift' to ttone for an insult or negligence the possessed one has erpetrated against it [...]. The Zaar's demands are according o the spirit's character; for example, if she is of a dark omplexion, she may ask for a black goat; if she is fair, she ay ask for a white one". My own inquiries about such exorcism eremonies taking place in Israel met with a stormy silence, mbarrassment and denial. I understood that there is similar eluctance to speak about an exorcist dance ritual of the Moslem omen.

An event, rich in movement, is the gathering for a uneral. This ritual of expressing sorrow continues to be

followed meticulously by the community. What changed in Israel is the site of the mourning rituals. Instead of taking place in African villages they are in modern condominiums. I recorded such a gathering in Nazareth, in April 1992. In the early morning, the family came to the courtyard. Men and women crying, eyes closed, rocking from one foot to the other, knees slightly bent, legs apart. Neighbors encircled the family and in the middle, the elder son was seen lifting his dead father's picture and crying in a rhythmical voice, counting out loud his father's good deeds. "He was brave," and the crowd would repeat his words. "He gave charity," and the crowd answered in wailing consent. One could notice a variety of movements expressing mourning: hands interlaced over neck with elbows pulled to the side; palms pressed to the top of the heads with elbows pulled down; women beating their heads with their right hand; men banging their chests.

Consoling processions of other "Beta Israelis" arrived from all over the country. "Kesses" were in black embroidered caps holding colored parasols and fly whisks. At the head of another procession, women each holding a handkerchief at the two opposite ends, make the material flutter and then lower it tight to the head, pulling their elbows strongly down, then lifting their arms up with stretched handkerchiefs and striking their chests. Others, lift their arms and hold stretched handkerchiefs high above their head and then pushing the whole body into a deep bow, reaching the ground. Men banged their heads with their fists and then spread their arms diagonally as if asking how are they going to withstand this disaster?

Each procession that reached the courtyard halted. The mass of mourners split and the family rushed towards the leaders of the procession, stretching their arms, embracing and hugging them as if melting in sorrow into each others' arms. Meanwhile, the rest formed a huge semi- circle, standing, huddled together, shoulders attached to shoulders. The family approached each of them, placed their right arms on the shoulders of each consoler and strongly embraced. After that, the newcomers melted into the mass of people.

After all processions reached the courtyard, and the above procedure repeated itself 5-6 times, a kind of hysteria started. A huge circle was formed. In the middle women walked with seemingly no focus, weakend knees, banging their heads or folding their arms to the back and bending the torso fiercely forwards and backwards. Others stood bouncing quickly as if the ground beneath was burning. Several males arranged in couples encircled the hysterical women. Segments of shouts filled the air.

At noon buses arrived to take the group to the cemetery for the typical Jewish-Israeli burial ceremony[13].

There have been several experiments among the Ethiopians to establish dance groups in Nazareth, Petah Tikva, Afula and other places. Although the dancers excell in "eskesta", much of

the authenticity and beauty of the movement is lost as they try to adapt the dances for the stage, replacing the original forms and rearranging them with banal choreographic patterns copied from commercial video cassettes of Ethiopian folk dances. The result is neither authentic folklore nor artistic dance.

Yet the first sense of an Ethiopian "flavor" with its cultural contribution to the Israeli melting pot can be observed. Liat Hayms from the Kibbutz Dance Company created "Journey"[24] for the company workshop based on the ordeal of crossing the Sudanese desert in 1984. Maski, a fashion model, was discovered as a singer and appears frequently on TV. Ethiopian Jews have opened night clubs where they can be seen break dancing in Tel Aviv; an Ethiopian restaurant has been opened in Jerusalem. But probably the most successful combination of cross- culturization between Israeli and Ethiopian culture is "The Queen of Sheba Choir" of Moshe Gronich, a well known Israeli composer working with Ethiopian children in Tel Aviv.

Dance is a dynamic and ever changing art form, a mirror of society. In the last decade since "Operation Moses", the dance of the Ethiopian Jews has undergone through many changes. New ways being found to adapt to the new environment. This article describes what has happened up to the present. It will be useful to continue observation and documentation in order to analyse this process of continuing change from a long term perspective.

ENDNOTES

1. In communities such as Nazareth, Kiryat-Ata, Neve-Carmel, Bet-Oren, Hadera, Petach-Tikva, Jerusalem.
2. Such as by authors: G.J, Abbink, L.Wolf, Y. Kahana, K,Shellemay, A, Aescoly, S, Kaplan, D, Kessler, S, Messing, S, Ben-Dor, M, Wurmbrand.
3. Immigration waves: 1882,1919,1924 (from Russia,Poland, Rumania); 1932-39 (from Germany,Austria,Hungary); 1948 (Yemen,Iraq, Morocco, Algeria,Egypt, Syria); 1975 (former Soviet Union), 1984(Ethiopia); 1991 (former Soviet Union, Ethiopia).
4 On Yemenite assimilation and dance see Shalom Staube, "A-Man has Brains until he Gets up to Dance", Israel Dance, 1975.
5. The Falashmoras are Jews who converted to Christianity in the last century and feel they need to immigrate to Israel. There is a debate whether to recognize them as Jews and to bring them to Israel.
6. The Talmud (600 A.D) set the rule for Jewish communal life interpreting those in the Bible including marriage and other legal concepts. Since the Ethiopian Jewish community, like the Yemenite, was established prior to the Talmud, it complicated their rabbinical acceptance in Israel.

7. Rosen (1985) on Ethiopian behavioral patterns.
8. Jerusalem Report, May 24, 1991: "Precious Cargo- Operation Solomon brings the Beta Israel home just in time".
9. Rosen (1985).
10. "bar-mitzvah", the coming of age ceremony at 13 years was not celebrated in Ethiopia. See Shalva Weil, "Beliefs and Customs[of Ethiopian Jews] in Israel and in Ethiopia", Institute for Research in Education, November 1988, Jerusalem.
11. Tibor Vadasy, "Ethiopian Folk-Dance", Journal of Ethiopian Studies, July 70.
12. The flourishes and ornamentation of trills in baroque music or "batterie" added to the classical ballets are akin to the variations in the shoulder movement, I feel.
13. A broad, insightful depiction of Amhara and Tigre dances can be found in Vadasy articles (1970,1971).
14. Kind of a pancake made of wheat and yeast which serves as the main meal for Beta Israel.
15. Popular Israeli food made of mashed pulse.
16. Seen at Kirayt - Ata on April '93
17. Seen at Kiryat - Ata on November '92
18. Narrated by Kess Yirmiyau Fakido on Jan 92 at his home in Nazareth.
19. Kess Fakido demonstrated and explained the dance on May '91 at my home in Haifa.
20. Falasha liturgy videoed by Meir Institute in Jerusalem, (1984).
21. Flad (1866).
22. A"popular" book by Colette Berman and Yosef Miller, Beautiful People of the Book, 1988.
23. In the typical Jewish-Israeli burial at the cemetery, psalms are recited, the body wrapped in a shawl is lowered into the ground [There is no coffin because the land itself is considered holy], and the mourners recite the prayer for the dead "The Kaddish". The burial is completed by the Burial Society.
24. Seen at Karmiel Festival 1992

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AUSTRALIAN DANCE IN THE DEVIL'S DECADE

Lynn Fisher

Australian dance today is a class specific activity. The dance culture of the dominent or highest social class has the highest prestige, in terms of official support and recognition.

The concert dance styles of ballet and modern dance are funded by federal and state governments. The dance departments of the universities also concentrate on concert dance. Obviously, ballet and modern dance have been officially sanctioned to express Australian culture.

Concert dance audiences and dance students are drawn almost entirely from the middle classes. The working class neighbourhoods support different kinds of dance. [1] Competition ballroom, jazz, tap and acrobatics are popular. These kinds of dance receive little or no official encouragement and prestige.

Why is this so? And how did it come to be?

This paper gives an account of how, during the 1930s, one promoter of concert dance seized control in her state. Linley Wilson (1898-1990) harnessed the power structures of Western Australia in the service of concert dance. What she set up then, still operates today.

Wilson was a Perth teacher, choreographer and dance company founder. During the 1930s there was a Linley Wilson-type in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Brisbane. [2] This coterie of women shared a vision and values about dance and each employed similar strategies to achieve their goals.

What they wanted was prestige for concert dance, especially ballet. In order to achieve this, they wanted the dance teaching profession regulated by English-based dance societies. They actively campaigned to impugn popular stage dancing believing this would assist the ascension of concert dance. They waged a dance war along class lines and it paralleled the social class turmoils of other community interest groups.

During the 1920s, Perth had prided itself on being a prosperous, harmonious, homogeneous community more like a big country town than a city. But this veneer of civility was shattered by vocal factionalism during the 1930s. That was the devil's decade. [3]

The world wide economic depression in 1929 shook the Western Australian economy. The state's unemployment rate reached 30% causing widespread social disruption to the point where mounted

police were used by the government to suppress dissidents and break up public rallies. [4]

In this city of a quarter-million white people, the gulf between middle and working classes widened. Politically, many of the working classes moved closer to the left. Some of middle classe became increasingly conservative and fearful of radical movement but others shunned right-wing activities and supported the cause of the workers and the international peace movements. [5]

The 1920s had been good for dance with around 100 women employed full-time as dancers in the theatres and cinema ballets. From t beginning of the twentieth century, dance lessons increasingly became a major leisure activity for girls and dance schools flourished. But the Depression and the 'talkies' closed the theatres and all dancers were unemployed by 1931. In the workin class neighbourhoods, dance teachers faced dwindling enrolments a their students could no longer afford classes. Rather than clos their schools, these teachers taught for free. Optimistic that things would improve eventually, some of them got jobs to earn a living so they could afford to keep their schools open. [6]

In this dark time Linley Wilson's business expanded and she prospered. That was because she operated entirely in middle-cla territory. It is often forgotten that the middle classes did wel during the Depression. For those with money, the lower prices fo goods and services meant a higher standard of living.

Until Wilson opened her ballet school in 1926, the only kind of dance lessons available in Perth were the popular styles. Becaus of the association of this kind of dancing with the morally suspect women of the stage who sold their dancing bodies to audiences of strangers, middle-class parents who valued their reputations and respectability were either very nervous or completely against their daughters learning such dance.

So when Wilson opened her school she had to overcome this prejudice. Perth had never been enlightened by Diaghilev's company, Adeline Genee did not include Perth on her Australian tour of 1913, an overweight and middle-aged Maud Allen performed in 1913 and Pavlova did not visit until 1929.

Because Wilson was the first member of the middle class to work a dance teacher, she personally represented ballet. This gave her an enormous advantage in fighting her dance war. [7]

Wilson came from a particularly prominent family and she was able to enlist the power brokers, the ruling elite, the top politicians, businessmen, professionals and community leaders in her cause. They put at her disposal the public and private institutions like the University, the Church and the media. They

got behind her because she convinced them that she was on a mission for God and country.

She convinced them of this because she had two arsenals at her disposal. She knew the values of her social class and could exploit these as weaknesses. Secondly, she was one of the few people in Perth who continually travelled overseas and was, consequently, well informed. During the 20s and 30s, she travelled overseas five times, studying dance and seeing performances. This meant that she could play on others' feelings of insecurity based on the geographic isolation of Perth. It meant that her voice was the only authoritative voice of the dance expert.

Wilson knew that the nervous conservatives of the middle class wanted reassurance about their social exclusivity. So she proved that ballet was different from and better than tap dance. For one thing, she charged three times as much as any other teacher. The high prices ensured that well-to-do girls would only be associating with their own kind.

Wilson distanced her style of dancing from the working classes by playing on both anti-American and racist sentiments. She said in a letter to the editor of the newspaper in 1928 that American jazz dancing was based on the uncouth movements of the American negro and was, therefore, totally unsuitable for Australians. [8] It was her first public statement inferring that her form of English/ Russian ballet was the dance of Australians.

Wilson knew that the middle classes identified with English culture and wanted to be up-to-date with London. Although Australia ceased being a British colony in 1901 and although by 1930 most Australians were Australian-born and not British immigrants, the Australian middle classes continued to cherish English things and to refer to England as 'home'. English things were always assumed to be better than the Australian product. The Perth middle classes suffered from an enormous cultural inferiority complex.

And while the Australian working classes had become increasing anti-British after the First World War, the middle classes were largely monarchists and empirists. This reverence for the Crown was a way of holding dear the notions of social hierarchy, which were so important to those who needed reassurance that they were better than others. [9]

Wilson capitalised on this by loudly proclaiming her dance qualifications taken in London and her connections with English royalty.

Linley Wilson had been educated at elite girls schools and she was an accomplished pianist. Although she had no opportunity to

formally study dancing, she made up dances for her piano teacher's concerts. Wilson went to London in 1921 with the intention of becoming a concert pianist. When she saw Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, she changed her mind and spent the next five years studying dance.

Wilson's dance values and attitudes were shaped by this London experience. Most importantly, she was there during the formative years of the dance societies, especially the Operatic Society. She learned that dancing could be taught by those without a performance background, by women like herself, simply by following a syllabus. So she learned the syllabus, took the exams and became one of the first 'certified' dancers.

This was new in the 20s and it was called the 'scientific' approach to dancing. It was claimed to be far superior to the methods used by teachers of the popular stage dancing schools. *10*

They tended to be women who took up teaching after a career on the stage and they simply taught the dances that they knew. Science and exams had nothing to do with it. For these teachers and their students dance was fun and its purpose was to make people happy.

For the middle classes of the 20s, science was everything. Science was modernity. And Wilson could prove that her approach to dancing was modern because the content was written down in books. She taught her Perth students exactly the same stuff as London-based teachers. And, importantly, she had teachers certificates.

This standardised approach to dance training was familiar to the middle classes because it was organised just like music training. Children learned to play the piano by passing exams. So, while working class parents might boast that their dancing daughters were wonderful little entertainers, the middle class parents could with equal pride point to their daughters' dance certificates mounted on the wall. Their daughters could be certified dancers without having ever having to appear on stage.

Wilson knew that her students' parents had no desire to see their daughters take up ballet dancing as a profession. So she promised them what they did want. She promised to train their daughters to English standards of deportment.

When living in London, Wilson had several times been a guest at Buckingham Palace garden parties and balls. So she promoted herself as a glamorous role model for young ladies. Besides teaching the girls the five positions of the arms and feet, she taught them to curtsy and to sit down in a chair properly.

Having convinced parents that ballet was an essential part of their daughter's education, Wilson set about putting roots more

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The professor also arranged for Wilson to give lectures in dance education at the kindergarten teachers college as well as to his university students. No other dance teacher was a university lecturer in Perth in the 1930s.

Another set of power brokers who cemented Wilson's position were the leaders of the groups devoted to doing good in the community. Membership in these groups was the main occupation of middle-class women who were not expected to have paid jobs.

All of these groups fundraised continually for worthy causes and Wilson's ensemble was a major item for entertainment. During one year alone, her dancers performed at eighteen charity events.

Some of these groups were Church-based, others were culturally oriented. Wilson gave them lecture demonstrations, which allowed her to build up an audience. Throughout the 30s her concerts were reviewed in the press and were treated by journalists as 'high' art. Opening nights were attended by the governor, the mayor and similarly distinguished guests. Attending Wilson's concerts was an occasion of great social glamour.

Wilson had no respect for the any of the dance teachers in Perth but she felt a responsibility to try to improve them. When arrangements to establish an Australian branch of the Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing fell through, she formed the Western Australian Dance Teachers Society in 1932. Democracy and free elections had nothing to do with this group as the constitution stated that Wilson was the president and that no meeting could be held without her. [12]

At the society's first anniversary social, Wilson reminded the teachers of their lowly status in the dance hierarchy when she gave them a lecture demonstration. She said

> As classical ballet is the foundation of so many branches of dancing and therefore a necessary part of every student's training, I have taken it as the most appropriate form of dance to demonstrate. The very fact of its having been in existence for a period of over 300 years is proof of its value. [13]

It appears the membership meekly accepted her high-handed behaviour and did not retort that a 300 year old art form might, indeed, be out-of-date. They were teachers of twenty or more years experience, but they had no access to scientific training, no money during the Depression to spend years training in London. They lacked the confidence to challenge Wilson.

Wilson's true feelings about these teachers were expressed in a lecture she gave to University students.

> Many people have an entirely wrong conception of the dance. Children at their so-called dancing class learn to become thoroughly precocious. They are taught to twist their young bodies into ugly contortions in order to draw attention to themselves and so encouraged to develop ugly personalities. This is a horrible abuse of dancing and the type of work that all true dancing teachers are trying to eradicate. [14]

At the end of the decade her opinion of her colleagues was still low. A letter exchanged in 1939 between Wilson and a Melbourne-based, but London-trained teacher, lamented that

> I know you feel as I do, that dancing is in the hands of quite the wrong type of teachers and it is very hard to meet them as equals. [15]

In conclusion, Wilson won her battle to establish the ballet as the only respectable form of dance, and her opposition took on her values. By the late 1930s, the popular dance style teachers had formed their own Australian-based dance societies. These societies were set up just like the London ones, except that they examined in tap, acrobatics and highland. It was a gesture of fighting back, of refusing to be put down. But it is ironic that they adopted the sentiments of the middle classes-- that dancing was a subject for syllabi and examination. These Australian popular stage dance societies are still considered inferior to the London-based ones, like the Royal Academy of Dancing, by educational and funding authorities.

The seeds of middle-class superiority in dance, sown in the 1930s, have continued to flower. [16]

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6. The dance of the working classes is recounted in 'Cinema Ballet', Oral History Department, Battye Library, Perth, 1990.
7. For a profile of Wilson's career see the video *The Immortals*, distributed by Ausdance, Perth.
8. Linley Wilson Archives (LWA), Battye Library, Perth. Letter to editor of the *West Australian*, 29 March 1928, box 3. American Ted Shawn shared this sentiment. See *Fundamentals of a Dance Education*, Haldeman-Julius, Kanas, 1937, p. 23 "...tap dancing...is an invention of the Devil...It is a Negro dance and belongs rightfully to them" and p. 24 "The ballroom dance of today...has sprung up from Negro origins, and as such is alien to American nature and temperament."
9. Macintyre, Stuart. *The Oxford History of Australia, Volume 4, 1901-1942*, OUP, Melbourne, 1986.
10. *The Dancing Times* was the major organ of the London dance societies. See for example 'The Sitter Out', Sept. 1923, pp. 1130-1134, "...it is absolutely essential that you send your child to a teacher who has the necessary qualifications."
11. LWA, *op cit*, box 3.
12. Constitution and correspondence, *ibid*, box 14.
13. LWA, *ibid*, box 3.
14. *ibid*
15. Correspondence with Clair Aytoun, *ibid*
16. For a related discussion on this issue see Russell Dumas, 'Dislocated, Isolated, Seduced and Abandoned', *Writings on Dance*, vol.3, Winter 1988. "The Australian perception of what constituted dance was dominated by the view from English ballet - after all, every town of even a few thousand people always had a ballet teacher who was answerable to English examiners," p.3.

"DO-SI-DO THE ONE BELOW": AMERICAN COUNTRY DANCING AND AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES

Juliana Flinn

In the midst of a culture stressing competitive individualism, separation, specialization, and utilitarianism runs a strain of commitment to others, yearning for community, and concern for personal relationships and spirituality. The world of work in American culture tends to be a cold corporate one, where work and its product are paramount, not personal relationships. Bureaucracies of increasing scale and complexity contribute to a sense of alienation (see Harris 1981). Yet this is not the totality of American culture. In fact, many Americans actively seek ways to ameliorate, escape, or soften that strain of our culture. To redress the excesses of individualism and revitalize a sense of coherence and integration, many Americans are looking to traditions that represent those values. Some believe they are finding such a tradition in American country dancing. Primarily contra and old-time square dancing, this so-called "traditional" dance is perceived by participants as incorporating a sense of community, a focus on interpersonal relationships, and an egalitarian ethic.

Although American country dancing as practiced today is primarily a revivalist practice (see, for example, Bealle 1988; Löfgren 1989; Whisnant 1983), dancers perceive a link with our heritage, and participation provides them with a sense of community, one that derives not simply from a shared experience but from a sense of shared values represented by the dancing. Even though we tend to label the dancing of cultural others as "ethnic," this American tradition is an American ethnic dance because of its connection with a set of American values. Though not inherently conservative, dance can certainly reflect social relations and reinforce cultural values and ideals (e.g., Hanna 1987, 1988; Kaeppler 1978; Lomax 1968: 222-247; Royce 1977; Spencer 1985). Even a revivalist practice will incorporate cultural values; otherwise the practice would have little meaning to its participants. The anthropological work on the construction of tradition clearly argues that regardless of the actual continuity of practice, behavior asserted as traditional represents current values and interests (see, for example, Bauman and Briggs 1990; Flinn 1992; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Linnekin 1983; Tambiah 1989).

The values associated with American country dancing encompass a set of values we view as a part of our heritage yet somehow missing in much of our work life. These include equality, commitment to family and community, solidarity, acceptance of difference, and an egalitarianism that encourages all to achieve. Anthropologists studying American culture indicate that these values stand beside--even seem to contradict--those of competitive individualism, self-reliance, and personal achievement. They discuss contradictions, dichotomies, or dualities of some sort in American culture: American cultural ideology stresses values such as self-reliance, achievement,

competition, and individualism, but also conformity, sociability, interdependence, cooperation, and equality (Hsu 1972; Spindler and Spindler 1983).

The language varies from study to study, ranging from "order of law/order of nature" (Schneider 1979) to "individualism/commitment" (Bellah et al. 1985) and "competition/cooperation" (Hsu 1972). Each, however, discusses some sort of contrast. Hsu (1972), to cite an influential example, maintains that our culture emphasizes the uniqueness of individuals, self-reliance, and competition for personal, individual success, which is all nonetheless coupled with a yearning for a connection with others that is not competitive and not oriented towards material success. Garretson (1976) discusses incongruities between cultural beliefs in equality and in personal achievements, and between stresses to achieve and stresses to conform. Spindler (1977) discusses a shift in American values, one that is moving away, at least in some segments of our population, from success based on personal, competitive achievement for its own sake.

Schneider (1979) describes a contrast in American culture between "work" and "love", the latter defined as "diffuse, enduring solidarity." Each domain has its own "code for conduct." The code for the world of work "entails enlightened self interest, calculation of personal advantage, the dominance of rationality, and the rational orientation of means to ends" (Schneider 1979:171), whereas the code for conduct of "diffuse, enduring solidarity" denies self interest. In this latter domain, rationality, concerns with right and wrong, and personal interests are all to be put aside in favor of acceptance of others and support for the unity of the whole. He likens kinship, community, nationality, and ethnicity in this regard as all in this second domain with a code for conduct requiring diffuse, enduring solidarity. The sense of community described by American country dancers, the etiquette of dancing, and the emphasis on nonjudgmental relations with others reveal the connection with this domain of American culture.

My analysis is based on data drawn from participant observation, examination of contra and square dances, and extensive open-ended interviews with dancers, callers, and musicians. Most of these interviews come from members of the Arkansas Country Dance Society, but I also have interviews from other scattered dance groups around the country. In these interviews I explored people's perceptions of American country dancing; their attraction to it, especially compared with other dance possibilities, such as Western square dancing; and emic notions of concepts such as a good evening, a good dance, and a good dancer. I also examined the language of dance flyers and newsletters extolling the virtues of the dances. Whenever possible in this paper, I provide examples of the language and metaphors of the dancers themselves.

The group in Arkansas, the basis of most of my research, started in 1978, became an affiliate of the national Country Dance and Song Society in 1980, and currently has over a hundred individual and family members, although anyone is welcome to

dance, member or not. The flyers specifically advertise: "Everyone is welcome, all dances are taught, no experience necessary."[1]

The flyers as well as the interviews indicate an emphasis on accessibility, a critical ingredient of this sense of community. Anyone is believed capable of country dancing; people can supposedly participate from their very first evening and learn without taking special classes. Commitment to the dance and to making it work for the group is paramount, not a particular level of skill.[2] Dancers are proud of this openness, especially the notion that everyone is welcome at the dance and that no lessons are necessary. The pride in openness reveals a theme of egalitarianism in country dancing--in being open to new people, tolerant of beginners, and appreciative of serious attempts to participate. In fact, part of an often expressed contempt for Western square dance groups is directed at their requirement that people be members and take a series of classes, which contrasts with the professed lack of exclusivity on the part of the country dance group.

This professed openness relates to American beliefs in democracy, the "common man," and the "self-made man".[3] Dancers even tout the lack of need for lessons. One dancer, for example, made an explicit contrast with "university" knowledge, describing dancers at a university as "a mile wide and an inch deep" as opposed to country dancers who are "an inch wide and a mile deep," adding, "I think there is a university attitude that if knowledge isn't in the university system, then it probably isn't there." In other words, this dancing is democratic and certainly not something that should be in the hands of an elite, a group of learned people, or only those who have acquired the necessary skills through formal means. One learns from experience, and even someone who has never danced before is supposed to be welcome:

> I want to say [something] I heard from a man that has written a lot of dances: you never want to have a dance community and sponsor a dance event in which beginners can not come and learn. I agree with that totally.

To accomplish this goal at the dance itself, the caller has everyone walk through a dance, several times if necessary, and explains in detail any figures that pose potential difficulty. In fact, one of the keys to being a good caller is detecting how much or how little needs to be taught. Callers also work to promote this accessibility by starting an evening with easier dances and moving during the evening to more difficult ones, gradually introducing the more complicated movements. This accessibility, this "equal opportunity" aspect of dancing, is highly valued and stressed by participants. In fact, dancers contrast this with other styles, such as English country dancing:

> The footwork is real complex in a lot of the dances in the English country [dancing] . . . . [In] American country dance there's really not much of any footwork, but it's more of just being ready to do whatever you do with your hands . . . . [English country dancing] was more of an unsocial thing to do and it was so stylized.

Another person commented:

> That is one thing about contra dancing, it can be a lot of fun without a whole lot of background. You don't have to spend a long time learning how to do it.

People seem to take pride in the dancing not being refined and elegant--elite--but something more raucous and boisterous, more in keeping with an image of America as rough and unpolished, or perhaps more natural. One dancer, for example, when expressing a contrast with Western square dancing, said:

> I tend to be much looser and take up more space. They [Western square dancers] are very measured. They keep their arms in unless they are up and then they aren't, and this sort of thing . . . . There wasn't much room for personal expression.

Others spoke of English country dancing as involving "so much more control" and being "elegant." One dancer complained, "I'm not just real enthralled with the slower, more proper dancing."

Another way of avoiding elitism is keeping expense to a minimum. A contrast with ballroom dancing is revealing:

> Although the instructors were good, the atmosphere had a way of teaching us that was pretentious; it was almost hilarious . . . . We did learn some there, but there was just such an emphasis of making money . . . so there was structure to sign up for lots of lessons and to sign up in advance.

For American country dancing, however, entrance fees are typically only a few dollars, usually enough to cover the expense of renting a hall and paying a band. Dancers wear comfortable, ordinary clothes, not costumes or elegant outfits that can become quite expensive.

What is required is commitment to dancing. Participation means caring about dance:

> Our dancers are, for the most part, some really nice people, and they welcome other people in. They're real giving. But they are serious about their dancing, too.

Neither talent, money, experience, nor skill are supposed to be necessary, but at the same time, no other consideration is allowed to outweigh the interest in dance itself. Dancing certainly provides a time and place to meet a man or woman, but having that as a top priority is not acceptable:

> What you announce is, "I'm here to dance, and if it happens I meet someone nice here that I want to go to coffee with or get a pizza, fine." And the people who come with the attitude that, "I'm here to dance, and if I meet somebody, that's neat," are the ones that tend to stay.

But people are far from puritanical. Meeting someone is clearly acceptable and having fun is explicitly a goal. In fact, a definition of a good dance evening is often a variation of "everyone having a good time," not a series of particular dances or collection of skilled dancers.

This dancing is imbued with values of democracy in yet another way: no permanent hierarchy is involved in the dance formations.[4] As couples, dancers form squares, lines, or circles, and everyone has an opportunity to be head couple, first couple, or active couple, depending on the dance.[5] A non-

competitive and non-hierarchical structure appeals to many Americans, and the fact that all have equal opportunity to be in any position also reflects American ideals of democracy and social mobility.

Even though the Arkansas group, probably typical of most groups, is white and primarily middle class, with a large percentage of professional people, its members consistently talk of diversity because anyone is supposed to be welcome. In interviews they cited older participants as examples and mentioned several different occupations. Occasionally someone commented on the relative homogeneity but at the same time lamented it, especially the dearth of those in their young twenties and people of color. Most seem to appreciate the diversity that exists and promote the ethic of inclusiveness. Many clearly expressed this when making a comparison with Western square dancing:

> The group that we belonged to did not allow singles in. I don't like that. I don't like being prejudiced against singles, children, people of different races. I like to include absolutely everyone.

One problematic exception, however, is children. Some dancers explicitly want children to be included, and they even phrase the issue in terms of inclusiveness. They want no category of people excluded and worry that banning children is the beginning of excluding others. Some supporters of children cast the issue as one of tradition and the sense that this dancing is "wholesome" and for families:[6]

> I feel that country dancing is a folk dance art and is very much a part of life and should be incorporating as much as possible, and that includes all the generations that are alive at a given time. We don't give a limit on the upper age of people who participate, and I think that kids should be around, especially since that is the way it will stay alive . . . . They will get an appreciation for something that was good and fun and associated with their parents.

Those who would prefer that children not be allowed (a small minority in the Arkansas group) shy away from casting the problem as one of inclusiveness, however. Instead, they talk of children being too small or bothering dancers with behavior problems. Another concern has been that dancing encourages flirting and thus a sexuality inappropriate for children. These dancers, in effect, see openness and inclusiveness as extended to all adults, vehemently resisting the notion that excluding children is the first step towards excluding others. They, too, assert inclusiveness as a value.

Many dance society newsletters from time to time discuss another problem: "center set syndrome," which is a concern precisely because of this value placed on inclusiveness and equality. Experienced dancers want complicated, challenging dances, and they like to dance with other experienced dancers. In some parts of the country, then, these people tend to line up together for dances, leaving beginners scattered at the fringes. As a result, beginners also lose the advantage of dancing with experienced dancers. This is stated as a problem precisely

because of the value placed on including everyone and mixing beginners and experienced dancers. Center set syndrome is condemned, and these articles propose ways of avoiding or breaking up such formations.[7]

The notion of inclusiveness extends to being nonjudgmental, an elaboration of the value of acceptance. Commitment to dance is the essential requirement, not skill or talent, and criticism of the quality of a person's dancing is discouraged. This value appears in descriptions dancers provide of "good" dancers. In fact, when I asked for a description of a "good" dancer, people usually responded by speaking instead of "experienced" dancers. Experience is a characteristic anyone can acquire and thus in the realm of the "common man." Furthermore, whereas the opposite of a "good" dancer would presumably be something along the lines of a "bad" or "poor" dancer--a description that clearly involves making a judgement--the opposite of an "experienced" dancer is a "beginner." A potentially problematic category consists of those who have been dancing long enough not to be "beginners" but who nonetheless dance poorly. Yet the label for this category is still not negative. These people are typically called "those who have been dancing for awhile." Even when describing a less skilled dancer, people qualify their comments in a way that highlights acceptance and the importance of qualities other than skill. The following is an example:

> He is never going to be a smooth dancer. He is not particularly gifted, and he doesn't catch on to the figures easily, but he is a fun person to have in a set. He is a pleasant person.

"Experience" is something that is available to all, not a special quality residing in just a few people, an eminently American value:

> It [American country dancing] is accessible to a wide variety of people and a wide range of skill. You can get different things out of it. I see people who are longtime participants who are not particularly aggressive.

In the same vein:

> There are some people who come for a year and still are beginners, and there are some people who come one time and they catch on and are not beginners anymore . . . and keep other people feeling comfortable.

Acceptance and being nonjudgmental appeared in discussions of dance callers and teachers as well, not just dancers. When describing a good caller, for example, someone had the following comment:

> [A good caller] can make mistakes but pretty well knows how to handle it, or if he makes mistakes, he can call through the mistake, fix it in such a way that the dance can go on.

Another revealing comment is a contrast with Scottish country dancing (made, by the way, by an avid Scottish country dancer):

> I don't like the attitude they have about the dance . . . . The way they train you to teach is to constantly point out to people the things they're doing wrong . . . . There's too much negative in the way it's taught.

The value on community and family and a sense of connectedness with other people that seems to counter the individualistic and competitive aspect of American life are reflected in how the dances are participatory, group events, not opportunities for individuals to show off. Commitment to that group--to others, to one's partner, to one's set--is paramount:

> I've seen some very wonderful skilled people who haven't developed a social aspect of their dance and are uncomfortable with the social aspect which is important . . . . A good country dancer pretty well surrenders the concept of dancing perfectly--at least as far as the things that make a ballet dancer perfect. The social aspect lays in strongly.

The importance of connection with others comes out in discussions of good dance partners. Giving attention to the partner--connecting well with a partner--is a frequent criterion. One person defined a good dancer as follows:

> I would say the person that gives attention to the people they're dancing with and what they're doing. Good eye contact because you're dancing to music but you're also dancing with other people. Be involved with all of those people and not be confused. Dancing with people instead of doing an ego trip . . . . I think a good dancer is helpful to the other people around them . . . someone who is trying to increase the pleasure of their partner first of all and then everyone in the set and then everyone in the whole line.

Another typical definition is:

> . . . a person who is really enjoying what they're doing. They might not be technically the best dancer on the floor, but if they are enjoying themselves and making it fun for the other people in the set, that's a good dancer . . . . Now I have known some very good dancers who are no fun to dance with because they only want to dance with what they consider to be the very best dancers. They're not very giving of themselves. Even though they're technically a very good dancer, they're no fun to dance with.

In fact, someone who is skilled but neglects a partner is stigated. One informant discussed the "kamikaze" dancer:

> They want to show off with hot contra dance moves . . . . In fact, a woman recently had her wrist broken by a man who insisted on twirling her when she specifically said, "I don't want to be twirled," and he went ahead and did it and broke her wrist . . . . I think it's fun to add flourishes, as long as the person gets to the place they are supposed to be and on time. But all too often the new men see it and end up twirling their partner off into outer space and the woman is nowhere near where she is supposed to be to start whatever comes next. To me that is a contra dance crime.

Connectedness and sociability are also highlighted by the asis on participation. These dances are not spectator ts; nor are they merely a collection of couples. Couples e as part of a group, whether it is a circle, square, or , and this means dancing and interacting with those others as

well as one's own partner. Furthermore, the dances are not competitions between groups, individuals, or sexes--an attraction in our competitive, impersonal society. Each dance actually requires cooperation, both among members of the group and between men and women. Each has to be aware of the behavior of others and her or his linkage with the whole. The dancing is more than a collection of males and females, or of couples. No individual can even leave in the middle of a dance without the entire set falling apart. The more cooperation that takes place and the more people take and give cues to other dancers, the more successful the dance. Some dancers made disparaging comments about other styles of dancing that seem to make a partner or participation in a group irrelevant, especially when dancing involved showing off as an individual. One, for example, in reference to the twist said, "I felt obnoxious."

The group is a priority over the individual, and dancers even tend to complain about someone who stays with a single partner most of the evening. It's as though such a person is being selfish. Dancers are expected to change partners, and it is acceptable for women to ask men. People may arrive with a partner--spouse or friend--but the dance is not made up of those partners. Proper etiquette, in fact, is to find a new partner with each dance:

> The fun of the country dance is to dance with a different partner most every dance. . . . And you may dance with the worst dancer there and the best dancer there.

People clearly contrast this with the practice in Western square dances, in which people are expected to dance the evening with the partner they came with:

> It was not the idea to ask someone else's wife or friend to dance, whereas at the country dances, the etiquette is that you dance with someone else every dance.

It's not that one's partner is irrelevant. In fact, some people dislike the occasional dance in which the figures involve dancing with everyone else in the set except partners. In such dances, people technically have partners but then move up and down the line, swinging others but never the partner. The swing is the critical factor, here, the figure that provides the essential connection. One caller, for example, talked about deliberately avoiding dances in which people never really dance--especially swing--with their partner:

> It is a social activity and it seems kind of silly in a social activity--you asked somebody to participate with you in something and then you don't really get involved with them.

This connection with others appears in discussions of organizing an evening of dances. When explaining what makes one move or figure easier or harder than another, callers tend to portray easier moves as those which keep a dancer connected with others. In the words of one caller:

> What I think is ideal is to start with dances that are connected. People are holding on to each other a lot--not where the people go down the outside of the set and never

see their partner ever again . . . . I do circles and stars and things like that to start out with.

The same caller sets up an evening of dances so that the first several dances are "easy to join in on," as people wander in. If callers stated a preference for a type of dance, they mentioned contras, because these allow an individual to dance with more people and a set to be more inclusive. A square takes four couples, but a contra accommodates as many as a hall will hold. A circle mixer or a square dance are much harder to join at the last minute, whereas a couple can fairly readily join the end of a contra line as the dance is being walked through. Or they can watch and then join the end of the line. Again, the intent is to be inclusive and connected. Dancers themselves tend to prefer contras:

> The squares are okay [but] you usually have a smaller group that you interact with.

Compared with Western square dancing, in which people dance with the same partner all the time,

> You get more interaction with the folk dancing, because you trade partners and different things like that and that's the way you get to know more people . . . . It's okay to dance with other people and get to know them.

This connection with others, a sense of community, appears in definitions of a good dance evening as well:

> I think a fair crowd . . . where you have more selection of partners.

One man commented on wanting a dancer matching his level of energy, to make a special type of connection:

> There are quite a number of women who dance there that have that same type of energy. I'll try to dance with some partner like that. Just to let that part of mine join.

Although the social aspect of this dancing cannot be overstated, especially relative to an emphasis on skill, it must still be coupled with an interest in dance:

> I was at least participating in a dance before I knew what the whole point of it was. It was that brightly lit room that they had; everyone was smiling and laughing and having a good time. Even though I didn't know what I was doing, that reassured me . . . . The people were there to dance. It was social, and they socialized afterwards, but you could tell they were there to dance.

A very special aspect of this connection with others involves sanctioned touching, a kind of connection not otherwise allowed in American life, but highly valued in our culture. This is face-to-face personal interaction, requiring touch and eye contact. This is a

> place where you can relate to other people. You can touch them. . . . Your partner dances with you. Particularly when you are swinging or giving weight, I really like that. . . . You have that sense of creating a common center that you move around, that you are creating something bigger than yourself, or outside of yourself . . . . It works. You are directly one-to-one with somebody . . . . Here is your space, and for a short time, a space to relate to a group of

people. And the group relates to each other collectively, too.

And

It's an activity that people can do, and they have a lot of coming together and holding hands, putting their arms around each other, looking each other in the eye, that you don't even get in a lot of the socializing parties and other kinds of things. It's a way to have interaction that is socially acceptable and yet is very warming . . . . I don't have any qualms about couple dancing, but I think there is a value in country dancing as a group . . . . You can't get that kind of experience very easily. You can get it maybe in group therapy.

Woven throughout this emphasis on the group, however, is a strain of individual freedom, a perceived lack of rules, a sense of being away from routine and rigidity. First, there is room for individual flair, though it should never be at the expense of the group effort. This flair

might be eye contact, rhythm, a physical skill or knack for varying the dance at some point. So you can be dancing along and everything is going along as expected, and then there is a little bit of flair. You remember that in a dancer.

Another example of flair is:

Simply like doing a do-si-do not just backing up but spinning at the same time [or] when you go down the hall and back and turn as a couple, doing a California twirl instead of just backing up.

Several dancers revealed this value by again making a contrast with Western square dancing. One informant, who tried such dancing, complained that

There were rules as far as social conduct with who you dance with and your behavior and things like no alcohol. Many of the rules I thought would be perfectly good, but I was really surprised that there was someone ticking them off with numbers beside each one, which I thought would be accepted, logical behavior. . . . [For example], there was a rule about being friendly and helpful to people. There was a rule about criticizing the dancing of another person. There was a rule about dress--all of which seemed sort of sixth gradish to me, that I found sort of curious. The other thing I noticed was the interaction; the way people interacted with each other was structured and very narrow. Each set all hugged the set at the end of the dance--a sixteen armed hug at the end of the dance. Many things socially that country dancers take for granted or take for freedom of individual expression was structured to where I felt like there was a protection in it. There would be few surprises in the evening, whereas you may have country dance people who like to give exuberant bear hugs and other country dancers who don't want to be hugged at all. Some people like to get a kiss and some people don't. All this is left up to the individual.

In the same vein:

> We have more freedom. It is not rigid . . . . When we are at a dance, it seems like we have some freedom to move and put in an extra twirl. We are not confined . . . . I felt too confined [with Western square dancing]. They have challenging things in the Western square dancing to keep moving up all these levels. You have to remember all the different calls. But [it's] just too rigid, I guess.

The perceived lack of rules even contributes to the sense of community, because it means people supposedly attend to others in the group because they choose to, not because they have to follow a rule:

> I would much rather pattern my behavior around the needs of others rather than written rules . . . . That is part of the etiquette of country dancing.

This belief in and value placed on avoidance of rules provides a perception of freedom to follow one's own individual interests but with a result that a community develops:

> I think we function fairly well without a lot of written rules. In those cases where we stumble a little bit by letting something slide, I think we can handle it by facing up to the fact and speaking about it. I think that when we try to make rules, we are running from the responsibility of dealing with the uncomfortable aspect of dealing with people. We are hiding behind a rule which then affects a whole bunch of people that don't need to be affected. It diminishes that feeling of acceptance that our dances have. Each rule gives you less a feeling that you would be accepted. I think you can have a group of rules, none of which exclude you, and you would still exclude yourself, just because there are so many rules.

Contributing to a sense of a community is a perception among the dancers that they are participating in a part of our heritage, even though this is a revivalist movement. There is a sense of being part of a community coming forward from the past. Some perceive explicit links with the past as continued into the present:

> We dance in the clothes we wear . . . . We don't wear costumes to dance. We dance in our everyday clothes pretty much.

Another comment runs in the same vein:

> We dance to similar music, at least music that is a direct outgrowth of the way the dancing or the music was done before. When we do dances, we try to at least have a link and know how they were done before.

But many like the idea that the dancing is not rigidly copied from the past. Sometimes the term "living tradition" surfaces.

> I think oftentimes we like to know that we changed it. We liked it this way but we will admit that it was the other way.

Some even incorporate this heritage into defining the dancing itself:

> This is what you do to traditional music. This is what the music is for. If you like fiddle music, this is what you are supposed to do.

Live music, in fact, is one defining characteristic for country dancers, once again contrasting with Western square dancing. The music is an aspect of country dancing that is asserted as making it traditional, even though the music, like the dancing, is a tradition constructed in the present.[8] Dancers clearly view the music as integral to the definition of what they do:

> We move on the phrase, at the beginning of the phrase to the end of the phrase. We make the music and interpret the music. Some Western Square dancers would disagree with me, but what I see those people do is they do the moves and don't pay a lot of attention to what the music is. Part of that is that we do emphasize having live music.

All these elements combine to build that sense of community, that solidarity and commitment, the "solidarity" that is a value in American culture:

> To me it is a model of a community in a sense . . . . So many people create [it] together in several ways . . . . There is structure, but things work within that structure with room for improvisation and creativity in it as well . . . . Part of that community is the interaction with your partner both in a social sense and in eye contact . . . a conscious sense of here we are all experiencing this kind of dance, that we can make something out of that together and relate through that . . . . We are out here to do something together.

Some people spell it out even more explicitly:

> We have a little community now. We've developed a community of friends. We have our fights and our disagreements, and we fall out, but basically we get along pretty good as a group of people that are trying to accomplish something as complicated as what we are doing.

Dancers in part are talking of Turner's "communitas" (Turner 1969), but they are also speaking of a community constructed according to American cultural values. American country dancing falls into Schneider's second domain, with a focus on this type of community. The unity critical to this domain is a commitment to dancing, creating a common sense of belonging, with acceptance of others rather than judgement. There is concern for others and participation in a group rather than a focus on one's personal advancement, and the code for conduct requires "diffuse, enduring solidarity." In many respects community in American culture serves as a substitute for kinship, especially in a society that has such mobility. Furthermore, community in American culture involves a sense of place and ancestry. This dancing is thus an ethnic dance, giving participants a sense of common roots, identity, and heritage--something shared--contributing to the creation of that community.

This also explains much of the appeal of this dance, especially for urban professionals. Our "culture of separation and specialization" (Bellah, et al. 1985) highlights the individual, so we need participation in a group, a community; we need to connect with others to resolve the cultural tension between "individualism and commitment". But this can't be just

any kind of group. In fact, most of us are already too much a part of a group, typically some sort of corporation or organization, one that is massive and anonymous, with each of us serving as small, insignificant pieces. Ideally, we are efficient, productive pieces, and the commitment is to a product and to materialism and competition. This is particularly the case in urban environments. American country dancing resonates with the other stream of American culture, one that highlights equality, personal commitment to others, and participation in a community. Ideally, there is no need to feel personal failure or worry about judgement. The "code for conduct" is acceptance, the only price being commitment to dance and to other dancers.

NOTES

1. Although one Friday a month is devoted to English country dancing, the other weeks are for American. The first, third, and fifth Fridays most explicitly welcome beginners, and the fourth Friday is devoted to contra dancing. The flyers describe the dances as follows:

> Country and folk dances of America and the British Isles, including quadrilles, longways and square sets, New England contras, English, Irish and Scottish reels, jigs, rants. Polkas, waltzes and schottisches. Southern mountain and Western squares, Kentucky running set.

2. In Arkansas, even though two dances a month are for "experienced" dancers, the flyers promoting the dances highlight the first, third, and fifth Friday evenings as open to all, with "beginners welcome."

3. Not only do dancers not need lessons, but the dance group itself can be "self-made." One member of a dance group said, "We've come a long way here, to start from scratch and then to build up this group of dancers."

4. This is not to say there is no hierarchy at all. There typically are gender differences in the dance roles, and the roles of caller, dancer, and musician involve a distinct division of labor.

Male and female roles in country dancing in many respects follow traditional gender roles, although there is a movement toward gender neutral dancing. And some aspects of etiquette allow more gender equality than would be traditional. For example, one man said:

> I was real timid about dancing, because I was aware that in ballroom dancing, men were supposed to lead. That is a real burden on a man that doesn't know how to dance. ... In the country dancing, the parts were much more equal. As a beginner, I certainly didn't lead, and no one minded.

Otherwise, many aspects of traditional American gender roles are evident in the language, movement, and etiquette. First, unless a dance call is directed at a couple, it is typically directed to the man, such as "turn that lady" and "swing the girl behind". Second, although callers are increasingly attempting to avoid contrasting "men" with "girls", the resulting "gents" and "ladies" or "men" and "ladies" nonetheless carry cultural messages of traditional roles. Women do much of the decorative moves such as twirling, with men theoretically directing these twirls. Dance directions speak of men "guiding" and "supporting" women (Bonner 1983:109; Nevell 1977:85; Ryan 1926:22). With the current movement towards an ideal of gender equality, people are trying to find ways of avoiding such unevenness.

5. This tradition goes back to colonial American when English traits were being rejected and American virtues of democracy actively promoted in their stead. For example, dance positions began to be drawn by lot rather than assigned according to social class (Royce 1977:129).

6. Contributing to a sense of community is, in fact, the feeling among many--though not all--that this dancing is a family affair. And communities traditionally were made up of families. The Arkansas group, for example, explicitly encourages the sense of families as units of the group by allowing a family to pay the same annual dues as an individual and have one vote. Many want children at least allowed at the dances to encourage this sense of family. Many talk of this dancing as "wholesome". Or, "I just think it is a fun thing because it is a family thing." Finally, some speak of finding the emotional support one looks for in a family and community. More than one, for example, talked of how therapeutic their participation was when they were in the midst of a divorce.

7. This problem of experienced dancers wanting to dance more challenging dances is dealt with in a variety of ways, and these can at the same time attempt to incorporate the value of inclusiveness, so intimately related to that sense of community. The Arkansas group, for example, has two dances a month that are advertized as "for experienced dancers," with two or three others a month that are "for everybody." In addition, no "beginner" is asked to leave a dance that is technically for "experienced" dancers. This type of solution is typical because it tries to both cater to the needs of experienced dancers while at the same time does not appear to be developing any sort of elite.

8. For a discussion of music and tradition, with an analysis of "folk music," see Bohlman 1988.

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APPROPRIATION AND APPRECIATION

SYLVIA GLASSER

INTRODUCTION

In June 1990 I had a request from the local South African organiser of a ballet based examining body with its headquarters in London. She asked me if I could help them with the "Bushman deer dance" as they were thinking of introducing a "primitive" dance section in their childrens' examinations. This set me thinking about several issues relating to the relationship between the dominant Western culture and indigenous South African culture. First of all I suggested that the concept of "primitive dance" was problematic, and I have discussed this issue in a separate paper (Glasser 1993).

The second issue which this incident raised was the question of cultural appropriation. By appropriation I mean taking something that belongs to someone else and making it your own. This can be done either by valuing, respecting and understanding the "other" culture ie appreciation, or by brashly taking without regard, knowledge or sensitivity towards the "other" culture.

I will examine these issues in the South African context in relation to:

1. The dominant Western[1] or "white" culture .
2. The sub-ordinate indigenous "black" or African[2] culture.

Particular attention will be focused on the music/dance[3], of these two cultures.

I apologize for describing people and their culture in traditional apartheid or racist terminology i.e. black or white. However, the material for this paper is set in a society, where even though the laws have now been changed, racism and colour-coding have been entrenched. In order to discuss these issues in their context it is sometimes necessary to continue to refer to people or cultures in terms of colour, but these terms are not intended to be derogatory. While the issues are set specifically in a South African context they have a universal relevance in a multi-cultural world.

The Eland Bull Dance

I return now to the incident of the phone call re the "deer dance". On the one hand I believe it was positive that at last a Western dance institution was recognising the value of indigenous Southern African culture as something worthwhile studying. However, there were several disturbing factors that needed to be examined. Firstly there was the question of the naming of the dance.

What was referred to as the "deer" dance I presumed was the Eland Bull Dance. It is common practice for people from the Western, or dominant culture, to lump "non-western" cultural forms of expression or dance together in an arbitrary and non-specific way. Keali'inohomoku (1969) discusses this tendency. In Bushman' belief systems, the eland which is a particular species of deer, has special ritualistic and religious significance. The eland is believed to possess supernatural potency or power which other deer or buck do not possess to the same degree.

Secondly there was the problem of the content of the dance. The Eland Bull dance is part of the fertility ritual performed by the women when a young Bushman maiden reaches puberty. The dance is sexually explicit with the women, as in mating, suggestively swaying their bare buttocks out towards an older man who takes on the role of the Eland Bull (Lewis-Williams 1990: 77).

Thirdly there was the question of the meaning of the dance. The Eland Bull dance was a sacred ceremony which marked the rite of passage of the Bushman girl from childhood to womanhood. It has religious significance. It was not just a recreation dance or a dance performed for entertainment.

Before I examine the issues underlying various problems, we need to have a historical perspective.

WESTERN ATTITUDES TO INDIGENOUS BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN CULTURE

Historically, indigenous South African culture was seen as less civilized, less valuable and on a lower level than Western culture. When the colonial settlers arrived in South Africa in the 17th century they found people who could not read or write and who were not Christians. In the white settlers' terms these attributes were regarded as the marks of civilization. Furthermore the indigenous people were technologically undeveloped, which again was interpreted as a sign of their inferiority. They were seen as child-like and simple or as savages, but either way they were not respected. Their culture and beliefs were misunderstood or perfunctorily dismissed. There was an evangelical zeal reinforced by the coming of the missionaries in the 18th and 19th centuries to convert and "civilize" the indigenous population according to Western values.

The attitudes of the British imperialists and colonialists in the 19th and 20th centuries was one of absolute belief in the superiority of their system and ideas. Social Darwinism served to reinforce colonial supremist philosophies. While various forms of racism had been in practice since colonisation, formal apartheid was legalised in the mid 20th century.

APARTHEID AND CULTURAL PURITY

Cultural exclusivity or purity, and cultural preservation are dangerously close. It would be difficult to object on moral grounds to any group that wished to practice and even preserve their cultural traditions such as songs and dances. However, separatist or exclusivist tendencies can easily be distorted to serve racism, as we have seen with nazism and apartheid. Apartheid philosophy was largely formulated by cultural anthropologists in the 1950's. The different cultures or "ethnic groups" or "tribes" of South Africa were to be kept apart and be forced to develop separately. Cultures were seen as discrete or separate homogeneous entities which must be preserved that way. Therefore the Zulus, Xhosas, Sothos, Afrikaners, English were seen as separate groups or nations with their own traditions. Contact should occur only at the workplace, but schools, living areas, places of entertainment etc. were separate. Any form of interaction or cultural fusion was actively discouraged by the architects and enforcers of apartheid. We know that the results of this cultural exclusivity were horrific.

FUSION

Central to the question of cultural appropriation is the concept of cultural fusion. By cultural fusion I mean the synthesis or integration or combination of two or more cultural forms of expression which have their roots or sources in different traditions or different countries. Communities are becoming less homogeneous with improved communication and media, and cultural fusion has been accelerated in the 20th century. Cultural fusion will happen whatever one's attitudes towards it.

If we examine cultural fusion in South Africa in the 20th century we will see that, in spite of apartheid, fusion has been occurring. However, until recently the flow was from the dominant culture of the West to the subordinate African or indigenous culture. There are several examples of fusion that occurred at a popular level in music/dance. The rural black men who came to the cities with the migrant labour system came into contact with Western culture which they would absorb and adapt and fuse with their songs and dances. Urbanisation meant many rural black people settled in cities or special segregated "townships" or squatter camps. As there were no structured forms of leisure ie cinemas, libraries etc., people used their own resources to entertain themselves and new forms of dance and music developed. Racial legislation meant that urban black residents were often illegally resident in the cities, and forms of cultural expression such as music or dance were often also a form of political resistance to a hostile system.

Marabi.

Marabi music/dance developed in the urban slumyards of Johannesburg in the early 20th century. The shebeens or illicit drinking clubs provided social meeting places where the music and dancing was as important as the liquor. The music of the shebeen musicians assimilated elements which included traditional African, Afrikaans folk, American rag-time and jazz into a single new urban music style called marabi. The marabi dance also drew on elements of African and Western forms of dance. Marabi music/dance has had a re-birth recently with groups such as the Jazz Pioneers and Mango Grove.

Iscathamiya

Similarly Iscathamiya was an urban black South African form of music/dance which absorbed Western elements into the traditional African forms. The Zulu migrant workers in Natal in the 1930's fused Zulu wedding songs and dances, traditional Ngoma songs and dances, Christian hymnody, and American minstrel and rag-time music/dance. Iscathamiya is very much alive with Ladysmith Black Mambazo developing their own version of this syncretic cultural form.

Pantsula

Pantsula developed in the urban "townships" in the 1970's with elements of break-dancing, Michael Jackson "moonwalking", South African gumboot dancing and the syncopated cross-rhythms of traditional African dancing. Pantsula groups throughout the country organised festivals and competitions. As with Marabi and Iscathamiya, Pantsula was developed by South African black people who incorporated Western white elements into their music/dance. The flow was one way.

ACTIVE FUSION IN DANCE

During the past five to ten years the trend has changed. There has been what I refer to as "active" or conscious fusion in dance/music on an increasing scale. The difference now is that the fusion is flowing or happening in both directions and very actively from African or indigenous black culture to Western or white culture. It is happening at the level of theatrical performances in music and dance as well as in informal situations. In the dance it has led to some original, innovative, exciting and thought-provoking work where different groups have produced their own brand of fusion between Western modern dance, jazz or ballet on the one hand and traditional or township South African dance on the other. The Dance Umbrella Festival founded five years ago as an annual platform for new choreography has been the host to dozens of these fusion dance works.

Throughout the year companies and groups ranging from the government sponsored Performing Arts Council dance companies through to struggling independent community based groups perform dances of which a high proportion is fusion work.

The interest in the dances of indigenous black South African people or "African dance"[5] has not been confined to performances. Workshops have been held in which black dancers and musicians teach white teachers or students. Tertiary and secondary dance and drama educational institutions have introduced elements of indigenous black South African culture or African dance in their courses and they are consulting African people in the process.

Fusion and politics

This trend is not unrelated to the changing political climate in South Africa and by the more cynical could be interpreted as political expediency. Previously the incorporation of African elements into Western cultural forms of expression happened mainly at protest theatre/dance level. Since the 1970's some artists/choreographers or non-racial groups[6] had worked consciously, using African dance/music and rituals combined with Western forms, to work against the enforced separation of apartheid. For some of these artists and groups it was often blatant political protest, but for others the conscious act of valuing indigenous black culture and incorporating it into their work, in itself, was an act of defiance for a white choreographer/director.

In the late 1980's what had been a minority activity in the contemporary dance scene accelerated until in the early 90's it has become what could be termed fashionable. This was not unrelated to Mandela's release and the new political dispensation. It also happened as a natural result of the repealing of certain apartheid laws such as the Separate Amenities Act in 1986, and in general an easing of the laws of segregation. As contact between black and white people became easier, fusion in dance became more common.

Attitudes and Residual Problems

There has been developing an awareness that indigenous black South African culture has something to offer and is of interest. Whatever the motives, the willingness to work together and the end result is generally positive. However, even though the laws have changed, attitudes are deeply entrenched and old perceptions and prejudices have a way of manifesting themselves. There are still moral and ethical problems relating to fusion, some being appropriation without appreciation.

THE ARROGANCE OF THE DOMINANT CULTURE

"Ballet is the Basis"

At both popular and informed level amongst my white colleagues I still come across the attitude that "African dance" is easier, simpler, less skilled than Western ballet or contemporary dance. Thus a number of prominent professional figures in the dance community have stated in public that classical ballet is the basis of all dance training, because with a classical ballet training you could "do" African dance, but if you had only been trained in African dance you could not "do" ballet.

While the second statement may be true the first part reflects not only their beliefs but a widespread misconception about African dance - that it is easy, it has no technique and that if you are able to do the dominant Western form there is no problem in doing any of the so-called primitive dances. This suggests a widespread myth that dance is of an evolutionary nature and that if you can do the "highest" form you can easily do the others. On the question of easiness of learning, I have personally worked with highly skilled ballet or modern dancers who have struggled and taken many years to master the technique, style, and rhythmic complexity of African dance, while some never succeed. In learning any new technique a shift of consciousness is necessary.

Complexity and Diversity

This attitude of arrogance displayed by members of the dominant culture also shows an ignorance of the diversity and complexity of "African dance". In South Africa alone there is a great variety of indigenous black or traditional dancing. Even though there are many underlying similarities there are differences in meaning, style, and dynamics of the dancing between the different language groups or ethnic groups. For example the sharp hip twisting of the Shangaan women with their multi-layered frilly skirts is very different from the hypnotic, sensuous, snake-like movements of the Venda maidens performing the Domba, which marks their rites of passage into womanhood. Similarly the nimble footwork and drunken cavorting of the Venda men improvising in solo in the Malende or Beer dance is very different from a virile, aggressive, regimented male group performing the Zulu Ndlamu stamping dance.

An example of the complexity of certain traditional African dances is the Venda Tshikona dance where each member of a set plays a single note at a prescribed interval on his pipe. This note is one of seven in a "sub-set" of pipes and there are three "sub-sets" at different pitches which make up a set, and there would be several sets in the entire group. At the same time as playing the pipe, the dancers perform a set of grape-vine foot movements which are syncopated in rhythm in relation to the pipe rhythm.

The Tshikona dance illustrates a quality widely found in African dance/music, that the performer is important, not as an individual but in relation to the whole group, and conversely each individual's input is essential to the final rhythmic complexity and unity of the whole.

Many Western educated people or dancers often do not understand that the complexity and sublety of African-based dance/music usually comes from the complex poly-rhythms rather than the "steps" or melodies. Therefore Western people often perceive African dance/music as easy, simple or just plain boring. The above illustrates that appreciation is often a result of not merely interest, but knowledge of the basis of a cultual form of expression or art form. Appreciation comes from the act of decoding, just as understanding a language comes from knowing the meaning of the sounds.

Aesthetic Evaluation

There are other problems relating to aesthetic evaluation that I encounter in relation to fusion that also reflect the arrogance of the dominant culture. I have been to many performances where predominantly black "township" dance groups are criticized in their use of "Western" elements. Many of my white colleagues and some dance critics are loudly vocal in pointing out their weaknesses such as "feet that are not nicely pointed, hips out of line in an arabesque or legs not stretched in a jete". However, the converse deficiencies, when the well-trained ballet/modern dancers are using "African" elements, are either never noticed or not thought to be important by these same people - for example the incorrect stance or use of body-weight, the accentuation of movement upwards instead of down into the ground, the lack of torso articulation and mobility, and the ignoring of the intricate poly-rhythms.

To illustrate this point the writer recently choreographed a work called African Spring to Vivaldi's Four Seasons in which there was a strong element of fusion of indigenous black South African movements with Western dance forms. The costumes emphasized the "Africaness" of the piece. Many of the audience, found this combination shocking. They said the use of Vivaldi with "African" dance disturbed them, but were hardpressed to explain why they had not been disturbed by ballet and modern dance done to African music. We do not like our sacred symbols "misused" or manipulated, but we often insensitively appropriate the sacred symbols of other cultures.

On the Other Side of the Fence.

The opposite attitude that is also found amongst dancing teachers and performers in South Africa is that only black people can and should do African dance, and conversely only white people can and should do ballet.

Arthur Mitchell and the Dance Theatre of Harlem disproved the latter myth, while there are a number of dance companies in South Africa that over the past ten years have proved that white dancers can successfully execute African dance. The conditions of making success possible is that the particular form of African dance is studied over a sufficient period of time with the care and knowledge that the mastering of any new dance technique requires.

The Magpie Syndrome

The other trend I have observed is that choreographers magpie - like appropriate bits and pieces of "African" dance and tack them onto their ballets or modern dance works. They take the glitzy bright pieces or the exciting steps without any idea or thought about their meaning or context, or the appropriateness of using them in their particular dance-work. The "African" bits often remain unintegrated and seem to have no purpose in the total concept.

DISCUSSION

Personal Background

As a white middle-class South African who grew up and was educated under the apartheid system I have experienced the problems that have been outlined in this paper. I have been faced by these dilemmas many times, and as a result of this have thought about the matter and have developed a philosophy which may be of value to others. In order to clarify the matter it is necessary to take you through some of my experiences and the issues I have had to confront.

Training

My early training in South Africa was in British-based ballet and American tap dancing. Later I spent several years learning European National Dance and American Modern Dance as well as Creative Movement in England and North America. I had been fascinated by or attracted to the usual exotic elements of African dance - the stamping, energy and drum beat. However, apart from observing the dance and music that happened in the streets and back yards of domestic servants, and the occasional visit to a mine, there was nowhere formal to learn African dance in South Africa. I was brought up in a family where apartheid was considered wrong, but we were passive victims rather than active protestors, and there was very little contact on an equal social footing with black people.

My father's job took him into the rural areas where he often observed African singing and dancing, and although my parents encouraged my tap and ballet dance training, it was never considered suitable or of value for me to accompany him.

Similarly, when he brought back artifacts such as African beadwork or carvings, these were often perfunctorily cast aside as objects of little interest or value by my British colonial boarding-school educated mother.

I had been teaching ballet and modern dance for over ten years when I began to collect a series of records made by Hugh Tracey an ethnomusicologist. The music was recorded in the field throughout Eastern, Central and Southern Africa. I attended some of his lectures and was keen to use some of his collection for a new dance. However, as a white South African I felt self-conscious and inadequate, and even a sense of guilt at the prospect of doing an "African" work.

First Attempt at Fusion

In 1977 as part of my choreographic component of my MA degree at the University of Houston Clear Lake City, I choreographed my first "fusion" piece. It was called Primal Pulse and performed by enthusiastic Texan modern dancers.

Return to South Africa

When I returned to South Africa in 1978 I presented Primal Pulse performed by white female dancers to a small white audience! It was not entirely coincidental that in 1979 I was invited to teach at the Federated Union of Black Artists (FUBA), the only formal training centre for black dancers at that time. Here I found the mainly male young black students were much more interested in learning ballet, American modern dance, and jazz than exploring traditional African dance. Towards the end of the year I did some of my own social engineering (to counteract apartheid engineering) and brought some of the black FUBA students together with white dancers to work together for a performance. I found, with encouragement and prompting, the black dancers remembered dances their grannies or mothers had taught them. They were surprised, but eventually pleased, that I wanted to learn these from them. One needs to remember the negative image "tribal" or "ethnic" culture or dances had been given under the apartheid system.

I was never again to have a "white only" dance company, and throughout the years I not only learnt from the black dancers, but also encouraged and helped them to re-discover the value of their culture.

Journey of Exploration

I also went on a journey of my own. Through a friend, who was a physical educationist and anthropologist, I visited Vendaland and watched rural "traditional" dancing on several occasions. My friend, who had lived in Vendaland, spoke the language and had written her doctorate on the dances of the Venda.

She helped me analyze and understand the dances in context. She was one of the first white women in South Africa whom I had seen could move with the authentic "African" style and spirit in dancing. I learnt that it was not enough to admire, or value the "other" culture, but I needed to understand the meaning and context of their symbols and beliefs. Over this time I had been choreographing works which were fusion-based. In retrospect some worked better than others. One in particular used the Bushman myth of the rain bull which I read about in a popular mythological book. As I was to discover later, the book, and consequently I, interpreted the metaphor for the real thing.

All this made me feel I needed to study in more depth the background to my work and the people with whom I worked. I enrolled at the University of the Witwatersrand for the three year major in Social Anthropology. I learnt to analyze and see things not just at the surface level, but to see more clearly my position and role and the accompanying moral and aesthetic problems in my activities. I had been interested, even before I began studying anthropology, in the Bushman culture and myths and their dancing. I had been influenced by the popular and romantic works by Laurens van der Post. I had always wanted to do a work on Bushman rock art, but felt inhibited by my lack of knowledge and also confused by some of the popular versions of their myths.

At the end of my first year, I approached Professor David Lewis-Williams the curator of the Rock Art Research Unit at the University of the Witwatersrand. He pointed out that the rock art was part of the Bushman religious belief system and that I should approach the subject, if at all, with sensitivity. He gave me some of his publications on the interpretation and meaning of rock art. After reading these I was convinced that I did not know enough at that point.

Two years after completing my course I re-approached the subject and with much trepidation started researching the background of rock art and its relationship to trance dancing. The symbols and images found in rock art were highly complex and their relationship to Bushmen beliefs and trance dancing were like parts of a complicated jigsaw puzzle which Professor Lewis-Williams had finally fitted together. This was certainly not some simple "primitive" belief system.

The final outcome of this was a thirty minute dance called Tranceformations which I choreographed for my company of twelve dancers. The anthropologist and archaeologist who had helped me in my research felt that I had not trivialised or exploited the Bushman belief system, while the dance reviews were also very positive.

CONCLUSION

Based on my own experiences I believe it is possible to appropriate with appreciation or integrate with integrity. Having lived under, and experienced the negative effects of the apartheid system, and also because of my own love of the indigenous dances of the black people of South Africa, or African dance, I certainly do not believe in, or advocate, the puritanism of the apartheid approach. Fusion does and will happen. Cultures will merge, artists will borrow. The fusion can be categorised at different levels. Firstly, there is the almost unconscious popular level. This occurs without premeditation through people living amongst each other. People will always be affected by their environment and in our increasingly multi-cultural societies, artists or cultural workers will be influenced, inspired or stimulated by their contact with "other" cultures. I believe that this interaction is positive and one should not try to or want to prescribe at this level.

Then there is the conscious level in which you borrow or appropriate from the other culture to contribute to your work of art. How this is done, and with what attitude and motives and knowledge and understanding, is important. If we are trying to bring to the conscious cultural fusion a sense of responsibility and sensitivity, then I have a suggestion of four question which artists or choreographers can ask themselves.

THE FOUR QUESTIONS

1. Trivialisation

Does the use of the "item" or ritual or belief from the "other" culture in its new setting trivialise, violate or exploit the belief systems, sacred symbols or religious rituals of the original culture ? In the case of the Bushman Eland Bull dance would the use of this ritual as the basis for a children's ballet examination dance have been trivialising the Bushman belief system and religion?

2. Appropriateness

Is it suitable or appropriate to transpose the ritual or cultural "item" into the new context? Do we understand the significance of the original context and accompanying symbols? In the case of the Eland Bull dance would it be appropriate to use a highly explicit fertility ritual for a young children's ballet examination?

3. Integration

How is the borrowed material adapted in the new work of art or form of cultural expression? Is it transformed and integrated so that a dynamic new or syncretic form is created or is it tacked on to the old forms like a badly matched patch-work quilt?

4. Attitudes and Motives

What is the attitude towards the "other" culture? Is it patronising and dismissive or respectful and sensitive? Do the motives arise out of real appreciation and admiration or because it is fashionable or politically and financially expedient?

Towards Understanding

I cannot give a formula or recipe in answer to the problems posed. I would not wish to be a cultural commissar or censor, or prescribe to other artists, or expect everyone to study anthropology. I would also not wish to inhibit the refreshing cultural fusion and exchange which is growing in the dance community in South Africa, or elsewhere. It is awareness and sensitivity that I ask for in the people doing this work. I am asking for people to examine their own attitudes and motives and to spend some time and effort to have the resources and knowledge to answer the above questions. Perhaps the list of questions I have posed will prove useful in helping people to decide for themselves what is appropriate. Perhaps what we need are trained "anthroterpsicologists" to advise us!

While the context of this discussion has been South African, I believe that the questions I have posed and the ideas underlying these have universal application, especially in a world where rapid communication is bringing people from different cultures together and lowering traditional barriers.

NOTES:

1. I use the blanket term Western for the culture which had its roots in Europe or America for simplification. This is not meant to ignore the diversity of so-called Western culture or of Western dancing.

2. Similarly the use of the term African culture is a convenient umbrella term which is not meant to belie the diversity of cultures on this continent.

3. In indigenous South African culture music and dance are often synonymous. In fact in the Pedi language the word "mnino" serves for both music and dance.

4. Even though I am aware that the term Bushman has, unfortunately, for some people acquired derogatory overtones, I use it rather than the academic San as this term "also has highly pejorative associations" (Lewis-Williams 1989:9) as it is a term of insult used by Nama Khoikhoi people.

5. Even though the dancing found in different parts of Africa, for example North, West or South Africa may differ and the term "African dance" in this sense is a generalisation, I use it as it is not cumbersome, but widely used and understood.

6. I used the word "non-racial" and not "multi-racial" as non-racial makes it clear that the concept of race should not be a consideration. In South Africa even the word multi-racial has become tainted by its use by the apartheid culture to stress the separateness of the different ethnic groups.

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A VOICE FOR DANCE IN DETROIT: 1931-1940

Carol D. Halsted

Detroit in the 1930's was a hotbed of labor and social unrest . The combination of unprecedented unemployment, poverty, dictatorial factory management and the prospect of another World War, gave rise to radical movements such as Communist, Socialists, Trotskyites and followers of anyone denouncing the "wicked capitalists." (Widick 45). These young radicals - passionate, idealistic and determined to act, were contrasted to the business conservatives such as Henry Ford who felt that "If we could only realize it, these are the best times we ever had."(Widick 48). It is within this climate of extreme polarization, poverty and fear that the artistic voice of Detroit struggled to send a message of social consciousness. And it is within this climate that a small, passionate group of modern dancers gathered together to express their desire for peace and freedom of expression through the art of dance. This voice for Dance in Detroit was heard through the New Dance Group directed by Fannie Aronson and the Rebelarts Dance Group directed by Tosia Mundstock. The vehicle that brought them into a unified collaborative to spread this message of social consciousness was the Michigan Dance Council. This paper deals with the lives of these two women and their dance companies and the uniqueness of the Michigan Dance Council.

Fannie Aaronson did not become interested in dance until after graduating from Detroit Teachers College in 1923 as a Physical Education teacher. She had taken a special folk dance workshop and decided to find a place where she could further study dance. As she states, "Then I found a school in Detroit, The Denishawn School at 26 Peterboro. (I didn't know until recently that it was one of four schools in the United States established by Ruth St. Denis and Ted Shawn, with curriculum patterned after the original Denishawn school in Los Angeles). My teacher, Lillian Granzow, directed the school for only a short time, but she introduced me to the names of Miss Ruth and Ted Shawn. She also spoke of Doris Humphrey and Charles Weidman, who were in the Denishawn Company at that time; and I went to their concerts when they appeared in Detroit. I also heard Ted Shawn lecture at the school. This was in the late 20's. This introduction gave me an interest in dance."(O'Neill 34-35). Fannie attended Perry Mansfield in 1929 and 30, the Dalcroze school in New York and Bennington Summer School in 1934 and for many years afterward.

In 1931, Fannie Aaronson, along with Blanche Schafarman and Edith Segal, organized the New Dance Group. The group consisted of women interested in developing dance as an understanding of social expression. They met about 4 times a week on 28 W. Warren and shared space with the Contemporary Theatre Group. The New Dance Group was unofficially affiliated with the New Dance Group in New York because of Fannie's associations with Jane Dudley and Sophie Maslow at Bennington. The New Dance Group adopted the the New Dance League's (formerly the Workers Dance League) goals "to develop the dance as a vital factor in the artistic and cultural life of the American people; to reflect through the dance their moods and aspirations - their desire for peace and freedom and their opposition to war, fascism

and censorship." (Michigan Dance Festival program, 1936). The relationship must have been strong because a 1937 New Dance League flyer listed its two regional offices as Los Angeles and Detroit.

Reviews of their performances and interviews with surviving members connote an eclectic mix of radical themes, humor and folk dance. Ann Golden Zirulnik remembers dances protesting the speed up of the production line which she performed in union halls in Detroit. She also remembers this as a time when the arts "brought immediacy to the war and what was going on in Europe. The newspapers were not doing their job so the artists felt they were responsible for raising consciousness. We really believed we could change people's minds." (Zirulnik interview 3/30/93). Minna Gosman remembers performing at " political meetings, benefits and parties - anyplace we could find an audience."(Gosman interview 5/5/93).The titles of the dances alone indicate the social consciousness of their work: Anti War Cycles (1936), *Industrialism, War, Fraternization;* Southern Holiday (Anti-Lynch Dance)(1936); Trend (1937) (*In the factory-work, meeting, speed up--- Collective Bargaining, Victory)*; Contemporary Scenes(1938) which according to the Detroit Times reviewer thought was the most obviously exciting for it "depicted the sudden advent of a sinister figure in the black of Fascism in the midst of a group of happy dancers, who were promptly regimented into sullen automations, until in sheer exuberance they burst their ranks and overwhelmed their "dictators" . (Detroit Times 4/4/38).

Fannie usually directed and taught technique but often members of the group collaborated on the choreography. Most members of the New Dance Group had jobs during the daytime, either as teachers, secretaries or in retail. Since modern dance was associated with liberal causes at this time and this was not a time of job security, the dancers knew they could lose their jobs if their employers discovered this association. To hide their identity, the working dancers in the group changed their names for programs, interviews and publicity releases. Fannie Aaronson was Fay Arnold; Blanche Schafarman was Ann Blanc, and Rose Serotkin Agins took her mother"s maiden name .(Agins interview 10/18/92). As one member stated " it was necessary to separate your daily life from your artistic life." Another simply said " remember school loyalty oaths?" (Gossman interview 5/5/93).This has made it especially challenging in researching original concert programs.

Tosia Mundstock was born in Germany , studied with Mary Wigman and taught children in the Wigman studio. She moved to Detroit in 1927 and immediately started teaching. Tosia attended Bennington College in the early years and developed a technique utilizing her Wigman experience, Humphrey-Weidman technique and improvisation. In 1934 she formed the Rebelarts Dance Group which was affiliated with the Rebelarts League, a national organization which included all phases of artistic expression. The description of Rebelarts in a 1936 program states: " As a progressive organization Rebelarts is fundamentally opposed to the oppression of constructive elements in society. Only when there is a certainty of a world that can provide peace and plenty and a prospect of growth towards the future, can the artist that is in every man be released. It is the realization of the ideal of peace and freedom that Rebelarts is pledged." (Michigan Dance Festival program, 1936). The company worked as a collaborative on choreography yet Tosia did the teaching. Tosia changed the name of

the group to Tosia Mundstock Group in 1938 and remained teaching in the Detroit area until 1953 when she moved to California. Tosia is ill and could not respond directly to my request for information on Rebelarts in the 1930's but David Martin, her husband said, "I have to laugh when I read of the Rebelarts Dance Group having a definite "leftist" viewpoint. We didn't laugh back then, this was serious stuff at the time; reshaping the world etc. Looking back, I would say that what was 'leftist" was this weird crazy new type of dancing called "Modern Dance." (Martin letter 3/28/93).

Some of the dances performed by Rebelarts during this period were: It Can't Happen Here (1936) based on the Sinclair Lewis novel and subtitled *Anti-Fascist Dance*; Perspective: Today and Tomorrow (1937) *"Today" conveys the constriction of contemporary life: the leavening element of progressive thought: the misunderstanding and confusion of the masses "Tomorrow": an epilogue: the free spirit" life in a rational society:* In Memoriam (1938): *Mourning ,Injury,Retaliation, Reconstruction, Mourning.* (Michigan Dance Council programs, 1937-38).

On April 4, 1936, the nineteenth anniversary of the United States entry into World War I, Fannie Aaronson and Tosia Mundstock brought together five Detroit dance groups to present a festival of dance, dedicated to the cause of peace and freedom, at the Detroit Institute of Arts Auditorium. This loose organization of very disparate dance companies was called a Modern Dance Festival, although not all the groups participating could be considered "modern", even in 1936. The participants in this first collaborative presentation were The New Dance Group which was organized in 1931 by Fannie Aaronson and Blanche Schafarman ; The Rebelarts Dance Group under the direction of Tosia Mundstock; Olga Fricker and Group, dealing principally in classical ballet; Theodore J. Smith Dancers who presented classical ballet and Spanish dance and the Wayne University Dance Group under the direction of Ruth Murray. Ruth Murray was a pivotal figure in establishing dance education in the Detroit public schools and a important participant in the Michigan Dance Council. For the most part these companies presented modern dance except Theodore Smith who performed a classic version of the *Waltz of the Flowers.* and Olga Fricker who performed a *Bach Fugue.* In reviewing the performance, Russell McLaughlin stated in the Detroit News that " The modern manner prevailed in all the dances presented by the New Dance Group and the Rebelarts Group and while the effort was everywhere admirable, it is true that the deliberately unbeautiful style of the moderns requires technical skill and bodily discipline of the highest order. There is no glossing over its absence, as there may be in the classic and romantic manners." (Detroit News 4/6/36).

In 1937, Tosia and Fannie helped organize the Michigan Dance Council in order to expand on the idea of presenting dance performances in a collaborative situation. The Michigan Dance Council was formed with the stated goal of stimulating an interest in the serious art of dance and furthering the cause of peace.As stated in their 1937 program, " the Council opposes participation in any undertaking that is in sympathy with fascism, censorship or war." (Michigan Dance Council program,1937). These were strong statements for an art form that in Detroit had no paid professionals and no WPA support. The Michigan Dance Council presented a concert of 7 different groups on Saturday, April 10, 1937 in the Detroit Institute of Arts Auditorium. In addition to the original five groups, were the University of Michigan Dance Group

under the direction of Ruth Bloomer and the Hazel Benedict Dance Group. Hazel Benedict had been Ted Shawn's dancing partner and a teacher of music visualization. The Detroit Times review seemed more upset by the length of the program than the content. "Dance-conscious Detroit found itself almost dance-unconscious Saturday night in the Art Institute from a plethora of the terpsichorean art. Not that any of it was of quality to render the beholder unconscious, merely that three hours of it was a lot of dancing for one night... Our dancers seem to fall into three classifications- the aesthetic, primarily concerned with beauty for its own sake (Theodore Smith, Hazel Benedict, Olga Fricker), the athletic, seemingly more interested in mere physical exertion (Wayne University and University of Michigan), and the sociological (Rebelarts and New Dance Group), with whom the picturing of some phase of our troubled modern times is the excuse for dancing." (Detroit Times 4/12/37).

In 1938, the Michigan Dance Council again dedicated its performances to world peace. "The Michigan Dance Council believes it has a special right to speak for Peace because it practices Peace. Composed of seven groups using divergent technical methods, but all to the common end of utilizing the human body as a medium of art, we manage to find such a large common meeting ground that our activities can develop along their own lines, but merge upon occasion, to the greatest common good of all who are interest in dancing - practitioners or spectators." (Michigan dance Council program,1938). The final Michigan Dance Council performance was held in 1939 and was again dedicated to the cause of peace.

The Michigan Dance Council not only presented collaborative festivals of dance, but also sponsored guest artists, published a newsletter and even produced an adjudicated solo dance concert in 1938. In 1936 they brought Jane Dudley to Detroit to set *Harmonica Breakdown* on the New Dance Group. The Council brought Hanya Holm in 1937 and sponsored a lecture on Indian Culture and Dance by Helen Blish in 1938. These performances and lecture demonstrations were not the only professional or "guest artists" performances in Detroit in the 1930's. Martha Graham performed ELECTRA in Ann Arbor in 1931; did a solo concert at the Bonstelle Theatre in 1933 and in 1936 another solo concert at Orchestra Hall sponsored by the Detroit Health Education Club. The same reviewer for the Detroit News that appreciated the New Dance Group found Graham perplexing and controversial. He goes on to say "It is perilous work reporting on Martha Graham, for nobody is dispassionate about her. There is no tranquil zone of opinion. If you set down dissatisfaction with any of her doings you should, according to the schools of thought, either be crowned with laurels or boiled in oil." (Detroit News 3/17/36). From these comments one can see that these early Detroit modern dance pioneers were certainly not silent about their passion for this new art form. Further guest appearances by Humphrey-Weidman, Mary Wigman, John Martin and others helped to shape the ideals and the ideas of the Detroit Dance Pioneers.

With the beginning of World War II, the Michigan Dance Council dissolved and was subsequently replaced by the Jewish Community Center Dance Consultants Committee. The New Dance Group changed to The Dance Workshop in 1941 and Fannie Aaronson continued teaching in Detroit until the 1970's. Tosia Mundstock continued to direct her company until her move from Detroit in 1953.

Fannie Aaronson, Tosia Mundstock and dance education pioneer, Ruth Murray, helped build a tradition for dance in Detroit. The passionate radicalism may have softened but the voice can still be heard. Today Detroit has a strong public school dance program, many small modern dance companies and the beginnings of a new professional ballet company. The voice for Dance in Detroit has a very rich history.

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GERTRUDE LIPPINCOTT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF DANCE IN MINNEAPOLIS

Judith Brin Ingber

Gertrude Lawton Lippincott grew up in Minnesota, was educated there and became famous as a modern dancer there. In bringing modern dance to this middlewestern state she created a foundation for what we have today.

If you mention Minnesota, National Public Radio fans may think of Garrison Keillor and his sketches on Lake Wobegone which represent part of Minnesota's Scandinavian past. To understand Gertrude Lippincott, we need to know something about Minnesota in the 1930's, when she began her work. These were depression years. Minneapolis was still mainly a milling city, 1. with huge grain elevators along the Mississippi River. The farmers who raised the grain and the workers who milled it and those who worked on the railroads were mostly Scandinavians, but the bankers, railroad directors and owners of flour mills were mostly New Englanders. Not Olsons or Andersons but Walker, Weyerhaeuser, Pillsbury. Lippincott's own family did come from New England and her grandfather was Fuller of H.B. Fuller brush company fame. However, she was reared in a modest home in St. Paul, her father a professor of dentistry at the University. Academic life seemed to be a far greater influence on Lippincott than her family's New England status. She graduated magna cum laude from the University of Minnesota (though she studied for one year at the University of Chicago under Marion van Tuyl). The year of the terrible truckers' strike, 1934, when she was still an undergraduate she married Benjamin Evans Lippincott, professor of political science at the University of Minnesota.

Gertrude founded the Modern Dance Center of Minneapolis with a friend, Ruth Hatfield, in 1937. Within two years, John Martin of the <u>New York Times</u> was already giving Lippincott acclaim. In his column called "The Dance Roots Afield," he wrote about several modern dance activities outside of New York including Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago. He also wrote "In Minneapolis, the Modern Dance Group has just completed its second season under the joint direction of Gertrude Lippincott and Ruth Hatfield. What its score of performances has been this year is not known, but in the first year its total was 15 including lectures and demonstrations. The group has a lay guild besides its professional company and has sponsored exhibitions...That is as far west as the record extends at the moment..."

I'd like to examine Lippincott's first major choreographic work, "A Minnesota Saga." A dance in four sections, Gertrude intended it a serious project with artistic and historical interest to honor 100 years of the city of Minneapolis. In this suite she had sections about

the American Indians and the land "from which they were driven to make way for Yankee and European settlers;" and she had a "dance of the Workers" designed to show the work of the men and women like the farmers and lumberjacks, and the railroad builders who built Minnesota. The sections were tied together with a script recited in performance by its author, Meridel Le Sueur. Lippincott was daring to celebrate workers and very daring to have Meridel Le Sueur, a known communist, speak for her.

Only 3 years before Lippincott's "A Minnesota Saga," there was a general truck drivers' strike which had paralyzed Minneapolis when 35,000 workers declared a sympathy walkout. There was urban violence beyond any to date that summer of 1934. The police fired on the strikers wounding 48 and killing two. Not all of the city was for the workers, but Gertrude Lippincott did champion them in "A Minnesota Saga," created 3 years after the strike. The piece was seen at the premiere by 5000 people and in the spring, another 3500 saw it.

Meridel Le Sueur, one of Lippincott's collaborators, worked with her not only on "A Minnesota Saga," but other pieces as well including "The Anti-Fascist Chant" and in 1939 they premiered "The City." None of Le Sueur's scripts survive nor do photos, but their works had a wide showing. Le Sueur, considered the best known woman among America's proletarian writers 2. and Lippincott shared concerns for the working women and minorities. In efforts to spread an interest in modern dance and also to show its benefits Gertrude taught for the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union.

Her group performed in theatres big and small, at the Unitarian Center and in union halls; in collaboration with the ILGWU's Glee Clubs; the Labor's co-operative Men's Chorus; at Walker Art Gallery for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; community centers; settlement houses and other venues.

Meridel, the narrator and Gertrude, choreographer and performer along with a few of her dancers already had begun touring in 1937; they brought a performance to Virginia, Minnesota. In order to get there in time to set up for the late afternoon performance, they had to start out at 5:00 a.m. in three cars and it was bitter cold; the return trip began after the performance and they didn't return until well after mid-night. "It was so cold we had to wrap our legs in newspapers, but Meridel kept our spirits up," Gertrude remembers.

Her studio was at 7 South 6th St. in Minneapolis. "I remember it cost $30 a month which was a large sum then. People just sort of gravitated towards us," sometimes because they were curious to see a professor's wife doing such a thing. "I got dancers in peculiar ways; I used to get meat every so often from the butcher at Witt's Food market near the studio. He was curious about what I did, and finally decided to come over and that's how I got a

called "The Anti-fascist chant". She remembers going into the basement and dying flannel different shades of grey. Though she said the purpose of the Modern Dance Group was to build an audience for modern dance she didn't shy away from political audiences. Her lament called "Bereavement" which came out of her feelings for the Spanish Civil War was performed at the Medical Bureau to aid Spanish Democracy. When her husband was falsely branded a communist it stopped his promotion at the university. However, he continued to write important books from his democratic-socialist perspective and he was an acclaimed teacher of Hubert Humphrey, Eric Severid and many others. "My father told him because I'm a democrat, I'm in enough trouble. I don't mind you being in parades, but don't do it near the dental college.'" Despite saying that she left politics to her professor husband, she could clearly state her political views in her dance themes. She said, "During this period I thought you should get dance out to the people no matter what. Get people to look at it and to do it and however you can, short of mayhem and murder, you did it."

She spread the ideas of modern dance in her teaching at two different community centers. In the exclusively Jewish neighborhood of North Minneapolis (so dictated by the discriminatory housing laws of the Twin Cities) she taught dance at the Emanuel Cohen Jewish Community Center. It was there that she found Leonard Basis and Jean Golberg and recruited them for her company. Through her teaching at the Hallie Q. Brown Center in St. Paul, in the black neighborhood, she met two sisters Eunice and Bernice Brown who also joined her company. By 1941, Lippincott's audiences of mainly Scandinavian Minnesotans were looking at an unusual group: Jewish and Black dancers plus Italian Tony Charmoli and several others including the striking political narrator Meridel Le Sueur whose dramatic appearance was enhanced by her traces of her American Indian features. When they went on tour, Gertrude had to make sure she went to the hotel to register or otherwise her multi-racial, ethnically varied troupe would be turned away.

Lippincott was able to accomplish so much because of her artistry through her convictions. In an issue of the "Dance Observer" [3]. Gertrude speaks for her dancers Eunice Brown and others when she writes that "in view of the difficulties facing the Negroes in any of the arts, the existence of such a group as the one in Minneapolis has gone a long way towards interesting Negroes in participation in modern dance and in showing the community at large what can be done in the way of serious Negro dance." The article sounds dated somehow, but if one considers the breakthroughs that Lippincott was accomplishing, it is true what she wrote "that there are taboos and prejudices to break down both from whites and their own people."

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One of her own dancers, Tony Charmoli, who later went on to other successes in dance, also wrote about the Modern Dance Center. He said, "without a doubt the most interesting thing about the Center was that it was a unit, functioning in a highly democratic way. The Negroes, Jews, Italians were not segregated but acted as one, loaning their talents to the group as a whole. If the Group is not remembered for its work in introducing modern dance to the unenlightened, then it surely will be remembered for proving that the democratic ideal was achieved."

Gertrude had left Minneapolis on several occasions, but the longest period was during World War II when her husband was stationed in the Far East. She continued her studies with Doris Humphrey and also earned her masters degree in dance at New York University under Martha Hill. During the spring of 1944 she received the Dance Auditions Award at the famed 92nd St. Y., danced there in the 1945-1946 season in Doris Humphrey's Choreography Group, and also shared a full length program at the Y in 1946 with Iris Mabry and later made a return appearance in 1949. Lippincott became assistant professor of dance at Mount Holyoke College from 1943-1946, and was remembered as an "unmistakable figure on the campus in part because of her unusually colorful clothes," Miriam Gray reminisced 30 years later when Lippincott was presented with the Dance Division's Heritage Honoree Award of the AAHPER National Conference.

After the war, Lippincott and her husband came back to Minnesota. She continued to bring in dancers from The East and she opened up the Dance Center at the Minneapolis YWCA with three different performing groups: the Studio Dance Group, the Junior Dance Workshop and the Dance Trio. For six years she taught classes, choreographed and toured with the companies to Iowa, Wisconsin, the Dakotas and throughout Minnesota. The Dance Trio that she ran with herself, Eunice Brown Cain and Robert Moulton shows her style if you look at the program they gave on Jan. 12, 1954 at the North Dakota Agricultural College. Surely this was also a long car trip through snow and cold weather. They performed "The Past Is a Bucket of Ashes," to a poem by Carl Sandburg, "Dances In An Elegant Style," "The Outcasts of Poker Flat" to Western Songs plus others. The performance they did the following fall at Antioch College was more memorable, though, because they arrived to find a stage on two levels. Moulton in disgust, went to change in a dressing room over the stage and fell through the rotting floorboards, luckily not injuring himself. Their tech rehearsal was devoted to restaging everything to avoid the debris and the different stage levels. During the period following World War II until 1958, Lippincott recorded that she gave 107 concerts in 21 states, 72 master classes in 22 states and solo appearances in some 250 colleges and universities.

After a sabbatical year teaching dance at Mills College in California, her performances centered on her work with Robert Moulton in their dance duo. Of their 15 year partnership she has said, "He was a good foil for me, very good with coaching groups, excellent on the road because he could talk to the public and make himself and dance clear to anyone." Lippincott herself was also excellent on those points. In fact, at one of the countless award dinners in her honor, Miriam Gray had remarked that Lippincott "began wielding dance influence from a midwestern base instead of New York and Gertrude is Exhibit A, a hometown girl who made good in the big wide World of Dance..." Gertrude had a forte for spotting other home-grown talents and making something special of them, too. And this is what she did with Bob Moulton.

He had grown up in North Dakota as a hoofer and his tap dancing helped to pay his family's way. His experience in the Dakotas and Minnesota describe what dance was like. "Masonic Temples, American Legion Halls, Elk's, Lion's, Eagles' Clubs, DAR, VFW, you name it, we danced in it on it or for it," he said. Gertrude remembers first hearing about Moulton in a phone call. She was looking for a male dancer to perform the role of death in her 1949 Hamline University "La Danse des Mortes" performance. Margaret Pataky, one of Lippincott's dancers, phoned her up. "I've found him, your man for Death." "Where," I asked. "In a broom closet in Norris Gymnasium," "What is he doing in a broom closet?" "Changing his clothes because there's no other place for a man to dress." Moulton was a graduate student in theatre who missed dancing and had joined the University Orchesis dance group. However, unlike the Orchesis group she never denigrated his background and Moulton loved working with Gertrude because she found ways to channel all that was good from show biz into their work.[4] Through Lippincott, Moulton also was introduced to the professional New York modern dance world. Louis Horst composed music to one of Lippincott's dances and he came to Minneapolis to see the premiere of "Goddess of the Moon." Horst's reaction to the dance isn't recorded but he was so impressed with Moulton's dancing that a scholarship for him was arranged at the American Dance Festival. Moulton was able to get away from his teaching duties at the U. of Minn. Theatre Dept., and from Lippincott's work a few summers in the early 50's in order to study with Graham. In addition to performing with Lippincott, Moulton also designed and built some of the costumes for the Trio as well as the Lippincott/Moulton duo works.

Gertrude reminisced about her own work with Louis Horst in composition class 10 years before. She said she never had been intimidated by him, "I did modern forms with him and of course he was having a ball criticizing. He looked at me and sniffed away and said my work was terrible. 'I'm not just doing a man, I told him, I'm doing

Hiawatha and you should know Minnesota history.'[5]. They developed a long and collegial friendship and by January, 1951 she was listed as one of Louis Horst's "Dance Observer" editors and remained on the masthead of the important New York dance publication through 1960 contributing many articles.

In addition, she was a contributor to "Dance Magazine" and the Journal of the Health and Physical Education Association; a founding member of the Committee on Research in Dance, the first representative of the Dance Division of the American Council on the Arts in Education, an adjudicator for the American College Dance Festival, board member of the National Dance Guild, and other national organizations. She won the Distinguished Teachers Award from the American Dance Guild and the Heritage Award from the National Dance Association.

After more than 5 decades of work which has been recognized and appreciated in many forms, Lippincott can look to the rich life of professional dancers in Minnesota with pride. There is a service organization for dance, the Minn.Dance Alliance with over 360 professional dancers and choreographers today as members, with 12 professional dance company members. The University of Minnesota now has a Department of Theatre Arts and Dance offering both a BA and a BFA in dance and there now is a high school of the arts in Minnesota for students from all over the state supported by the Minnesota legislature as well as high schools with dance departments separate from physical education, plus the many studios of dance and dance series for dance performance at Walker Arts Center, at the Hennepin Center for the Arts, the O'Shaughnessy Auditorium, the University of Minnesota and other independent theatres in Minnesota.

Gertrude Lippincott believed that modern dance could bring people of all colors and beliefs together, could stimulate audiences, speak to politics and contemporary living. Her own endeavors in cultural diversity predated what now seems to be a politically expedient concept in society because they matched her own ideas about what art could do for democratic living. Generally, Lippincott was able to bring an excitement to Minnesota that it had not experienced before. She brought together a public who became interested in dance, through young people she helped make into dancers. The living dance life of the city now is a tribute to the vision and tenacity that is still part of Gertrude Lippincott who will celebrate her 80th birthday in two weeks.

Endnotes

1. Charles Rumford Walker, American City, p. 2-4
2. Meridel Le Sueur, Ripening, p. 114
3. Louis Horst, ed., "Dance Observer," January, 1946
4. Judith Brin Ingber, "Robert Moulton: Entertainment or Art?" in Minnesota Dance, January/February 1993, Vol. XIV, p. 1
5. Interview by author with Gertrude Lippincott, 6/30/92, Lilydale Pool and Yacht Club, Lilydale, Minnesota

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JILL JOHNSTON: THE CRITIC DECONSTRUCTED BY ART?

Deborah Jowitt

In October 1961, Jill Johnston had been, for not quite two years, the dance critic of the Village Voice -- a slim, bright upstart of a weekly paper, at least four of whose sixteen pages were regularly devoted to arts criticism. Writing of Jerome Robbins's Afternoon of a Faun, she appreciated how the ballet captured the spirit of Mallarmé's poem, describing the "dagger-kneed entrance of the nymph."[1] And sounding not unlike a man she knew and admired vastly, Edwin Denby.

However, rebellious downtown dance had won her heart and allegiance; by 1964, it was a rare that she took time, as she did that summer, for perceptive ruminations about Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, and José Limón. She had once studied with (and adored) Limón, and Humphrey (in whose Soaring she had danced in 1953) was one of her heroes. Her descriptive-analytical powers were at a peak that year, whether she was writing of Louis Falco in Humphrey's Lament for Ignacio Sanchez Mejías ("arms spreadeagled but dangling as if broken feathers, the whole beating foot like an externalization of a wild heartbeat -- the whole action a kind of embattled limp.")[2] or chronicling Yvonne Rainer's development ("Her screaming tantrum in Three Seascapes two years ago was like looking into the eye of a harmless hurricane, The harmless part of it is what makes it an abstraction. She doesn't mean it, or pretend to mean it the way the older modern dancers did. She's presenting emotions as facts and not as idealized commentaries on the human condition.")[3]

By the middle of 1968, dancing of any kind was decidedly playing second fiddle in a column that continued for some time to be called "Dance Journal": "I try to reflect the flow and concentrated variety of the music through the interlaced bodies of the dancers rooted to a central spot on the stage. Don't music up no gravy the visual image to be two inches behind the bridge of my nose."[4] This largely unpunctuated column, entitled "Danscrabble", was one of several collages created by chance procedures; the phrases about dance were drawn from Johnston's own earlier reviews. She had been acknowledging her disenchantment with the act of writing criticism since Fall 1965, but until the latter half of 1968 had continued steadily, if intermittently to turn in articles, for the most part vividly chronicling the work of choreographers whose careers she had been following and had helped to promote even before they "arrived" on the scene under the name of Judson Dance Theater -- as well as reviewing concerts by second-wave experimentalists such as Meredith Monk and Twyla Tharp.

As for her erstwhile infatuation with Limón, by mid 1969, she was confessing, "The only man I unequivocally

adored was Merce Cunningham. . . Except for José Limón when I dreamt he was a king in a Maidenform bra."[5]

"Dance Journal" had become a freewheeling, self-starring weekly ramble by Johnston through foreign cities, parties, art openings, performances, encounters with friends, ideas, and revelations. ("Cooled out in Springfield over a shrimp salad sandwich in a Friendly Ice Cream place. Sometimes my complaints fill up the universe. There's a line in a new song here: o daddy please don't cry -- together we'll find a brand new mommie. Breaks me up. Tonight something is happening on TV that oculd only happen in America. Straight sturdy standard stud-happy America is going to gawk at Tiny Tim getting married on the Johnny Carson show. America got its prize freak straightened out. Gregory told me he'd get married himself to get on nationwide TV.")[6] Perhaps emulating Gertrude Stein, who said "a comma is a poor period that it lets you stop and take a breath but if you want to take a breath"[7], Johnston had done away with all punctuation but periods; the writing, usually spilling out in a single paragraph, recalled in its subtly structured illusion of chaos, some of the messier performances of the 1960's, like Carolee Schneeman's 1963 Meat Joy.

To put a cap on her critical career, Johnston, in May 1969, organized a panel called "The Disintegration of a Critic; an Analysis of Jill Johnston." The initial image was of Charlotte Moorman and her cello, alone onstage, wrapped together in pink cloth. Throughout, Andy Warhol pretended to be a student disguised as Andy Warhol and said nothing. The panelists eventually declared criticism to be an "outmoded form of communication", and Johnston made a surprise appearance -- "smashed", according to poet and Voice art critic John Perrault -- and proceeded to read aloud her last column which, to her rage, had been cut in half by her usually forbearing editor, Diane Fisher.[8]

By the 1970s, Johnston had embraced Lesbian feminist politics. In 1969, a typical column title might be "Marcel's Hairless Groin";[9] in 1972, it was "Stamp Out Clitoral Imperialism".[10] By the end of 1975, she was no longer contributing to the Village Voice on a regular basis. In April 1993, Jill Johnston, respected as the author of five books, contributed a long front-page article, "Fictions of the Self in the Making" to the New York Times Book Review, having some years ago reoriented herself, as she put it, to "syntax and common usage"[11] and having come fully into her own as an artist, unattached to a publication's demands or a duty to anyone else's art.

In her autobiographical volumes, Mother Bound (1983) and Paper Daughter (1985), Johnston has analyzed the impact of her mysteriously fatherless childhood and credited the desire to stop writing criticism to a lightening-strike insight of 1965, during the first of several terrifying

breakdowns (diagnosed as schizophrenia). It was, astonishly, from Bellevue in September 1965 that she delivered her new manifesto: "Criticism wears me out -- it's like riding a bike up and down the country hills in a race against a phantom judge. I'll take a plot of level territory and stake out a claim to lie down on it and criticize the constellations if that's what I happen to be looking at. I also stake out a claim to be an artist, a writer, if that's what I'm doing when I get to the typewriter and decide that I liked something well enough to say what I think it's all about."[12]

It seems evident that in the early sixties, Johnston's critical voice developed in relation to the styles and concerns of the new art that she wrote about. I would also like to suggest that the dismantling of Jill Johnston, the thoughtfully analytical critic, and the construction of an innovative writer who was the heroine of all that she wrote was in part negotiated by the aesthetic credos of the 1960's vanguard art movements that she so enthusiastically covered.

The sixties were a time of idealism, of renewed interest in spirituality and mysticism, of large-scale civil disobedience and disruption of the status quo. Johnston, admittedly apolitical, acknowledged awareness of events mainly as a turbulent backdrop to her own turbulent life. She was more intent on how ideas current in the counterculture, against elitism and hierarchical power structures, found their way into art. There they translated as querying the divisions between the arts, the separation of art from life, the elitism of traditional techniques and materials, and the distinctions between performer and spectator. It is these issues, I think, that shaped her as a critic and in the end made it impossible for her to continue being one.

In the preface to her collection Marmelade Me, Johnston dates her beginnings in criticism to 1957-58, "just when the entire art world was entering a convulsion of dissolving boundaries."[13] In John Cage's seminal composition classes, given at the New School between 1956 and 1960, musicians, poets, and visual artists were encouraged to turn out obstreperously unclassifiable work. Johnston was thrilled to be part of the scene, if not, at first, as a Joshua, at least as a gleeful, dust-covered, rubble-surrounded chronicler of the brave new post-Jericho world. Commenting on a MOMA panel that raised issues of art, non-art, anti-art, and so on, she wrote, "Those games of identification are usually substitutes for seeing and hearing, and they arise from fear."[14] She was delighted by the wittily transgressive art of the Fluxus group, or when John Perreault Xed out three windows with black masking tape as part of what was billed as a poetry event.

In reviews that she wrote for the Village Voice (she also wrote for Art News through most of 1965), Johnston, erudite and well-read, did some boundary bridging herself, both of time and disciplines. She linked Jim Dine's gallery

performance, Car Crash (1960) with the ideas behind Kurt Schwitters's "Merz-Painting"[15] (a term coined in 1919, meaning, according to Schwitters, "the combination of all imagineable materials for artistic purposes and technically the fundamental and equal valuation of the individual materials.")[16] In 1964, she wrote that Katherine Litz "catches you up. . .the way a painter like Milton Avery does it when he dips a horizon and the gentle tilt pulls the composition lightly off beam to make the plain expanse an occasion for surprise."[17] In a fine article on the incorporation of process into both gallery work and dance, a phenomenon she calls "double exposure", she links Paxton's newspaper-photos score for Flat to the kind of displacement of the ordinary exemplified by Duchamp's urinal or Jasper Johns's meticulous flag paintings, quoting Jean Cocteau on "the rejuvenation of the commonplace."[18]

In addition to helping blur conventional distinctions between the arts. Johnston's great dance articles of the sixties themselves skillfully conflated artistic method and finished work. She combined her observations of the event with analyses of structure, often gleaned by dialogue with the artists and choreographers -- almost all of whom were her friends and one or two of whom were her lovers. (At a Robert Whitman Happening in East Hampton in August 1966: "a young dancer named Deborah Hay stood or danced, in the room between the mirrors; actually she imitated (she told me) the kinds of distortions these mirrors make. . .")[19] For those of the public who were bemused by dancing that looked a lot like everyday activities and were unable to discern structure in what frequently appeared to be sheer anarchy, Johnston's sympathetic impressions, explanations of process, and historical parallels provided proof that these people were not just a bunch of nuts trying to pull the public's collective leg.

Including herself and/or her spontaneous responses -- sometimes arriving at decisions through in-print rumination -- was at first a way in which she as a writer could undermine the hermeticism of the art experience ("And there was Carolee [Schneeman] after the Intermedia concert at a party gleefully naked with two of her comrades-in-arms. O Christ, she said; Jill is going to write about this. And so I have.")[20] This appeared in March 1968, four months after the Voice's hiring of another dance critic (in November 1967) both galvanized Johnston into a protective gush of columns and gradually freed her from any compulsion to "cover the scene". Eventually, her own responses became the text, dominating, or even obscuring, other subjects.

The "new" dance queried the validity of traditional technique as just another of the culture's divisive, elitist institutions, believing, too, that it masked the humanity of the performer. As the dancers experimented with movement and form, Johnston avoided standard formats for newspaper

criticism and experimented with language, allying her writing with what she was writing about. There were, of course, literary precedents. As a student of literature and art history, she was familiar with the stream-of-consciousness devices of Dada and Surrealist poetry, as well as with the syntactical freedom of e.e. cummings (whose death was announced and 95 poems reviewed in the Village Voice (9/6/62). She knew the long, scantily punctuated lines and rough, neo-Whitmanesque fervor of such Allen Ginsburg lines as these from Howl (1956): "who sank all night in submarine light of Bickford's floated out and sat through the stale beer afternoon in desolate Fugazzi's listening to the crack of doom on the hydrogen jukebox."[21] Her description of Myrna White in Alvin Ailey's Roots of the Blues is an early, perhaps instinctive attempt to create a linguistic rhythm analagous to what she saw and felt: "cool strut settling like tiger meat, rhythmical swish, into the hip sockets."

She much admired Gertrude Stein, quoted her on occasion, and often evokes something of Stein's repetetive, interlocking ellipses of meaning: (from a 1962 review of Erick Hawkins) "Anyway, it's good to to know you are watching a dancer who must have been able to do many things he can't do now and that it doesn't matter, that what matters is how there is so much that can be done if you know what you want to do and you do it fully, which Mr. Hawkins does."[23]

The slanginess and calculated casualness of Johnston's writing paralleled the informality and everydayness of much Judson and post-Judson presentation and movement, as in her memorable passage on Steve Paxton's 1968 walking dance, "And here they all were in this concert in the last dance, thirty-two any old wonderful people in Satisfyin' Lover walking one after the other across the gymnasium in their any old clothes. The fat, the skinny, the medium, the slouched and slumped, the straight and tall, the bowlegged and knock-kneed, the awkward, the elegant, the coarse, the delicate, the pregnant, the virginal, the you name it, by implication every postural possibility in the postural spectrum, that's you and me in all our ordinary everyday who cares postural splendor."[24]

In late "Dance Journal" columns, the deconstructed critic's everyday tone sheared reality into conversational fragments (at a party given by art collectors Ethel and Robert Scull: "Bob wanders me a tour of the lawn garden fountain layout. Here's a tomato red tube fabricated Alexander Lieberman. It matches your napkin Bob. Mmm.").[25] As a choreographer might collage unrelated movements, perhaps combining them with speech, slides, films, and the manipulation of objects, Johnston broke up the linear flow of thought through non sequitur and disruptions of syntax. I'm also tempted to see in the rambling meditations analogies to the structure of Yvonne Rainer's epochal Trio A -- a long chain of movements performed in such a way as to render no

movement more important than any other one. As Johnston wrote in 1968, "What is of more consequence than something else? I like tangerine trees and marmalade skies and I think I should inform somebody that Deborah Hay is taking belly-dancing classes."[26] Speaking in her later autobiography of the single paragraph articles she had once written, she allies the technique to that of "all-over painting, so called for its lack of focus or reference points or central subject or transitions between loci of importance."[27]

During the 1960's, the non-virtuosic movement and low-key energy espoused by many members of Judson Dance Theater served to downplay the differences between performer and spectator, especially since the role of "dancer" might be appropriated by anyone purporting to perform whatever could be agreed on as "the dance." In addition, events by artists (like Allan Kaprow's 1964 Environment, Eat), outdoor pieces by dancers (like one organized by Steve Paxton in the woods of New Jersey in 1963), and plays (for instance, Jack Gelber's 1961 The Apple at the Living Theater, during which a painting was nightly auctioned off) either subtly or forcibly made spectators part of the performance. Johnston, who had, after all, started out as a dancer, was never altogether comfortable functioning as a detached observer, a proper critic. During the sixties, she organized performances, staged some herself, put on uproarious "lecture events" and panels (in one she formulated questions, answers, and behavioral possibilities for the panel and subjected these to chance procedures. Barbara Dilley brought a live pig. Trisha Brown stormed out, which worried Johnston until Brown reminded her that that had been one of the options.)[28] She performed in John Cage's Music Walk in 1962 and in Allan Kaprow's Originale in 1964 and wrote about her own unruly behavior therein.[29] Twice she let sculptor George Segal cast her in plaster of Paris. She livened up the Scull's party by diving into their swimming pool. And, of course, wrote about it. In 1974, she "reviewed" her own book, Lesbian Nation in two nearly impenetrable Village Voice articles.[30]

The ultimate performance, however, lay in turning her life into written theater in which the created persona called Jill Johnston merges with the thoughts and events so dazzlingly recounted by Jill Johnston the writer. (Gregory Battcock likened it to a painter's turning to self-portraiture.)[31] She perceived the critical stance to have been a sham, that the critic's true subject is, in the end, his/her own perceptions. Having discovered dancing that corresponded to a picture of the world that she liked, she ultimately discovered something else: "The reason I stopped writing dance criticism was that I fell in love with the world and as a result I became disillusioned with dancing."[32]

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NOTES

An asterisk [*] indicates that an article is anthologized in Jill Johnston's Marmelade Me. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1971,

1 Johnston, Jill. " ", The Village Voice, 10/26/61.

2 _____. "New London Revivials: Part II,"* The Village Voice, 9/10/64.

3 _____. "Pain, Pleasure, Process," The Village Voice, 2/27/64.

4 _____. "Danscrabble,"*, The Village Voice, 8/15/68.

5 _____. "Come Seven," The Village Voice, 5/15/69.

6 _____. "Until We're 90," The Village Voice, 12/25/69.

7 _____. "Stein: Affectionately Obscene Poetry,"the Village Voice, 5/4/72.

8 Perrault, John. "A Sort of Sacrifice," The Village Voice, 5/20/69.

9 Johnston, Jill. "Marcel's Hairless Groin," The Village Voice, 10/30/69.

10 _____. "Stamp Out Clitoral Imperialism," The Village Voice, 1/3/72.

11 _____. "Fictions of the Self in the Making," the New York Times Book Review, 4/25/93.

12 _____. "Critics' Critic,"* the Village Voice, 9/16/66.

13 _____. Marmelade Me. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1971, 13.

14 _____. "Man about Town", the Village Voice, 12/7/61.

15 _____. "Car Crash,"*, the Village Voice, 11/10/60.

16 Schwitters, Kurt. "Merzmalerei," Der Zweemann, 1919. Included in Washington Long, Rose-Carol (ed.). German Expressionist Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism. New York: G.K.

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18 _____. "Pain, Pleasure, Process," The Village Voice, 2/27/64.

19 _____. "Robert Whitman,"* the Village Voice, 9/8/66.

20 _____. "The Holy Hurricane," the Village Voice, 3/21/68.

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22 Johnston, Jill. "Central Park", the Village Voice, 9/20/62.

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26 _____. "Marmelade Me,"* theVillage Voice, 12/12/68.

27 _____. Paper Daughter, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985, 192.

28 _____. "The Unhappy Spectator,"* theVillage Voice 10/17/68.

29 _____. "Kaprow's Originale,"* theVillage Voice, 10/1/64.

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31 Battcock, Gregory. Introduction to Jill Johnston, Marmelade Me, New York: E.P. Dutton & Co. Inc., 1971, 11.

32 Johnston, Jill. "How I Became an Art Critic and How I Do It Now," the Village Voice, 11/5/79.

THE DANCE IN THE POLITICAL STORMS OF OUR TIME

LILIAN KARINA

When I in 1987 began to write my biography, I understood that I was quite ignorant of the developement of my art in Germany during the dark years of Hitlerism 1933-45, though I had been engaged in Wupperthal one year 1935-36 as soloist, pedagog and even choreographer for some special tasks. I had to leave Germany after this year because of political reasons!

In 1987, 2 years before the Berlin wall fell, I was informed that the documents about the dance and the dancers, collected of the "Ministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda" of Dr Goebbels were filed in the Potsdamer Staatsarchiv - in the same building as the Sovjet military administration. I don't want to spend the time of this lecture to tell you how complicated it was to reach Potsdam from Berlin at that time or to count all the letters and petitions I had to write, nor to describe the military controle which proceeded the final permission to enter and to be seated in the reading room. The documents, big dusty piles, losely tied together by strings seemed not to have been opened before I read them.

And so I read the letters which such great idoles of the dance as Laban, Wigman, Palucca had addressed to the powerful men who worked for Goebbels. I read not only their letters but also the answers they got and the notices which the despoticly intrigating employees of the ministery wrote in the margins of these documents, concerning their opinions about the importance of these creators work for the so called IIId Reich, short phrases which could mean promises, benefits or dangers. It was not fear that dictated these letters. I don't think that in the beginning the dancers understood the danger that threatened them. They wrote inspired by the hope finally to be able to realise their visions as creators of a new style and to confirm the dance as a highly developed art. They did not hesitate to pay the price for the betrayal against their collegues: dancers, choreographers, musicians, painters, writers, scenographs.

Finally, after 50 years, I was looking for notices concerning those who had to leave, the victims. I didn't find anything!

I am eager to tell you, that the existence of the documents I will show you even nowadays is not known or denied by the historians in Germany. *(1)* I myself as one of the victims want to inspire the research, to answer the questions about their destinies.

Before I show you some copies of the documents which I have collected, I just want to say a few words about the tendencies that influenced the birth of the new, the "free" dance and maybe to be able to explain the readiness of so many dancers to accept the ideologies and politics of the Nazis.

The root of the german dance, the "Ausdruckstanz", I find in the 18th century, the s.c. age of enlightment, the time of Goethe, Rousseau, Pestalozzi. Thoughts about

human rights, including the rights of the children, asked for new educational approaches.

The conception of the term "German" in a new meaning I find during the time of the occupation of the smaller german states by Napoleon and the war of independence, the time when the ideal of a military mighty, united Germany began to grow. The term "german" as we find it later so clearly expressed by Mary Wigman was first propagated for by certain great german poets. At that time the interest for physical education grew. A new open air gymnastic did not deny its military character and intentions. *(2)* Life in the open air was suggested, later an important factor in the developement of new artistic danceforms. Powerful youth associationes provoked military disciplin in nationalistic meaning even through singing, marching and dancing so, the Wanderfögel, later the Pfadfinder, which I personally define as the forerunners of the Hitlerjugend. *(3)*

New educational approaches to music gave birth to s.c. rhythmic movements, Dalcroze's system claimed the connection even of classical music to gestures.

The worship of nature evoked new religious movements asking for biological planting, life in the open air, barefooted dance. Nudism became an often provoking form of the awakening consciousness of the human body and claims for free sex.

The interest of the epoch for occultism, spiritism, hypnosis found its choreographic expressions in trancedance and the s.c. transcendental dance. Dance therapy sought for new methods of healing through dance, to become a complement to conservative physiotherapy.

New styles were inspired by the contacts with exotic ritual dances, another source became the sensational archeological excavations, for example of Troya and the grave of pharao Tutanchamon in the 1920s.

Yoga avoke the interest for meditation, concentration. Breathing-exercises got the importance of rituals. Finally I have to mention quite another dimension and its importance for the developement of the "free", later always called German dance. I mean the great movements, associations of secterism, which invaded the arts, so the dance.

Rudolf Steiner, the founder of his own sect, the Antroposophy, created the danceform and -therapy called Eurythmie, as his wife wrote "inspired by his contacts with the realm of spirits". *(4)* Even Rudolf von Laban founded in Zürich an own department of a sect, in his function as member of the great orden of Freemasonship of the Scotch, Memphis and Misraim Ritus. *(5)* Here I have to mention that many of the european sects had a doubtful and complicated relationship to the jews, to antisemitism, the same goes for certain youth associations and gymnastic movements. *(6)*

We have to consider that several of the early "Freedancers" had contacts with similar associations or schools! The term "german" could even at that time mean:

Not jew or not of jewish provenience" or even "not infected by jewish blood". (Naziterm).

The expression "Rassenhygiene" (racial hygienics) was wellknown and often used by several creators of the new methods of dance education. They used this expression in explanations of the aims of their schools, in analyses and advertisements.

The discrimination of human beings, that all over the world had been accepted by slaveholders, had in the 19th century, the time of organised explorations of the colonies, become a controversy political and economical subject.

Darwin's theories about the developement of the species meant a revolution in understanding life on earth, new discoveries on questions of heritability were in a rather metaphysically way mixed up with thoughts about the connection of human beauty with health and led to discussions about the rights of the society to eliminate heriditary illness.

The book of the french count Gobineau (published in 1855) about "the differences of the human races" became one of the most read publications of the period. Gobineau wanted to prove that the white race was superiour to all others and that the s.c. Nordic was the best.

The militant racebiologist Houston Chamberlain, son in law to Richard Wagner, confirmed the Germans-the Teutonics as the representants of the only "race of Masters" (Herrenvolk). He is not only esteemed as the teacher of Wagner but even of Adolf Hitler. Max Merz, the husband of Elisabeth Duncan and the leader of her school, was an eager admirer and follower of Chamberlain. I find it interesting to consider the developement of these ideas in the example of the Duncan school:

1911 The prospect of the Duncan school: the ennobeling of the race and the ideals of the ancient Greece are now connected to the teutonic (ancient german) mythologies.

1926 Advertising: The Rassenhygiene (racial hygienics) became an important subject to prove the quality of the school, devoted only to female pupils.

1938 (Hitler period) Racediscrimination in full activity - Max Merz one of the leading writers in the field of dance! Comments: "Jazz production - a domain for the jews" "Narcotics for the white race".

In the beginning of this century, the popularity of Jazz had frightened the bourgeois society. Fritz Giese writes in his book Girlkultur (München, 1925): "Out of the consciousness of the race the beauty of the american woman is cristallised. The race is expressed by the woman." and "..... this expression is spread through 'Callisthenics' ..... it is a danceform only for women ...."

Already during the days of slavery it was accepted that white men had children with female blacks while sexual contacts between a white woman and a black

man were cruelly punished. It is important to understand that in USA the practical use of the racediscrimination meant the contacts of white people with coloured, most blacks, and in Germany, even long before Hitler's time, was concentrated to the limits of the white race, that means between Germans and jews!

The documents *(7)*

In January 1933 Adolf Hitler took over. In March the same year the "Ministerium für Volksaufklärung (folkenlightment) und Propaganda", led by Dr Goebbels, is founded.

At that time Rudolf von Laban is balletdirector at the Staatsoper. In June 1933 Laban writes to the General Intendanz (direction) of the Staatsoper that "all not arian children were eliminated from the ballet school" - please, observe the discriminating expression. (Document I.) He is very eager to fulfill the politics of the Nazis, already 1933, more than 2 years before the "Ariergesetz" the law is proclaimed. Volontarily, before it is claimed by law, Wigman, Palucca and Trümpy connect their schools to the Naziorganisation of teachers and the militant "Kampfbund für Deutsche Kultur". Especially stressed in an informationpaper, addressed to all pupils is the fact that the s.c. Arier paragraphs of these organisation will be strictly followed by the schools.

In July 1934, Laban resigns from his position as balletdirector and begins to work for the ministery of Goebbels.

The dancefestival 1934 is his first work. Laban's presentation concludes with the words ".... with our means of expression and with the strength of our united forces we want to serve the tasks which fill our people with enthusiasm according to the direction which our Führer point out with unshakable clearness". *(8)* Laban becomes a powerful person, his aims are: the foundation of a theatre devoted only to the art of dance and a college for dance.

Beginning with the first year of the "Abteilung Tanz" (department dance) denunciations accusing Laban, Wigman, Palucca reaches the ministery, one is addressed "To my beloved Führer". "..... 14 years the jewish press has praised her (Wigman) and now she changes and represents the German dance." *(9)*

In 1935 Laban leads the great international competition of dance. He signs the document of presentation beside Goebbels.

Laban's last great choreographic work "Vom Tauwind zur grossen Freude" (From the winds of spring to the great joy) - observe the title as an allusion to the new ideas - is created to be shown at the Olympic games 1936. This choreography is refused personally by Goebbels.

The following facts I want to point out, because several historians see the persecution of Laban already 1936, after Goebbels decision not to allow his work for the Olympic games! *(10)*

Laban continues as leading master. In April 1936 he gets the contract he was longing for, as chief for the Meisterwerkstätten (The workshop for the masters) - the first step to build a college! He is eager to explain his ideas about connecting a library and a collection of photopraphs and films to this institution. These plans are rejected by Cunz, the important referent in the ministery, who later on will take over the role of Laban.

In September 1936 Laban is severely ill. In a very personal letter to the same Cunz he promises to plan for the college - declaring that he is forced by his illness to ask for a contract only as adviser with reduced payment. His wish is granted - the ministery needs Labans competence. Laban accepts with gratitude the new contract in November 1936. So he continues the planning "even in bed in the sanatorium", as he writes. Meanwhile the denunciations and accusations against him and all his protegées continues. The last days in August 1937 he leaves for Paris. A very interesting letter is addressed to his nearest friend and collaborator, Marie Luise Lieschke. Through Lieschke he was informed that an aggressive article of a certain Kühne had accused him to have had a homosexual affair during his time as balletdirector at the Staatsoper. In 1937 such an accusation could mean a danger for his life, without any trial or investigation. Though Laban is shocked he expresses in the same letter his wish to return, to continue his work for the III Reich.

A document proves that he and Lieschke in October 1937 send a new petition to the ministery to continue their work, which is finally refused personally by Goebbels against the recommendation of competent members of his own administration!

Even Mary Wigman does everything to stay, to work under the auspice of the Nazis, in spite of all offers and artistic possibilities, which are opened to her in other countries. Wigman does not tolerate any critic concerning her art. Wigman even tries to use the new possibilitites which the censorship offers. In case of one of her sharp critics, the laws of the Nazis are on her side, the wellknown writer Levitan is a russian jew. The dance magazine "Der Tanz" is his creation. He had to renounce to the leadership 1933 but is accused to continue to influence "Der Tanz". In the Potsdamer Archiv I found a denunciation written by the Wigman Schule against a rather critical article by a certain Friedel Baur to be published in "Der Tanz". The letter mentiones that Friedl Baur had been a pupil in the school, that her scholarship had been payed by the Zionistic society and that she later had teached in Tel Aviv. The antisemitic mood is used to eliminate critical voices. At the same date Wigman addresses a personal letter to von Keudell, a mighty person in the ministery, to confirm the letter, written by the director of her school. (Documents II and III.)

Gret Palucca is the favorite dancer of the Nazis. I don't doubt she is protected by the mighty SS. She has been denounced by collegues to have been a communist, documents had been found to prove it. One of her letters to the ministery has the comment written by hand in the margin by referent Cunz: "The Reichstheaterkammer" (Goebbels' important organ for controle) "recommends caution in case of Palucca because of doubts concerning her arian provenience". That is a sensation!

I don't know if she was jewish or what at that time was called "Arier", probably she was jewish by her mother, it does not interest me. But this case shows how inconsequent the cruel acting of the Naziregime was. Not even Goebbels dares to doubt Paluccas position as the highest paid dancer - the only soloist of the great dance demonstration at the Olympiade 1936. For: the comment by the "Schwarzes Korps" (SS organ) is: "... her art must be considered as the top of all cultural creations in Germany." Himmler, the leader of the SS had power even in questions of the arts.

Just another example: A photo of Josephine Baker is declared as degenerated by the same newspaper: Josephine is "Nigger", the photographer, the famous Mme D'Ora, jew.

In 1937 "Das Schwarze Korps" pleads for penalty of death for the homosexuals. *(11)* One of the victims of this cruel persecution is the great dancer Alexander von Swaine, I found the documents of accusation and his own letters. He was in jail several months after a denunciation. At last his petition for pardon was granted by Goebbels. Swaine left Germany in 1937.

My last example: a tragic document: 2 children are eliminated from the balletschool of the Stadttheater in Breslau, on order of the balletmaster. Their "arian" father has devorced their christian mother, of jewish provenience. Now he accepts that his own children are treated as jews! Observe, the letter is dated November 8th 1934, that means before the arier law is pronounced in 1935. I just want to point out that it is an error only to blame Goebbels or other prominent Nazis, though they were the creators of all these cruel laws and the threatening atmosphere in Germany. Many of the great choreographers, balletmasters, dancers, did everything to please the mighty men, in many cases they acted before the cruel decisions were claimed by laws, as it seems, just for showing off their loyalty, though most of them not even were members of the Nazi party.

The same year, 1934, Laban is on the top of his career. "The mighty commander of all dancers of the State Theaters" as Fred Hildebrand had called him in one of his books.

The new vocabulary - was it accepted? Yes!

"Biologisches Tanzdenken und Rassen- und Erblehre" (Biological methods for dance analysis and knowledge about the influence of heritary facts) as the Nazis wanted to see them, these subjects became the most important parts of the history of dance, obligatorily taught in all professional schools! A new vocabulary was used, conform to the everyday language, as well as the one used by the authorities. It began to dominate the texts and analysis of the creators of the modern dance and influenced their choreographies.

The Nazis tried frenetically to find their own style for the art of dance, as well as for the social dance and dance in education. This style was wanted to be rather realistic at the same time "romantic-heroic", conforming to Hitlers esthetic preferences.

The dance should show beautiful, skilful young girls and be entertaining. Male dancers would be accepted, if representing an aggressiv, athletic type, the ideal of the Nazis.

Censorship - dictated or volontary? Which were the restrictions that broke all developement of the art?

Declared as indecent was the use of a wide extended scale of movements and choreograhic innovations, inspired by the connection of dancers and choreographers with the art of Dada, Expressionism, Kubism, Surrealism, the Bauhaus Functionalism and all impulses of African art and the afro-american culture, also the Jazz.

Forbidden as "Degenerate Art", banned as outlaw, or expressions of inferior races or part of the jewish infected area, observe - I use the vocabulary of the Nazis, was the movement called Dada, so Zürich Dada with its admiration for African art, the Jazz and the new style called Cubism.

Berlin Dada was the child of the "red" revolution 1918. The arch enemies for the nazis were the artists connected to this movement as Brecht, Tucholsky, the painters Dix and Grosz and the dancers who had performed in the Dadaist Kabaret "Schall und Rauch" after World War I.

Feared for her daring impulses, often expressed by malicious parodies was Valeska Gerd. Hated of the Nazis was the criticism of the misery of the big towns, of the prostitution as one of the main subjects of the arts in the 20s. The prostitute was seen as the symbol for feminist struggle and the claims of social and medical research - propagated by the film of Oswald 1919, "Die Prostitution", with another sensational dancer, Anita Berber, in the main role.

In the 20s the new dance should become more than what it had been: the expression of joy of life, the way to beauty and health, the contact with "cosmos". It was Mary Wigman who connected the new dance to the german Expressionism, the art which was declared as degenerated. *(12)*

Persecuted were the "Agitprop" groups of the "Reds" and their struggle for the rights of the working class.

Dangerous were all antimilitaristic, pacifistic tendencies in art, in the choreograpic arts culminating in the "Green Table" by Kurt Jooss, later in 1942 followed by Birgit Cullberg beginning with her Hitler parody and in the 80th by her son, Mats Ek (for example his ballet "Kain and Abel").

Not allowed was the provoking Nudism, with its social claims as the choreographies of the Koch Gruppe of the workers association had shown, forbidden the surrealistic tendencies of the choreography of Anita Berber and Henry Droste.

Banned were all allusions to homosexuality or androginity so important for the evolution of the arts in the 20s. Forbidden was to mention the name of Albert Einstein and his theories which inspired great artists from Kandinsky to Merce Cunningham.

Forbidden Freuds psychoanalysis and the art of mentally disturbed persons which had inspired choreographers as Jean Björlin for his ballet "Madhouse", presented by Rolf de Maré's Ballets Suèdois, 1926.

Since 1936 all secterism was forbidden, even those sects or societies that in their ideologies were related to the myths of Rosenberg and Hitler. All allusions to the "magic geometrie" were forbidden and all symbolic signs or writing by symbolic characters and emblems as Del Sartes or Laban had used.

Finally Laban Notation was forbidden.

All these prohibitions lead to a total decline of the art of choreography. And, not to forget, not only in Germany but also in all conquered countries, we can say during serveral years in whole Europe, excluded England, Switzerland, Sweden and Portugal. Dance became entertainment, so did even the repertory of the great Operahouses.

Typical for these dark years became the dances in the great Ufa-films and the choreographic organisations of the enormous parades and processions of the Nazi "Mythos", choreographed by two famous dancers, Sabine Ress for the Ufa-films and Leni Riefenstahl for the great events of the party.

1939 the second world war broke out.

1945 the war was over, Berlin in ruins conquered by the Sovjets. The 4 conquerers divided the town in four sectors, the Russian, the American, the English and the French. A few months after the victory the winners began in Berlin the competition to win the european public. Dance had highest priority. The USA and the Sovjet Union sent, in many cases in military airplanes, the best they had to show off. So during the following years the Neoclassicism of Balanchines New York City Ballet, the musical style of Jerome Robbins, the surrealistic psychoanalytic creations of Martha Graham, later the great Jazz groups, conquered not only the public in the ruins of Berlin but for many years the further developement of the choreographic art in Europe. But we should not forget the wonderful spectacles that the Sovjet Union offered. The classical Petipa-virtuosity and the exotic virtuosity of the great ethnic groupes, which were presented to an enthusiastic public, conquered the technical education of the professional dancers in the whole world and dictated the degree of the technical skill.

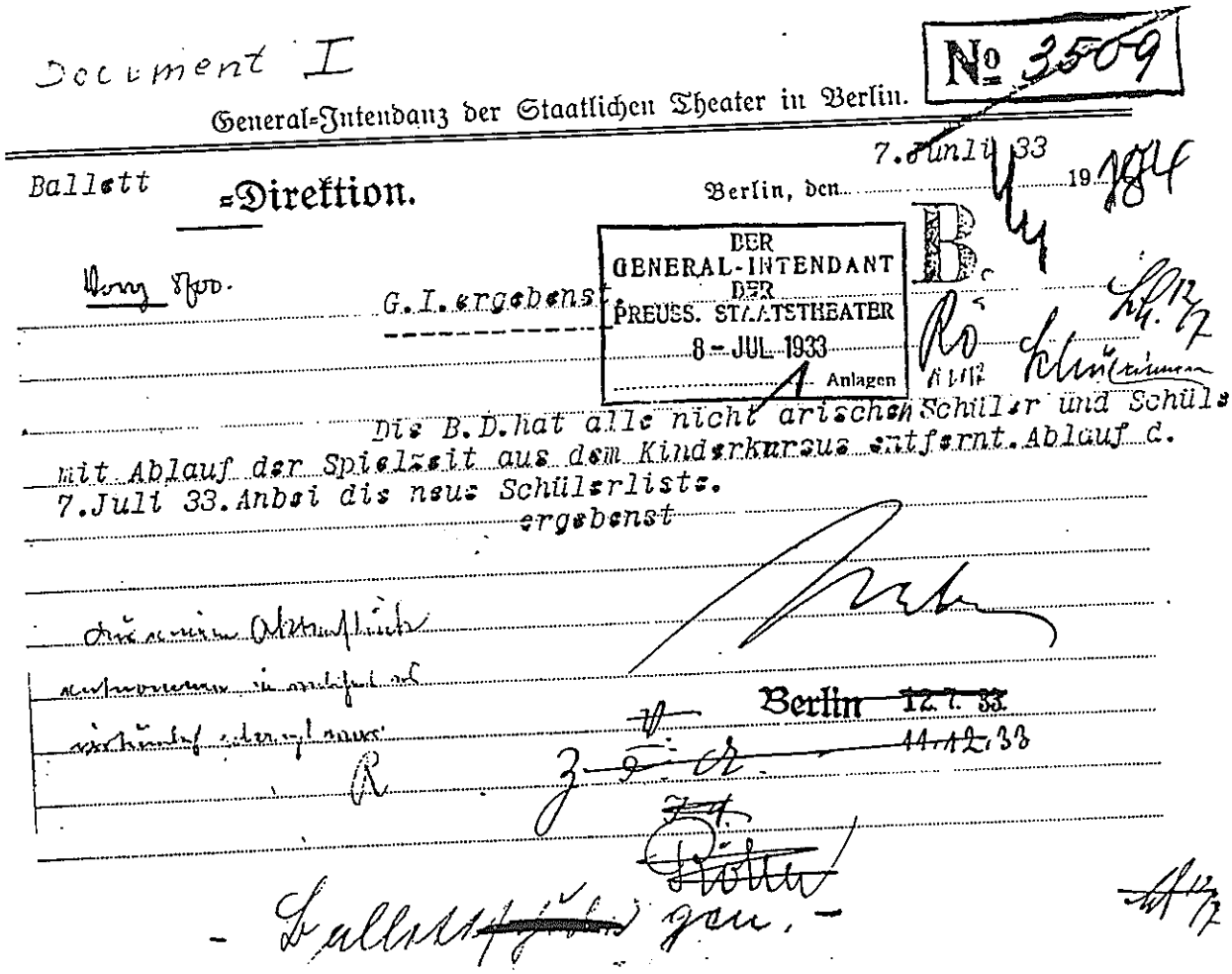
Finally I want to express that for me it is not important to accuse. I just want to observe and to judge the european history of dance even out of political aspects. My own experiences and my researches have convinced me that the further evolution of the art, especially the contemporary dance, this laboratory of movements and gestures which renews all choreographic arts, depends on absolute freedom of the artistic creativity and the right of connections to problems

and ideas scientifique, political or symbolic, even methaphysical or transcendental and that the global exchange must more than ever remain opened. For this absolute freedom, which was denied in many countries during this century and during my lifetime as a dancer, my lecture wants to be a contribution.

This lecture is a short summary of a study, which will be published in 1994-95.

Document I

№ 3509



General-Intendanz der Staatlichen Theater in Berlin.

Ballett -Direktion.

Berlin, den 7. Juli 33 1984

DER GENERAL-INTENDANT DER PREUSS. STAATSTHEATER 8 - JUL 1933 Anlagen

B.

G.I. ergebenst

Die B.D. hat alle nicht arischen Schüler und Schüle mit Ablauf der Spielzeit aus dem Kinderkursus entfernt. Ablauf d. 7. Juli 33. Anbei die neue Schülerliste.

ergebenst

Berlin 12.7.33

11.12.33

- Ballett gen. -

Karina

9325

24. 1. 36

WIGMAN SCHULE DRESDEN

MARY WIGMAN

TANZ UND GYMNASTIK
ZENTRALINSTITUT ALLER WIGMANSCHULEN
BERUFSAUSBILDUNGSKLASSEN
LAIENUNTERRICHT 65

DRESDEN-N. 6, DEN 24. Oktober 1935
BAUTZNER STR. 107

Doc. II

Herrn
Ministerialrat von Keudell
B e r l i n - W. 8
Voss Str. 9
Reichspropaganda-Ministerium

Sehr geehrter Herr von Keudell !

In der Oktobernummer d r Zeitschrift " Der Tanz " (Berlin) erschien beigefügter Artikel von Friedl Braur " Einblick in die deutsche Tanzkunst ".

Dieser Artikel - kurz vor den Tanzfestspielen in einer in Deutschland herausgegebenen Tanzzeitschrift erscheinend - stellt eine Schädigung der gesamten für den deutschen künstlerischen Tanz eingeleiteten Förderungsarbeit dar.

Aus diesem Grunde fühlen wir uns verpflichtet, Ihnen diese Angelegenheit vorzutragen, zumal der " Tanz " die einzige deutsche Tanzzeitschrift ist, die eine regelmässige und umfangreiche Verbreitung im Ausland hat (Paris, Warschau, Prag, London, New York). Sie lässt manche Artikel sowohl in deutscher als auch in englischer Sprache drucken und versorgt die ausländischen Tanzzeitschriften mit laufenden Berichten über das deutsche Tanzwesen.

Die Verfasserin des beifolgenden Artikels - Friedl Braur war vom 1. Februar 1928 bis 15. Juli 1930 Ausbildungsschülerin der Wigman-Schule-Dresden. Sie war begeisterte Anhängerin des zionistischen Gedankens und hat, da sie selber völlig mittellos war, das Studium mit teilweiser Unterstützung durch die zionistische Gesellschaft durchgeführt. Anschliessend an ihr Studium unterrichtete sie in Tel-Aviv, von wo sie wohl vor 2 oder 3 Jahren nach Alexandria ging.

Unseres Wissens ist sie seitdem ein einziges Mal ganz kurze Zeit in Deutschland gewesen, hat also garnicht die Möglichkeit gehabt, die Entwicklung des künstlerischen Tanzes in Deutschland zu verfolgen.

Den abgedruckten Artikel sandte sie vor einigen Wochen an Mary Wigman, mit dem Bemerken, sie werde ihn in Griechenland veröffentlichen. Mary Wigman hat damals selbverständlich gar keine Stellung dazu genommen, so wie sie dies auch anderen aus dem Ausland gekommenen Angriffen gegenüber nicht getan hat.

./.

...SCHECK DRESDEN 22587. BANK GEBR. ARNHOLD DRESDEN

Doc II.

Bei Abfassung und Veröffentlichung des Artikels scheinen jedenfalls Motive mitzusprechen, die jenseits der Sache als solcher stehen und die wir ja nicht besonders zu bezeichnen brauchen. Wir halten es um des deutschen künstlerischen Tanzes willen für gefährlich, wenn derartige Unterminierungsversuche fortgesetzt werden und bitten deshalb um eingehende amtliche Stellungnahme hierzu.

Heil Hitler !

Die pädagogische Leitung der Wigman-Schule-Dresden :

Hans Hinkel

Karina

24. 1. 36

9325.

MARY WIGMAN · DRESDEN-NEUSTADT · BAUTZNER STRASSE 107

62

Dresden, den 24. Oktober 1935

Doc. III.

Herrn Ministerialrat von Keudell
Reichspropagandaministerium
B e r l i n - W. 8
Voss Str. 9

Sehr geehrter Herr von Keudell !

Im Anschluss an den Brief, den heute der pädagogische Leiter meiner Schule wegen der Zeitschrift " Der Tanz " an Sie richtete, möchte ich Sie Folgendes fragen :

Halten Sie es im Hinblick auf die Gesamtsituation für angebracht, wenn ich an diese Zeitschrift einen Brief schicke, in welchem ich ihr strikte verbiete, in Zukunft irgendeine Fotografie von mir oder meiner Tanzgruppe zu veröffentlichen ?

Ich bin überhaupt der Meinung, dass die deutsche Tänzerschaft die Beziehungen zu dieser Zeitschrift abbrechen sollte, aber wie und durch wen ist so etwas zu bewerkstelligen ?

Da die Redaktion der Zeitschrift " Der Tanz " sicher schon alle Vorbereitungen für die Herausgabe ihrer Novembernummer trifft, liegt mir sehr daran, Ihre Meinungsäusserung möglichst bald in der Hand zu haben und gegebenenfalls meinen diesbezüglichen Brief umgehend an die Redaktion abgehen zu lassen.

Mit herzlichem Dank für Ihre Bemühung und freundlichem Gruss

Ihre ergebene

Mary Wigman

NOTES

1) I have mentioned how difficult it was to find these documents before the Berlinwall fell. But nowadys the archivs are open, but in spite of using the new possibilities the historians seem to avoid these compromising letters.

2) The great personalities of the german Turnbewegung were Guth, Muths, Vieth and Jahn.

3) The book FH Winter "Körperbildung als Kunst und Pflicht" (1923), pages 11-14, 19, gives information about the relationship between the militant nationalistic youth associations and creators of the new dance as Bode, Laban, Elisabeth Duncan.

4) Eurythmie. Sonderdruck der "Erziehungskunst", 1975. Page 22

5) Suzanne Perrottet, ein bewegtes Leben, 1984. Page 130

6) Among the sects which had antisemitic aims should be mentioned: Teosofie, Germanen Orden. Thule Gesellschaft, Mazdaznan Liga.

7) 11 documents are shown at this lecture, they were never shown before. I have collected more than 300.

8) Deutsche Tanzfestspiele 1934 unter Förderung der Reichkulturkammer, 1934. Page 7

9) Wigman, following her own artistic sensibility, inspired by her friends Nolde, Kirchner and other great german Expressionists, became one of them. After 1933 she did everything to deny this relationship but she did not succeed, after her performance at the Olympic games 1936 she was totally neglected.

10) "Dance on the Olymp" is the title of the great exposition in the Academy of Arts in Berlin, opened the 2th May this year. Laban's eager wishes to continue his work for Goebbels until November 1937 are not mentioned. All I can find about this problem are these lines: "After the Olympiad 1936 Laban understood that his dreams of a dancing community had been perverted by the Nazis. He emigrated with the help of Joos to England."

11) Das Geschichte des § 175. Strafrecht gegen Homosexuelle. 1990. Page 116

12) Wigman belonged to what the Nazis called "Entartede Kunst" (Degenerate Art). As the genius of the expressionistic dance she had become the great teacher, the mother of modern dance all over the world.

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STRAIGHT OUT OF HEAVEN CHILDREN: HOW VIRGINIA TANNER'S MORMON IDEALS INFLUENCED THE EARLY PERFORMANCES OF THE CHILDREN'S DANCE THEATRE

Mary-Elizabeth Manley

On November 8, 1974, Virginia Tanner and the Children's Dance Theatre celebrated its 25th anniversary with a concert in the Prestige Series at the University of Utah. From its inaugural performance on May 2, 1949 onwards, Tanner's vision of revealing the beauty of childhood and youth through dance had been constant.

On this day too, her letter to the Anniversary Members of the Children's Dance Theatre and their Co-Workers spoke of her hopes and ideals—especially those of beauty, peace, harmony and joy. From the time it was formed November 3, 1949, these words had served to articulate the key ingredients of Tanner's philosophy.

In addition to expressing her gratitude for the support of this particular concert to the University of Utah, the various choreographers, teachers, staff, parents and her own family, Tanner acknowledged her personal faith. At the end of her address she gave thanks:

> To our heavenly Father whose infinite wisdom guides us and who has given us unlimited use of our minds, bodies, and creative energy to make decisions and solve problems.
>
> Tonight may peace and harmony work through each of us--for then this will be a memorable experience for all.(1)

This particular expression of gratitude revealed again that over the 25 years after establishing the CDT, Tanner's faith had sustained her. Clearly her guidance of the CDT had always been inspired and somewhat molded by her personal faith and devotion. Throughout her life, Tanner had affirmed her faith in the teachings of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Early Times in Deseret

Born April 25, 1915, Tanner was the youngest of five children of Henry Smith Tanner and Clarice Thatcher. Tanner's maternal grandfather Moses Thatcher lived a very traditional religious life as an Apostle in the Mormon church. Holding the second-highest authority in the church, an apostle assumes responsibility for preaching the gospel, proselytizing and directing the activities of the Seventies. In turn, this group spreads the gospel and manages missions.(2) The

spiritual emphasis in the life of Tanner's grandfather was certainly adopted by her mother. Her father too was a devout Mormon who stressed the teachings of the faith to his children.

It appears that all of Tanner's great grandparents were of the Mormon faith, having lived in the Eastern United States, and probably converted to Mormonism early in their lives. Some came from New York State, others from Rhode Island, Vermont, New Hampshire and West Virginia.(3) However, all of her grandparents, along with many English and Scandinavian immigrants made the great trek west to establish their homes in a truly inhospitable part of the country, a great valley dominated by primarily desert conditions and a large salt lake.

Uninviting as this part of the west was, still it had been probed by curious bands of explorers—first by the Spanish and then by the Mexicans. When the wagons of the earliest Mormon families began to descend into the arid valley, it was the Gosiutes, Utes, Southern Paiutes and Shoshone who mainly inhabited Utah country.(4) Fortunately for the Mormon immigrants, these First Nations people along with trappers and other frontier folk were most generous in allowing them to pass through and make their home in the great basin. At last the Mormon settlers found peace, and began to lead a secluded life away from the bitter hostilities they had experienced in the Midwest and Eastern United States.

Brigham Young, successor to Joseph Smith as leader of the Mormons, felt very encouraged as he presided over this colony of devoted followers settled in the Salt Lake Valley. Although forceful and direct, he inspired the people to achieve a great deal with efficiency in a very short time. Deseret, as their land would become known, would grow with the Mormon's cheerful determination, into a thriving, economically self sufficient and culturally rich region.

Known for his taste for the finer things in life, Brigham Young encouraged not only the economic and spiritual interests of the settlers but also their cultural life. In fact, cultural and spiritual achievements were inextricably tied. Unlike other religious leaders of this period in the history of the United States, Brigham Young saw the development of culture and the arts as a progressive step for his people. He once said that "If I were given the task of civilizing...a people, I'd straightway build a theatre for the purpose."(5) While his desire to build a theatre was eventually realized, significant developments in music actually predated the theatrical and dance interests in Salt Lake.

Historical accounts of these early times in Deseret relate how the settlers both from the Eastern United States and from

Europe brought their love of music, theater and dance with them. Converts such as William Pitt from England and Domenico Ballo from Italy brought musical expertise of both a technical and inspirational nature. Pitt's brass band that had been formed in the Mormon settlement of Nauvoo, Illinois, buoyed the spirits of the westward travelers, supporting their song—hymns or popular ballads of the day.(6)

Once settled in Salt Lake, the cultural expression of the people expanded to include choral performances as a part of the church services. The bowery, the first public meeting place, housed the congregations who witnessed these initial choral offerings. Later the choir sang in the Old Tabernacle until they moved in 1867 to the new Tabernacle, which still shows its bold and striking spires against the western sky of the valley today.(7)

In early Salt Lake, the major Mormon settlement, the cultural expression centered mainly on the performing arts. Like the first bands and choirs that performed in Salt Lake, the first dramatic performances were held in the bowery on Temple Square. When the Musical and Dramatic Company was established, it moved performances to the old Social Hall in 1850 and then in 1862 to the Salt Lake Theater.(8)

For the pioneer's entertainment there was dancing as well. Unlike other religious doctrines of the time, the Mormon beliefs did not exclude dance activities from the religious nor the secular life of its followers. The design of the Salt Lake Theater offers evidence of the importance and popularity of dance during this period. In fact its orchestra seats could be covered by a spring floor to form a large dance hall. In 1862, British adventurer Richard Burton stated that:

> Dancing seems to be an edifying exercise: The Prophet dances, the Apostles dance, the Bishops dance.(9)

Thus it was that a very strong cultural expression was established, particularly in the performing arts among the early pioneers in Utah. More than a century later, this rich mix of cultural activities has grown substantially. Salt Lake is alive with numerous productions in music, theater and dance. Four major dance companies call Salt Lake their home, including the Children's Dance Theater.

Until her death in the spring of 1979, Virginia Tanner had given the greater portion of her life to the teaching, development and artistic direction of the Children's Dance Theater. Interestingly, her philosophy and very strong personal feelings about the awakening of a child's gifts in dance hearkened back to negative movement experiences. Tanner's recollections of her first ballet classes were not happy ones.

Mentors and Influences

As a preschooler Tanner was a vivacious and free spirited child whose energy was thought best to be channeled through dance classes. Introduced to dance at the neighborhood ballet school as a young child of six, Tanner rejected this form of training because of its structured nature and perhaps overly severe physical demands on her young body. Undoubtedly the teacher was requiring more of her physique than it was capable of at this time in her development.(10)

While the initial episode with the ballet studio was not to Tanner's liking, nevertheless she continued to improvise with her own creations. On many occasions Tanner would go out under the street light near her home at night and dance. She experimented with shadows and body shapes, seeing how far she could stretch her arms and legs. While her designs were at times very beautiful and at others quite grotesque, it was the experience of improvising with the light, making the shadows move in fantastic and wonderful ways that Tanner delighted in. If a passerby appeared, Tanner would quickly dart out of the light and into the privacy of her own home once more.(11)

Although Tanner was almost always involved in theater and dance in both recreational and school settings during her childhood years, it was not until 1937, after an initial two years of study and performance with modern dancer and mentor Evelyn Davis that she began to explore both performance and teaching. During the next few years, Tanner also completed an invaluable period of study in New York with Doris Humphrey and Charles Weidman, finishing in the spring of 1939.(12)

Tanner's training with Humphrey does not appear to have been as deep in the bones as we might think of training today. Yet, from the strength and clarity with which Tanner was then able to develop her own philosophy and technique of teaching, indeed the Humphrey principles were truly absorbed in her being. In fact, the core of Tanner's dance movement philosophy known as 'Roots and Wings' implies polarities akin to Humphrey's. Both dancers struggled with the drive to achieve perfection and the promise of stability, while still desiring to experience the ecstasy of abandon.(13)

While the Humphrey influence is clear, even more central to Tanner's dance movement philosophy is the spiritual connotation originating from her belief in the Mormon faith. The teachings of this Christian faith require a bodily discipline that will then free the spirit. Tanner naturally associated these spiritual tenets with the polarities of the Humphrey philosophy—stability and total freedom. Even the name 'Roots and Wings' seems to imply strong physical, earthly demands associated with freer celestial, spiritual experiences. While Tanner did not speak of her philosophy as

'Roots and Wings' until much later in her career, it was during her New York study that the elements of Tanner's faith and the threads of Humphrey's dance philosophy were beginning to intertwine.

Having attempted to absorb as much of the Humphrey work as she could, and perhaps feeling overwhelmed by the pressures of the professional dance life in New York, Tanner decided to return to Salt Lake City in 1939. Once back in Utah, her dance reputation began to rise. While Tanner maintained a rather distant connection with Humphrey over the next ten years, in 1949 their association was renewed. At Tanner's invitation, Doris Humphrey came to Salt Lake City in May to be the guest of honor at the first formal concert of the Children's Dance Theater, held May 2 at Kingsbury Hall.(14)

It was not only the concert that Humphrey attended, for a full week of classes and rehearsals with Tanner's students had also been scheduled. At the McCune School, a branch of Brigham Young University in Salt Lake City where Tanner had been teaching since 1941, Humphrey experienced the lively, creative style of the young dancers. During the visit, Tanner actively sought Humphrey's opinion. Could her methods and philosophy of teaching substantiate her claim that children, properly taught and guided, would contribute to dance as an art form? Humphrey's response was only to affirm the beauty, spirit, creativity and joy of the dance she saw springing from the children.(15)

Performance Style

From 1949 on the Children's Dance Theater(CDT) continued to gain recognition, appearing in regularly scheduled performances. Audiences and more specifically, educated dance audiences began to see that there was an essence, a vital element within the performances of the Children's Dance Theater that was entirely captivating. While numerous articles were written about the CDT performances, perhaps one defines more eloquently than most the aura of the CDT's performance style during these early years. Reviewing their concert at the Jacob's Pillow Festival at Lee, Massachusetts, July 26, 1953, Walter Terry wrote:

> It is difficult to describe even the most potent intangibles and the best I can do is to say that the children danced as if they had faith in themselves, had love for those who were seeing them, actively believed in their God and rejoiced in all of these.(16)

Plans for the Jacob's Pillow performance, which would bring the CDT into the midst of a critical but appreciative dance audience, began a year earlier. During the summer of 1952, Isadora Bennett and Richard Pleasant, influential New York

booking agents saw the CDT perform for the Rocky Mountain Symposium of the Arts at Steamboat Springs, Colorado. Impressed by Tanner's teaching technique and the artistry of her young dancers, the two agents sought additional performance venues for them. Following discussions with the coordinators of the American Dance Festival at New London, Connecticut and with Ted Shawn, director of Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival at Lee, Massachusetts, an invitation was extended to perform in July 1953.(17)

It was an unprecedented invitation, the first ever to children and young people to perform at these festivals. In the Church News section of the Deseret Newspaper, an article was proudly titled "McCune Dancers to Perform in East". Along with other details of the proposed trip, the reporter stressed the enthusiastic support being given for this invitation by Doris Humphrey, José Limón and Pauline Lawrence (Limón), all of whom had previously seen the CDT in performance.(18)

In accepting this invitation, the CDT's primary objective was not to be mistaken. It was not fame, fortune or insipid dancing that was being promoted. To the contrary, as this same article pointed out:

> Many honors have come to the Children's Dance Theatre since its founding in 1949. Their artistry on the concert stage has received wide recognition, but performance has not been the primary objective. From the development of creative talents, healthy bodies and minds, through technique and creative work adapted to the mental, physical and emotional needs of a growing child, stem the true ideals of the organization.(19)

It was Tanner's sincere belief in these ideals and vigilant effort to develop them through her teaching that continued to let the body, mind and soul of her young dancers shine through in such an unaffected and delightful manner. The spiritual elegance of the CDT dancers during their performances at the festivals in the Eastern US that summer was chronicled in a number of reviews. Audiences recognized the intangibles—the joyful spirit and pure angelical quality of their dance. Although these traits initially resist analysis, it appears that with further consideration strong links to the ideals of the Mormon faith arise.

Mormon Artistic Expression

Lorin F. Wheelwright, Dean of the Faculty of Fine Arts at Brigham Young University in 1972, wrote of five major beliefs of the Mormon faith that usually permeate the work of artists, loyal to the creed of the Church of Jesus Christ of

Latter-day Saints. His description of the distinguishing features that infuse Mormon artistic expression gives greater perspective in viewing the depth of Tanner's work and the dance of the CDT.(20)

An absolute belief of Mormons is that the human presence on earth seeks to experience joy. In Tanner's work from very early on the children's movement grew out of a spirit of buoyancy. This optimism, this sense of hope and joy with her students dominated her teaching of technique, creative work and composition. The young dancers' symbolic use of openness of the body, stretching heavenward, the leaping exuberance of their dances reinforced repeatedly that they found power in the positives and left others to express aspects of misery, degradation and hopelessness.(21)

Tanner's career primarily focused on dance work with children and youth. It is here, in her relationship with virtually thousands of young people over the years that we see a second Mormon principle lived out.

Because Mormons believe that Man is an eternal being, created in the image of God, his soul is sacred among all of creation. Life is valued. The act of nurturing, developing and loving children is of utmost importance. In being so engaged, one is sowing the beginnings of a spiritual awareness that will shape children's souls as they travel through life towards an eternal state of being.(22) There are many examples of ways in which Tanner remained true to this tenet of the Mormon faith, but perhaps one of her statements in an address to students of Wilson College in 1963 shows in particular her sincere nurturing qualities with children. She stated:

> There is none more quick than the child to realize whether or not you offer sincere warmth, understanding, and interest. Only when rapport is established will he unlock the many doors of his heart and allow you to share your treasures with him and his with you. The key to guiding the child to self-fulfillment lies in taking, each day, those moments which involve thinking, feeling, and exploring experiences. As these experiences take place. You are letting him spread his roots in fertile soil while his wings are beginning to grow.(23)

Wheelwright states the third belief as a recognition of opposition in all things. Generally, in Mormon art there is an acceptance of the notion of opposition as in the trials of good and evil. However, in much of the drama, literature and music as well as the dances created by Mormon artists, more often the triumph of the human spirit is revealed.(24)

While technical training was of importance in Tanner's dance curriculum, it shared equally with other objectives in the larger spectrum of her educational view. It was always Tanner's desire to enlighten the whole child in a deep form of bodily knowledge giving students a truer sense of their capacities as young dancers.

Finally in his writing, Wheelwright speaks of the Mormon belief in truth as it is revealed through the gospel of Jesus Christ. With dedication to this principle, Mormon artists hope to lead others to spiritual insight with their artistic expressions. Mormons hold that the only way to personal and world peace is through belief in the gospel and devoutly pattern their lives after the Master as they strive to build His kingdom here on earth. With this strong belief and dedication, Mormon artists hope to lead others to see these truths and try to express their ideas so that they are clearly identifiable to the outsider.

Spiritual Expressiveness

From 1949 on, the performances of the CDT have always delivered a strong message of spiritual expressiveness. It is quite identifiable, so much so that the reviews of the CDT's trip to the Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival, and the American Dance Festival in the summer of 1953 mentioned this striking phenomenon on almost every occasion. While sharing the gospel may not have been foremost in Tanner's presentations with the CDT at the time, nevertheless audiences readily grasped the strength of their faith as it projected across the footlights.

Indeed, this trip to the Eastern US was one of the most significant tours of the CDT. The invitation to present their work at these festivals marked the first opportunity for young dancers to perform for such a critical dance audience. The response to their performances was quite overwhelming as reviewers described the spirited essence of their dance and the strength of their Mormon faith. Chroniclers of the trip did not hesitate to stress the importance of their Mormon principles, their religious activities, nor the spiritual connotations of their dance.

Raising money for this particular trip from Utah to the Eastern States could have been a daunting task. In typical Mormon fashion however, a special fundraising committee, all fathers of CDT members, was formed. Besides the parent's avid fundraising campaign, Tanner was fortunate to have N. Lorenzo Mitchell, the McCune School administrator backing this bold venture. The 22 CDT members selected to make the trip were actively involved in raising and contributing $100 each towards the cost of the month long trip to the dance festivals and back. The other students in the school that now numbered almost 300 very unselfishly worked on various

projects to fundraise for the smaller group of students forming the CDT.(27)

Their funds came from all types of money making schemes including; adding coins to their wishing candle, selling cards door to door, holding apron and bake bazaars, baby sitting, embroidering guest towels, rummage sales and dancing benefit concerts where quilts were given away in a draw. To provide the last sum needed for the trip, the LDS Church as well as the Mayor of Salt Lake contributed generously.(28)

At six in the morning on July 11, 1953, after a prayer by Brother Lawrence McKay, the all female troupe of 22 dancers ranging in age from six to sixteen years, accompanied by fifteen adults left on what Walter Terry described in the New York Herald Tribune as "A Dance Pilgrimage."(29) In a sense the trip from their home of Salt Lake to the Atlantic Coast Festivals was somewhat of a pilgrimage as their bus would take the travelers to a number of shrines commemorating the great western trek of their Mormon forefathers.

Sites that the dancers visited connected with the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints included Omaha (the Mormon Bridge, the Mormon Cemetery, and Boys Town), Palmyra (Joseph Smith's farm, Sacred Grove and Hill Cumorah), Carthage and Nauvoo, where missionaries related to the children the experiences of Prophet Joseph Smith.

The dancers took one week to travel the distance from Salt Lake to their first engagement at Jacob's Pillow on July 19 that summer. In the September 1953 issue of Dance Magazine, Norma Stahl described how the troupe had happily and with great aplomb accomplished the eastward part of their journey:

> The spirit of good trouping and amiability that marked the trip had a lot to do with love of dance and a lot to do with Mormon ideals. Cooperation was no new experience for these children and their accompanying mothers. Along the way the group sang Mormon hymns sewed costumes, stopped wherever possible in state park grounds to limber up bus-cramped muscles, and visited shrines that marked the long trek of their Mormon forefathers out to the home these new pioneers had left. When they descended en masse at restaurants, all ordered the same things to help out the cooks and waiters. Each child—some of them are as young as eight- received a twenty-dollar bill every five days from which she had to budget out food expenses. The budgeting went so well that there was enough left for extra treats like the visit to Niagara Falls and a trip around Chicago.(30)

The CDT's performance at Jacob's Pillow was not simply a success but was truly a rare and memorable experience for both the dancers and the audience. It was as if the audience,

mostly adults and primarily a sophisticated and critical dance audience, witnessed the fragility, honesty, truth, beauty, peace, harmony, and joy working through each of these young dancers. Their dances had meaning for them, and their performance was unmistakably different. Terry wrote:

> There was nothing namby-pamby, molly-coddle, goody-goody about any of them. They were strong and alive, filled with humor and mischief. They were real but so too was this quality of faith which illumined them and their every action. At the end of the program, the audience at Jacob's Pillow stood and cheered. Eyes on both sides of the footlights were moist.
>
> Students, the harshest judges of all, gathered to discuss faith and its place in their busy-with-technique training programs... And Ted Shawn, the Pillow's director, said softly " I feel as if God has danced in this theater tonight."(31)

The material for the lecture-demonstrations and performances on this eastern tour had been chosen from work which was part of their repertoire. Concert pieces included *Prelude*, a free and very lyrical composition; sections of *The Buttermilk Tree*, a piece celebrating the stages of development in a child's life and choreographed just a year earlier; two Christmas carols, *The Cherry Tree Carol* and *Go Tell It On The Mountain;* as well as *Good-night for Children* which featured the dancing of the youngest members of the troupe.(32)

At each appearance of the CDT, Tanner would speak briefly, stressing the three significant phases of her studio teaching: technique, the development of the student's mind through application of what Tanner called mental challenge, and the inspiration to compose, which she prompted by way of creative challenge. These three aspects of her work with the children were then demonstrated by the group through a technical section, rhythmic studies, improvisation and brief studies that evolved out of the directed explorations.(33)

On July 27 the CDT performed their second concert in Palmer Auditorium at Connecticut College School of the Dance lecture series. Here too the audience was affected by the freshness and sincerity of their dancing. Doris Humphrey had attended all the children's rehearsals and introduced the program stating that this group of young dancers fulfilled Isadora Duncan's prophetic declaration, "I see America dancing; the youth of America dancing with expressiveness and with love."(34)

The critics recognized that other children had danced such themes, and perhaps other youngsters had danced with more technical brilliance. They also recognized however that it was the purity of spirit in their dancing which made the

audiences acknowledge the unaffected and genuine nature of their performance. Several critics, including Walter Terry identified that this purity of spirit flowed from the children because they truly had love and respect for others and had learned to have faith in their God.(35) The sources springing from their strong Mormon principles seemed to bring deep stability to these young dancers, and in turn allowed them to dance with vitality and joy.

After visits to New York City and Washington where the children were again highly praised for their impromptu performance on an American Broadcasting Company television show, the group traveled back to Salt Lake City, returning there on August 10. The tour had without pretense shared the very special quality and talents of the CDT with the most renowned modern dance artists and critics of the Eastern US at the time. Neither Tanner nor her students ever expected to have gained such respect and recognition for their efforts.

A Kind of Faith

This signature quality, this purity of spirit that flowed from the first group of CDT dancers, will probably continue to be the most distinguishing feature of future CDT performances. Over the years, and even in the current performances under the artistic direction of Mary Ann Lee, chosen to succeed Tanner, the spirit of optimism, a reverence for the child's life and an expression of joy and peace predominate.

Perhaps Norma Stahl's interview for Dance Magazine with Tanner, following the completion of the 1953 tour, makes the strongest connection for us between Mormon principles and the performances of the CDT. She wrote:

> Miss Tanner is very positive when she speaks of dance as a spiritual experience second only to a religious experience. She believes, in fact, that the church and the dance class supplement each other. As she sees it, dance is a kind of faith. The deeper the faith of the child in what she is dancing, the deeper will be the spiritual response. It is because children are so eminently capable of faith and also because Miss Tanner has managed to remember why it was she started to dance that the Children's Dance Theater has been possible.(36)

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Notes

1. Letter from Virginia Tanner, Artistic Director of the Children's Dance Theatre, to the 25th Anniversary Members of the CDT and Co-Workers, November 8, 1974.

2. Ernest H. Taves, *This is the Place: Brigham Young and the New Zion* (Buffalo, New York: Prometheus Books, 1991), 280-281.

3. Ancestral File, Family History Library of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, June 5, 1993.

4. Dean L. May, *Utah: A People's History* (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1987), 21-40.

5. *Ibid.*, 89.

6. *Ibid.*, 82.

7. *Ibid.*, 83.

8. *Ibid.*, 84.

9. *Ibid.*, 84.

10. Interview with Mr. Robert Bruce Bennett, Salt Lake City, Utah, February 17 and 20, 1989.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Robert Bruce Bennett, *Virginia Tanner Bennett.* Annotated chronology of events in the life of Virginia Tanner Bennett which trace the development of her career in dance from 1929 to 1952, 2-6.

13. Ernestine Stodelle, *The Dance Technique of Doris Humphrey and Its Creative Potential* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Book Company, 1978), 9.

14. Robert Bruce Bennett, *Virginia Tanner Bennett,* 16.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Virginia Tanner Collection, 1915-1979, box 3, folder 16.(Walter Clinton Jackson Library, Special Collections. The University of North Carolina at Greensboro). Hereafter referred to as the Virginia Tanner Collection.

17. Robert Bruce Bennett. Information provided from the personal collection of R. B. Bennett, June 3, 1993.

18. Virginia Tanner Collection, box 3, folder 16.

19. *Ibid.*

20. Lorin F. Wheelwright, ed., and Lael J. Woodbury, ass. ed., *Mormon Arts*, 2 vols.(Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1972), vol. I, 2.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

23. Virginia Tanner Bennett, "Roots and Wings", Convocation Address to the graduating class of Wilson College, (Chambersberg, Pennsylvania, Spring 1963), 1.

24. Wheelwright and Woodbury, *op.cit.*, 3.

25. *Ibid.*, 3-5.

26. Virginia Tanner Bennett, *op.cit.*, 1-2.

27. Virginia Tanner Collection, Box 3, Folder 16.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. Norma Stahl, "Norma Stahl interviews Virginia Tanner: Director of the Children's Dance Theater of Salt Lake City," Dance Magazine, (September 1953), 25.

31. Virginia Tanner Collection, Box 3, Folder 16.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*

36. Stahl, *op. cit.*, *66.*

LEAPING NUNS?
SOCIAL SATIRE IN A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY COURT DANCE

Nona Monahin

In this paper I will focus on a fifteenth-century Italian court dance called *Pizochara*, which I wish to present as an example of satire in dance. What is the meaning of the title?

A sixteenth-century representation of a "pizzochera"[1] in Cesare Vecellio's compendium of world costume shows a pious-looking old woman: stooped posture, covered head, candle and rosary in hand.[2] In a sixteenth-century play, however,—a comedy by Antonfrancesco Grazzini, called *La Pinzochera*—the title character is associated with hypocrisy and prostitution.[3] A modern Italian dictionary describes a "pinzochera" as someone belonging to "a 14th century movement of Franciscan tertiaries who refused obedience to ecclesiastical authorities."[4] A more common present-day definition is "bigot," especially in the sense of an apparently devout, but actually falsely pious, person.[5] Religious women, disobedient women, hypocrites, prostitutes—what do these different images have to do with a court dance performed by refined, noble ladies and their partners?

The choreography of the dance called *Pizochara* is by Domenico da Piacenza, who worked as dancing master to the Sforza and the Este households,[6] and it appears (together with its accompanying music, which is also by Domenico) in his treatise *De arte saltandi et choreas ducendi*,[7] believed to date from about the middle of the fifteenth century.[8] Another description of the same dance, with a few minor alterations, exists in a work by Guglielmo Ebreo, who had studied with Domenico and preserved many of his teacher's dances.[9]

The *Pizochara* is a *ballo*. Fifteenth-century court *balli* are dances choreographed for a specified number of participants, they may incorporate some dramatic elements, and they feature the use of different meters and tempi within the same dance, based on the system of the different *mexure*, or dance rhythms.[10] Domenico's *Pizochara* is choreographed for eight dancers (four men and four women). At the beginning, the men and women dance together in couples, moving to the lively *piva* meter. After this, the music slows down to *bassadanza* meter: here, the men do a bow (*riverentia*), everyone does a step to the side (*represa*), and then the men dance by themselves, winding their way through a stationary line of women, using mainly steps called *dupii* (also called *dopii*—I will refer to these as "doubles"), which are fairly sedate, walking-like steps. This section ends with another *represa* to the side by everyone. Next, the women dance alone, weaving their way through the now stationary line of men, but instead of using the same sedate *bassadanza* "doubles" that the men just did, the women use sprightlier *saltarello* steps, which are "doubles" with a hop or a leap added to them.[11] It is on such contrasts between the men and the women that I will later focus. Finally, everyone dances together in couples again, to the same lively *piva* meter that opened the dance. Then the whole dance is repeated.[12]

While the overall structure of this dance is very clearly described by the choreographer, when it comes to the actual steps, all of the fifteenth-century

dance sources are both vague in their descriptions and allow some room for variation, so that different reconstructions of the same dance will vary in these details.[13] In this particular dance there are also a few ambiguities in the music.[14] However, despite these ambiguities and possible differences, what is clear is that there is a contrast between the men's solo passage and the women's solo passage, and that what the women do is livelier, bouncier, and possibly faster, than what the men do.

In the dance sources of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, dancing styles are clearly divided along gender lines: on the whole, women's movements were meant to be smaller, gentler, more graceful, and more restrained than those of the men—who could display a more athletic style—even though much of the step vocabulary was shared by both sexes.[15] While there is nothing unusual per se in women dancing *saltarello* steps or men dancing *bassadanza* steps, in Domenico's *Pizochara* the particular juxtaposition of these two types is intriguing: a relatively long passage of sedate steps for the men alone, and then exactly the same path repeated by the women, but using the sprightlier movements.[16] Clearly, the contrast between the men and the women is the focus of this section, and, given the central position of this section, of the whole dance. What is striking here is that this juxtaposition implies a reversal of the standard gender roles that one sees in Renaissance dance. Yet the *Pizochara* doesn't appear to have any obvious programmatic content to which such a gender-role reversal could relate.

However, clues to a potential satirical subtext of Domenico's *Pizochara* can be found in the social and historical context; various scholars have recently investigated the history of the *pinzochere*, who were religious laywomen, and who can be seen as the Italian counterparts of the *Beguines* of Northern Europe.[17] *Pinzochere* (and they were known by various other names as well) did not take solemn vows, and they did not live in convents. Some *pinzochere* lived alone (and were sometimes referred to as *monache di casa* ("nuns of the home")[18] but most often they lived together in groups, in self-governed communities, some of which were loosely connected to a male monastic order, while others were independent.

The backgrounds of the women who made up such communities were very diverse. *Pinzochere* frequently came from middle-class families, but could comprise women from all classes and all walks of life: from highly respectable women to former prostitutes. Such women formed communities in which they provided for their own livelihoods, frequently engaging in various kinds of charitable work: caring for the sick, working as midwives, educating children, or even running hostels for pilgrims. What they had in common was their visibility, unlike nuns in convents. Convents were controlled by male ecclesiastical authorities, and often observed enclosure.[19] The self-governed, lay communities of *pinzochere*, on the other hand, offered unattached women an alternative lifestyle that could provide them with a modicum of intellectual autonomy and economic independence.

In Renaissance society, where women were defined on the basis of their relationship to men, such independent, enterprising, and self-sufficient women were often viewed with a considerable degree of suspicion and mistrust. While *pin-*

zochere could be highly esteemed for their philanthropic work, they also met with resistance. Various ecclesiastical authorities frequently attempted to pressure communities of *pinzochere* to convert to official convents and accept enclosure, and by the end of the sixteenth century most communities of uncloistered religious women were indeed outlawed.

Unattached women were frequently suspected of immoral behavior. Throughout the Renaissance, *pinzochere* were often the objects of satire, commonly portrayed as hypocrites who profess religious devotion as a cover-up for more lascivious practices.[20] As such, they appear briefly in a passing reference in Boccaccio's *Decameron*,[21] and more extensively in his *Corbaccio*,[22] and again in the sixteenth-century play by Grazzini called *La Pinzochera*, mentioned earlier. In other comedies, the *pinzochera* acts as an "intermediary for illicit lovers."[23] A Florentine carnival song portrays *pinzochere* as old women who deal with magic charms and cosmetics, restore beauty, counsel about love, and assist unmarried pregnant women.[24] What is significant about the above-mentioned satires is that when the *pinzochere* are associated with sexuality, they are presented in active, assertive roles.[25]

When we consider these satires together with the socio-historical background, the following composite picture of the *pinzochere* emerges: these women are unconventional; they are enterprising, assertive, and independent. They are often perceived as hypocrites, and they are associated with lasciviousness.

Given this context, the playful gender-role reversals in Domenico's *Pizochara* attain particular significance. Even before the women's *saltarello* section, there may be indications in the choreography that the women are unconventional. The dance's title creates a certain set of expectations in the culturally informed participants—those watching, or those learning the dance for the first time. They are led to expect something unusual, especially from the women, and perhaps something even a bit 'risqué,' all—to be sure—within accepted limits. But the choreographer doesn't give it all away at once. The opening *piva* is just a standard introductory figure. When the music changes to *bassadanza*, we get what may be our first indication that something might be amiss: the men do a bow (the *riverentia*), but the women do not reciprocate. Instead, everyone does a *represa* to the right, that is, a step to the side of the women. The men go off on their winding path and end up on the other side of the women, so that now the women are on the left. This is followed by another *represa*, this time to the left—so again it is to the side of the women.[26] Twice, the women initiate the change in direction. Since, in each of these *represe*, the partners join hands just as they begin to step to the side,[27] it could appear as if the women are actually pulling the men over to their side, a surprising gesture, full of comic potential.[28] The men's bow and the two *represe* are highlighted by the fact that the music that accompanies them consists of one or two sustained notes[29] which are set apart (both musically and notationally) from the rest of the *bassadanza* music. In this fashion, the choreographer paves the way, as it were, for the climax of this section, in which the women dance their *saltarello*.

This central section of the dance gains particular poignance when read against the background of views concerning *pinzochere* held during the period.

The winding path is described in the choreography as "a guisa de una bissa," which means "in the manner of a snake." This is the standard way of describing such a figure, but in this context it can take on further significance; the image of the biblical snake and the association with sexual temptation comes to mind. Moreover Boccaccio, in his *Il Corbaccio*, describes the falsely pious widow who goes to church to seduce young men as a "snake that lies hidden in the grass," waiting to catch her prey, casting her eyes around at the "brave, valiant, and wise" young men who assemble there.[30] In Domenico's dance, the 'wise young men' are shown walking around with their dignified *bassadanza* steps, just before the women 'pounce' with their *saltarello*—although I do not wish to suggest that any direct reference to Boccaccio was intended.

The dance's final *piva* section may be just a harmless closing section, neatly balancing the *piva* at the beginning of the dance. Yet the choreography is open to a more satirical reading: the women have just finished 'snaking' around the men with their *saltarello*, and we end up with a row of couples, one behind another. Now the first couple opens up by taking two steps to the side each, and the other three couples, one behind the other, dance forward, through the opening, until the first of them is ahead of the couple which opened up. Then this new first couple opens up and the remaining couples dance forward, and so on. This is all done to the *piva* rhythm, which has the fastest available tempo. Could it look like gates opening up, and couples escaping? Various possible allusions come to mind: *pinzochere* running off with the men, *pinzochere* acting as matchmakers for lovers, *pinzochere* not wanting to be confined behind convent walls.

It is not known, to the best of my knowledge, why Domenico created a dance called *Pizochara*, or indeed, which aspects of the composite picture, presented earlier, of the *pinzochere* he may have had in mind. Perhaps one of the satires had inspired this dance, or maybe a specific woman, or incident, to which the participants would have been able to relate directly. Notorious incidents involving *pinzochere* were common, such as the case of the 'Corpus Domini' in Ferrara in 1432, (just three years before Domenico presumably made his first contact with the Este family there),[31] when a house of *pinzochere*, after a long struggle to preserve its independence, was finally converted to a convent, which then became a model of Franciscan reform.[32]

Domenico's dance should in no way be viewed as a straightforward pantomimic representation; there is no attempt at a 'story line.' The social satire remains on the level of an implied subtext. The refined courtly ladies dancing probably do not 'represent' *pinzochere*. All of the dancers' movements are part of their standard court dance vocabulary; it is only through the arrangement of the material that Domenico suggests the satirical subtext underlying his dance. As regards the *saltarello*, the women's hops or leaps were probably quite small, but they can appear more prominent because they are preceded by the men's *bassadanza*, which has no hops or leaps at all. By giving the men as well as the women the same winding path, Domenico is able to achieve balance, highlight the women's *saltarello*, and possibly evoke subtly the image of the snake without associating it specifically with the women who are dancing. The *Pizochara* is constructed with such attention to variety and balance that it works as an abstract

figure dance; yet within this framework, the juxtaposition of dance rhythms, the sequence of steps, the choice of floor paths, and the uncommonly active roles assigned to the female dancers, all combine to create subtle resonances which seem to be in accord with the various Renaissance perceptions of the *pinzochera* character. Without ever stepping outside the confines of Renaissance courtly decorum, the dancers are allowed to poke fun at figures outside their own social world, who were viewed as potentially subversive, thus ultimately reinforcing their own sense of a stable social order in which "leaping nuns" are objects of satire and scorn.

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NOTES

[1] For etymology and various spellings, see Romana Guarnieri, "Pinzochere," *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione* (Rome, 1980), 6, pp. 1722-1749. In this paper I will retain the original spellings in quotations and titles, but will otherwise use "pinzochera," since this is the most common spelling that I have encountered.

[2] Cesare Vecellio, *Habiti Antichi, et Moderni di Tutto il Mondo* (Venice: Giovanni Bernardo Sessa, 1598). Reprinted by Dover Publications as *Vecellio's Renaissance Costume Book.* All the 500 Woodcut Illustrations from the Famous Sixteenth-Century Compendium of World Costume by Cesare Vecellio (New York: Dover Publications, 1977). The "Pizzochera" illustration is on page 34 of this Dover edition.

[3] Antonfrancesco Grazzini, *Teatro.* Ed. by Giovanni Grazzini (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1953), pp. 243-318. In the play, the "pinzochera" initially appears as a pious old widow, but turns out to be a procuress in charge of two young prostitutes. *La Pinzochera* was originally published in 1582 in Venice in a collection of plays by the Florentine writer Antonfrancesco Grazzini (also known as "Il Lasca"); see Robert J. Rodini, *Antonfransesco Grazzini. Poet, Dramatist, and Novelliere 1503 - 1584* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1970), p. 178. Also pp. 125-130 for a discussion of the play.

[4] Nicola Zingarelli, *Vocabolario della lingua italiana.* Decima edizione minore (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1973). "Tertiary" or "of the Third Order" refers to laypersons affiliated with a religious order. See *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church.* Ed. by F. L. Cross (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1957), p. 1348.

[5] Most present-day dictionaries that I consulted simply give "bigot" as the translation. Two of the meanings given by Zingarelli are "bigotta" and "bacchettona," both of which carry the suggestion of hypocrisy; cf. definitions in *The Cambridge Italian Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1962). Although present-day dictionaries usually give both the masculine and feminine forms of the noun, ("pinzochero"/"pinzochera"), I have not found any reference to the masculine form in the Renaissance sources that I used for this study.

[6] For biographical data on Domenico, see Ingrid Brainard, "Domenico da Piacenza," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), 5, pp. 532-533.

[7] Domenico da Piacenza, *De arte saltandi et choreas ducendi*. Ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat. fonds it. 972. (I am grateful to Ingrid Brainard for making available to me her unpublished English translation of Domenico's treatise).

[8] See, for example: F. A. Gallo, "Il 'Ballare Lombardo' (circa 1435-1475)," *Studi Musicali*, VIII (1979), pp. 61-84; Barbara Sparti, "Music and Choreography in the Reconstruction of 15th-century *Balli*: Another Look at Domenico's *Verçepe*." *Fifteenth-century Studies* 10 (1984), pp. 177-194; Ingrid Brainard, "Pattern, Imagery and Drama in the Choreographic Work of Domenico da Piacenza." *Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro e la Danza nelle corti Italiane del XV secolo*. Ed. by Maurizio Padovan (Pisa: Pacini, 1990), pp. 85-96.

[9] Guglielmo Ebreo, *Trattato della danza*. Ms. Siena, Bibl. Com. Cod. L.V. 29. No date. (Music in: Mss. Paris, Bibl. Nat. fonds it. 973 and 476). Guglielmo's version (called "Pinzochera") preserves the central section containing the men's *bassadanza* and the women's *saltarello*, as well as the final *piva* section. The opening 12 *tempi* of *piva* have been changed to *saltarello*. Other differences include changes in the steps immediately preceding the men's winding solo passage, omission of the second *represa*, and changes in the number of *tempi* (step-units) in some places. There is also a difference in the music (see note 14, below).

[10] The four *mexure* (alternative spelling: *misure*) described by the fifteenth-century dancing masters are, in increasing order of speed: *bassadanza, quadernaria, saltarello,* and *piva*. See Domenico, *De arte saltandi*; Guglielmo Ebreo, *De pratica seu arte tripudii vulgare opusculum* Ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat. fonds it. 973; Antonio Cornazano, *Libro dell'arte del danzare* Ms. Rome, Bibl. Apostol. Vaticana, Cod. Capponiano Nr. 203; English trans. (title: *The Book on the Art of Dancing*) by Madeleine Inglehearn and Peggy Forsyth (London: Dance Books Ltd., 1981).

For information on the *ballo*, see Ingrid Brainard, "Ballo," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2, pp. 96-97; and "Pattern, Imagery and Drama in the Choreographic Work of Domenico da Piacenza." Barbara Sparti, "Music and Choreography in the reconstruction of 15th-century *Balli*: Another Look at Domenico's *Verçepe*," and "The 15th-century *Balli* Tunes: A New Look," *Early Music* 14 (1986), no. 3, pp. 346-357.

[11] Domenico da Piacenza, *De arte saltandi*, fol. 6: "chel moto del saltarello / e uno dopio cum uno salteto."

[12] At this point in the presentation, a video of a reconstruction of this dance by Ingrid Brainard was shown (performed by members of her company, The Cambridge Court Dancers, together with The Boston Shawn and Sackbut Ensemble). I am grateful to Ingrid Brainard and the performers for making this video available to me.

[13] See, for example: Ingrid Brainard, *The Art of Courtly Dancing in the Early Renaissance* (West Newton, Mass.: I. Brainard, 1981), pp. 15-53, for reconstructions and detailed discussion of fifteenth-century dance steps; A. William Smith, "Belriguardo (Vecchio): A Critical Discussion," *Proceedings. Society of Dance History Scholars*. 10th Annual Conference, Univ. of California, Irvine, Feb. 1987 (Riverside: SDHS, 1987), p. 104, for reconstructions (in labanotation) of "doppio," "saltarello," and other fifteenth-century steps.

[14] For example: the numeral "5" in the short section corresponding to the *riverentia* and the first *represa* is most likely a scribal error. A "2" would work, indicating that this section is to be played twice, and thus giving the *riverentia* and the first *represa* two semibreves each (as is the case with the second *represa*). However, other solutions are possible; for example: it could be that the *riverentia* and first *represa* have only one semibreve each, while the second *represa* has two (though of the same pitch)—perhaps a second *riverentia* was intended, but inadvertently omitted,

just before the second *represa*. Guglielmo's versions of the music have no numeral in the place in question, but his choreographic directions also differ somewhat; see note 9,above).

Another area of ambiguity concerns the exact tempo relationship between the men's *bassadanza* and the women's *saltarello* sections.

15 See, for example: Guglielmo Ebreo, Mss. fonds it. 973 and (under the name Giovanni Ambrogio) 476: chapter entitled "Capitulum Regulare Mulierum;" Antonio Cornazano, *Libro dell' arte del danzare*, various references; Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchésographie* (Langres, 1589), English trans. by Mary S. Evans, edited (with intro. and notes) by Julia Sutton, title: *Orchesography* (New York: Dover, 1967), various references, esp. advice to man dancing *galliard* with a partner; Fabritio Caroso, *Nobiltà di dame* (Venice, 1600), English trans. (with intro.) by Julia Sutton, music transcribed and edited by F. Marian Walker (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1986): several dances have less vigorous variations for the woman; likewise: Cesare Negri, *Le gratie d'amore* (Milan, 1602). Facs. (New York: Broude Bros., 1969), English trans. by Gustavia Yvonne Kendall (Diss. Stanford Univ., 1985).

16 In *Verçepe*, the dance that appears next to *Pizochara* in Domenico's treatise, the reverse happens: in the penultimate section of the dance, short passages of *saltarello* alternate with short passages of *bassadanza*, but here it is the men who do the *saltarello*, while the women dance the *bassadanza*. The dancers' paths in this section consist of winding and circling figures. *Verçepe* was described by Domenico's pupil Antonio Cornazano in his *Libro dell' arte del danzare* as "quasi simile ad una scaramuccia" ("almost like a skirmish"); Barbara Sparti, discussing the penultimate section of *Verçepe* in her article "Music and Choreography in the Reconstruction of 15th-Century *Balli*: Another Look at Domenico's *Verçepe*," refers to it more specifically as a "playful 'skirmish' between the sexes" (p. 180). It is significant then, that in *Pizochara*, this distribution of *bassadanza* and *saltarello* passages between the women and the men is reversed.

17 See, for example: Katherine Gill, "Open Monasteries for Women in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italy: Two Roman Examples," *The Crannied Wall. Women, Religion, and the Arts in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. by Craig A. Monson (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1992), pp. 15-47. (I am grateful to Katherine Gill for making available to me a pre-publication version of her article); Romana Guarnieri, "Pinzochere;" also: David Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria. Women and Work in Medieval Europe* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1990), pp. 66-70 and 162-166; Margaret L. King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 103-117. My section on the socio-historical background of the *pinzochere* is based on the above works. For more on the *pinzochere* see Katherine Gill's forthcoming doctoral dissertation, "Penitents, *Pinzochere*, and Pious Laywomen: Varieties of Women's Religious Communities in Central Italy, ca. 1300-1520," Princeton University.

18 See Romana Guarnieri, "Pinzochere" (pp. 1722-1723) for this and other names.

19 Not all nuns had entered the convent by choice; throughout Renaissance Europe, it was common for families to provide for daughters by placing them in convents at an early age (9 or even younger). See Margaret L. King, *Women of the Renaissance*, p. 86, and David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and Their Families. A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1985), p. 226. Placement required a substantial dowry, although at times this was much less than that required for a marriage (Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, p. 226). Poorer women could live as servants or workers in a convent. (King, pp. 82-83).

20 Robert J. Rodini, *Antonfrancesco Grazzini*, notes that in Renaissance comedy, *pinzochere* were generally portrayed as hypocrites (p. 126). This is also the case in the works of Boccaccio, discussed below. Katherine Gill discusses a 16th-century Protestant map of Rome which satirizes

Catholicism and which depicts, in a location where *pinzochere* reside, a group of women with animal faces ("Open Monasteries," pp. 22-23).

[21] Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il Decameron*. Ed. by A. F. Massèra (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1927), epilogue, p. 325.

[22] Giovanni Boccaccio, *Il Corbaccio* (ca.1355). Editions used for this study: Giovanni Boccaccio, *Opere Minori in Volgare*. Ed. by Mario Marti, Vol. 4 (Milan: Rizzoli, 1972), pp. 199-308; *The Corbaccio*. English translation by Anthony K. Cassell (Chicago: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1975). Although Boccaccio does not use the term "pinzochera" in the *Corbaccio*, it is clear from the descriptions that the "lascivious widow" of the story is in fact a *pinzochera*. (See *Opere Minori*, pp. 282-285; A. Cassell's translation, pp. 58-61). Cf. Romana Guarnieri, "Pinzochere," p. 1722.

[23] Robert J. Rodini, p. 126.

[24] "Canzona delle pinzochere andate a Roma" ("Song of *pinzochere* who have been to Rome"), *Canti Carnascialeschi del Rinascimento*. Ed. Charles S. Singleton (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1936), pp. 121-123. The song is anonymous. For more on the Florentine carnival songs, see Joseph James Gallucci, Jr. "Festival Music in Florence, ca.1480-ca.1520. Canti Carnascialeschi, Trionfi, and Related Forms," Diss. Harvard Univ. 1966, and Frank A. D'Accone, "Canti carnascialeschi," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 3, pp. 721-723.

The *canti carnascialeschi* were performed in Florence from about the second half of the 15th to the early 16th centuries, as part of the pre-Lenten festivities which included pageants, banquets, dances, and athletic activities. It would be interesting to investigate the possibility of a connection between the *Pizochara* dance and such a festivity.

[25] They appear as initiators of sexual contact, either for themselves or on behalf of others. Moreover, they are not portrayed as young, nubile, sexual beings; rather, they are widows, or simply older women—the emphasis seems to be on their age and experience in worldly matters.

[26] The direction of the *represe* is clearly not determined by spatial considerations (i.e. to accomodate for the fact that the formation "moves" slightly to the right each time one set of dancers arrives on the right side of the other. If that were the intention, both *represe* would need to be made to the left).

[27] During the preceding men's *riverentia*, the men merely "touch" their partner's hand; the *represa*, however, is done hand in hand with one's partner.

[28] It could, for example, be made to look somewhat assertive, or seductive, or even comically ambiguous: if, for example, the woman looks away—as if being evasive—while still appearing to pull the man towards her.

[29] See note 14, above, regarding an ambiguity in the music.

[30] *The Corbaccio*. English trans. by Anthony K. Cassell, p. 59. *Opere Minori in Volgare*. Ed. by Mario Marti, p. 283: "la serpe che sta sotto l'erba nascosa;" "giovani e pro' e gagliardi e savi."

[31] See Ingrid Brainard, "Pattern, Imagery and Drama," pp. 85 and 94 (her note 6).

[32] See Margaret L. King. pp. 107-109.

"Leaping Nuns? Social Satire in a 15th-Century Court Dance"

Nona Monahin

PIZOCHARA. Choreography: Domenico da Piacenza. (8 dancers: 4 men, 4 women)

COUPLES:	PIVA: [fast 'doubles'] Mainly hand in hand; brief circling around partner.
	BASSADANZA:
men:	Riverentia.
couples:	Represa right.
MEN:	2 'singles', 11 'doubles', weaving through line of women.
couples:	Represa left.
WOMEN:	SALTARELLO: ['doubles' with hop or leap] Weaving through line of men.
COUPLES:	PIVA: First couple separates, others dance forward; new first couple separates, remaining couples dance forward, etc.

Dance repeats.



113. A pizzochera (*member of a religious society for women*).

From: *Vecellio's Renaissance Costume Book.* All the 500 Woodcut Illustrations from the Famous Sixteenth-Century Compendium of World Costume by Cesare Vecellio [1598] (New York: Dover Publications, 1977), p. 34.

"THE PEOPLE": ISSUES OF IDENTITY WITHIN THE REVOLUTIONARY DANCE

STACEY PRICKETT

ABSTRACT

During the early 1930s in New York, the Workers Dance League was formed under the banner "Dance is a Weapon in the Class Struggle". Dance was seen as an appropriate mode for the communication of social protest, bringing issues of capitalist oppression and exploitation to the conscious awareness of audiences. As an umbrella organization comprised of workers' dance groups and left-wing modern dancers, the League aimed to make dance a significant aspect in the lives of workers. Diverse identities of the "proletariat" provided the thematic material as dances were presented at strike meetings, union halls, May Day parades, and political gatherings in addition to theaters.

The relationship between society and dance propounded by the movement broke from conventional perceptions of dance as entertainment or art. On theoretical levels, links are evident between the aims set out for dance and those of a Marxist function of art in society. In the height of the Depression, dances of unemployment, racial oppression and disadvantaged workers set apart two camps in the dance world, defined as bourgeois and proletariat. Workers were also involved in the movement through union sponsored groups and the New Dance Group classes, often combined with poltical discussion. The presentation examined how the policitization of dance encompassed representations of the proletariat during the revolutionary dance movement. Discussion focused on dances and debates between agit-prop groups and modern dancers such as Jane Dudley, Anna Sokolow and Sophie Maslow.

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE TRADITIONAL:
Developments in Contemporary South Asian Dance [1]

Sarah Rubidge

During the last decade classical South Asian dance, initially seen as an exotic addition to the world of theatre dance, has become assimilated into Britain's theatre dance culture. Recently, however, South Asian dancers working in both the sub-continent and Britain have begun to examine the values of classical South Asian dance in relation to contemporary society. Many are doing this through their work, developing new forms which respond to the contemporary world in which they live.

In 1978 and 1991 respectively Mulk Raj Anand [2] and Geeta Kapur [3], both of whom live and work in India, charged performing artists in the sub-continent with being ingenuous in their attempts to engage with modernism. British critics levelled similar charges against the artists presenting work at a recent season of contemporary South Asian dance held in Britain .

*Contempo*rary South Asian Dance *is a relatively unexplored* genre, one which, like Post-Modern dance in the nineteen-sixties and seventies, is establishing its own norms and values. My paper has no pretensions towards positing a theory concerning developments in South Asian dance, nor does it pretend to speak for South Asian dance artists. It is, however, a serious attempt to understand contemporary South Asian dance, and to discuss it as an artistic phenomenon which is now a part of the theatre dance culture in Britain.

The history of South Asian dance in this century has been one of retrieval and preservation. There is much to say on the political and cultural raison d'être for this approach to the art from, but this must be left for another occasion. The thrust of this paper is the meeting of the traditional and the contemporary in South Asian Dance.

Post-Independence dance artists from the Indian sub-continent have only begun to engage in a dialogue with modern developments in the arts in the last two or three decades In this they are a long way behind their peers in the visual arts who, as we will see, have been engaging is such a dialogue for several decades. However, there is a now a healthy number of choreographers in both countries who are seriously addressing the problems raised by the confrontation of their traditional dance forms with a modernist world. Their work raises many questions, some of which I will examine in this paper.

There has been a considerable amount of tacit acceptance amongst critics and writers in Britain that contemporary South Asian dance artists are engaged in a

cross-cultural project. Some artists living in Britain, particularly young artists, admit freely to being engaged in such an endeavour They are interested in reconciling two movement languages without compromising their roots or their artistic integrity. Other artists argue that their endeavours are directed less towards reconciling the worlds of East and West than towards examining the confrontation between the traditional and the contemporary in their art form.

Some artists express exasperation when critics make free with cross-cultural readings of their work. This response, whilst understandable, is problematic. Just as audiences have a responsibility to make an attempt to understand work whose source lies in another culture on its own terms, so artists from other cultures who develop their work in Britain must acknowledge the nature of their audiences' responses to their work if it is to communicate with those audiences effectively [4].

Developments in South Asian dance, whether emanating from artists based in the West or in India itself, must be seen in the context of social, political and cultural developments in the sub-continent, for even South Asian artists who live elsewhere have been affected by developments in India during and after the period of British rule. Many would argue that this is a Euro-centric view. I would suggest, however, that no country which has experienced major industrial development in the twentieth century can close its eyes to the influence of the West, for it is pervasive in all but the most isolated of cultures. This view is supported by commentators such as Geeta Kapur, one of India's foremost visual art critics, who argues that artists working in the latter part of the twentieth century cannot ignore international culture, even though this culture might have originated in the West. However, she stresses that it does not follow that in doing so artists abandon their own cultural heritage in their work.

India has been subject to colonisation for centuries. However, it is the effects of two centuries of British colonial influence which most concern us in this discussion. A large proportion of educated South Asians from the nineteenth century on spoke English as well as a mother tongue. They became well-versed not only in their own literature, history, art and culture, but also in European history, art and culture. Western social and political structures and, to a greater or lesser extent, modes of behaviour became part of their cultural context.

In the early years of this century, however, there was a rebellion against Western influences in India and nationalism became the dominant response to the confrontation with the colonial culture. This nationalism manifested itself in what has been described as "an affirmation of a false myth and the revival of ancient and medieval Hindu culture" [5]. Dance did not escape this trend.

British rule came to an end in the middle of this century and India became an independent nation. However, in spite of the nationalist movement, western influences have remained embedded in the fabric of the culture of India. Several decades have been spent striving to resolve the confrontation between nationalism and the residues of British rule, and in establishing a national identity. Geeta Kapur believes that this struggle is still taking place [6].

However, Anand, a South Asian novelist, argues that the confrontation of most import in the arts in India is not that between East and West, rather it is the confrontation between traditionalism and modern society [7]. Shobana Jeyasingh. [8] and Geeta Kapur [9] concur, the latter arguing that it is one of the tasks of the artist to resolve the conflict, to find a way to make extant artistic traditions traditions-in-use in the modern world.

But how are South Asian artists, in India and elsewhere, responding to the challenge of contemporary life in their work? In the late 1970s Anand isolated several artistic currents in India . . Amongst them are:

*The persistence of the revivalists of the early twentieth century.
*A return to naïve and primitive expression as a more dynamic kind of revivalism
*The search for influence from Paris, London, New York and Rome,
*A search for a synthesis between the indigenous cultural inheritance and contemporary forms. [10]

The last two have been consistently in evidence in the visual arts in India since at least the onset of Independence, but not until recently in dance.

However, although taxonomies such as these might be useful they do not really tell us much. It might be more illuminating to look at specific artistic practices in addressing the question of the transformation of the traditional in South Asian dance.

I would suggest that these practices can be put into three broad categories - experiments which emphasise new subject matter, new imagery or vocabulary, or new forms or structures. Of course, this set of categories is also only a convenience, and artists' approaches will rarely fit into either one or the other. Nevertheless I think they might be useful distinctions if they are not taken as representing autonomous lines of development, but as concomitant, sometimes interlinking, approaches to making new work.

Before looking more closely at contemporary developments in South Asian dance and art we should look more closely at the artistic context from which they emanate. In such a short paper I cannot cover the full range of classical South Asian dance styles. As I am going to focus most closely on the work of Shobana Jeyasingh and Chandralekha, both of whom were trained in the Bharata Natyam style, my very brief exposition will concentrate on this style [11]. I stress that it is not my intention to privilege Bharata Natyam over other styles of South Asian dance.

South Asian Classical Dance adheres broadly to rules laid down in the Natya Shastra, an ancient treatise on the dramatic arts. Like all forms of South Asian dance, Bharata Natyam is predominantly a solo form. Although originally a form of religious ritual performed principally in the temples, it has, for the last sixty or so years been a theatre art form.

Shobana Jeyasingh describes the movement technique developed in Bharata Natyam as "...founded on the perception of the human body as a geometric ideal, both in its static position (pictured as the straight axis around which a circle could be drawn) and its articulation through the dance (which explores all the harmonious geometric shapes possible from the central axis within the circle)."[12] Bharata Natyam, as with many other classical South Asian dance styles, has both pure dance and dramatic forms.

Individual choreographic expression, in the way we understand it in the West, is not encouraged in traditional South Asian dance. Interpretation rather than innovation is the guiding principle of creativity. Choreographers adhere to a strict pre-established set of rules and are governed by the principles of symmetry and harmony common to all classical Indian art forms. The movement material in Bharata Natyam choreography comprises a corpus of adavus - comparable to the pirouettes, assemblés, etc. of ballet, as well as a codified language of gesture (mime). Choreography constitutes combining the adavus into korvais (or enchaînements) along with acceptable changes which can be wrought within the received corpus of adavus. Both hand and facial gestures are used to articulate emotions or to illustrate the storyline. They are strictly determined in their shape and form and have either a specific meaning, or a very limited range of meanings. As with classical ballet, a display of virtuosity often features in Bharata Natyam, and indeed Kathak, choreography. Contemporary developments in South Asian dance emerge from this background.

A number of methods are used to transform traditional Indian dance styles. Of the three categories cited earlier I will look first at subject matter. Many indigenous artists, particularly when Western modern art first comes into their culture choose to change their subject matter. Religious or mythological themes, for instance, might be replaced by secular subject matter, or traditional themes might be re-interpreted in the light of contemporary social concerns. Many such artists continue working within the broad confines of the formal conventions of a tradition.

The visual arts provide clear examples of this approach. Ganga Devi, for instance, a painter from the Madhubani tradition, painted several works into which she introduced new subject matter. A major work The Cycle of Life (1983-84) [13], depicts a series of ritual events of initiation, as practised by her caste, rather than the conventional religious themes which were the traditional subject matter of Madhubani painting. One section of this epic work shows a woman giving birth. Details include the cutting of the umbilical cord [14]. A later series of works comprises several paintings based on Devi's experiences during a visit to the USA. In this series she depicts the Washington Monument, cars buses, shopping expeditions (American Folk Festival, 1986) even roller-coasters (Ride on a Roller Coaster, 1986) [15].

Many South Asian dance artists also address non-traditional subject matter. Ranjabati Sircar's A Fable for La Gran Sabana created during a residency in

Venezuala, looks at environmental issues. Subodh, a young British artist of South Asian origin has examined issues related to Aids. In this conference we saw Ananya Chatterjea present a feminist version of a traditional Hindu myth.

The development of new forms of imagery, which we might use as an analogy for vocabulary, is another way artists approach the transformation of the traditional in the arts. Departures from the traditional forms might be more or less radical.

Visual artist Jamini Roy began to explore the Bengali folk painting tradition in mid-career, subtly transforming the traditional imagery [16]. K G Subramanyam goes further. [17] He has absorbed aspects of the contemporary western art tradition, yet retains an inescapable sense of the indigenous cultural tradition from whence he sprang.

Anish Kapoor, a contemporary artist who spent his childhood and adolescence in India, but now lives and works in Britain, shatters the boundaries of both imagery and form. Born in India, he came to Britain in the early seventies to attend art school and remained in the country. Kapoor works within the western modernist tradition. He creates sculptural images and coats them with powdered paint pigment. He draws and paints abstract images which are firmly aligned with western artistic developments [18]. Kapoor's work retains significant elements of his cultural tradition including the colour palette and an interest in the spiritual. In Kapoor we have a modern artist from India who, although it is not his major focus, has created an interesting synthesis of Western modernism and Eastern artistic concerns.

Thus far we do not have anything so radical in dance. Nevertheless, experiments with new vocabularies amongst dance artists living and working in India and Britain <u>are</u> taking place. Ranjabati Sircar, daughter of the founder of the Academy for Creative Dance in Calcutta, has set out to create a new vocabulary, using movement drawn from indigenous movement forms, both folk and classical. However, Sircar seems to move beyond these sources. A mobile, articulate torso features extensively in her work, as does a sense of the movement of the limbs being initiated from the torso. Her movement has an organic, spontaneous quality. Our attention is directed more to pathways of energy than to purely pictorial images. This, for a Western audience, inevitably invites comparisons with western contemporary dance forms. (As Martha Graham herself drew on images from South Asian dance in formulating her vocabulary this is, perhaps, unsurprising.) Sircar calls her new dance form Navanritya, or New Dance.

A new generation of British artists, for example Subodh, and Jayachandra, artistic director of Imlata, are also beginning to develop a contemporary vocabulary. Theirs, however, draws deliberately on both western and indigenous dance forms. Both artists received a dance education in western contemporary dance as well in South Asian classical dance. They use the two movement vocabularies freely in the service of their artistic ideas, believing that both are potentially relevant and that one does not exclude the possibility of using the other. Although this development is in its early stages the deliberate synthesis of western

and eastern vocabularies heralds a new direction and a new sensibility in South Asian contemporary dance.

The exploration of non-traditional formal structures is a common response to the confrontation between tradition and the modern amongst South Asian dance artists.

In the visual arts it is more difficult to separate developments in imagery and in form. Radical formal transformations are evident in the works of Bhupen Khakar and M J Hussain [19] as well as Anish Kapoor. However it is very difficult to make a clear distinction between transformations in form and transformations in imagery and subject matter in the visual arts.

In dance a focus on formal manipulation, without a radical shift in vocabulary or imagery, is more easily discerned. It can be seen in the work of many artists working within contemporary South Asian Dance. The formal structures used by many contemporary South Asian artists invite comparison with western formalist modern dance (Jeyasingh admits to finding great pleasure in the work of Merce Cunningham and Richard Alston) yet their vocabulary places them firmly in the world of South Asian dance.

Shobana Jeyasingh, a British based dancer/choreographer, seeks to transform Bharata Natyam predominantly through formal or structural manipulation. She declares her position regarding contemporary South Asian dance very clearly, both in her work and in discussion. She argues that for her a confrontation between West and East is not an issue, believing that this was the agenda of the previous generation of artists. Brought up and educated in the two cultures, Jeyasingh sees herself as inextricably rooted in both. She sees her work as a dialogue between the traditional and the modern, rather than as a confrontation between East and West.

As an artist Jeyasingh's work is firmly rooted in classicism, in spite of its apparently contemporary nature, and invites interesting questions as to whether a transformation of the traditional must necessarily be radical or whether it could not also be a more subtle affair. Like others interested in developing the formal elements of Bharata Natyam, Jeyasingh transforms it from a solo to a group form. She exploits contemporary compositional devices in her work but uses traditional adavus and korvais. She slows the movements down, fragments korvais, and re-organises the fragments, both within individual sequences or across groups of dancers. She uses canon and counterpoint - between dancers, as well as between the dance and the music - and exploits the stage space to the full. Her work is more densely textured than that of other South Asian artists I have seen, Jeyasingh having taken on board compositional devices which have resulted from familiarity with the work of contemporary western dance artists and composers, both as audience member and as collaborating artist [20].

Jeyasingh is adamant that she is not primarily concerned with developing a new vocabulary. When she choreographs she uses the vocabulary of Bharata Natyam,

but asks herself the question "Am I going to deliver it or not - and if I am, what will I deliver?" [21] Her answers to these questions arise from the artistic ideas underpinning each work, not from any overarching aim to transform the vocabulary. This is not to say that transformations in the vocabulary do not take place, but these are frequently subtle. In "Late" she uses everyday gesture as well as the highly stylised gestural language drawn from the classical Bharata Natyam tradition. In other works she introduces material which is not strictly Bharata Natyam but draws on its underlying principles.

In many of her works the dancers perform choreographed floor sequences. They also touch each other, support each other, relinquish their weight to a partner. It is these developments which Jeyasingh feels are the most radical aspects of her work. She suggests that in South Asian dance the dancer is always in full control of herself and of the space. In her work she deliberately undermines that self-sufficiency by making the dancers interdependent within the context of the dance. She does this in two ways: through the formal structuring of the work, and by placing the dancers in a position where they must be assisted if they are to continue the dance. In The Making of Maps (1992)dancers are placed in such a position that one dancer must pull another up from the floor. She noted that this is one of the most difficult things for her dancers to master since most of them are trained in Bharata Natyam in India, as a result of which they are not used to relinquishing their weight, and thus their control, to another person.

Chandralekha, the last artist I shall discuss in this paper, combines all the elements I have discussed, subject matter, new vocabulary and new structures. However, she has a clear agenda, which is to transform the vocabulary of Bharata Natyam. Like Jeyasingh, Chandralekha holds to the position that tradition is important, but for her the tradition she seeks is far more ancient than that represented in the Bharata Natyam tradition as we know it today (which, Richard Schechner argues, is itself a product of the twentieth century [22]). She seeks instead the physical roots of Bharata Natyam.

Chandralekha, who might be seen as one of the new revivalists described by Anand, rejected the classical form of Bharata Natyam as far back as the sixties. She found that, for her, the form had become "bankrupt of all purpose, meaning and value: an expression of decorative form, solely concerned with effects." [23] In an attempt to revive the energising and humanising power of Bharata Natyam, she deconstructed it and began an exploration of the dance's essential relationship with the body.

Chandralekha's main interest lies in freeing the body from limits imposed by the classical vocabulary. She has searched for movement which will "privilege the body as flow of energy, a column of breath ... attempting to find an equilibrium between the internal and external." [24] (Note how similar this sounds to the aims of the pioneers of modern dance - even post-modern dance.) She investigated indigenous movement forms such as yoga and Kalari (believed to be the physical form which gave birth to Bharata Natyam) in her researches. From these she developed a vocabulary which is rooted in her cultural tradition yet, like the

vocabularies developed by modern dance pioneers in the West, speaks with a voice relevant to the modern world.

In Sri, a work which addresses gender issues as they relate to Indian society, Chandralekha opens with a primeval vocabulary and body of imagery which draws on the very sources of movement as well as on ancient martial arts traditions. During the course of the work the movement forms are transformed as images drawn from conventional Bharata Natyam are gradually introduced. In this piece the body becomes both archive and agent of change.

The character of Chandralekha's work is well expressed in the following quotation

"..her dancing is essentially religious in its character ... in that it concerns itself with the individual and his contacts with the forces of the universe "

However, this statement was not made by a contemporary writer talking about Chandralekha but by John Martin talking of Martha Graham in 1933[25] .

The transformation of the traditional in South Asian dance, as I have tried to show in this paper, takes many forms. There is no single route, no easy description of the developing tradition of contemporary South Asian dance. It might comprise a subtle transformation of the classical forms and vocabularies; it might be the development of a new vocabulary generated from indigenous movement traditions; it might be the integration of movement forms developed in the sub-continent and movement forms developed in the West. As in Western modern dance the possibilities in contemporary South Asian dance are almost limitless. And just as the approaches taken by individual artists in Western modern dance tradition, and the resulting forms, are dependent upon their own artistic proclivities, those of contemporary South Asian artists are similarly dependent upon their artistic predilections. Indeed it is becoming apparent that the results of the investigations of contemporary South Asian artists, from all the artistic traditions, are proving to be as varied and exciting as those of their counterparts in the West. If the work of visual artists engaged in transforming the traditional in their art form is any indication, as I believe it is, the developing interaction between contemporary South Asian dance and contemporary culture has the potential to be immensely enriching to the South Asian dance tradition, and ultimately to dance as a whole [26].

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1 The term South Asian is used as a generic term to refer to dance from India, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Bangladesh throughout this paper. This follows the practice of South Asian artists and commentators in Britain, Canada and elsewhere.

2 in Dufrenne, Michel. (ed..) Main Trends in Aesthetics and the Sciences of Art Holmes & Meier. New York (1978).

3 Kapur, Geeta, The Centre Periphery Model, or How are we Placed ? in Third Text No 16/17 pp 9 -17 1991 and Anand in Dufrenne, Michel. (ed.). Main Trends in Aesthetics and the Sciences of Art Holmes & Meier. New York (1978)

4 This comment applies to artists who develop work with the express intention of it being toured in western theatres. South Asian artists whose work is primarily intended for an indigenous audience do not have such a responsibility.

5 Anand in Dufrenne, Michel (ed.) Main Trends in Aesthetics and the Sciences of Art Homes and Meier, New York (1978). p 41

6 Kapur, Geeta, The Centre Periphery Model, or How are we Placed ? in Third Text No 16/17 pp 9 -17 1991

7 Dufrenne, Michel. (ed.). Main Trends in Aesthetics and the Sciences of Art Holmes & Meier. New York (1978). p ?

8 Jeyasingh, Shobana. Interview with the author April 1st 1993

9 Kapur, Geeta, The Centre Periphery Model, or How are we Placed ? in Third Text No 16/17 pp 9 -17 1991

10 from Dufrenne, Michel. (ed.). Main Trends in Aesthetics and the Sciences of Art Holmes & Meier. New York (1978) p 44

11 For a more detailed account of Classical South Asian dance see Vatsyayan, Kapila Classical Indian Dance in Literature and the Arts Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi, 1977

12 Jeyasingh, Shobana, Getting off the Oriental Express Dance Theatre Journal Vol 8 No 2 1990 pp 34 -36

13 The paper was illustrated by slides of the works mentioned in the text.

14 Jain, Jyotindra, Ganga Devi: Tradition and Expression in Madhubani Painting Third Text No 6 pp 43 - 50. (1989) p 46

15 ibid. p 48-49

16 See Kapur, Geeta, Six Indian Painters, 1982

17 Ibid.

18 See Livingstone, Marco (Ed.) Anish Kapoor, Kyoto Shoin International Co. Kyoto 1990 Anish Kapoor: Drawings. Tate Gallery Catalogue , Tate Gallery, London 1990

19 See Kapur, Geeta, Six Indian Painters, 1982

20 Jeyasingh has collaborated with several contemporary Western composers, including Michael Nyman, electro-acoustic composer Alistair Macdonald, and Christos Hatzis

21 Jeyasingh, Shobana. Interview with the author April 1st 1993

22 Schechner, Richard. The Restoration of Behaviour in A Dictionary of Theatre Anthropology: The Secret Art of the Performer. Eugenio Barba and Nicola Savarase..Routledge 1991

23 Chandralekha, cited by Simon Dove in Navanritya, Dance Theatre Journal Vol 8 No 2 1990 pp 10-13 & p 37.

24 Chandralekha, cited by Sonali Fernando in Iconoclassic Bazaar 1993.

25 Martin, John. From The New York Times, Review, 1933, re-printed in Martha Graham: The Early Years . Merle Armitage (ed..) Da Capo Press New York 1978 a republication of Martha Graham, published in 1937 p 17

26 For further discussion on contemporary Indian dance and theatre in Britain see:
Rubidge, Sarah, Shobana Jeyasingh and Chandralekha (Performance Review) Dance Theatre Journal Vol 9 No 3 1992 pp 40 -41
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DANCERS' WORK

George Russell

Stephanie Skura has said:

> Dance is political not because of its subject matter but because of the way dances are made, how they are structured, and what they show about people relating to each other.

In this article, I'm proceeding from Stephanie Skura's vision of the politics of dance. I'm interested specifically in the identity of the dancer, and I want to propose a "dancer's way of knowing" dance. It is my belief that critical discourse on dance has been more successful in constructing and defining the choreographer's and audience's identity, and less successful in giving form and substance to the dancer. This article is my gesture to reveal the dancer.

As a dancer, I have an experience of dance which I seldom read about. Being a dancer influences not only my experience of dances that I perform but also dances which I see. When I see a dance, I look at how the dancers interpret the movement. I am conscious of a dancer's activity as distinct from the steps she or he is given to perform. I don't view the dancer's activity as the transparent rendering of a preexisting "objective" dance; rather, I view dancing as creative choicemaking in response to the choreographer, other dancers, the audience and various details of the environment. For me, this "dancer's work" is as intrinsic to the meaning of the dance as the steps themselves.

Now, in choosing to view dances and their meaning in this way, I believe that I am running counter to prevailing notions of where meaning resides in a dance, and who has control over that meaning. A dance is the choreographer's work, is it not? She literally and legally owns it. The other person empowered to negotiate and evaluate a dance's meaning is the audience member, who perceives and judges the work. This preference for viewer and choreographer in thinking about dance is seen in dance writing. When a dancer is asked about her work on a dance, whether in rehearsal or performance, the information is often solicited to shed light on the choreographer's working process and ideas. Other work on dancer's experience is aimed to give the audience a glimpse of the routine of dancers, either to encourage young people to become dancers, or to address the adult audience's mythology about dancers' lives.

What I'm trying to do in this article is to discern the impact of the dancer on the form and content of a dance, and to discuss the various roles dancers take in dancemaking and performance situations.

Is the dancer the choreographer's canvas or paintbrush? Is the dancer an alienated laborer who punches in, does a job, and punches out after receiving a paycheck (if she's lucky)? Is the dancer a friendly neighbor to the choreographer, stopping by to help build a barn or sew a quilt? How about a body-machine, self-serviced to technical perfection, executing steps by pressing buttons and running programs? Is the dancer a copy of the choreographer faxed to the viewer in lieu of the original? Or do we see the spritely child of a stern parent, who sends the child out to charm onlookers? How about a mannequin, draped with a display of movement? Is the dancer a communard in what Cynthia Novack calls an "egalitarian meritocracy", chipping in with her particular skills, leaving the ultimate decisionmaking to the differently abled choreographer? Does the dancer play spinal cord to the cerebral cortex of choreographer and viewer? Is the dancer a vessel of animal spirit, tamed by the choreographer to express that spirit through choreography? Is the dancer the vigorous green bush pruned into a topiary figure by the choreographer? What does it mean to make a dance <u>on</u> someone?

The vivid, even extreme metaphors for the role of the dancer I have listed are familiar to dancers. We may rest secure in one or two of them; in the "pick-up company" environment here in New York, we alternate them like chameleons.

To some extent, we choose our role; but our choices are always limited by the context we dance in. We negotiate our roles constantly in relation to teachers, choreographers, audiences, other dancers, and cultural images of the dance. I believe these choices are political: we choose our roles strategically to gain power, freedom and our preferred quality of experience; and when we do this we give away other forms of power and freedom and relinquish other qualities of experience that might be possible. We create and respond to a hierarchy of values. What's more, our choices ramify beyond the dance studio and beyond the stage to affect our whole lives. Conversely, we embody our point of view onstage. Our sense of who we are and what we value, in short, our identity, is thus embedded in all choreography.

I'm going to present three heuristic models of how dancers, choreographers and audience members relate to each other. One is a relationship of collaboration and dialogue, the second involves a charismatic authority, disciple, and congregation, and the third posits the dance as a commodity and the dancer as the freelancer jobbed in to execute it.

I will not be talking about specific dance companies or choreographers today. That's because I intend these models to be suggestive, rather than diagnostic or prescriptive. They are not designed as boxes in which to sort out all dances, but as lenses which may help to see dances in a new light.

The first model corresponds to some extent with the point of view I take in this whole talk, because explicitly, it

shares the power to determine and negotiate meaning between everyone involved. Here, dancers and choreographers work collaboratively to make the dance, with a shared sense of goals and problem solving. One real-life situation this model reminds me of is the early work of some dance companies, where dancers and choreographers are peers or even friends, and where there's overlap between their respective roles. The choreographer lays out a structure or concept and directs the dance, and the decision-making of the dancers, in rehearsal and performance, contributes significantly to the form and meaning of the piece.

The dancer has an investment in the ideas and intentions of the choreographer and not just in the experience of doing the movement, the thrill of performing for an audience, the prestige of working with a given choreographer, or the money to be earned. The dancer engages in a dialogue with the choreographer and the structure, within which he or she must make choices. This negotiation becomes a part of the meaning of the piece.

The audience has an active role in creating the meaning of the dance. The audience sees not just the form of the dance, but the dynamic process of dancemaking and doing. The creative immediacy of the event invites the audience to see and evaluate choices in performance, and members to participate in the creation of meaning by choosing what to watch and what it means. Watching various dancers elaborating the concept, the audience can sometimes see the underlying idea separately from the executed dance, just as when we hear two versions of the same song we may develop awareness of the song itself. This glimpse of the structure as distinct from its performance also allows some separation between dancer's work and choreographer's work. The dance is thus less opaque and objective, and more hermeneutically open, giving the audience a role in constructing its meaning.

This is the form of collaboration. It doesn't intersect smoothly with capitalism. Performances work best in small spaces where the audience can perceive minute details of the dancers' work. Small performances mean less income, however. This form is labor-intensive. Choreographer and dancer go far beyond teaching and learning steps but engage in a deep problem-solving process. It's not a producer/worker/consumer relationship. Dance in general is not easily commodified, but this type of dance is even less so. It's not easily documented or copied. Live performance is important to this form because meaning is negotiated through dialogue between dancer, choreographer and audience. Duplicating the dance from a record, for example teaching it from videotape or notation as "repertory", creates a whole different type of dance with a different relationship between dancer, choreographer and audience. And the meaning of the dance would change.

It becomes more difficult to work collaboratively when a gap opens in age, style and experience between choreographer

and dancers. A choreographer may settle into his style and become less interested in the input of dancers, preferring instead that dancers imitate and develop in his style only. Turnover among dancers may result in a hierarchy of experience and authority among the artists that makes synergy and reciprocity more elusive.

Now why would a dancer choose to collaborate? The upside for the dancer, I think, is investment not only in the form of the dance but in its principles and concepts. The dancer has more power to determine the form of the piece, and may feel a heightened sense of relationship and kinship with choreographer and audience, since everyone is working together to create and discern meaning.

What the dancer gives up is the privilege of focusing solely on the personal experience of moving. Dancers need to be externally focused, more socially and intellectually "on" in this form than in others. It is difficult to make one's movement say "I'm just marking this" or "I'm just doing the movement", a rhetorical stance which I believe all dancers use in moments of fatigue, discomfort, injury or disagreement with others involved in the process. The high level of responsibility for multiple aspects of the dance interfere with a certain privacy of experience that other dancemaking processes may afford the dancer.

It's particularly hard for the dancer to make money in this form. Long hours are necessary to develop the working process together and the form is suited to intimate performances where the audience and dancer feel engaged in active dialogue. It wouldn't be the process most conducive to half-time at a Giants game, for example. These factors might affect the amount of money a dancer would make for his or her work.

In this model, the dancer subordinates him or herself to the charismatic authority of the choreographer, is filled with the dance by the choreographer, and aims to carry the message to the audience.

In contrast to the first model, in which dancers and choreographers work together on the concept, the choreographer here imbues the dancer with the dance. Dancers here are not agents but disciples. The task of the dancer is to surrender, making him or herself open to the ideas and teaching of the choreographer and fully embodying those ideas in performance. Choreographer and dancer engage in an unequal relationship of great mutual trust and responsibility. The choreographer is the mentor, director and arbiter; the dancer is both a vessel and a vassal. The choreographer tells the dancer what to do, and must safeguard the integrity and stability of the working process, guiding the dancer's progress to a full, strong performance.

Dancers enter an indentured servitude, the first period of which often involves a painful breaking down of the dancer's

ego and the pledge of fealty ("I am not working with anyone else", "I am not studying release technique", etc.) The dancer often commits to a long period of study and rehearsal with a single choreographer, and needs humility and dedication to follow a path determined by another. Disciplehood often involves the dancer's slow progress through a hierarchy of dancers based on experience, ability to render the choreographer's vision, and in some cases, personal relationship to the choreographer.

The viewer seeks to be moved by the dancer's rendition of the choreographer's message. In distinction to the first mode, where the dancer is seen as partly responsible for the form and meaning of the dance, here the dance constitutes the sole expression of the choreographer. Evaluation of the dancer involves gauging how fully he has imbibed, absorbed and poured forth that meaning.

What are the advantages of this system for the dancer? Well, for one thing, the dancer has a clear place. Expectations are specific and responsibility is limited. Decisions are made for the dancer. The dancer can focus deeply on his or her own experience of moving, because the performance, the movement, and its meaning are defined externally. Long-term rewards are promised: obedience and devotion yield progress toward greater roles, deeper experience and recognition, and for some, the hope of receiving the imprimatur and becoming a choreographer in one's own right. Or one can remain in a career-long disciplehood.

Dangers and risks of taking on the dancer's role in this system have to do with the intense reliance on a single charismatic authority. One is subject to the whims and caprices of the choreographer. The high degree of allegiance means that betrayal or rejection on either side is a distinct possibility. Competition with other dancers for the attention of the choreographer makes relationships with other dancers more volatile. You put all your eggs in one basket artistically and professionally, thereby sacrificing well-roundedness for depth of investment. Like the first form I discussed, this form requires so much rehearsal and application on the part of the dancer that, on the balance, it is difficult if not impossible to make money at it.

This form could be experienced as a cult of charisma. Some dancers will feel this surrender of the will as a glorious guided transcendence of self, while others will experience it as a disconcerting loss of personal identity.

The first model was one of collaboration; the second, disciplehood. In the last model, the dance is a commodity and the dancer is a temp. Choreographer, dancer, dance and audience are individually complete, discrete and adjacent entities. Each entity has access only to the neighboring event and there is no merger of boundaries between them.

In this form, dancemaking is design, production and consumption. The choreographer in this system designs a product. He or she shapes and trims the dance into a form that is stimulating and comprehensible to the audience and can be taught quickly to dancers. Roles are not specific to individuals; on the contrary, they are digitalized into specific shape and sequence components so that personnel can be shifted or replaced.

Dancers in the second mode, the disciples, train the self to be a vessel. In this style, dancers keep their selves to themselves. Athletic, technical proficiency is prized. Dancers train the body to be a neutral vehicle that can perform a wide range of movement. The dancer thus puts space between himself and the audience, engaging not in dialogue (mode 1), nor in identification (mode 2), but rather in presentation. Of these three forms, this one would play best at Giants stadium. It could be seen in bigger theaters where the dance is apprehended visually in two dimensions rather than in smaller spaces where the audience experiences the dance in three-dimensional kinesthesia.

Unlike the dancers of the first mode, this dancer is not responsible for the messages he or she drapes over the body in movement sequences. The concern of the dancer is with executing the movement clearly and expertly. The commitment of the dancer is not to the choreographer, as in the second model, nor to the concept of the dance, as in the first; the dancer here is committed to the execution of movement for an audience.

Dance is piece work. The dancer is jobbed in. She does not have any agency in creating the dance, as in the first mode, nor is she required to personally embody the message of the piece, as in the second mode. Rather, the dancer transmits through her performance of the dance a message already encoded in the movement itself.

What the audience sees is the dancer performing movement. The interpretive choices of the dancer in performance call attention to the movement as a executed sequence of shapes. The emphasis on executing steps enhances the technical and objective qualities of the dance. This dancer is not doing what they used to call "movement for its own sake", because the focus is on proficiency of execution, not a meaning intrinsic to the experience of moving per se. In some sense the dancer's solely technical performance stands <u>between</u> the audience and the choreographic idea, (unless the dance is only about technical execution). The only clues the audience gets from the dancer's interpretation about the dance's meaning draw attention to the dancer's technique; the audience will not look at the dancer's work for any other messages the dance might have. The choreographer in this mode may layer extensive costuming, film, special lighting, music and other media over the execution of steps by the dancers to convey his or her idea. Or the audience may rely on comparison with other dances they have seen to gauge

the piece's meaning, since the form tends to feature a familiar movement vocabulary and themes.

I think that most audiences, especially those uneducated in dance, come to all performances expecting dancers to be flashy technicians executing steps, and expecting the dance to be a familiar, 2-dimensional display of clear shapes and easily accessible content. Such an audience is going to have trouble accepting a dancer or a dance that has a different set of values. They might not even see the important details of the performance. It might not surprise the reader to know that this third form, the one where the dancer's role is simply to execute steps, is the hardest one for me to approach openly and to tolerate. I'm constantly focusing on details that are more salient to other types of dances, and I have to remind myself over and over, "that's not what this dance is about!" in order to appreciate the dance. Dancers and choreographers also experience frustration when they encounter others in the process who don't share their basic idea of what dancer, choreographer and audience ought to be. I've been on all sides of that tangle, which is probably why I'm drawn to this topic.

But digressions aside, there's a great thing for the dancer about this third way of making dances: the dancer can own his dancing, because it is distinct from the dance itself and thus from the choreographer's province. Boundaries are very clear here, affording the dancer a certain independence. Often this form is more financially lucrative than the other two. For one thing, the technical specificity of the dancer's work makes rehearsal periods shorter; for another, the formal orientation of performance means the dance can be performed in bigger spaces, which means more income; thirdly, since these dances offer a clear objective content to the audience, they are often more accessible and may attract a larger viewership.

On the other hand, there can be an experience of alienation in this form: the dancer's moving body and body movement is alienated from the process of meaning. This in turn creates an alienation from the choreographer, to the extent that the choreographic idea goes beyond the mere execution of movement, and from the audience, to the extent they are looking for meaning beyond technique. The dancer is out of the hermeneutic loop when the dance is about something other than its execution.

A dancer could be or feel reduced to a commodity in this form. To a greater extent than in other forms, the dancer is consummately replaceable, and his or her individuality is not as important as in other forms. Not everybody would have a problem with this, but if it's important to the dancer to feel special and unique, she or he may feel less than appreciated in this form. In fact, I'd say that for everyone involved in this type of dancemaking, there is the danger of feelings of existential isolation. Interaction can be experienced as the apprehension of surfaces, rather than dialogue between people; at

every step of the dancemaking process, feelings of distance or even loneliness are possible.

I invite the reader to apply these models to his or her experience -- not in a dogmatic or programmatic way, but rather as one would apply a short story. I don't mean them to prescribe experience, but to serve us as fanciful images that illuminate the dance world and dancers' work. There are innumerable models to be created and used. (In one that I've been toying with recently, dances, movement vocabulary, themes and styles are preset, thus existing outside both choreographer and dancer, so that dancemaking is not inventive, but only innovative. The choreographer's instructions to dancers in such a situation are about emphasis and interpretation rather than teaching something new. But that's just another proposal; I hope that this article spurs its readers to invent their own.)

Let me tell you what I want. First, I argue for a considered, enlightened relationship between choreographers and dancers, in which we are aware of our political situation, our options, the expectations we bring to the dance and those we encounter in one other, and how these choices change the meaning of dance. Second, and more specifically, I want to strengthen dancers politically by emphasizing the way their responses to audience and choreographer affirmatively create meaning in dances. Third, I encourage the viewer of dance to see the dancer as having this kind of power. I also offer these models to provide ways of approaching and appreciating dances, dancers, choreographers and audiences whose behavior and expectations differ from our own.

What is theory for? I write, read, dance, choreograph and watch dance as part of a thoughtful, spiritual dialogue with other people engaged in the quest to understand ourselves, each other, and our world. My effort is not to displace or marginalize contrasting ideas and systems, or to topple and replace prevailing dogma, but rather to suggest new ways of seeing, creating more meaning and new templates to organize perception and information.

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BOUNDARIES MADE OF BODIES: MOVEMENT PERFORMANCE AND THE MAKING OF SAMENESS AND OTHERNESS

Deidre Sklar

A doubled thread links my paper to the concerns of this conference. Taking inspiration from the 1930's theme, I review the work of David Efron, a student of anthropologist Franz Boas. Efron challenged Nazi notions about so-called "racial gestures." I will review Efron's work in some detail, drawing out its implications, especially in terms of the braiding of corporeal practices and social politics. My thread then doubles back via a contemporary American example of the way that a complex politics of assimilation and resistance is worked out in the Tigua dance of Tortugas, New Mexico.

Efron opens with a catalogue of the pseudo-intellectual ideas the Nazis relied on to "prove" that there is such a thing as racial types, racial expressions, racial gestures. Noting that such ideas were unworthy of comment, he nonetheless challenged them on both logical and empirical grounds. Any serious attempt to correlate "race" with any given form of behavior such as gesture, he wrote, must first prove "race" as a real category. If there is such a category, then one must empirically investigate the specific behaviors claimed to correspond with it. As for defining race via physical traits, he pointed out that the traits must be the exclusive characteristic of all individuals belonging to the group; there is no morphological type that meets this requirement (Efron 1972: 39-43).

Efron's major refutation of the Nazi gesture-race correlation rested on his own empirical research in New York City. First he asked if there were any standardized differences in conversational gesture between first generation immigrants of two different so-called "racial" groups, Jewish and Italian. He then examined the gestures of their children, the second generation in America, to determine what became of these differences under the impact of assimilation. [1] Efron found that Jewish immigrants from the ghettos of Lithuania and Poland shared a gestural lexicon that was different from the equally specific lexicon shared by Neapolitan and Sicilian immigrants. [2]

I will review his findings in some detail because the work is not

widely known and because it is rich in theoretical, methodological, and political implications for future investigation. [3]

Recreate with me, in imagination, Efron's findings on first generation Jewish immigrants. Imagine upper arms held close to the body and gestures occuring primarily from the elbow, acting as a pivot for the forearm, or from the wrist acting as a pivot for the hands. These gestures would necessarily be small. They occur primarily in one hand at a time, but if both are engaged the gestures are sequential, from one hand to the other in what Efron calls an "ambulatory" pattern. The tempo is sporadic, changeable. Imagine too, angular or sinuous zigzagging movements with frequent changes of direction, resulting in a kind of intricate gestural "embroidery." Gesturing directly forward, towards and away from one's speaking partner, the movement works relationally to "embroider" speaker and listener together.

Regardless of the amount of space available, the Jewish immigrants tended to converse at close range, often in compact groups, talking at the same time. They made, Efron wrote, a "chorus of divergent monologues," gesturing in a kind of "'hand to hand' rhetorical skirmish" (92). Imagine frequent touching, sometimes used as interruption, sometimes to capture attention. Imagine also frequent nodding and other head gestures.

By contrast, Italian immigrants tended toward broad, rounded, and more fluid gestures, less complex in design than those of the Jewish immigrants. Imagine gestures pivoting from the shoulder with a a full sweep and wide reach, relying on the arm as a single unit, with both arms frequently gesturing together, symmetrically. Unlike Jewish "embroidering," the Italians tended to continue a gesture in the same direction for its duration. In rhythm, there was more flow and continuity, with gestures unfolding at even speed or else building and subsiding. This combination of elements suggested to Efron and his volunteer observers a feeling of "wholeness," even wholesomeness. In form the gestures were less complex than those of the Jewish immigrants, occuring largely in a circular or spherical design out to the speaker's sides rather than the Jewish forward. Thus, in Efron's terminology, where the Jewish immigrants' gestures were relational, those of the Italians were presentational. Finally, touch was used as an expression of confidence rather than as an interruption or call to attention. Unlike the tight knots of immigrant Jewish conversationalists, Italian speakers and listeners spaced themselves further apart in "a kind of spatial consideration for the body of the

interlocutor" (121). [4]

These formal comparisons enabled Efron to distinguish between two different kinds of gestural meaning making. He discovered that the Italian immigrants employed gestures that referred primarily to the content of their discourse, like a kind of sign language, while the Jewish immigrants used gestures referring primarily to the formal process of their thinking. Italian immigrants carried, so to speak, "a bundle of pictures" in their hands (123). Their gestures were largely connotational, referring to something objective, whether they were a kind of pointing, or depicted a form, a spatial relationship, or a bodily action, or whether they were symbolic and represented some object--visual or logical. [5]

By contrast, gesturing among the Jewish immigrants was not pictorial or symbolic, and did not refer to the objects of their thought. Rather, they used gesture to "link one proposition to another, trace the itinerary of a logical journey, or to beat the tempo of mental locomotion[s]" (98). The gestural embroideries and zigzags were, as Efron wrote, "something like the gestural charts of the 'heights' and 'lows,' 'detours' and crossroads' of the ideational route (99). Unlike the Italians', the Jewish immigrants' gestures referred more to the "how" than the "what" of thinking. They described the "physiognomy" of discourse (98). [6]

Challenging the popular misconception that gestures are a kind of hieroglyphics or pantomimic language that occurs "naturally," Efron thus demonstrated that pictorial gesturing only occurs among some cultural groups and that other, non-pictorial kinds of gesturing are of equal epistemological significance. Efron glossed over this important theoretical opening in a footnote, writing, "We conceive of gestural behavior as an intrinsic part of the thinking process..." (fn. p. 48). The implication is that movement is a process of abstract conceptualization. Unlike language, the nature of corporeal abstraction is not limited to symbolic representations. To analyze, as many of us here do, the way energy is organized as rhythm, spatial relations, shapes, dynamics, focus, etc., is to describe a process of kinesthetic conceptualization. I develop this theoretical thread elsewhere (Sklar, in press) and will not take it further here. [7]

I want to follow Efron in an entirely different direction, and so return to his findings about gesture and assimilation. Among the second generation of Jewish immigrants, he discovered that a few individuals remained in orthodox ghettos, went to orthodox schools, and became rabbis and teachers (Efron's subjects seem to have all been men). Their

gestures were hardly distinguishable from those of their immigrant fathers. Most people in the second generation, however, moved up the American social and economic ladder and entered the American middle class. These people entirely abandonned the gestural lexicon of their parents. Between these extremes, some people retained the content of Jewish religion while adopting the social outlook of the American middle class. Their gestures reflected this "cultural hybridness;" they practiced a toned down version of the "traditional" gestural style. Efron found similar patterns of gestural assimilation among the Italian-Americans. Indeed, the gestures of assimilated Jews and Italians more closely resembled each other than they did the gestures of their "traditional" parents.

It was on the basis of the radical effects of assimilation on gesticulation that Efron refuted Nazi notions about the correlation between "race" and gesture. In other words, movement practices are not determined by inherent physiological, psychological, or mental differences, but by the interaction between learned traditions and social conditions. When given the opportunity to choose, the corporeal choices people make vary, even within one group with a previously shared movement lexicon.

Efron hinted that, for the Jewish immigrants, the critical factor enabling change was the transition from a situation of enforced ghettoization in eastern Europe to one of relative social freedom in America. The reverse can also be implied: enforced ghettoization works on people to homogenize movement. The current reality in America could provide numerous examples of institutional ghettoization imposed from the outside, but the reality is rarely this simple. Corporeal practices are also intentionally re-generated from within as intentional markers of difference, especially when there are institutional policies of assimilation that restrict rather than enable social freedom. This was the case, for example, with the U.S. policy of banning Native American dancing. Consciously or unconsciously it was understood that the continuity of Native American dancing was an act of resistance to assimilation.

I want to consider now an example of the complex realtionship between corporeal practices and social circumstances. My example involves a "border" community in New Mexico whose corporeal history includes three centuries of response to forced religious conversion, ongoing migrations, border shifts, and national power plays. I will try to

demonstrate that for the Tortugas community of Las Cruces, corporeal expression has been a way to negotiate social position. I use the word "negotiate" intentionally to imply an ongoing creative process of choice-making in response to changing conditions. My example is drawn from two years of participant observation in Tortugas, from 1986 to 1988. I will focus, not on conversational gesture, but on dance, the most codified and information-intensive form of bodily practice. My discussion is necessarily brief.

The colonial Spanish Catholics imposed on the Pueblo people of New Mexico a policy of forced servitude and religious conversion. The Puebloans revolted--the only successful native revolt in early American history--and drove the Spaniards south, out of New Mexico. After the reconquest, the Puebloans chose to continue dancing underground, in a sense ghettoizing their own corporeal practices to protect them from Spanish, and later American, censorship and destruction. Some Puebloans, however, either by choice or by force, joined the retreating Spanish and were settled in mission communities in El Paso del Norte. While continuing to perform the Pueblo dances, they embraced the rituals and beliefs of Catholicism. They also adopted Hispano-Mexican styles of dress, language, and social practices, somewhat like the "hybrid acculturation" Efron found among the second generation of Jewish-Americans.

Some one hundred and fifty years later, in the mid-nineteenth century, responding to internecine Mexican wars, land scams, and Anglo-Texan invasion, descendents of some of these mission families migrated up the Rio Grande to the area that is now Las Cruces. This area was almost immediately ceded to the United States and the immigrants became American citizens. Helping the group to acquire land, an Anglo encouraged them to form themselves into an American-style Corporation, which they did. At this point, they included not only descendents of various Pueblo tribes, many intermarried with Mexican native and mestizo people, but also immigrant families from the provinces of Chihuahua and Durango, families with no previous connection to the Pueblo group. Like the choice to embrace Catholicism, the choice to incorporate was not necessarily a vote for assimilation so much as a vote for engagement with new circumstances, in this case political and economic.

What does all this have to do with corporeal practices? The *Indios*

carried from El Paso, in their bodies, the practical knowledge of a weeklong ritual in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe. This corporeal knowledge included Pueblo dances, a Matachines dance, processions, a pilgrimage, church masses, and feasting. The ritual worked, under the conditions of diaspora, as a kind of "home." It was then, and continues to be, a "crossroads," to borrow a phrase from Renato Rosaldo, a crossroads of self-identifications and histories, as corporeal, emotional, and conceptual knowledge.

The Tortugas fiesta adhered around the central key symbol of Our Lady of Guadalupe, the mestizo Virgin Mary. As an embodied mixture of Europe and Native America, she epistomizes the very principle of "crossroad-ing." She is evidence of the possibilities of intersection inherent in the confrontation between differences. To carry Our Lady of Guadalupe and her fiesta from El Paso to Las Cruces was to establish a metaphorical and ritual "home" that allowed for negotiations of identity while also declaring a center around which negotiations could occur. There is a wonderful paradox here because the stability of this "home" depends upon its amenability to transformation. What enables both Our Lady of Guadalupe and the fiesta to work as "home" for people with different histories and beliefs confronting new social conditions is their shifting, neither this-nor-that nature. The movement practices of the contemporary fiesta are both the result and the process of negotiation on themes such as religious belief, ethnic identification, Americanization, economic survival, political affiliation, and internal and external social networking.

The "Tigua" or "Indio" dance, in local popular opinion, is considered to be a survival from the northern Pueblos. Technically, it is not; it has transformed in both form and meaning, but it does work as a menemonic, a way to "remember," in the sense of re-embody, the time "before the missionaries came and Christianized us," as one older woman put it. In Tortugas, though not everyone shares this view, for the most part, the missionizing process is not seen as a loss, but as a goodness, a gift. The reference to a pre-Christian past is therefore not nostalgia so much as a choice in the construction of an ethnic identity. The Tigua dance also works as a corporeal space in which the meaning of "Indio-ness" is constantly re-evaluated.

Like many dances done at the northern Pueblos, the Tigua dance of Tortugas relies on the reiteration of a basic knee-lifting jogging step for

the men and a more subdued and flat-footed inching walk for the women, accompanied by a synchronized up-and-down forearm gesture. For the male dancers, though everyone agreed on the injunction to "lift your knees," there was intense debate about whether their hunting bows should be held above or below their gourd rattle, whether the men's body position for shaking the rattles should be a squat or a lunge, and, most problematic, whether, at the pause when the man has lifted his knee, there should or should not be a quick and tiny punctuating forward kick. These details may seem like minutiae, but they are significant. About this thorny kick, one woman said, "That may be the way they do it up north, but it's not the way we do it here." Thus, in a dance that commemorates Tortugas' link to the northern Pueblos, there is, for some, an insistence on differentiating themselves from those same Pueblos. And this point is worked out in terms of the details of dancing.

Individual dancers also recognized qualitative differences between their own crisp and punctuated style of dancing and the more fluid, indirect style of the other Pueblos. "Too sloppy," a Tortugas companion commented about the more lyrical dancing at another Pueblo. This kind of scrutiny and these kinds of comments indicate intentional movement choices that make fine degrees of kinesthetic distinction between an "us" and a "not us."

Other movement elements in the same dance draw attention to other intersections. For example, the choreography consists in one section of following a circular path while changing direction every few steps via a zigzag from side to side. This pattern enables the dancers to face the four directions in the course of circling. Somewhere along the line, an additional injunction has entered the choreography: "Never turn your back on the Virgin." A portrait of Our Lady of Guadalupe stands before the dancers during every rehearsal and performance. The injunction means that when the dancers circle near this portrait, rather than zigzagging to face the four directions, they must maintain a single focus forward. There is a shift in process here that is both kinesthetic and symbolic. The dance is moving slowly from the four-directional spatial and cosmological system of the Pueblos to the one-directional orientation of church architecture and cosmology. Thus, religious belief as well as constructions of ethnicity are worked out in the dancing.

Through these examples, I have been trying to demonstrate that the relation between movement practices and social conditions is rarely

as straightforward as it seemed to be in Efron's pioneering study. In Tortugas, the corporeal choices that continue to be made are complex and ongoing responses to situations of structural inequality. To obtain the maximum of social freedom, people choose to go both ways, towards assimilation and towards cultural conservation. Corporeal practices like the Tigua dance, sponsored by an all-American legal Corporation, dedicated to the Catholic Virgin Mary, and moving like and not like they do in the northern Pueblos, embody the tensions and complexities of these negotiations.

Notes

[1] Efron's methods were fourfold and included: direct observation, artist's sketches, rough counting of gestural tendencies, and graphs, charts, and measurements drawn from film clips.

[2] Efron does not clarify his use of the term "traditional." It can be inferred, however, that the term refers to continuity over time and in a circumscribed place without significant influence or interference from outside. For Eastern European Jews the "traditional" can be located as the urban ghetto, while for the Neapolitans and Sicilians, it presumably refers to the countryside and to peasant subsistence patterns.

[3] Efron's work on gesticulation predates by about thirty years the 1970's explosion of work on kinesics by Albert Scheflen, Ray Birdwhistell, and Edward Hall. Moreover, it introduces the concept of movement as thinking process, a problem that has been recently taken up by scholars from the perspective of various disciplines, for example Mark Johnson (1987) via philosophy, Maxine Sheets-Johnstone (1990) via archeology, Daniel Stern (1985) via infant psychology. I treat this subject briefly from the perspective of dance ethnology in Sklar (forthcoming).

[4] I would also hypothesize that such distancing works in favor of visual communication, while the closer, Jewish gestural process works in favor of the tactile and auditory.

[5] Some of the gestural pictures that Efron found among the New York Italian immigrants could be traced to ancient Greece and Rome; others corresponded with "sign language" recorded by Anglo-Saxon and German monks of the 11th, 15th, and 16th centuries (123). Are the con-

ventions of balletic pantomime related to this same symbolic gestural legacy?

[6] The recognition and depiction of thinking as a dynamic structural process, regardless of its content, was a major theme in the life work of corporeal mime theorist Etienne Decroux. In the years that I studied with him (1966-68), the major part of our improvisatory work consisted of representing the dynamic structure of thought (See Sklar 1985).

[7] The work of R ichard Bandler and John Grinder is relevant (See, for example Grinder and Bandler 1975, 1976). Lingistic psychologists who had studied with Gregory Bateson, they discovered that different people access, store, and check out information via different sensory modes--either visual, aural, or kinesthetic. For example, someone may search visually through memory to locate a piece of information, then recovery its contents as sound, and then check out its correctness for present purposes via a "gut feeling." Such chains of sensory process constitute a sensory epistemology. See also recent work on memory (Connerton 1989, Casey 1987) and work on the anthropology of the senses (Howes 1991, Jackson 1989, Stoller 1989).

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WEST AFRICAN AND HIP-HOP DANCE IN LOS ANGELES

Phylise Smith

This paper examines West African and hip-hop dance as currently performed among members of the Los Angeles African-American community. The premise of the paper is that West African and hip-hop dance function as political, cultural and age identification expressions for its participants. West African dance serves as a political and cultural statement for African-Americans twenty-five and over while hip-hop dance offers youth and young adults, a cultural and age identification statement. The movement styles of West African and hip-hop dance are also similar. I suggest that the movement similarities of the two dances function as a cultural and generational link between older and younger Los Angeles African-Americans.

Research for this topic was conducted between 1991 and 1993 and includes participant-observations of West African, hip-hop dance and related cultural events in the Los Angeles African-American community. Informal and formal interviews were also conducted with West African and hip-hop dancers. West African dance is defined as dances originating from the West Coast of Africa (Senegal, The Gambia, Mali, Guinea, Nigeria and Ghana). However, the West African dance discussed in this paper primarily refers to the performance of Senegalese - Guinea dance. Hip-hop dance is defined as dance performed to rap music and originating from New York break dance.

Next, although this paper focuses on the Los Angeles African-American community, West African and hip-hop dance are not performed exclusively in Los Angeles or in African-American communities. Both West African and especially hip-hop dance are popular in many communities throughout the nation and the world. Yet, Los Angeles African-Americans as (other African-Americans) claim hip-hop dance as "theirs." Some Los Angeles African-Americans also (like other African-Americans) claim West African dance as "theirs." Given this, it is important to examine the political and cultural dance expressions that result when a group claims a specific dance as "their own."

Los Angeles West African Dance

The 1960's Black Power movement ushered in a new political and cultural awareness of Africa among many African-Americans, especially those African-Americans

attending pre-dominately white educational institutions. Students at these schools began to demonstrate for the establishment of Black and African studies programs. Some students also connected with Africa by participating in African dance classes taught in the local community.

In Los Angeles, Ghanaian and Nigerian artists at the University of California Los Angeles were responsible for introducing the African-American community to West African music and dance. The Ghanaians and Nigerians sponsored workshops and performed throughout the Los Angeles area. Eventually, they incorporated members of the African-American community into their dance and music ensembles.

In the 1970's, Africans from Senegal and Guinea visited Los Angeles. As the Ghanaians and Nigerians, the Senegalese and Guinea visitors organized dance companies composed of Los Angeles African-American dancers and musicians. By the 1980's, Senegalese and Guinea dances had become the most popular West African dance style in the Los Angeles African-American community. Today, the Senegalese-Guinea dance is still the most popular among the community with approximately one hundred to two hundred people performing this dance.[1] Performers include professionals as well as those that dance only at the classes and workshops.

According to dancers interviewed for this paper, participation in West African dance is a way the dancers continue the zeal of the 1960's Civil Rights and Black Power movement. For these dancers, participation in West African dance is political. It allows them to re-experience Black Power, to do as Asante (1987) suggests, "to place Africa at the center of one's thinking," and as Primus (1980) suggests, "to prove that one is a member of the cultural body - in touch with the cultural material." The dancer's goal in performing the dance is not to be African-American but to be African.

The West African dance movements and rituals further reinforce the political views of the African-American participants. For example, shaking the hips rapidly or slowly is a major aesthetic in many West African dances. Dancers that display this skill are considered more African than those who cannot. Dancers who perform solos and know numerous dance steps of particular dances are also considered more African than those that know fewer dances.

Dancers also express their allegiance to Africa by wearing African attire. Women wear sarong-like skirts

called lappas and matching tops or T-shirts. For special occasions, they wear gowns and robes called boubous. Men also wear matching tops and pants, boubous and embroidered outfits. I asked a few dancers if they wore African attire outside of the dance class and if so, why. One woman said she wore African clothing "at all times." Another said she wore African clothing for "comfort." One of the women said she wore African attire because it was "beautiful and enjoyable." Another person said that she wore the attire because she wanted to "express her African culture outside of the class." Others said they wore African clothing to "work."

So, the attire as well as the physical expression of the dance is a way for members of the Los Angeles African-American community to connect to the traditional African past.

Los Angeles Hip-Hop Dance

Los Angeles African-American youth express their political views through hip-hop dance. According to Ronald Stephens, (1991) rap music and subsequently hip-hop dance began in the mid 1970's in the South Bronx of New York as a device to combat juvenile violence and drug abuse. Instead of competing with guns, gangs turned to rapping to compete, devising dance steps to accompany the verbal rhymes they created. By the 1980's, these dance steps to rhymes evolved into break dance, a dance, that included spinning the body on the floor or ground. Gradually the tone and style of rap changed. Break dance also changed to reflect the new rap styles and hip-hop was born.

While New York hip-hop dance is performed primarily to rap lyrics, Los Angeles hip-hop dance is performed to rap, house and techno music.[2] It is also danced at a faster pace than New York hip-hop dance. However as in New York, Los Angeles hip-hop dance was created by Los Angeles African-American youth "hanging" on the streets, listening to music and improvising dance patterns.[3] Steps are shared with friends or kept secret and then displayed competitively.

Los Angeles hip-hop dancers learn hip-hop in a variety of ways. The original way to learn the dance is on the street. Thus, another name for hip-hop is "street" or "funk dance." However, street hip-hop is rapidly disappearing as hip-hop becomes more of a commercial venture. Hip-hop's current commerciality has created a market for hip-hop dancers as choreographers and teachers. Now instead of learning hip-hop on the street, youth learn hip-hop at prominent dance studios. And, as a result of hip-hop's explosion into mainstream

dance, there are now two categories of hip-hop dancers--dancers who perform street hip-hop and dancers who add jazz and other dance styles into their hip-hop dance.

Los Angeles youth also learn hip-hop by attending clubs and dances where hip-hop professionals showcase the latest steps. Currently popular clubs are the Mayan, the Roxy and Orbit. Youth also learn hip-hop by watching videos, commercials and dance shows focusing upon hip-hop dancing.

Dyson (1989) commenting on rap and hip-hop dance said:

> Rap is a form of profound musical, cultural and social creativity. It expresses the desire of young black people to reclaim their history, reactivate forms of black radicalism and contest the powers of despair, hopelessness and genocide that presently besiege the black community.

For Dyson, rap and its expression through hip-hop dance is the key to understanding the world view of the young African-American.

I suggest further that hip-hop is a way for youth to gain self-esteem. Such feelings of self-esteem are especially crucial for young African-American males. Said one young man:

> You may not have money, but if you can dance, this makes you special. As a hip-hop dancer, you will have many friends. Hip hop allows one to show off, to gain status through the dance. This is especially true if you get work in the entertainment field.

Given this point of view, hip-hop expresses the attitude of African-American youth, but it may also provide economic benefits as well.

Next, like the West African dance attire, hip-hop dance also has its own symbolic attire. Young men wear Malcolm X T-shirts, baggy shorts and pants similar to West African styles of pants. Hair styles among the young men include carvings and designs in the hair or dreadlocks. Girls wear their hair in large West African style braids or straight and loose. Some girls pierce their noses.

<u>Los Angeles West African and Hip-Hop Dance</u>

Finally, what is notable about both West-African and hip-hop dance as performed among members of the Los

Angeles African-American community is that the movements of these two dances are alike. David Toop (1984) says that the "rap and hip-hop movement can be traced to the griots of Nigeria and Gambia who used Nommo (the word) to promote community stability." Robert Farris Thompson (1986) recognizes a West African dance connection in hip-hop and says that "hip-hop is a tale of three cities with break dancing and the hip-hop sound emerging in the Bronx while Electric-Boogaloo, popping and ticking moves coming out of Fresno and Los Angeles." Edmund Richardson commented:

> It (hip-hop) is as African as it can be. The music is different, but, different just like there are different regions in Africa.

I note from participant-observation of both West African and hip-hop dance that both dances emphasize percussive and bouncing actions, hip shaking, and rapid footwork. What these like movements suggest is of course the continual development of a shared and evolving movement vocabulary between native Africans and African-Americans. But less obvious is that the movements of both dances communicate the fact that West African and hip-hop dance express for the older and younger generations respectively, variants of the same political and cultural views. The dancers that perform West African dance proclaim their "Africanness" and interest in the traditional African past. Hip-hop dancers state their contemporary outlook and that they want to be "noticed and respected."

In summary, West African dance gives older Los Angeles African-Americans and hip-hop dance gives younger Los Angeles African-Americans, ways to physically express their values. The two dances further provide the older and younger generations the means to bond with each other. But also significant, is that West African and hip-hop dance illustrate to society at large, what is relevant and important to African-American culture.

Notes

1. Senegalese-Guinea dance is popular in other urban African-American communities as well.

2. As explained by Edmund Richardson, techo music is high-energy music from Europe. House music includes keyboards and bass as well as rap lyrics.

3. Unlike the West African dance community, the Los Angeles African-American hip-hop community is large and constantly in flux. Therefore no firm numbers can be given as to its size.

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THE FUNCTION AND STATUS OF DANCE IN THE 15th-CENTURY ITALIAN COURTS

Barbara Sparti

Dance historians, myself included, when investigating the Italian Renaissance, have tended to skim through volumes of contemporary documents, triumphantly extrapolating for examination any scant attestation to dance. This has resulted in losing sight of the context in which the dancing was set, much in the same way as art historians, "by their excessive emphasis on questions of form and style," have "buried the why--and hence the sociology" of the work of art.[1] My paper attempts to redress some of the conclusions which have resulted from previous approaches.

In 1473, Eleanora of Aragon, the daughter of the King of Naples, was married--by proxy--to Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara. The festivities, which began in Naples on May 16 and ended in Ferrara two months later, are fully documented.[2] (See the Appendix for a summary of the festivities.) What emerges from these accounts--and from innumerable others--is that what was recorded by princes, ambassadors, and chroniclers was the magnificent, the sumptuous, the expensive, the spectacular; lavishness and excess--everything that impressed; everything that was meant to impress. The rich apparel, the jewels, the gold cloth; the expensive tapestries, the display of gold plate, food covered in gold; the numbers of people in an entourage or attending an event, the deafening noise, the duration of the banquet or processions, the number of courses; fountains that spilled forth wines, food and sweetmeats up for grabs, money thrown to the throng. Dancing, on the other hand, is simply mentioned in passing. During Eleonora of Aragon's journey, balls took place--in Siena, Florence, and Ferrara--together with banquets, plays, and floats. In Naples, dancing offered Eleonora the occasion to display herself in a dress--and great train--of gold. And in Rome, an allegorical ballet was performed during one of the most famous and extravagant banquets of its day, which also included other mythological scenes which were recited and sung in Latin.

The policy of "magnificence" was universally adopted by the Renaissance prince.[3] The early humanists found justification in Aristotle's Nichomachean Ethics for the spending of money on things of public benefit as well as for the disposal of surplus wealth on charity and the building of temples.[4] Indeed, in many instances, magnificence was used to beautify and benefit the cities; but, in the second half of the fifteenth century, the conspicuous display of wealth became, above all, a policy of personal power. To impress both rivals and allies with one's wealth was necessary, as was the securing of the allegiance of the populace--through magnanimity and show--in the ever-present power struggle with local and foreign lords. Lavish display was also the most obvious gauge for quantifying a prince's status. It was the normal practice for diarists to record the value of clothes and jewels worn on special occasions, and the cost of receptions. In diplomatic correspondence too, it is the expensive objects that are described, and it was normal practice for all, princes included, to estimate or reckon the value of gifts received or donated and the cost of an entertainment. Furthermore, the display of power through oppulence required that all expenditure--large and small--be noticed and talked about, and innacuracy, exaggeration, and flattery were given ample room.[5] Leon Battista Alberti believed in the positive influence of hearsay when concerned with expenditure, since it could bring honor and fame to one's house.[6]

Where--in all of this--does dance come in? What is written about dancing by the diarists and ambassadors? References to dancing are few and far

between, and when they do appear they are most often brief remarks, quite outweighed by the long, detailed descriptions of the participants' dress or the hall decorations or the progress of the banquet. On rare occasions we are told who opened the dancing and which illustrious personages danced with whom.[7] This hierarchy, when mentioned, was, no doubt, an important indication of power and prestige. Otherwise, reports of dancing tend to consist of frustratingly terse statements such as "and they danced for the duration of two hours;"[8] or, "they went in the hall where they danced until sunset;"[9] or, "And returned to the court, they performed many dances 'til nightfall."[10] Is it not telling that Eleonora of Aragon, who had been taught dancing by none other than Guglielmo Ebreo himself,[11] described the lavish seven-hour banquet given in her honor in Rome--the courses and Latin verses--in 135 lines, limiting the description of the ballet to the following three lines. (And this despite the allegorical reference to her spouse--Ercole [Hercules] d'Este.)

> "The table [or tablecloth?] removed, the ballo ["ballet"] of Hercules with five men and nine ladies. During the ballet the Centaurs came and they performed a fine battle. The Centaurs, vanquished by Hercules, returned [presumbably from whence they came] and the ballo was formed [again?]."[12]

It is equally interesting to note that even Guglielmo Ebreo, in the thirty entries of his "Autobiography," in which he sets out to impress his readers with the festivities he has attended and the princes and noble lords he has rubbed shoulders with, devotes only twelve off-hand references to dancing, going into detail instead about violent deaths, expensive clothing, tightrope walkers, conjurers, the great numbers of people participating ("10,000 sat down to table"), the various courses at banquets, how much was spent on the festivities (according to hearsay) and the estimated cost of jewels and gifts.[13]

Why, with few exceptions, are the chronicles so devoid of particularized descriptions of the balls?[14] Is it because the dancing was too familiar, well-known, and obvious, to comment on? Undoubtedly. But might not the dancing, because it was primarily neither splendid nor costly as an activity in itself, be considered insignificant? Can we conclude that the social dancing engaged in at princely entertainments was, like everything else in the court, important merely as a vehicle through which the ruling class might display its wealth and power?

The intermezzo--a kind of masque or ballet, often referred to as moresca, mascara, or mommaria--was another matter.[15] Because of its spectacularity, rich costumes, masks, headgear, scenery, and special effects--fire in particular, diarists have left descriptions of what impressed them.[16] Equally fascinating was the subject matter--exotic, grotesque, martial; the Fool and fantastic monsters popular characters. Furthermore, the moresca often flattered and idealized the prince through allegory and symbolism, in much the same way as medallions fashioned on the ancient Roman model did, and the adulatory odes of poets.[17] Themes were often mythological or heroic, such as the scene danced by Neptune and Minerva for the control of Attica, performed in honor of the Duchess of Milan (Beatrice d'Este) when she found herself on a delicate political mission to Venice in 1493. While the crash of Neptune's trident against a mountain brought forth a horse, the triumph was Minerva's from whose arrow sprang an olive tree--symbol of peace and abundance.[18] Other moresche, such as the morality in praise of Chastity, performed in Urbino for the visit of Eleonora of Aragon's brother, reinforced the prince's image through the highlighting of his virtues, values, and power.[19] Other favorite motifs were the Planets[20] and the labors of the field. In 1475 in Pesaro and in 1499 in

Ferrara there were moresche in which country folk hoed and mowed with imitation gold and silver implements, sowing the ground with flowers from golden baskets.[21] These mimed and danced entertainments--the essence of "show" as spectacle and ostentation, the epitome of princeliness--munificent, liberal, noble, exalted, and heroic, afforded ample opportunity for both the sublime and the expensive.

The question we must now ask is, how expensive was it? How much was spent on dancing? Thomas Tuohy, in his study on domestic expenditure at the court of Ferrara: Artistic Patronage and Princely Magnificence, writes: "A commercial approach to the history of art [substitute the history of dance] may seem rather mercenary, but when so many of the products of court patronage no longer exist, or were indeed never intended to have more than an ephemeral existence, knowing their costs does give at least some idea of their relative values to contemporaries, untrammeled by the aesthetic valuation of an accidental sample of objects that happen to have survived."[22] (Tuohy reports, for example, how expensive cloth was, and explains that prizes of cloth were the most costly items budgeted for in jousts.[23] This information helps us to appreciate the frequent mention of cloth, hangings, canopies, and clothing in all the contemporary descriptions.)

It is unfortunate that the only documents concerning the costs of dancing which have so far come to light--salary and other payments to Domenico da Piacenza--, are fragmentary.[24] Nonetheless, we do know that in 1456, exactly midway in his 36-year career at the Este court in Ferrara, Domenico was paid "the substantial monthly salary of 20 lire Modenese."[25] The previous year, Antonio Cornazano's monthly salary--as a newly appointed young courtier to the Sforzas in Milan--was only 12 lire, though by 1476 he was earning about three times that as a gentleman and poet with the Estes in Ferrara.[26] Table I shows several other salaries contemporary with Domenico's, as well as some other courtly expenditures.[27] Although these figures shed some light on the financial and social position of Domenico and others, "they can only be properly interpreted against what is known of the tradition of the [particular] court and the age of the individuals, [as well as the] duration, and [the] type of service rendered."[28] Furthermore, there might have been various sorts of benefices, over and above the salary, such as tips, gifts, housing, clothing, to be taken--or not--into account. Was Domenico's "substantial" salary typical for a dancing-master, or was he being paid on some other scale? In no document is Domenico's position specified, except as "familiaris noster" (of our household), or as "spectabilis eques" and "spectabilis miles", titles of nobility bestowed, for the most part, only on gentlemen.[29] And in this connection, it is worth pointing out that Domenico's wife was a lady-in-waiting, from a family of courtiers and ambassadors.[30]

We can also attempt to give dancing a price, inferring its worth, first of all, from the value it was given in the education of princes and signori. Many princes danced at state weddings as well as at Carnival celebrations, where some even took part in moresche.[31] However, both public and private dancing seems to have been the prerogative of ladies and of young people. Ladies often danced with each other, or with their ladies-in-waiting, on public occasions--even for the opening dance at a ball[32]--as well as in their private apartments for their own diversion;[33] and contemporary letters and chronicles often describe how four to six-year-old princes and princesses showed off their dancing--and declamatory--skills to visitors.[34]

But dancing, nevertheless, was not a part of their official education. The humanist curriculum, a "program for the ruling classes," included grammar, poetry, rhetoric, history, and ethics, and was aimed at producing moderate,

moral, self-sacrificing, and, initially, at least, civic-minded statesmen.[35] A study of the classics provided a model and guide. In the thirteen treatises on education which have survived from the fifteenth century, dancing is ignored, if not explicitly condemned.[36] The only two humanists not to have excluded dancing left it, nonetheless, in a very ambiguous position. At his Estense school in Ferrara, Guarino admitted dancing as one of the possible outdoor activities, together with ball games, hunting, walking, and riding.[37] And Vittorino da Feltre warned that dancing, like choral singing and instrumental music, should have a place in the curriculum in circumscribed situations only, that is, where it was certain not to lead either to indolence or to sensual excitement.[38] How do we explain this? On the one hand, it is more than likely that the public-minded humanists considered dancing profitless for social and political purposes. Furthermore, because practically all of the humanist educators sprang from the middle class and were desperately anxious--through marriage, office, or wealth--to attain higher social rank, "affecting disdain" for such "mercenary" trades as even medicine and law, they must have felt it necessary to distance themselves from an activity which they saw as a plebeian diversion.[39]

As I have already pointed out, in the first half of the fifteenth century, all humanists emphasized civic consciousness. They strove to achieve a perfect harmony between the contemplative and the active life and they defended wealth as a resource of civilization, for the beautifying of one's city, and the enhancing of the quality of life.[40] As the "ever growing power of princes" and _signori_ increased, however, the humanists' vigorous interest in political life and action was gradually re-chanelled and finally restricted to literary, philological, and aesthetic concerns. This "flight from the world" by way of a distinct turn to contemplation and metaphysics (such as that of the Neoplatonists--Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and Poliziano) was encouraged by Lorenzo de' Medici and other princes who found the emphasis on the tasks and responsibilities of public life, the primary stress on social usefulness, too inhibiting and threatening.[41]

This second phase of humanism, which was profoundly apolitical and no longer an operative force in the life of the city, tended to make the new humanist a mere "elegant [though at times 'brilliant'] ornament of [the] court."[42] The prince, meanwhile, had learned to distribute favors in exchange for loyalty and adulation. Thus was born the Renaissance courtier, at worst a parvenu and parasite, at best, a "professional rhetorician" sustaining the prince's self-image through flattery, eloquent as it might be.[43] Baldesar Castiglione typifies the new humanist-courtier, with his "snobbishness and ambition" and his "self-interested endeavour . . . to justify the profession of courtier."[44] Clearly, these factors must be kept in mind when reading--and evaluating--the idealized writings of courtiers and humanists like Castiglione, and even the dance treatise of that other courtier-humanist, Antonio Cornazano.[45] Cornazano's decision not to include several of Domenico da Piacenza's dances because they are "too old or too well-known" or "common" is surely a snobbish reaction to the fact that these same dances were being performed by the bourgeoisie.[46]

Another yardstick for assessing the value of dance in Italian courtly society is the status of the dancing-master himself. It is indeed impressive to think that Domenico da Piacenza partnered no one less than the Duchess of Milan in the dancing at her son's wedding.[47] But Domenico, as we have seen, may have been more than just a dancing-master. On the other hand, Guglielmo Ebreo (Giovanni Ambrosio), though well-esteemed by his patrons, was anxious to better his social position and he distanced himself in his treatise, with

condescension and vehemence, from the "mechanicals" and "plebeians."[48] He converted to Christianity and was made a knight of the Golden Spur, but despite the prestige of this most noble order, and a dedicatory copy of his treatise to his patron in Pesaro, he was nonetheless shipped off, much against his will, to serve the King of Naples for two years.[49] And again, despite knighthood, and another copy of his treatise, dedicated this time to the Duke of Urbino,[50] Guglielmo was clearly still quite low on the social ladder, as is confirmed in the list of courtiers and retinue attached to the same Duke's court.[51] After the princes (Orsini, Colonna, Farnese, etc.) come the counts, then five Knights of the Golden Spur, and various gentlemen and counsellors. These are followed by the Duke's masters of grammar, logic, and philosophy, his secretaries, ambassadors, and chancellors; his stewards and chamberlains; architects and engineers; singers of the chapel and choirboys; lackeys and kitchen stewards; weavers and upholsterers; miniaturists; and fencing-masters to the pages. And finally, though not quite at the end of this not necessarily rigorous hierarchy, come Guglielmo Ebreo and his son, dancing-masters and "ballarini."[52] Then, in 1469, despite having been the dedicatee of the very first copy of Guglielmo's treatise, Galeazzo Sforza, now Duke of Milan, refused to receive him:[53] "Give no hearing to that Ambrosio, alias Jew, who has said certain things against Camillo, and treat him for what he is."[54] Some years later, Guglielmo tried again for a position at the court of Milan.[55] The attempt was futile, presumably because Galeazzo Sforza's widow had arranged for Lorenzo Lavagnolo, a younger and, at the time, anyway, more popular dancing-master, to take leave from the Gonzagas of Mantua and join the Milanese retinue.[56] Guglielmo also appealed to Lorenzo de' Medici, offering his choreographic expertise together with a promise of a copy of his treatise, yet there is no indication that Guglielmo ever did get on the Florentine payroll.[57] Seven years later, when Guglielmo was probably in his mid-sixties, the Magnificent wrote to the widow of the new lord of Pesaro that, in answer to her appeal, he was sorry "for not being able to offer any charity to Messer Giovanni Ambrosio [Guglielmo] because of the multitude of poor here [in Florence]."[58]

We do not know whether this rather moving, and at times desperate, account of Guglielmo's career is typical of that of most dancing-masters, inasmuch as no other career is anywhere nearly as well documented as Guglielmo's. However, the account does reveal something even more basic and significant to our appraisal of the status of dance. It was common practice in fifteenth-century Italy to send a member of one's retinue to another court to teach the young princes or to help organize special festivities, so that at Roberto Malatesta's wedding, for example, the engineers came from Florence, the musicians from Ferrara, and the cooks from Bologna,[59] while Andrea Mantegna, the painter, was obliged--by his patrons, the Gonzagas--to go to Rome for two years at the bidding of the Pope.[60] As for the dancing-masters, the court of Naples "borrowed" Guglielmo for two years,[61] and Milan, under the first Sforza duke, called on him when festivities required his services.[62] Lorenzo de' Medici hired Guglielmo's brother who, however, had his own dancing and music school in Florence.[63] Lorenzo Lavagnolo returned to the Gonzagas in Mantua at the end of his Milanese interlude, after which he was sent to Ferrara to teach the Este sisters. He arranged the wedding festivities for one of them in Bologna and then, before finally returning to Mantua, he spent time at the court of Urbino.[64] Thus, it becomes apparent that not only at a court as splendid and humanistically inclined as Federico da Montefeltro's, was the status of dancing low, but that many other rich and important courts, ruled by powerful and magnificent princes, had no permanent dancing-master on their books--and apparently needed none.

When Domenico and Guglielmo wrote their dance treatises, they must have had as their main objective to convince the prince, and possibly the courtiers and the humanists, of the importance of dancing as an expression of nobility. Both dancing-masters obviously wished to elevate the status of dance, and hence their own, and Guglielmo, judging by the number of copies he dedicated, seems to have entertained high hopes that "publishing" would be efficacious for future employment. Domenico's frequent references to Aristotle's Ethics, and Guglielmo's citing of the heroes and heroines of antiquity, were an attempt to give the works moral dignity by suggesting that dance was an appropriate pursuit for a prince.[65] And just as Leon Battista Alberti had attempted to prove the worth of painting by basing it on mathematics,[66] so Guglielmo set out to claim for dance the status enjoyed by music, recognized as both liberal art and science. Not only did the two masters invent a complex theory of the dance, with rules, "experiments", and principles based on popular humanistic conceits (like Memory, Maniera, Measure and Proportion, etc.), but it is probable that they also delved into choreographic innovation, inventing, in order to distance themselves from the "mechanical plebeians"--with their saltarello and piva and circle dances,[67] a new style of dancing for an elite. Thus, their dances, which were composed for and performed by their courtly patrons, could be distinguished from those of "the popolo."

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APPENDIX

Summary of Eleonora of Aragon's Wedding Journey from Naples to Ferrara (1475)

In 1473, Eleanora of Aragon, the daughter of the King of Naples, was married--by proxy--to Ercole d'Este, Duke of Ferrara. (Their most celebrated offspring would be Isabella d'Este.) The festivities, which began in Naples on May 16 and ended in Ferrara two months later, are fully documented. The groom's brother and his entourage of 500 persons were sent to Naples to accompany the bride to Ferrara. (These included four stewards, a cook and his boy, the musician Pietrobono and his two servants, and several other instrumentalists besides the fifteen shawm and trumpet players.) Their entry in Naples was greeted by a huge throng decked out in the most sumptuous finery, the air full of the sounds of pipes and drums, shawms and sackbuts. In a square lined with tiered platforms, capable of seating half of the 40,000 inhabitants of the city, Eleonora--dressed all in gold with a train "eight arms long"--opened the dancing with the Duke of Calabria. (After the dancing, Eleonora changed her clothes and signed the wedding contract.) Members of the Este contingent presented Duke Ercole's gifts of jewels to the bride, and were each retributed with 100 ducats from the King of Naples' treasury. In the following nine days of celebrations, there were jousts, private banquets--lasting four hours, and a great public banquet, with 36 courses, supervised by the chief steward on horseback.

On the 5th of June, Eleonora arrived in Rome, the guest of Cardinal Pietro Riario, nephew of Pope Sixtus IV. While Sixtus was famous for his building of the Sistine Chapel and the expansion of the Vatican Library, the 27-year-old Cardinal was known for his lavishness, magnificence, and love of spectacle. Once again there was a triumphant entry to the sound of pipes and drums,

shawms and trumpets and the presentation of valuable gifts. 4,000 ducats were thrown to the crowd. The square in front of Cardinal Riario's palace had been entirely covered with a canopy, and a bellows ensured a constant flow of air. The decorations included a towering fountain, tapestries, precious draperies, columns decked with greenery and flowers. On one side of the main hall stood a great sideboard (eight shelves high and 30 palms wide, noted Eleonora in a letter) displaying gold and silver plate encrusted with jewels, "a miracle to see," according to one ambassador who instead counted twelve shelves. Facing this was a platform where one of the most famous banquets of its day took place. Two teams of servitors, all dressed in silk, waited table for Eleonora, Cardinal Riario, and eight other noble guests from the courts of Rome, Naples and Ferrara. The chief steward changed his new and costly clothes and pendants four times, to coincide with the removal of each of the four table cloths and the heralding in of the following "act" of the pageant (the banquet lasted seven hours). Chronicles and Eleonora's own detailed letter note all of the food, much of which was decorated in gold or fashioned in the devices of the Este family: chicken livers, entire calves, bird pies, boar, venison, capons, chicken, sausages, pumpkin soup, pigeons, rabbit, wines, sweets, gelatins served in silver cups, all brought in to the sound of shawms and trumpets, made up, not the entire banquet, but only a part of the first serving. In between courses, there were mythological scenes in costume with verses, sung in Latin, alluding directly, or indirectly, to Eleonora and Ercole: the story of Atlanta and Hippomyne, of Perseus, Andromeda and the Dragon, of Bacchus and Ariadne, the labors of Hercules, and a scene with Orpheus and his lyre taming full-size stuffed animals--bear, deer, boar, pheasant, stork, and so on. At the end, sweets and towers of sugar were left for the populace to grab and a ballet featuring Herclues, Eleonora's husband's namesake, was performed. The ballet portrayed a group of armed Centaurs disrupting a wedding celebration and attempting to abduct the nymphs and ladies with whom Hercules, Jason, Theseus and other heroes are dancing. Hercules resists the Centaurs' assault and defeats them, after which the festive dancing is resumed.

Two more days were spent in Rome, where, in the same square, morality plays were performed for Eleonora and her entourage. Siena, an independent city-state, was next to honor Eleonora on her journey. A local chronicler talks about 7,000 horses in the cortège, while another estimates a more likely 1,000 to 1,500 people. The four-day visit included a public banquet and a ball in the square in front of the house where Eleonora was guest. Here a special fountain, equipped with silver cups, spouted red and white wine, in addition to water. The ball, which began with a parade of 98 pairs of the most lovely ladies of Siena, accompanied by the same number of youths, included a "rich and beautiful repast of sweets."

Eleonora timed her visit to Florence to coincide with the celebrations for San Giovanni, the city's patron saint (24 June). These included the usual plays, floats, processions, dances and races. Eleonora was Lorenzo de' Medici's guest, and while no special festivities were arranged in her honor, she cost the city 10,000 ducats. No doubt Lorenzo believed this to be a political and economic investment for Florence's relations with Naples, but at least one of his critics found the expenditure "something bad and worthless."

Before reaching Ferrara, Eleonora passed through Romagna where a chroncle reported that there were more than 80 mules laden with her belongings. "It is said that she has more than 100 dresses of gold and silk, and so many jewels that it is almost impossible to count them." Finally, Eleonora arrived in a Ferrara decked out with purple and gold hangings, with tapestries, boughs and garlands. Under a special gold and silk canopy, "with magnificent pomp," she

passed through crowds--which included guests from all over Italy--in a triumphant cavalcade that lasted five hours. There were 120 trumpets, 100 shawms, and the ringing of bells. Here too was a fountain that spouted wine, and at seven different spots along the way there were pageants on floats, representing each of the seven Planets, with costumed lads who sang, played and danced. Balls and jousts characterized the eight days of festivities and the banquet on July 4 had 56 courses and was followed by a great ball.

TABLE I

Monthly salaries of musicians and others under Borso d'Este Court of Ferrara 1456

Pietrobono (celebrated lutenist)[1]	8 LM[2]
shawm player (German)	8 LM
shawm player (German--Corrado de Alemagna)	30 LM[3]
trumpeters	10 LM
harpist	4 LM
Niccolò Todescho, singer, lutenist (German)	24 LM
Domenico da Piacenza	20 LM
cook	6 LM
Guarino da Verona (famous humanist; last years)	25 LM
physician	40 LM
notary	10 LM
chief financial officer	20 LM

Other monthly salaries and comparative expenditures

Antonio Cornazano (1455; at the court of Milan)	12 lire (plus clothing allowance)[4]
Antonio Cornazano (1476; at the court of Ferrara)	(circa) 50 LM
Cornazano receives 60 ducats from Borso d'Este for a beautiful book honoring Borso (1465)[4]	(circa) 192 LM[6]
Francesco Filelfo, leading humanist at the court of Milan (1455)	70 lire[5]
Wedding festivities in Rimini (Roberto Malatesta and Elisabetta Montefeltro in 1475--8 days)[7]	35,000 ducats (112,000 LM)[7]

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[1] In 1441, when Pietrobono was 23, Borso presented him with 20 gold ducats, the same amount given to Dufay on two occasions. In 1476, Duke Ercole paid Pietrobono 18 LM per month. Pietrobono is mentioned by both Cornazano (in his dance treatise) and Castiglione (*The Book of the Courtier*).

[2] LM stands for lire Modenese.

[3] In 1476 Corrado was paid 26 LM per month (Gundesheimer).

[4] Pontremoli and La Rocca, 35.

[5] *Ibid*, 33

[6] According to Lockwood (p. 176), 10 ducats = 32 LM, depending on the year, the particular court, etc..

[7] D. Bornstein, "The Wedding Feast of Roberto de' Malatesta and Isabetta da Montefeltro: Etiquette and Power," paper delivered at the 19th Congress of Medieval Studies, 1984, Kalamazoo, MI, based on documents from the Civic Library, Rimini.

NOTES

1. Lauro Martines, *Power and Imagination* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1970; repr. 1988), 236.

2. Clelia Falletti's article "Le feste per Eleonora d'Aragona da Napoli a Ferrara (1473)" in *Spettacoli conviviali dall'antichità classica alle corti italiane del '400* (Rome: Nuovo Coletti Editore, 1982), 269-89, cites all the primary sources and their exact locations, including U. Caleffini's *Cronaca ferrarese* and the *Diario ferrarese* (anon.); *Diari senesi* (A. Allegretti) and *Cronaca senese* (T. Fecini); S. Infessura (for Rome), as well as numerous other documents and letters, published and not. For the festivities in Rome, Fabrizio Cruciani, *Teatro nel Rinascimento Roma 1450-1550* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1983), publishes the three contemporary sources (150-164). See also Claudia Celi, "I Balli del Cardinale Riario: tra memoria del teatro e teatro della memoria," in *La Danza Italiana*, 3 (1985), 91-102.

3. See Thomas J. Tuohy's "Studies in Domestic Expenditures at the Court of Ferrara (Artistic Patronage and Princely Magnificence)," Ph.D thesis (Warburg Institute, 1982), and Cruciani, 18-19.

4. Tuohy, 12-14, and Martines, Chs. 12 and 13, and especially 233-37.

5. Tuohy, 18-20.

6. Leon Battista Alberti, *Della Famiglia* (c. 1430); English transl. by R. N. Watkins, "The Family in Renaissance Florence" (Colombia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), 200.

7. See, for example, the final ball at the wedding of Tristano Sforza, son of the Duke of Milan, and the daughter of Niccolò d'Este, Duke of Ferrara (1455). Tristano's mother, Duchess Bianca Maria Sforza, danced with Domenico of Piacenza (part of the Este "household"; the mother of the bride with the Duke of Monferrato; the bride with the lord of Pesaro (Alessandro Sforza, the Duke of Milan's brother), and Ippolita and Galeazzo Sforza--sister and brother of the groom--together. (E. Motta, *Nozze principesche nel quattrocento* [Milan: Fratelli Rivara, 1894], 63, and A. Pontremoli and P. La Rocca, *Il Ballare Lombardo* [Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1987], 155.) And almost 30 years later, in 1491, for the marriage of Ludovico Sforza, the ball was opened by the young Duchess of Milan with her lady-in-waiting; the second dance was performed by Beatrice d'Este (the bride) and her sister Isabella; the next by two Sforza sisters, and so on. (Pontremoli and La Rocca, 236.)

8. ". . . accompagnorno suso la sala grande, et ivi ballato per spazio de due hore." M. Sanuto, *Diarii* (ed. F. Stefani, Venice, 1879-1903), IV (Jan. 1501), 227.

9. ". . . andete in sala dove balato fin a le 24 hore . . ." (Sanuto, IV, 230).

10. "E ritornati a la Corte, se feceno molte danze fin a nocte . . ." (*Diario Ferrarese* [1502], B. Zambotti, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XXIV, vii, 329.

11. See the letter to Bianca Maria Sforza from Giovanni Ambrosio (Guglielmo Ebreo), dated Naples, 15 July 1466, published in E. Motta, "Musici alla corte degli Sforza," *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 4 (1887), 61-3. (There is no longer any trace of this letter in the State Archives of Milan.) "I believe that your Excellency must know that I am with his Majesty the King inasmuch as he sent to his Lordship Messer Alessandro that I was to come and teach Madonna Lionora [Eleonora], his daughter, and Madonna Beatrice the Lombard [style of] dancing".

12. Cruciani, 157-161. "Levato la tavola lu ballo de Hercules con cinque mascoli et nove donne. Fra lu ballo vennero li centauri et fecese una bella bactaglia. Li centauri vinti da Hercule retornaro et formose lu ballo." Bernardino Corio, who gives a more detailed description of the "ballet" in his

chronicle (Cruciani, 164), claims that there were eight men, while eight others were dressed as women and nymphs.

13. Published in Italian by F. A. Gallo, "L'Autobiografia Artistica di Giovanni Ambrosio (Guglielmo Ebreo) da Pesaro," *Studi Musicali*, XII (1983) 2, 189-202; and in English by Barbara Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo: De pratica seu arte tripudii/ On the Practice or Art of Dancing* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 248-54.

14. One of the most interesting exceptions is the anonymous description--in verse--of a great ball held in Florence in 1459, published in V. Rossi (ed.), *Un Ballo a Firenze nel 1459* (Milan, 1885), and discussed in Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, Ch. 3, 48-9, 51.

15. Guglielmo Ebreo, in his Autobiography (see n. 13 above), refers to having performed, choreographed, or seen *moresche*, *mascare*, *mommaria*. For references to *moresche*, see Nino Pirrotta, *Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi*, transl. K. Eales (Cambridge: CUP, 1982), Pontremoli and La Rocca, 204-234, and Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, Ch. 3, 53-7.

16. See, besides the diarists already mentioned (nn. 2, 8, 10), Burchard (papal master of ceremonies) and El Prete (Isabella d'Este's ambassador in Rome) in F. Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia* (Italian ed., Bologna: Avanzini e Torraca, 1968; G. Trotti (Este ambassador to the Sforza court) and T. Chalco (historian at Sforza court), in G. Lopez, *Festa di nozze per Ludovico il Moro* (Milan: De Carlo, 1976).

17. See Martines, 229-32.

18. Pontremoli and La Rocca, 211. The description is in a letter from Beatrice to her husband, Ludovico il Moro, now the Duke of Milan. The two gods danced to *tamborini* (pipe and tabor, popular insruments for accompanying *moresche*), and performed "schambietti". "Scambiettare" (according to John Florio's 1598 Italian/English dictionary, *A Worlde of Wordes*, G. Olms, 1972) is "to wrigle, to stirre to and fro," whereas "sgambettare" is "to skip, hop, leap, shake the legs, to play gambols."

19. See A. Saviotti, "Una rappresentazione allegorica in Urbino nel 1474," *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia Petrarca di Scienza, Lettere ed Arti in Arezzo*, I (1920) 13-14, 18-26; W. Osthoff, *Theatergesang und darstellende Musik in der italienischen Renaissance* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1969), i, 33-6, ii, 34-7; and Sparti, "Antiquity as Inspiration in the Renaissance of Dance," *Dance Chronicle*, 1993 (16/4).

20. See, for example the "Festa del Paradiso," directed and staged by Leonardo da Vinci in 1490 (E. Solmi, *Archivio Storico Lombardo* I, 1904, 75-89, and S. M. Newton, *Memorable Balls*, ed. J. Laver, London, 1954, 9-20 [not always precise]). A dance of the Seven Planets was performed by the Jewish Community in Pesaro at Costanzo Sforza's wedding in 1475 (T. De Marinis, *Le nozze di . . .*," Florence, 1946, 38-44) and A. W. Smith's article, "Jewish Dancing in Wedding Pageantry at Pesaro, Italy in 1475," in *Israel Dance* (1987/88).

21. De Marinis, 38, and Smith, for Pesaro. For Ferrara, see Pirrotta, 50; Greorovius, 214; W. Gilbert, *Lucrezia Borgia* (London, 1869); B. Zambotto, *Diario ferrarese*; and Sanuto, *Diarii*, IV, 225-30.

22. Tuohy, 20.

23. Chs. 4 and 7.

24. In the State Archives of Modena, Domenico's name appears on records for special payments and salary lists of the Este court in Ferrara from 1439-1475 (Camera ducale estense, Computisteria, Bolletta de' salariati, reg. 1-8). Some volumes are incomplete and others are missing.

25. ASM, 1456, fol. 10. Lewis Lockwood, *Music in Renaissance Ferrara* (Oxford: OUP, 1984), 70, n. 20.

26. Pontremoli and La Rocca, 33, and W. L. Gundesheimer, *Ferrara: the Style of a Renaissance Despotism* (Princeton: PUP, 1973), 290-95. I have been unable to

discover if the lire Modenese and the Milanese lire had, or not, equal value.

27. The first part of the Table is based on Lockwood's *Music in Renaissance Ferrara* Table 4.

28. Lockwood, 179.

29. Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, 3-4 and n. 4.

30. *Ibid*, 4. Domenico's wife was a Trotto (see n. 16 above).

31. For example, Cesare Borgia at the Papal Court (Gregorovius, Italian edn., Bologna, 1968, 184 and 341-2 [Document 35]) (Sparti, *Guglielmo*, 53), and Federico of Aragon with the Duke of Calabria in Naples (Giovanni Ambrosio's Autobiography; Sparti, 253).

32. See, for example, n. 7 above.

33. See Lucretia Borgia, in Gregorovius (n. 31 above), 179, 181, and Sparti, 59. Before she married the Emperor Maximillian, Bianca Maria Sforza would spend evenings dancing in her mother's rooms (in the castle in Milan) with her aunt Beatrice d'Este (the Duchess) and several ladies-in-waiting (Pontremoli and La Rocca, 154).

34. Martines, 207; Pontremoli and La Rocca, 144-151. When she was 14, Costanza da Varano (later, Alessandro Sforza's wife) recited verses in Latin to the Duchess of Milan (Sparti, *Guglielmo*, 27, n. 6).

35. Martines, Ch. XI, "Humanism: A Program for Ruling Classes."

36. See W. H. Woodward's *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators* (1897; reprt. New York: Columbia Univeristy 1963/1970), 180-81, for a list of the treatises.

37. E. B. English's 1978 UCLA thesis, "Physical Education Principles of Selected Italian Humanists . . . ."

38. Woodward, 241. Pontremoli and La Rocca, 142-3, quote the humanist Francesco Filelfo, showing his ambivalence concerning dancing, even as physical training for the Duke of Milan's children.

39. Martines, Ch. XI, and 206-7. See Guglielmo on the subject of plebeians and the dance below and n. 48.

40. Martines, Ch. XI, and especially 191, 194-5, 198-9, 211. See also Martines' *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists 1390-1460* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), the Introduction (6, 8-9) and Ch. 7 (281, 302).

41. Martines, *Social World*, 4-5, 294-302. The quotations are from Eugenio Garin's *L'Umanesimo italiano: filosofia e vita civile nel rinascimento* (Bari, 1952), 103.

42. Martines, *Social World*, 5-6.

43. Martines, *Power and Imagination*, 206-7, 227-9, and *Social World*, 293-4. Alberti, in *The Family*, 237, says, "the majority of courtiers live in idleness and waste their time."

44. G. Bull's Introduction (14) to Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1967, repr. 1976).

45. *Libro dell'arte del danzare*, Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Capp. 203; published by C. Mazzi in *La Bibliofilia*, 18 (1915); transl. M. Inglehearn and P. Forsyth (*The Book on the Art of Dancing. Antonio Cornazano*, London: Dance Books, Ltd., 1981). The treatise was originally written in 1455.

46. *Ibid*, fo. 29v. "Altri infiniti balli et bassadançe perche sono o troppo vecchi o troppo divulgati con silentio gli passo, come . . . ." Many of the dances "blacklisted" by Cornazano were reported in later treatises (the NY Giorgio Ms, for example), and were clearly very much alive and well. They also are found in a Venetian fragment (c. after 1463) and in a letter sent from Bologna to Nuremberg (1517). (See A. W. Smith, "Una fonte sconosciuta della danza italiana del Quattrocento," in the Proceedings of the 1987 Conference

Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro . . ., Pisa: Pacini, 1990, 71-84, and I. Brainard, "The Art of Courtly Dancing in Transition: Nürnberg, Germ. Nat. Mus. MS. 8842, a Hitherto Unknown German source," in E. DuBruck and K. H. Göller (eds.), *Crossroads of Medieval Civilization: The City of Regensburg and its Intellectual Milieu* (Medieval and Renaissance Monograph Series, 5; 1984, 61-79.

47. See n. 7 above.

48. See Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, 90-91, 114-15, and also 120-23, as well as n. 39 above.

49. The copy dedicated to Alessandro Sforza is now lost. For more specific information and full references, here and for the following notes, as well as a more complete biography of Guglielmo Ebreo's life and career, see Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, Ch. 2. See also n. 11 above.

50. There is no longer any trace of this copy which at one time was in the ducal library of Urbino. Sparti, Ch. 1, 16.

51. Published by G. Zannoni, "I due libri della Mariados di Giovan Mario Filelfo," in *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, ser. 4, iii (1894), 666-71. There is no date, but it was set down at the beginning of the 16th century. A similar, undated document has recently been found by T. McGee in the Biblioteca Universitaria in Urbino (see his "Dancing Masters and the Medici Court in the 15th Century," *Studi musicali*, 17 (1988), 213.

52. The list concludes with four captains employed in peace and war; three health officers; organists; old servants (including a wet-nurse) and retired gentlemen; the warden of the keys; the pantry servant; the armourer; and the bailiffs in charge of hemp, straw, and provender.

53. It is this (1463) copy of *De pratica . . .* that I have edited and translated (see n. 13 above). In 1463 Galeazzo Sforza was 19, and Count of Pavia.

54. Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, Ch. 2, 35.

55. *Ibid*, 42-3.

56. *Ibid*, 32 n. 22; Motta, "I Musici" (n. 10 above), 63-4. For Lavagnolo, see below and n. 64.

57. Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, 41-2. See the letters in McGee, "Dancing Masters," Documents 5 and 6.

58. McGee, 213; Sparti, 42.

59. See Table 1, n. 7.

60. Kate Simon, *A Renaissance Tapestry: The Gonzaga of Mantua* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 83.

61. See n. 11 above; Sparti, 31; and Giovanni Ambrosio's Autobiography (Sparti, 250).

62. See, for example, entries [11] and [26] in his Autobiography (the engagement of the Duke's daughter, Ippolita, in 1455 and a festivity at the Sforza castle in Pavia in, according to Gallo, 1460). On both of these occasions, Guglielmo performed *moresche*.

63. For Giuseppe Ebreo, see Sparti, 35-6, and McGee, 203-9. For his school, see also A. Veronese, "Una societas ebraico-cristiana *in docendo tripudiare ac cantare* nella Firenze del Quattrocento," in the Guglielmo Ebreo Conference Proceedings (see n. 46), 51-57.

64. A. Luzio and R. Renier, *Mantova e Urbino: Isabella d'Este ed Elisabetta Gonzaga* (Turin and Rome, 1983; repr. Bologna, 1976), 6 n. 1, 41-3. Also n. 56 above.

65. See Sparti, "Antiquity as Inspiration" (n. 19 above), and Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, 9-13.

66. According to J. R. Spencer, who edited and translated *Leon Battista Alberti "On Painting,"* (2nd edn., New Haven Conn., and London, 1966), this was "more appearance than reality," 16 and 21.

67. For the *saltarello* and *piva* as improvisatory dance types which lasted for hours, see Sparti, *Guglielmo Ebreo*, Ch. 3, 48-9, 51, 57-8 and plates 10-12. For round dances performed in Tuscany (1459) by a group of girls who sang as they danced, see 59 and pl. 16. The visiting courtiers from Milan were delighted with this novelty.

BALKAN TRADITION, AMERICAN ALTERNATIVE: "ETHNIC" DANCE IN MAINE

June Vail

Ličko Kolo is a dance originally from the village of Lika in Croatia. It was created sometime during five hundred years of Turkish control of that area, in defiance of a ban on musical instruments. Resistance to a dominant political force took the form of dancing to create and maintain a sense of community. I want to suggest one way of interpreting the performance of the dance Ličko Kolo as part of the repertory of Balkan dances and music of an American performing group which called itself Borovčani.

Ličko Kolo (*kolo* means dance) is a line dance. It begins very slowly with a simple sideways walking progression called the grapevine step. Hands are held in a basket hold which keeps the dancers side by side, nearly shoulder to shoulder. The movement seems to breathe the dancers into a single body. Performing the dance you are physically aware of the person next to you and of the entire group. The challenge in this, as in other line and circle dances, is to modulate your movements to an unspoken common denominator: not to do what "feels right" to you, or to dance as brilliantly as possible, but to contribute to the shared sense of unity — the group moves, sings, breathes as a single entity.

From a distance the dancers look the same — the costumes are nearly uniform. A viewer searches closely for small differences to distinguish individuals — embroidery on the blouse, tawny skin. The line is led by the "best" dancer and by the lead singer/musician, both women. In this dance and in other faster, trickier dances to exhilarating music played on accordion, fiddle and drum, the ensemble is greater than the sum of its parts. Dancing makes mutual affection, sensuality and cohesion visible. The grapevine step continues through seven verses of the song.

The dancers learned the words of the song phonetically in Serbo-Croatian: "Sing to me, O Falcon, beneath my love's window. She fell asleep; cold was the stone beneath her head. I took away the stone and there I placed my hand."

When the song ends the dancers change orientation and shift hand holds. They face forward into the line of direction holding one hand of the person in front, and one in back, and follow the leader in silence, creating rhythms with their footfalls which change and increase in speed and emphasis. The dancers snake around the floor in S-curves that double back on themselves so the performers pass by each other. Then the leader forms a circle which becomes a tight spiral. The group grows closer and closer until there is nowhere else to go, and the dancers stamp one last time, and stop.

* * *

This paper explores two main questions of dance and culture. The first examines the concept of authenticity. The second asks how does dancing help create culture, rather than express a prior group identity. Of the following three examples, which is more authentic?:

- In 1981 when I visited Zagreb in Croatia, and Dubrovnik on the Dalmatian coast, each city presented large performing groups of trained dancers who presented highly choreographed dances from each of the former Yugoslavia's six republics, on stage, with elaborate, "authentic" costumes. The dances were presented with introductions in Serbo-Croatian, French, German and English.

- South of Dubrovnik there was a village called Cilipi which presented public performances in the town square in front of the church on Sunday afternoons, for thirty or forty busloads of German, French and Japanese tourists. The residents of the town performed traditional dances, songs and music, in addition to selling ice cream and soda, souvenirs and embroidered cloths and blouses.

- In a café in Dubrovnik I sat alone at a table next to a large bowling awards dinner. After the dinner, the toasts and distribution of trophies, the bowlers pushed back their chairs, joined hands and sang Ličko Kolo, walking around tables and chairs without any attention to particular steps or rhythms. Is this the most authentic dance, performed unselfconsciously by "authentic" Croatians in a customary setting?

How can we define authenticity? On the one hand, an American Balkan dance group does not want to appear ignorant, gauche or cavalier in its treatment of a foreign dance tradition. On the other hand, the very act of staging dances in a shortened, choreographed form precludes what we might reasonably think of as authenticity, separating dance steps from the complex of social activity that traditionally surrounds a *kolo*. How, then, should we approach the performance of Balkan dances by an American group?

Borovčani members' responses to a 1982 questionnaire reflected preferences for viewing traditional dances as an element in the lives of the people who perform them, rather than as frozen forms requiring an exact rendering. Here are some responses to the question: Do you think a goal of the group is (or should be) *authentic* Balkan dance?

- I do not think it *is* a goal of the group. Speaking as a musician I would honestly love to play for a dance group with more authenticity.

- No — I mean not to the extent it's confining — we should have fun, too.

- We should try for as close to Balkan style as we can with our understanding of each dance.

- No. It is authentic Americans dancing in the style of the Balkans.

The paper's second concern — how Balkan dance helped create an American sub-culture — takes this last response as a point of departure for analyzing the relationship of these dancers to the dances they performed: "authentic Americans dancing in the style of the Balkans." Rather than focus on the apparent *in*authenticity of Balkan dance staged by non-Balkan dancers for American audiences, the issue becomes whether the feel and forms of the dances reverberate through the body of the group.

It becomes irrelevant whether the group shares a common ethnic bond or whether the dances replicate "correct" forms. In this case, Balkan dance and music dynamically created a Borovčani culture and were in turn modified and assimilated by it. What is the significance of Borovčani as an entity in its own cultural, historical context? What did it mean to its members, its audiences, in Maine in 1982? How can we understand its history, structure, and import?

Dances originating in Serbia, Macedonia, Croatia, and a few countries farther afield in Eastern Europe — Bulgaria, Armenia, Hungary, Poland — *created* the Borovčani community. They presented visible metaphors for human relations and allowed the participants and audiences to scrutinize alternative modes of non-competitive social behavior and fluid, participatory group dynamics.

The name Borovčani translates to "people of the pines" (Maine is the Pine Tree State). The group was formed in 1977 by ten folk dancers and musicians and survived the ebb and flow of members over the course about five years. By 1982 six of fifteen members were from the original "clan." Nine had left, but over time nine others had joined. Though the membership fluctuated as people moved away or took leaves to have children or go back to school, others seemed to turn up to maintain the "feel" of Borovčani as a community of dancers.

The dancers and musicians in 1982 ranged in age from 23 to 38. It happened that the seven members over 28 had been around longest, while the younger members had joined later. Admission to the group was initially self-selected, but eventually the process of becoming a member required attendance at weekly rehearsals for a month or two, after which the prospective member could ask to be voted on. In five years only one aspirant was rejected. Most who stuck out the trial process accurately sensed whether they would get along in the group while the members had the opportunity to evaluate their dancing ability. The vote became a formality.

Borovčani's implicit power structure rested on seniority rule: those who had been members longest and knew and performed dances best were the ones most likely

chosen to perform on stage. Women were usually responsible for financial decision-making and booking arrangements as well as choreography. There was no elected, or even acknowledged, leader, and major decisions about where or when to perform and for what fee were made by consensus.

Other decisions, particularly those involving performance organization — choosing, staging, and programming dances from the repertory, deciding who should perform, who should introduce the dances, and choreographing transitions between dances were made by an ad hoc group of two or three women who tended to take over artistic direction (though it was never called that). Their suggestions were discussed and modified or ratified by the group.

Questionnaire responses indicated that most of the original members felt that the group "has a loose structure, but a shared sense of values" and that "leaders seemed to emerge when needed." And that in spite of "personal differences" and "too much gab and gossip" Borovčani were "dear people." Only one person felt there should be a performance director whose position of authority might speed decision-making.

In contrast, the newer, younger members felt the group was "a bit scattered," there was "little communication," it was "too anarchistic" and there was "too much time spent talking and not enough dancing." Only one respondent under 30 mentioned shared democratic values as an important part of group dynamics: "Borovčani is run by temporary dictators who assume command (usually in a fit of pique), only to be softened, mollified, and eventually reassimilated by the group. Thus things get done in a truly democratic way."

Teaching of new dances was done by those who had already learned a dance. The group learned by doing, entirely through imitation and repetition with a little verbal clarification. Dances came from an individual's past personal repertory, from workshop instruction or from a visiting expert. By 1982 the group had a repertory of thirty to forty dances, with twenty current with all members.

Weekly year-round rehearsals were held from 6-8 PM Wednesdays at Codman Hall, adjacent to St. Paul's Episcopal Church on Pleasant Street in Brunswick, Maine. It was a large empty room with a hardwood floor and a storage closet for records and a record player. Every six months or so the group remembered it was supposed to "pay what it could" for rent. Only two dancers lived in Brunswick: the rest came from thirty, forty and even fifty miles away in all directions. Though Brunswick was centrally located, weekly rehearsals represented a difficult commitment, especially in winter, for most members who were full-time workers.

The purpose of the group was to perform Balkan dance and music. Nevertheless, the group became a shifting social entity, and one of its tacit purposes seemed to be to maintain the ties between members, however ambiguous and tenuous some of those

connections may have been. Many members would never have become acquainted if not for the group. Responses to the questionnaires indicated members felt the purpose of the group was both to learn and share the dances (6) and create a social setting (7).

Borovčani performed several times a year in Maine and in New England — at performing arts centers, The Maine Festival, weddings, and, for example, at an Oktoberfest sponsored by a German-American Fellowship Association. The local public television station produced a half-hour program on the group's dances and music. Fees ranged from $100.00 to $350.00 for roughly an hour's performance. The money did not go directly to participants. After long discussions it was finally determined to use the money to pay mileage to performances and cover expenses for costumes, space rental, records, publicity, etc. The group eventually gained legal non-profit status.

Costumes were owned collectively and were made by the female members: women's skirts, belts, shawls and men's shirts and vests. Each member provided his or her own *opanke* (leather shoes from Serbia or Macedonia), plus petticoat, blouse, ribbons and jewelry for the women, and pants and socks for the men. Departing members passed along costumes and, when necessary, new articles were made by new (female) members, including the mens' shirts and vests. Women emerged as leaders and "housekeepers."

Women's costumes consisted of embroidered blouses, white cotton skirts with red and black trim based on Croatian prototypes, white stockings, red ribbons, Serbian *opanke*, a woven belt and a brightly colored, flowered shawl. The hairstyle of women was braids, usually pinned up and entwined with red ribbon. Men's costumes were white Croatian shirts (made from a commercial Folkwear pattern), black pants, red sash, multi-colored socks, Macedonian *opanke*, and a black vest with red, yellow and blue piping. Sometimes the accordionist wore a black jacket with gold embroidery.

The prevailing aesthetic could be characterized as "funky peasant." Most members' practice clothing and even hairstyles did not differ drastically from performance versions: for women, gathered skirts with jerseys and Chinese shoes. Men wore jeans and T-shirts with their *opanke*.

Most of the dances were line and circle dances, often with very fast and complex footwork. Music was live for all performances and nearly all rehearsals. The musicians learned tunes by imitating records and tapes. Their instruments were accordion, one or two fiddles, recorder, and two drums: one small and one large handmade *tappan*, a traditional Macedonian drum. These correspond to customary contemporary, but not traditional, Slavic instruments. Sounds of instruments such as the Bulgarian *gaida* (bagpipe) were closely approximated on the accordion, but without a sense that the result was or should be "authentic."

In performance the musicians spoke briefly about Balkan music before an instrumental and vocal segment. Songs were sung in open throat style by three female vocalists. The task of public speaking usually fell to volunteers. One member usually announced three or four dances at a time, so that besides a greeting and a closing talk there might be two short sections of commentary on the dances' origins, costumes, music, or choreographic details.

Preparations for a performance usually meant more intense, longer and more frequent rehearsals. People talked and joked at rehearsals, both in confusion over agenda and for the social pleasure of visiting. There was no designated leader, and "teachers" often had little organizational inclination. Usually dancers decided on a particular dance, performed it to music — live or recorded — discussed the results, repeated certain problem spots, asked questions and repeated the entire dance. Then came discussion about what to do next: people would mill around and break into groups to talk. Then someone would loudly call everyone together and the process would be repeated for the next dance.

Someone would volunteer to sit out and offer constructive criticism to individual dancers and the group, and choose who would perform the dance in public. This might be handled with varying degrees of maturity or tact, both on the part of the observer (usually a person who taught the dance, or a senior member) and the performers.

People brought water, tea or juice to drink, and sometimes food to share. Occasionally during a three or four hour rehearsal someone would make a beer run. Often groups would go out for a drink or ice cream afterwards. There were Byzantine romantic attachments, one marriage and untold intricacies of human relations but for the most part — overriding inevitable conflicts and attractions — a generally familiar, familial rapport prevailed among men and women, reflected in endless joking and shared dressing rooms.

All twelve dancers were white Americans, but within that category the questionnaire responses revealed a fairly diverse group. The seven women ranged in age from 24 to 38 and five men from 23 to 37. Most (9) were single or separated, three married. Two had children. Their levels of education ranged from a year and a half of college (2) to Master's Degree (2). Seven had a BA or BS degree.

The range of occupations included a co-op warehouse worker, a musician, three teachers, a draughtsperson/grad student, a pharmaceutical salesman, a graphic artist, a carpenter, a greenhouse worker, two odd-jobbers and one self-styled *bon vivant*. Most professed no established religious affiliation, except for one convert to Catholicism.

The ethnic origins represented in the group included Italian (1); Scottish (1); Italian/Polish/French (1); Belgian (1); English/French (1); Lithuanian/German(1); Italian/Lebanese (1); English/German/Dutch/Swedish/Irish (1); Swiss/German (1);

German/Polish/English (1); Irish (1); Anglo-Saxon/German (1) — not a Balkan among them.

Seven were vegetarian.

The predominating characteristic seems to have been a strong interest in a variety of dance and music forms. Other dance activities included contra dancing (9); boogie (9); Morris (5); ballroom (3); English country dance (2); international folk dance (2); and 1 each for clogging, contact improvisation, modern, disco. One played the fiddle, two the recorder, two the penny whistle, one the piano, one played pipe and tabor, one the acoustic bass and one the squeezebox. Three were singers.

When asked how they became interested specifically in Balkan dance, Borovčani members replied candidly:

- I like music and movement — truthfully, I guess I am not interested specifically in Balkan.
- I joined a women's slavic chorus at Yale, made a record, then began playing Balkan music with friends.
- Dragged to a class in college.
- Osmosis — through dancing in many places.

When asked why they preferred to perform Balkan dances, rather than simply dance recreationally, four people responded that they didn't particularly like performing, but were willing to appear publicly in order to learn interesting, demanding dances. Four replied they were hams, three mentioned sharing the dances with audiences, two liked the display and costumes, and two more idealistically cited their feelings of challenge, excitement, and joy.

Individuals had personal reasons and needs for joining Borovčani. Question: Why are you a member of the group?

- I love people and any activity that brings people together in a holistic and spiritual way is very attractive to me.
- I like to be active, wear costumes, have the chance to really learn a dance — the only way you can get people to work rally hard to learn something perfectly is if they have performance as a goal.
- Because I love to dance and Boston is too far away.

- I like to dance with good dancers. If the group's level of dancing went down I would probably quit. I also like the people involved and there is an opportunity to socialize. A by-product of all this is a (limited) ethnic education.

This limited education came primarily from the dances themselves. Most of the dances were line and circle dances, some couple dances and some trios. Most dances were performed as mixed gender dances, though a few were traditionally all male or all female. A male usually led line dances, as may have been customary in Serbia or Macedonia, but often an accomplished female led, and the women freely learned traditionally male dances. Couple dances were rehearsed with many different partners, but for performances specific twosomes declared themselves pairs, based on personal affinity and dance style.

In Balkan dance body posture for men and women is most often erect but not stiff and the trunk tends to move as a single unit. The body parts most actively in play are the legs and feet, arms and hands. Attention is paid to head focus. Rotation of the upper body against the lower is common. There are occasional jumps and hops, and some squatting and kneeling in the men's dances, but the basic step vocabulary consists of resilient walking and running, usually forwards or sometimes sideways, in a grapevine step, the dancer's weight well grounded.

For emphasis there are bouncy heels, quick *pas de basque*, swooping Yeminite steps, zippy scissors steps, high knees prances, and military heel clicks. Most of the steps require rhythmic subtlety and intricate footwork, but the upper torso is restrained and the women's footwork carefully close to the ground. The men's style is traditionally flashier, though the steps may be the same.

Line dancing requires body contact: dancers are bound together by entwining hand-holds, belt-holds, shoulder-holds, or arms around the waist. The strongest dancers take the head and tail of the line, which almost always moves to the right.

In Laban's terms, Borovčani-style Balkan dance demonstrated a predominantly direct focus and sudden, forceful, bound energy. The dances tend to be vigorous, sometimes accelerating from a slow, controlled beginning and growing in speed and complexity. Balkan rhythms are often irregular — 7/16, 11/15, and 15/16 in addition to the regular 2/4. The phrasing does not always coincide exactly, which made both dancing and playing a challenge. Borovčani chose intricate dances, with the constraint that the musicians had to be able to play the music at the proper tempo.

Individual bodies are less significant in Balkan dance than the group's rhythmic sense and spatial configurations — the lines, serpentines, open circles and closed circles — that are most meaningful. The placement of musicians near the dancers, or

among them is important for practical reasons: all must be able to sense the timing and tempo. Dancers interact with musicians, smiling and calling out to them.

They communicate constantly with each other, too — even with those resting and looking on — as well as with the audience. Facial expressions, talking, off-hand jokes, improvised vocalizations are all part of dancing. Though Balkan dances require concentration, a good dancer can smile and talk with the dancer beside her or call to someone while keeping up the tempo and proper spacing. Dancing engages the whole person.

Answers to the question "What does it feel like to do Balkan dance?" seem to get to the heart, mind, muscles and bones of the experience.

- Lots of fun and intense action. Different from any other type of dancing I know.
- Sometimes it's very alien. I can tell my ancestors were not Balkan.
- I find Balkan dancing very sexy, stimulating, exciting and seductive. It is not as easy to let go as in boogie, which is the ultimate in self-expression.
- It's ordered — the steps are very interesting and controlled, not crazy — balanced — contra is more social, boogie more individual.
- It's a rich meaty type of dance good for flirting, showing off, working up a sweat — the music is great. It's similar to boogie and contra because you can put your soul into it.
- I think the music creates a big part of the feel. There's a proud feeling that comes with the music and Balkan steps.
- Balkan is very primal, yet highly precise and sophisticated form of dance, probably the most of any folk dances.

These responses indicate certain physical, emotional, formally aesthetic ways Balkan dances created reciprocal relationships between individuals and modelled interaction among the group as a whole. Physical connection and energy flow was channelled by disciplined rhythms and complex steps into feelings of excitement, confidence and solidarity.

Borovčani culture provided members and audiences a visible embodiment of group cohesion in America in the late 1970s and early 1980s, a time when individualism, competition and unabashed materialism was reasserting itself as a dominant theme.

Borovčani could be thought of as demonstrating values and modes of behavior resisting that tendency to create its own cultural system.

Folk dance is sometimes understood as "an expression of ethnic identity." However, it proves difficult to define authenticity even for dances performed in Croatia by Croatians, and even harder to assert that Balkan dance performed by "authentic Americans" represents an expression of pre-existing group identity.

In fact, the relationship between Balkan dances and Borovčani dancers and musicians seems to suggest almost the reverse direction of causality. One could contend in this instance that Balkan music and dancing brought together a relatively diverse number of individuals and, metaphorically speaking, choreographed the structure and purpose of the group. That is, the group did not choreograph the dances; rather, the dances "choreographed" the group's performance of itself.

Dancing together with the goal of public display created particular forms of mutual relations among individuals and between each individual and the group as an ongoing entity, a symbolic structure. Performing dances necessitated the development of decision-making processes. The feel of the dances (repetitive yet improvisatory) and their forms (the connecting circles, criss-crossing lines and intertwining curves) were reflected in regular group meetings, rehearsals and performances and in familiar, spontaneous, changeable interaction between individuals.

Looking back from a ten year perspective, I now construe Borovčani as a structured entity embodying collaboration, sensuality, intimacy, and nostalgia. Profoundly human in scale, the group seems "authentically American, dancing in the style of the Balkans" if one understands its five-year existence in Maine as a demonstration of counter-culture ideals of the late sixties and early seventies enacted at the geographic margin of society at the start of the Reagan era. While Borovčani dances staged communalism, the dominant ideology celebrated individualism and competition.

Borovčani was made up of distinct, sometimes cranky, interdependent individuals, focussing on "we" rather than "I." Metaphorically their performances kept alive the a historic latent tendency in American culture: utopian idealism and participatory democracy.

For performers and audiences Borovčani offered a "what-if" alternative: "What-if" (their performances seemed to suggest) adult men and women could dance together, become frustrated, vent their anger, respect personal differences, trust one another, share physical closeness without sexual involvement, make decisions, learn from one another, sing together, talk behind one another's backs, defend one another, honor past traditions and live together in the present.

Consciously and unconsciously for the members of Borovčani and for their enthusiastic audiences, dancing became a metaphor for community or perhaps extended family life: as orderly, joyous, sensuous and complex. Balkan rhythms and steps, embroidery patterns and spatial designs gave mutual affection and respect a human form, and created an exhilarating sense of belonging that embraced Americans who danced and those who watched.

I find it unlikely that such a group would create itself under the economic, political conditions of the 1990s. Borovčani's cultural performance demonstrated American values by reinventing Balkan dance and music for its own purposes. It fused communal ideals with the talents and desires of individual members to create an intimate, integrative model of social relations rather than reinforce isolating patterns of hierarchy and competition. Borovčani disbanded in 1982 when dancing could no longer hold the group together. Today other dances help choreograph American society's prolific sub-cultures: for example, exuberant rural contra dances, spectacular ballroom competitions, and surprise all-night raves.

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PEARL HAINES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF DANCE IN READING, PENNSYLVANIA

Jody M. Weber

The history of dance in the 1930's is unimaginable without an analysis of what was happening at the grass roots level, and how this shaped America's emerging understanding and experience with dance as an art form. At the turn of the century theatrical dance was almost completely unavailable in small rural communities. The performing arts that were available seem peripheral to dance. Born in 1899, Pearl Haines became involved with the popular forms of social dance and elocution in Reading, Pennsylvania. She was also influenced by Reading's active acrobatic heritage. Haines combined her unusual performing background with the art of dance when she opened her first school in 1915.

From the beginning of her school, Haines wanted to further her dance education. She spent summers in New York City studying with Veronine Vestoff, Sonia Serova, and Ned Wayburn. These influential instructors exposed Haines to the basic techniques of ballet, tap, and ethnic dance.

The Vestoff-Serova Russian Normal School of Dance was an important contributor to the development of small community dance teachers. The New York School offered a voluminous mail order business and summer conventions for teachers in addition to a full array of weekly classes.[1] The published books and dances were always available for purchase at the school or through the mail. Programs and reviews of Haines' early work confirm her use of these dances and ideas. The school was not only significant as a center of dance knowledge, but also as a summer meeting ground for community dance teachers. Haines' scrapbooks corroborate these relationships with clippings and letters sent from as far west as Ohio.

Haines took her first tap lessons at the Ned Wayburn Institute in New York.[2] She remembers that Wayburn's studio had a rug on the floor making it extremely difficult to distinguish the sounds that she was attempting to make with the taps. Wayburn charged an extra fee for musical accompaniment and as Haines could not afford the fee, she learned to tap dance in silence on a rug![3] Although Haines felt that Wayburn's techniques for teaching tap dance were sound, she felt that the lack of music and the poor working conditions were atrocious. Pearl Haines' experiences at the Wayburn School made her very meticulous about the conditions under which she taught in Reading, and she never taught without music.

Haines also attended special shows produced by Lucile Stoddart, a teacher and choreographer who specialized in young children. Haines remembers attending all day performances and lectures on "babywork".[4] These performances provided an opportunity for community dance teachers to see and then purchase Stoddart's babywork.

Haines' school thrived in Reading and she eventually taught in the neighboring communities of Boyertown, Pottstown, Lancaster, and Shenandoah.[5]

Haines advertised that her school included lessons in Toe,

Tap, Acrobatic, Musical Comedy, Character, National, and Interpretive dance.[6] Other advertisements included "Russian Ballet" and "Soft Shoe" among the styles Haines taught. Haines also incorporated elocution, acrobatics, and songs in her school recitals.

In Reading and surrounding communities in the 1920's and 1930's, ballet work was considered a novelty rather than an accepted form of dance.[7] Its presentation in programs as "Ballet Dance", "Cute Ballet", or "Jazzy Toe Dancer" imply that the ballet form was unrecognizable unless labeled as such. Although Haines was a dedicated student of ballet in the summers, it is an area of dance that must be rigorously practiced to develop proficiency. Haines was not able to completely immerse herself in the ballet form until 1927, eleven years after her studio had been established.

On June 23, c1927[8], Haines traveled on the S.S. President Adams to Los Angeles via the Panama Canal.[9] In Los Angeles she studied ballet with Theodore Kosloff and his wife Alexandra Baldina. During her stay in California, Haines was able to study ballet daily and had her first encounter with pointe work.[10] In the traditional Russian manner, Kosloff arranged his students in lines from best to worst. Haines began her study at Kosloff's studio in the tenth line. By the end of the summer she was proud to have moved to the second.[11] Haines carefully studied the lessons that she learned at the Kosloff studio. Her hard work earned her an invitation to stay and join the opera company.[12] She was eager to return to her studio and turned down the offer, a decision she regrets.[13]

Haines' influence on Reading and its surrounding communities must not be underestimated. She was accessible in a widespread array of community events. She choreographed benefit concerts for organizations such as the Y.W.C.A. and St, Catherine's home for orphaned children.[14] She was also active in a host of professional and semi-professional performances in the Reading area. She joined Gertrude Ederle, a famous swimmer, in a joint show for the Keith Vaudeville circuit at the Rajah Theater in Reading.[15] She acted in a variety of local plays and musicals, choreographed ballets for opera companies, and sent individual students to local women's organizations.[16] She choreographed prologues for movies which were often shown in old vaudeville houses. In 1925 she created a prologue for "The Great White Way" at the Arcadia Theater in Reading which greatly enhanced the movies' popularity.[17] This was quite common in the early days of movie presentation. Haines even worked with the Bob Morton Circus Company!

The Pearl Haines School of Dance had a tremendous influence on local communities. Her personal involvement with these communities continuously promoted dance as an entertainment and as an art. Her eventual development of a performing company spread her influence throughout the East Coast.

By 1926 Haines' studio had been in operation for over ten years. Students who began studying with Haines at age five or six were now teenagers. She found herself in an opportune position to form a dance company. In 1926 she began to select the most talented students from her school to participate in local theatrical events.

This young semi-professional group gained popularity in Reading and began to build a repertoire of dances. By 1927 Haines' Company was fully established. She acquired a booking agent in the early thirties and traveled throughout the East Coast. The main presenters of Haines' Company were local and state fairs which became instrumental in bringing dance to large audiences in rural areas.

Haines' agent, George Hamid, booked her group as a "free act" at fairs and expositions from Canada to Georgia. He called their group the "Biggest Little Show on Earth".[18] Fairs may at first seem to be an odd place for a dance company to perform, but they were, in fact, a greatly anticipated event in rural communities. By the late twenties and early thirties fairs had developed a system for presenting quality entertainment at the grandstand.

The free act was considered the highest-class entertainment available at the fair. Admission to the fair included access to all events held at the grandstand, and free acts were meant to entice people to come to the fair. For a small fee there were other amusements available in the Midway section. These often included "girlie" or "freak" shows. From c1932 to 1941 Haines' Company traveled a circuit of fairs during the summer and early fall as "Polly and the Pollyanns". Haines felt deeply responsible for the well being of her young dancers. The women were carefully chaperoned to insure that no one's safety or reputation was at stake. Haines considered her dancers family, and often battled against negative stereotypes that were associated with theatrical performers.[19]

The first year the group traveled by train, but eventually they required the space of a five ton truck and two passenger cars.[20] The truck had two large tent flaps that would unfold with the truck acting as center pole creating a dressing and dining area.[21] Because facilities varied enormously, Haines had to carry her own lighting equipment and backdrop in addition to costumes, props, and sets. Her backdrop included five large white pillars with metal piping extending from a top corner.[22] Black curtains could be drawn along the piping to create a "stage space". The equipment necessary to produce the Pollyanns was quite extensive including a floor, lights, scenery, wardrobe, kitchen equipment, musical instruments, and props. At the height of their touring they traveled with ten dancers, two truck drivers, a master of ceremonies, a musical director, a specialty team, Pearl Haines, and her mother who acted as cook and wardrobe mistress.

Touring the fair circuit usually took place between July and October, beginning in upstate New York or Canada and moving south to Georgia. Performances were Tuesday through Saturday allowing the groups to travel on Sunday and Monday.

The performers were most often accommodated at residential homes, rarely staying in hotels. Their room and board cost approximately ten dollars per week which left them about twenty dollars per week in pay.[23] Pearl Haines would receive and disperse the money from the fair to all the acts booked by Hamid. This was a lengthy process for which she received no compensation.[24] The crowds attending the grandstand performances were often enormous. the 1935 Georgia State Fair estimated attendance at five thousand,

requiring two performances per evening to accommodate the crowds.[25] Advertisements for the fairs tended to exaggerate the size and origin of Haines' group. Although she generally traveled with eight to ten dancers, local advertisements claimed anywhere from twenty to one hundred performers! One article from the West Virginia Fair states that Haines would present twenty girls straight "direct from Radio City".[26]

The dances that the Pollyanns performed on tour were mainly tap, jazz (in a twenties style), promenades, pseudo-ethnic dances, and various novelties.

Tap pieces were usually executed in the group military style that Ned Wayburn popularized. Haines' "Navy Step Dance" is indicative of this style. Eight dancers tapped in unison on miniature three-step staircases. Costumed in white sailor's uniforms they saluted, kicked, and tapped with military precision.[27] Combining novelty with tap, Haines devised a Marimba tap dance. In this dance Bernice Brown and Pearl Haines tap danced behind a Marimba while playing "Someday my Prince will Come" on the instrument.[28]

The jazz style of the Pollyanns mainly included popular dance styles of the twenties and thirties. Haines theatricalized the "Charleston" into jazz choreography costuming her dancers in feathered hats, revealing shorts, and black patent leather belts.

Promenades were meant to accentuate the beauty and grace of the dancers while displaying elaborate costumes. For her most spectacular promenade, Haines had costumes specially designed in California. In this piece Haines read poetry that expressed different aspects of "mother nature."[29] Each aspect of nature was depicted by a dancer that appeared onstage in a highly ornate costume.

Haines pseudo-ethnic dances were based on stereotypes that were theatricalized. General impressions of ethnic dances and costumes created exotic atmospheres for fair audiences. "In the Persian Market" featured costumed dancers in long sheer skirts with bare midriffs. The sheer material extended from headpieces to sticks which extended the line of the arm.[30] Haines also presented a "Hungarian Dance" on the fair circuit. Both these dances were circulated with descriptions and choreography from the Vestoff-Serova School.

In addition to the regular fair circuit, Hamid occasionally booked the Pollyanns for larger expositions. In 1934 the group traveled to Puerto Rico for the "Gran Feria n Exposition de Puerto Rico." This exposition was a celebration of the capitol city of San Juan. It emphasized the industrial, commercial, artistic, and cultural development of Puerto Rico.[31] The company sailed there on June 16, 1934.[32] A special open air cabaret was constructed on the beach for the dance companies and bands.[33]

Haines felt a deep responsibility for the safety and well being of her young dancers. That burden took its toll on her during the Puerto Rican tour. Although Hamid offered the Pollyanns bookings in Japan, Haines refused any more foreign travel.

Haines stopped touring in 1941. Her company was still popular and Hamid was still providing plenty of work, but Haines was ready to quit. She said that she had seen too many dancers perform past

their prime, and she wanted to be remembered for her best work.[34] Haines feelings were probably an important factor in the closing of her touring group, but the U.S. involvement in World War II undoubtably contributed to the decline of touring opportunities.

Pearl Haines continued to be an active member of the dance community long after the closing of her touring company. Although she did not travel after 1941, she continued to choreograph for local operas, fairs and community events.

Pearl Haines Horton performed, choreographed, and taught for over fifty-five years in Reading, Pennsylvania. Through former students, the dance tradition that Haines developed in the twenties and thirties continues to prosper. Dance in rural communities has developed with influences that differ greatly from those affecting urban areas. To truly begin to understand the dance sentiments of this country we must begin to unravel the development of dance in our own communities. The forms that Pearl Haines made popular through the Pollyanns are still being taught in the majority of Reading's dance studios. Other forms of contemporary dance are still unavailable.

ENDNOTES

1. Ann Barzel,"European Dance Teachers in the U.S." Dance Index 3 (April-May-June 1944): 81.

2. Jody M. Weber, Interview with Pearl Haines Horton, 22 February 1992.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Advertisements for school openings, undated, Pearl Haines Horton's private collection.

6. Advertisement, undated, Pearl Haines Horton's private collection.

7. Jody M. Weber, Interview with Bernice Brown Weber, 22 February 1992.

8. An undated article reveals her plan to leave for the west coast on June 23. In 1928 she produced "California via Panama Canal" suggesting the trip occurred the previous year.

9. "Summer in Los Angeles", undated newspaper article, Pearl Haines Horton's private collection.

10. Jody M. Weber, Interview with Pearl Haines Horton, 22 February 1992.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.

14. Newspaper Clippings, Pearl Haines Horton's private collection.

15. Undated Advertisements, Pearl Haines Horton's private collection.

16. Newspaper Advertisements, Pearl Haines Horton's private collection.

17. "Special Film is Listed on Arcadia Bill", 22 February 1925, unidentified newspaper, Pearl Haines Horton's private collection.

18. Jody M. Weber, Interview with Pearl Haines Horton, 22 February 1992.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid, confirmed by photographs.

22. Ibid.

23. Jody M. Weber, Interview with Bernice Brown Weber, 30 June 1992.

24. Ibid.

25. "Two Shows Each Night For Revue", unidentified newspaper article dated 1935, Bernice Brown Weber's private collection.

26.undated article, Bernice Brown Weber's private collection.

27. Jody M. Weber, Interview with Bernice Brown Weber, 30 June 1992. Confirmed by photographs.

28. Ibid.

29. Original hand written text for the piece, Pearl Haines Horton's private collection.

30. Photograph, Pearl Haines Horton's private collection.

31. Gran Feria n Exposition de Puerto Rico, guidebook to the Puerto Rico Exposition of 1934, Pearl Haines Horton's private collection.

32. Date confirmed by steamer ticket held by former dancer, corroborated by an undated newspaper article, Pearl Haines Horton's private collection.

33. Guidebook of events, Pearl Haines Horton's private collection.

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TRADITIONAL DANCED SPACES:
CONCEPTS OF *DEIXIS* AND THE STAGING OF NON-WESTERN DANCES.

Drid Williams

The original title of this paper was 'How to Make Ugly Tourist Art Out of Beautiful African Dances'. Up to now, I have not spoken publicly about the topic in the United States, although I've lectured on uses of danced spaces and meanings in Kenya, and I've written and lectured about the subject in Australia with reference to forms of Aboriginal dancing and their often distorted translations from traditional settings into western theatrical contexts (see Williams 1991:87-111)[1].

The connection between the two titles lies in the concept of *deixis*;[2] in all the features of spatial orientation, location, direction, and reference that the word implies. I will talk about all of those features of one or two specific dances in practical ways. I will try to spell out why it is that people to whom a traditional dance belongs frequently can't recognize it when they see it on a western stage or in another context out of its original setting.

Often, the only way an alleged traditional dance performance can be recognized by people who know it, after it has been adapted, is through its music, which is usually the same. Perhaps an isolated movement or two are recognizable, or the songs are familiar. People whose dance it is leave the theatre vaguely dissatisfied, perhaps angry, or disgusted. Few of them believe that anything could be done about what they have seen. It is unlikely that most would be able to say why their dissatisfaction exists. "It's just not right", they say, "it isn't our dance". They feel sad, but they don't understand why the distortions exist. Having had years of experience with such matters, I am convinced there are reasons why the many deformations of traditional dances exist. The aim of this paper is to reveal some of those reasons. The grounds for saying that any version of a dance I would classify as "tourist art" is nearly always an ugly distortion of a traditional dance is that the *spatial*/characteristics of the dance (the *deictic* features of it) are either neglected or ignored.

To ensure we are communicating, I will draw attention to some commonly held notions an average person has when he or she thinks about a dance. Most people don't think about *a whole dance* at all. They tend to have a mental picture of some aspect of dancing. They think of one or two of the gestures and moves performed by the dancers. They may have an image of one or more specific dance *steps* which are characteristic of the whole dance, or they call to mind a gesture -- or the costuming, perhaps.

People do not often think about what I and my colleagues call the "*form space*" of a dance. The *form space* of a dance is simply the total shape of the piece seen *as a whole*, not in terms of fragmented steps or parts. Thinking of a dance only in terms of its separate parts, or thinking of a dance only as a collection of 'steps' or in terms of what the dancing feels like to a performer is where all the troubles begin.

A whole dance is more -- much more -- than the sum of its moved and moving parts, i.e. the steps, rhythms and gestures out of which it is made. A dance is more than the sum of the individual movements the dancers make. The steps of a dance are, for a start, composed in sequences which are sometimes short, but often they are of great length. Those sequences, whatever they may be, create a 'shape', a 'form' in space that unfolds moment-by-moment through time/space. That shape, and its numerous internal and external relationships, is every bit as meaningful as any of the individual movements -- sometimes more so. Ultimately, in this essay, it is about that four-dimensional shape, the *form space* that I will speak

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1 Williams, D. 1991. Homo Nullius: The Status of Traditional Dancing in Northern Queensland. *JASHM* 6(3):87-111.

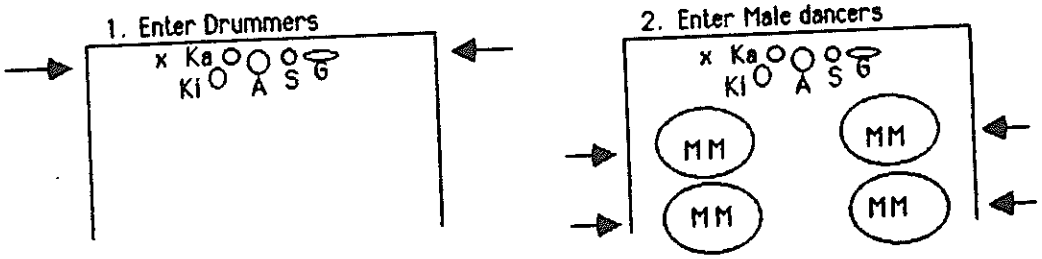
2. A Greek word meaning "pointing" or "indicating" which in linguistics is used to encompass many of the non-vocal aspects of conventional language.

Before I do, I will tell you that I have seen the units of traditional dances switched around as if they possessed no syntactical or grammatical structure whatsoever. I have seen the phrases and sections of a dance chopped and changed until the composition either made no sense at all, or made an entirely different sense than that which the original composition possessed. I have seen dancing troupes in Kenya, Aboriginal Australia, Ghana, and Hawaii produce dances that are totally unrecognizeable to the peoples to whom the dances originally belonged, and I have heard the producers of these entertainments unblushingly say that the dances *have to be that way* because they aren't in their original settings, or because they aren't "spectacular" enough to interest a western audience, and so on. There are as many excuses for what I call "ugly tourist art" as there are producers of it: it would merely be tedious to enumerate them. Instead, I will illustrate, in detail, exactly what I mean, using the form space of a Ghanaian (Ewe) dance to clarify. [Please see the illustrations of the spatial mode of expression of the Ewe Agbekç[3] in the diagrams immediately to follow].

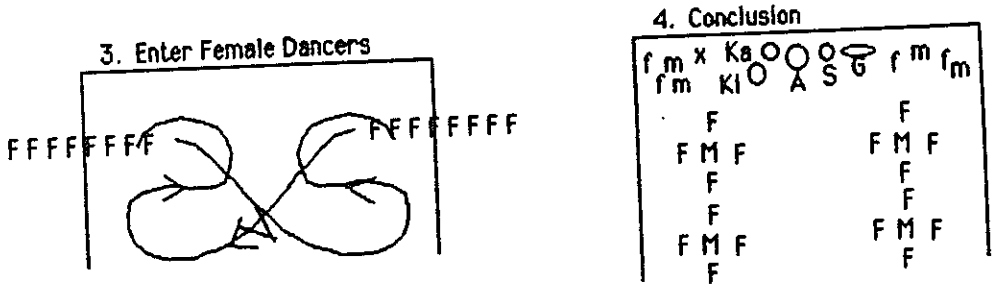
The first version [A] is a diagram of the spatial organization of the Ewe Agbekç performed by the Ghana Dance Ensemble in 1967. This version of the Agbekç dance began in silence with the entrance of the drummers and gong player, who simply walked in and placed themselves facing the audience, against the back curtain of the stage (1.). The diagram is easy to follow: the male dancers entered (2.) and danced in the spaces drawn as ellipses. The female dancers entered (3.) weaving around the space occupied by the males. Then, males and females danced together (4.). They exitted and the drummers left last of all (6.)

Version A: Parts 1 and 2

A = Atsimivu
S = Sogo
Ki = Kidi
Ka = Kaganu
G = Gong
x = person who carries things.
F/f = female dancer
M/m = male dancer

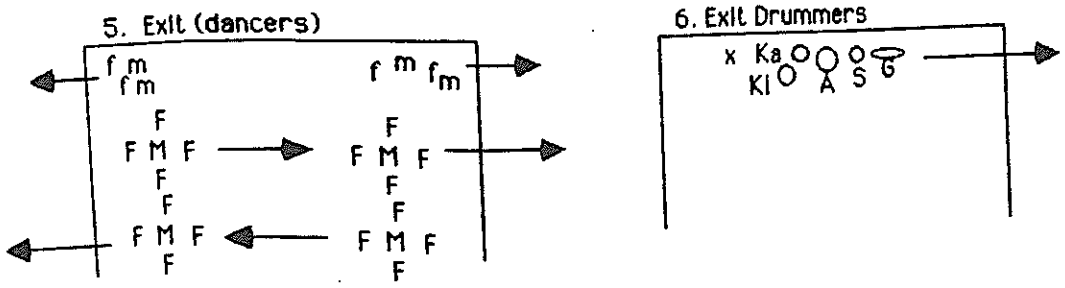


Version A: Parts 3 and 4



3. Lacking the phonetic symbol shaped like a backwards 'c', which indicates a sound like the English word 'awe' in West African languages, I have had to use the symbol 'ç' to indicate that sound in this paper. 'Agbekç' is pronounced (roughly) AG-beh-caw.

Version A: Parts 5 and 6



This version of an important Ewe dance, first, by its rigid adherence to a symmetrical arrangement and forward body facings, violated all of the canons of the internal spaces of the traditional Agbakç dance, turning it into a piece of tourist art. *Because the spatial arrangements of the dance were violated*, what audiences saw at these performances was *not* the Agbekç.

I know, for a fact, that Ewes themselves only recognized a few of the movements the dancers did -- that they did not recognize the dance as a whole, because they told me so. I also know that the master drummer at the time, Husunu Ladzekpo, said that what was being presented was, in his opinion, *not* Agbakç and it made him sick to drum for it, but he had to have a job because he had a large family to support. The Ghana Dance Ensemble, however, was advertised as a 'traditional' company. Its director claimed that the group re-created traditional Ghanaian dances as they were performed in the villages where they originated. We may well ask, what was the problem here? To find out, we will examine an alternative spatial arrangement, but before we do, I wish to make one point very clear.

If the Ghana Dance Ensemble *had not claimed to present traditional dances*, my argument would be considerably weakened or non-existent. If the Ghana Dance Ensemble's director had produced the kind of thing another contemporary company, *Ballets d'Africaines*, from Senegal produced at the time, which was a truly marvelous piece of French musical theatre based upon Senegalese songs, dances and themes, I would have had no argument with him other than aesthetic arguments about the staging I have just described which left a lot to be desired.

I don't want anyone to misconstrue what I'm saying here. I am *not* against people who produce real contemporary creative art inspired by traditional African, Aboriginal, European, Native American, Micronesian or any other traditional themes. Yet, I have been labelled 'reactionary', stigmatized as an 'old fogey', and accused of anti-progressive motives -- the lot -- all because my critics either misunderstood what I said 25 years ago (and am still saying), or because they couldn't follow the sophistication of my arguments. Perhaps the criticisms were justifiable 25 years ago, but, as the majority of this audience seems to represent a new generation, it will be interesting to see if you are victims of the same flaws of thinking and ethical misconceptions that many of your predecessors were. Having said that, we will now look at the form space of a staged version of the Agbekç which maintained the traditional integrities of orientation, reference, location and direction.

In Version B, the sounds of the drums and gongs were first heard (1.) in the distance, for in the field (the Volta Region in Ghana), one does not *see* this dance at the beginning, one *hears* it, because the dance actually starts with a procession, as in (2.). The master drum is carried on a drum-bearer's head. The procession entered upstage R and wended its leisurely way around the stage twice (3.) The drummers eventually settled downstage R, the dancers continuing to 'process' until they congregated upstage L, so that they faced the drummers along a diagonal axis U.S.L. to D.S.R.

The dancers would never *ever* turn their backs to the master drum in any village I knew of in the Volta region. Such an act in that context would constitute an intolerable insult. Why?

The Atsimivu, the master drum, is the commander of the Agbekç dance. It commands this dance because its rhythmic phrases and cadences dictate the danced actions that the men and women will do. The dancers move towards Atsimivu in twos, or threes, or sometimes solo, the space between their group and the drums activated by intricate patterns, inventions and movement motifs. The interaction between the drummers and dancers is primary.

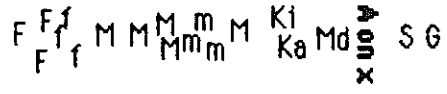
The spatial organization of this dance can be so handled that the audience is 'let in' on this interaction, so to speak. In the field, guests sit behind or to the right or left of the drummers. Given a proscenium stage, this is impossible, of course.

Version B: Parts 1, 2 ,3, and 4

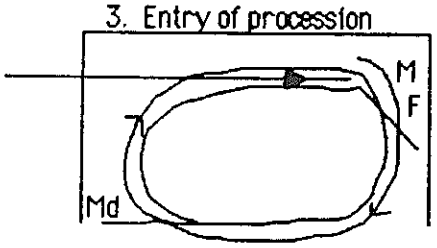
A = Atsimivu
S = Sogo
Ki = Kidi
Ka = Kaganu
G = Gong
x = person who carries things.
F/f = female dancer
M/m = male dancer
Md = master drummer

1. Lights out and sound of drums only but getting nearer.

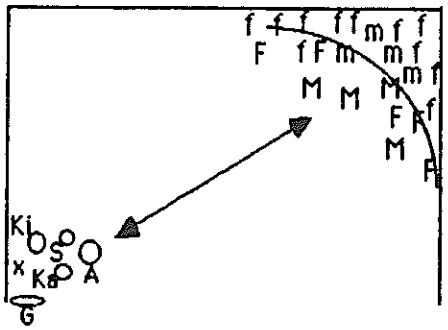
2. Procession



3. Entry of procession



4. Line of Dance Established



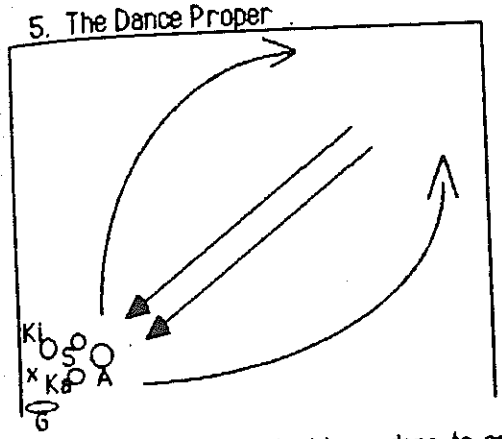
When I saw this dance in the Volta Region, in the village near Husunu Ladzekpo's home, I didn't see anything at first: I heard the drums from a distance, then I saw the procession of drummers and dancers slowly approaching the cleared dance space. The first time I saw Atsimevu, it was carried on a drum-bearer's head, and Husunu, his chest bare (out of respect for the occasion, the import of the dance, and such), with a *kente* cloth wrapped around his waist to that it covered his lower body, was drumming as he walked, following Atsimevu, which was preceded by Sogo and the gong, then followed by the other supporting drums, after which the male dancers, then the female dancers appeared.

The processional form was used, I was told, because the old dance, out of which Agbekç was formed, was done when the men returned home from wars. The women ran out to meet them, and this kind of procession was formed. The procession continued around the cleared dance space, then the drummers took up their position, the dancers continuing until they faced the master drum thus establishing the major line of action of the dance.

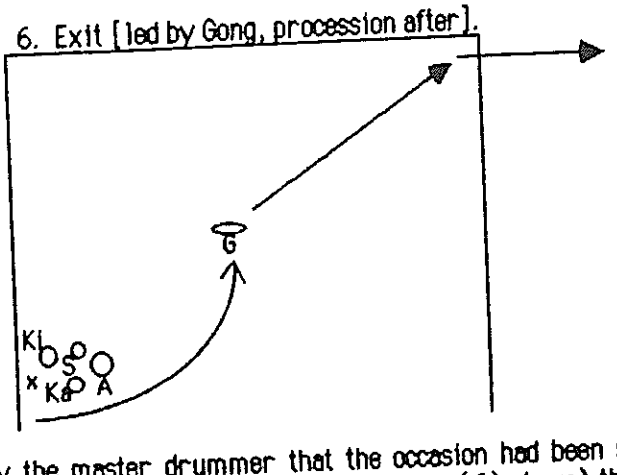
The dance proper consisted of many approaches and retreats by the dancers to the master drum. Sometimes a solo male or female dancer was the focus of the action; sometimes they worked in twos or threes, but *always the dancers danced towards Atsimivu.* When they finished their phrases, they broke to their left or right, retreating to join the group, while another duo, trio or solo dancer had started their 'turn' towards the drum, as in (5.).

Version B: Parts 5 and 6

5. The Dance Proper



6. Exit [led by Gong, procession after].



When enough dancing had been done to satisfy the master drummer that the occasion had been suitably recognized, when everyone had danced his or her appointed times, (as you can see in (6) above) the gong-player took the lead, the drummers followed (the master drum again positioned on the drum-bearer's head), and with the dancers bringing up the rear, the procession left the dance space, returning to where they had come from. I heard the drums and singing fading into the distance, and the whole thing was then over.

I did not see then, nor, 25 years later, do I see what legitimate justification there was for staging the Agbekç the way the director of the Ghana Dance Ensemble did. At the time, he said the staging was the way it was because of the shape of a western procenium stage, as if the stage space actually determined what he had the dancers do in it.

He pointed out that all the movements were Ewe movements and that the steps and drum beats were accurate. I agreed with that (with only a few reservations), but said that I didn't think that all there was to a dance was the movements and steps which it included. He said I wasn't an African and therefore had no business saying anything about it at all. I said, "You may be an African -- specifically, a Ghanaian, but you're an Ashanti, you're not Ewe, therefore why do you think you know any more about it than I do?" He disdained to answer.

I asked him if he had seen Agbekç in the field. He said, "Yes", so I asked, "Did it start with a procession?" He said "Yes, it did". "But then why don't you stage it that way?" "Because I think the procession is boring. Nobody wants to watch that, so I changed it". "Oh. Did you change the line of the dance and the groupings of the dancers because you found those boring too?" "No", he said, "I don't have enough dancers who know the Ewe patterns well enough to do all those solos and duets". "But you have enough Ewe dancers to teach the others what they are supposed to do, don't you?". "You really make me tired", he said, "the Ewe dance isn't the only one we do. I can't spend that much time on it, and besides, the way I stage these dances is the way that will please foreigners. I studied modern dance in New York. I went to the Rockefeller Center. I know what they like to see".

Later that day I saw him again, and he said, "I know what's bothering you: you're one of those preservation freaks. You can't put palm trees, huts, chickens, goats, dust and everything on a stage. You want to recreate the village on the stage". I told him he was wrong, but I didn't expect him to believe me, and we never had any further discussion about the matter.

If any of the drummers or dancers who appeared with the Ghana Dance Ensemble in 1967 were asked why they performed, their replies fell roughly into four categories; 1. "because they had to"; 2. "because they needed the money"; 3. "because their friends were performing too", or 4. just because they liked performing. When asked, "do you think you are dancing Agbekç?" they said, "the music is Agbekç", "the

movements are Agbekç, so it is Agbekç". When asked, "when you watch the dance from the audience, does it look like Agbekç?", there was a significant variation in the answers: first, the non-Ewe dancers said that they didn't know whether it looked like Agbekç or not, because they had never seen the dance in the Volta region in any of its original settings. Second, the Ewe dancers said "no, the way we do the dance on stage doesn't look (or feel) like Agbekç the way it is done at home". "But", some of them said, "we don't have to look at it, we just do it". Not unexpectedly, members of audiences who saw the second staged version were less talkative: when people are deeply touched, they seem to have little to say, except "thank you, thank you", or "for a moment, I was back home again" and such. Many had tears in their eyes or were so moved they couldn't speak at all.

Different Mediums of Expression

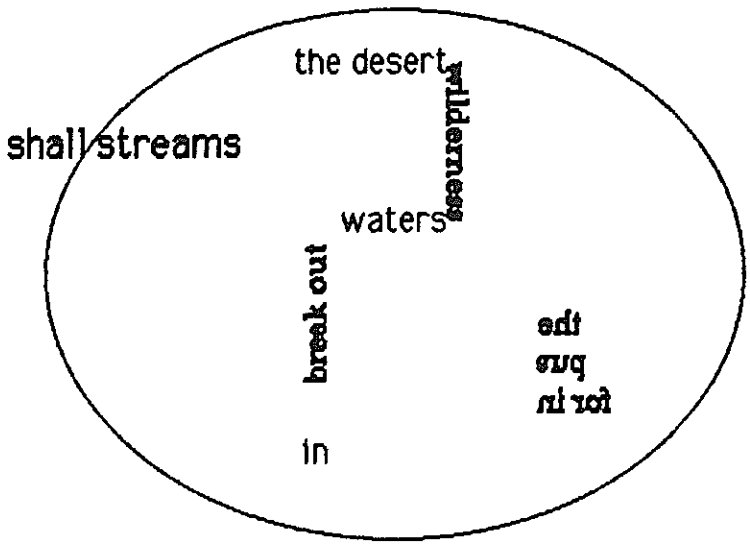
However, instead of continuing the discussion with movement and dancing for the moment, I want briefly to shift to a comparison of certain aspects of *sound*, first in terms of spoken and/or written words, because there is a point to be made about *meaning* in general before we again talk about dances and dancing.

I want you to look at a sentence with me in three forms:

(1) For in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams, in the desert.
(2) Shall the streams and waters break out in the wilderness for the desert?
(3) Rof ni het swidelernes llahs sretaw kaerb tuo, nad smaerts ni teh serdet.

The question is, are these three sentences *the same*? The answer, as you might anticipate, depends on what your criteria for *sameness* is. The three sentences all have 58 letters in them and they are all letters from the Roman alphabet. The three sentences all have 19 vowels in them. They all have 38 consonants. They all have 13 words -- and in the case of #3, they have 13 units that are more or less like 'words', although they don't form words in the English language that most of us would recognize. We can conclude that there are certain aspects of *structure* in the three sentences that are, in fact, *the same.*

But if we ask, "do the sentences *mean* the same things?" the answer would have to be "no". In sentence (2), the units of morphemes are re-arranged so that a question is formed. In sentence (3), the units of letters are re-arranged so that the words are meaningless. I can say, for example, 'serdet', but it isn't a meaningful word in the English language. Thus, the answer to our question, "are these three sentences the same ?" is "yes" (*if the criteria for sameness are the structural elements of which the sentences are composed*) and "no" (*if the criteria for sameness are the semantics - the meanings - of the sentences*). If we change the *spatial* arrangement of sentence (1) ? "For in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams, in the desert".



We can see that structurally, the two forms are the same if we consider the elements of alphabet and words (what linguists would call 'morphemes'), but we can also see that the semantics are lost in the shift from one spatial form to another. In fact, because of the form of the question mark made by seven of the word-units, the creation seems to be a variant of sentence number (2), i.e. Shall the streams and waters break out in the wilderness for the desert?

The essential point I wish to make is relatively simple: 'form' or 'pattern' itself has meaning. The meaning of the form is not a simple sum of the units that make up the whole. If the forms of sounds are changed, the meaning is changed. Likewise, if the form space of a dance is altered or changed, the meaning is changed.

"Well, all right, you say, but so what? Why can't we have different meanings using the same elements? Why can't people be creative in these ways if they want? What's the problem?" There are three questions here: (1) 'so what?'; (2) 'why not make different meanings?' and (3) 'what's the problem?'

The answer to "so what?" is this: to ask "so what" in this case is cynical and careless. I would defend a radical position and say that asking "so what?" about this problem is immoral (or, perhaps, a-moral). Meanings are important to people. Often, our very lives depend on them.

The answer to "why not make different meanings?" is "Go ahead, make different meanings -- that's part of what being human is all about -- but in the process, don't try to deceive anyone into thinking that you are reproducing *the same* or even similar meaning(s) of the original". *Own* what you do. Take responsibility for it. Don't advertise one thing and produce something else.

The answer to "what's the problem?" lies in the dilemma of the person who leaves a theatre disillusioned and sad because he or she came to see a traditional dance and left without seeing what was advertised and expected. The problem for the person who creates the deception is somewhat different from the problems that victims of the deception face and those problems because of time constraints can't detain us here.

Let me conclude the point with another analogy: on average, people who buy tickets to a musical concert featuring Bach's Mass in B Minor, *want to hear that music*. They don't want to hear Prof. Joe Bloggs's *version of* that Mass in which he has, true, used *the same key signature* that Bach did, but changed the rhythmic structure of the Mass to that of a Brazilian Tango. Nor does a disappointed audience want to be told that Dr. Bloggs's version of the Bach Mass uses the same tones, pitches and scale that Bach did -- and for proof that they are hearing the same tones, pitches and scale, they are offered the evidence of measurements of sound vibrations taken from an oscilloscope. An audience who has bought tickets to hear the Bach Mass will not appreciate being told, either, that what they have heard really *is* the Mass, but played on complicated recording equipment backwards, with the musicians doing an instrumental version of "lip sync", no matter how "creative" it is.

Now, we are ready to return to the ideas of structure and semantics in dances. I am convinced that people who years ago attended a staged performance of the Ewe Agbekç, or the people who now attend performances of the dances of the Maasai *ilmurran* in Kenya,[4] the Minha Punka (Wallaby) Dance in Aboriginal Australia,[5] or countless others throughout the world want to see something that is not a distortion of that dance if they know anything about the cultures and the dances beforehand. If they don't know the cultures

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4. See, for further information, Lesarge, L. 1992. The Dances of the Ilmurran and Their Girls, *Jour. for the Anthropological Study of Human Movement* [JASHM], 7(2):102-113. 'Ilmurran[i]' is a Sampurr word meaning 'warriors'.

5. The Wallaby Dance belongs to the Wanam people of Cape York Peninsula, Northern Queensland, Australia. They mainly reside in the settlements of Aurukun and Edward River on the Gulf of Carpentaria.

to know they have seen something that represents the real thing. They do not want to see a counterfeit.

Counterfeit dances, like counterfeit twenty dollar bills, are fairly worthless, but that isn't the most important point I've tried to make. A legitimate anthropological approach to the study of dances, rites, ceremonies, sign languages, etc. requires, I think, a fairly high degree of integrity and honesty. By that, I don't mean to imply that all anthropologists are paragons of honesty. Some of them are cheats -- we are no different, as a group, from any other group in the world, however, the majority of us attempt to maintain certain standards of truthfulness and candor about the work we do, because on the whole, we are translators and recorders. In those respects, we are much closer to historians than we are to creative artists, who have standards of honesty and integrity too, but they are not the same *kinds* of standard. Why?

Anthropologists don't control what their people do or say. Choreographers do have control over what their dancers say and do. That's the main difference between us. Anthropologists aren't free, if they are translating a traditional dance into a western stage space simply to do as they please. Creative artists are free to do anything they please - and for whatever reason. I suspect that's why many are called to an anthropological vocation from the dance world, but few are chosen, because to do anthropology, it is necessary to relinquish the sense of power, of control, of "individuality" that is so dear to performers/choreographers.

In conclusion, I want to say that I was forcibly reminded of the subject of my talk recently during a discussion with a Ugandan drama director who turned up in Eldoret to talk to me about staging Ugandan traditional dances. I told her I could be of no assistance whatever unless she described in detail what she had been working with. She complied, and told me of her recent staging of a Lugbara funeral dance. Being familiar with these traditions through the work of John Middleton,[6] I was first, interested, then depressed, to find out that her staging of this dance nearly replicated 'Version A' of the Ewe Agbekç.

"Let me ask you some questions", I said. "What actually happened in your village that let you know a funeral was going to occur?" "Oh", she said, "a woman -- a distant relative -- came into the main part of the village weeping, keening and wailing, clutching her husband's shirt, and other women gathered around her and they began to sing funeral songs". "Then what happened?", I asked. "Well, by that time, some of the men had been notified of the death, and they began to come in from the fields, and a few of them got drums. They joined the women, and tribute songs[7] were started.

"Why don't you start your staging of this dance with the woman running onto the stage like your relative did?" I asked. She looked somewhat stunned, and there was a silence before she said, "But that's not dance *theatre*". "Why not?" I asked. There was more silence, then she replied, "But that's not how I've seen things done in Europe and America". "That's not the way our traditional companies do things. I couldn't start that way. I have to start by placing the drummers on stage and then bring the dancers in".

We were interrupted at this point. Fortunately, the subject never came up again. I know she was disappointed because I hadn't told her what she wanted to hear. The last news I had of her was that she had got a grant to study staging somewhere in Europe or America. Wherever she goes, she will find those who *will* tell her what she wants to hear, but I wonder how the Lugbara will feel when they see her stagings of their dances, and it is on this rather perplexed note I will conclude, not because I wouldn't want to have presented something more 'upbeat', but perhaps I'm feeling my experience. I'm too old to be ambitious, and I've seen too much to be able merely to entertain. The 'dance world', especially in America, has prodigious problems. I know there are significant issues involved in 'dance education', because I've been around for 40 years, and I still don't see the problems or the issues addressed in intellectually rigorous ways. If I have opened a Pandora's Box of problems, we can remember the small creature at the bottom of the box - 'hope'. and hope that things will improve in future. [Copyright 1993, Drid Williams]

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6. See Middleton, J. 1985. The Dance Among the Lugbara of Uganda. *Society and the Dance*, (Ed. P. Spencer), Cambridge University Press, U.K., pp. 165-182.

7. Songs that were a 'tribute' to the deceased, remarking his good qualities, his exploits, etc.

"Of, By, and For the People"

How dance proclaims political ideals,
ethnicity, social class,
age group identification,
and regional pride

A joint conference of
The Congress on Research in Dance
and The Society of Dance History Scholars

June 11, 12, 13, 1993
New York

The Society of Dance History Scholars
Barbara Barker, President
The Congress on Research in Dance
Penelope Hanstein, President

with the participation of
The American Dance Guild
Muriel Manings, President
Dance Critics Association
Deborah Jowitt and David Gere, Co-Chairmen

The conference is hosted by
Dance Collection
The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts
40 Lincoln Center Plaza
New York, NY 10023
212-870-1657

Friday

Bruno Walter Auditorium

Registration: 9:00 to 10:00
Lobby outside the Bruno Walter Auditorium. Enter from the 111 Amsterdam Avenue door.

Session One: 10:00 to 11:30
Bruno Walter Auditorium
Political Overview
Moderator: Barbara Palfy

JOHN O. PERPENER III
African American Dance and Sociological Positivism During the 1930s
Robert E. Park's theory of inherent abilities and its effect on the careers of Winfield, Dafora, Williams and Dunham.

STACEY PRICKETT
"The People": Issues of Identity within the Revolutionary Dance Movement
American dance themes based on the worker and the oppressed, and ideological links to Marxist theories of art and society.

ELLEN GRAFF
Dancing Red: Art and Politics
The lively debate in The Daily Worker, New Theatre, and Dance Observer on the aesthetics of proletarian dance.

Clark Studio Theater

Session Two: 10:00 to 11:30
The Encumbered Eye: Social and Political Influences on Critical Writing
Dance Critics Association Panel
Moderator: Deborah Jowitt

LYNN GARAFOLA
Politics in Paradise: André Levinson's Classicism
André Levinson's social and political conservatism, and how these ideas influenced his artistic taste.

ANN DALY
Isadora Duncan in '20s America: "A Bolshevik Shade of Red"
A social and political analysis of Duncan's critical reception on her final American tour, 1922/23. In an intensely anti-communist, anti-black, anti-union era, Duncan (fresh from her stay in Moscow, with a young Russian husband) was interpreted quite differently from earlier tours.

DEBORAH JOWITT
The Critic Deconstructed by Art?
How the prose style of Jill Johnston's dance criticism for the Village Voice in the 1960s altered in response to changes in the art world and in turn influenced audience perception of Judson Dance Theater.

Friday

Bruno Walter Auditorium

Session Three: 11:45 to 12:45
Bruno Walter Auditorium
Untitled
Moderator:

RICHARD COLLIN GREEN
The "Negro Dancer" on the American Stage
A historically specific examination of the "negro" (problems) in American concert dance in the 1930s and 1940s, with a focus on Pearl Primus and the effects of racial politics on artistic theory/practice.

CONSTANCE VALIS HILL
Katherine Dunham's Southland: Protest in the Repressive Fifties
Dunham, a famous dancer and beauty of stage and screen, created a protest ballet so offensive to the U.S. Department of State to provoke its hostility and repression for years afterwards.

12:45 to 1:45
Lunch
SDHS and CORD Committee Meetings
Room 109 and the Green Room

Clark Studio Theater

Session Four: 11:45 to 12:45
Clark Studio Theatre
Studio Presentation with Discussion
Moderator: Janet Soares

JO LECHAY
Affamée/Starved
This fully-texted woman's solo performed by Jo Lechay, created with and directed by Eugene Lion, looks with an unflinching eye at the creative process and the (im)pertinence of art in the face of current realities. Jowitt has said, "The blend of engagingly informal confession and militant art is intriguing, often ironic." Technician: Andy Calamatas. Created with Canada Council assistance.

Friday

Bruno Walter Auditorium

Session Five: 1:45 to 3:15
Dance and Values
Moderator: Susan Spalding

SYLVIA GLASSER
Appropriation and Appreciation
How the historical attitude about "primitive" art has changed into an enthusiasm for fusion, and what this means for Africa and the West.

THERESA BUCKLAND
Dance, Place and the Quest for Community: A Grassroots Rebellion against Postmodernity?
Dance as a marker for local continuity and cultural identity amidst modern realities in England of social and geographic mobility.

DENA DAVIDA
Dance Presenters: Are We Social Workers or Power Brokers?
A critical look at the individuals whose artistic taste and beliefs are influencing the value and meaning of Euro-American theatrical dances.

Clark Studio Theater

Session Six: 1:45 to 3:15
Status and Power
Moderator: Lynn Matluck Brooks

BARBARA SPARTI
The Function and Status of Dance in the 15th Century Italian Courts
Was dancing really an integral part of Italian Renaissance society, or was it a vehicle for the ruling class to display its wealth and power?

HILARY CRAMPTON
Who Pays the Piper, Who Calls the Tune?
Which dance forms and dance artists receive government/corporate funding in Australia and the U.S., how do the artists adapt, and what is the influence on how society sees art?

JOHN M. WILSON
Dances of Desperation
Many dance forms commonly thought of as popular might actually be grotesques of spirit possession dancing. Lindy hop, tango, Apache, and lambada, for example, originated in desperate social circumstances of disenfranchised populations. A psycho-social analysis of these forms reveals a special class of aborted spiritual dancing: the Dances of Desperation.

Friday

Bruno Walter Auditorium

Session Seven: 3:30 to 5:00
Flipping Gender
Moderator: Penelope Hanstein

LORI ANNE SALEM
Stopless Go-Go: Perspectives on Modern Sex Dancing
Compares the dominant views on sex dancing, expressed in legal and academic discourse, with the views of dancers.

ELIZABETH ALDRICH
The Middle-Class Ballroom: Urban Ritual and the Community of Women in America, 1830-90
Did evenings of ballroom dancing whose rituals are prescribed in 19th c. advice manuals actually bring men and women together?

NONA MONAHIN
Leaping Nuns? Social Satire in a 15th Century Court Dance
How Domenico da Piacenza used structure to articulate satire in his ballo "Pizochara."

Clark Studio Theater

Session Eight: 3:30 to 5:00
Where We Live, Not in New York
Moderator: Jenifer Craig

LISA DOOLITTLE & ANNE FLYNN
Regional Resonances: A Comparison of Two Artistic Dance Communities in Calgary, Alberta in the 1960's
Mainstream and marginality in the work of Yone Kvietys Young and Margot McDermott, and the implications of a hierarchy of prestige.

JODY M. WEBER
The Theatrical Dance Traditions of a Small Community, Reading, Pennsylvania
The dance heritage and traditions of one individual small community.

JENIFER CRAIG
Way Out West: Pioneering Dance in Eugene, Oregon
Tracing the development of the local milieu and its relationship to a continuing tradition of artistic innovations. Particular focus on the Eugene Dance Collective, Wallflower Order, Joint Forces and Danceability.

JUDITH BRIN INGBER
Gertrude Lippincott and the Development of Modern Dance in Minneapolis
The combination of Lippincott's mainstream East Coast modern dance experiences in the 30s and 40s and her liberal social views affected the dancers, training and audiences she created in Minnesota.

CAROL HALSTED
A Voice for Dance in Detroit, Michigan, 1931-40
The Michigan Dance Council, its pioneer personalities, and continuing influence in the state.

Friday

Bruno Walter Auditorium

Session Nine: 5:15 to 6:00
Studio Lecture-demonstration
Introducer: Frank Hall

ANTHONY G. BARRAND & KATHRYN A. SMITH
New England Family Traditions of "Lancashire" Clog: Issues of Ethnicity and Family Identity in American Wooden Shoe Dancing
About the Marley family of Rockville, Connecticut, and how they have preserved the Lancashire clog through four generations and one hundred years. Anne Marley will accompany performances by "The New Dancing Marleys."

Clark Studio Theater

Session Ten: 5:15 to 6:00
Studio Lecture-demonstration
Introducer: Deidre Sklar

ANANYA CHATTERJEA
How Can the Brown Female Subaltern, Feminist, Speak?
Performance excerpts from Multitudinous Trio, concentrating on Draupadi, the extraordinary woman of the epic Mahabharata who is married to the five Pandava brothers. The artist will speak about the work's theoretical framework — including feminist discourse, and the need to locate a balance between tradition and contemporaneity -- and her creative process.

Dance Perspectives Foundation
Presentation of the De la Torre Bueno Prizes for excellence in dance writing.
6:15 to 7:15
Bruno Walter Auditorium

Saturday

Bruno Walter Auditorium

Registration begins at 8:45 a.m. in the lobby outside the Bruno Walter Auditorium.

Session Eleven: 9:15 to 10:45
Dance and National Identity
Moderator: Barbara Barker

GIORA MANOR
By Social Demand: The Creation of Choreographic Multimedia Events for Kibbutz Festivities in Israel in the 1940s
Agricultural in their work, socialist and atheist in belief, the members of kibbutzim created new bold pageants to celebrate festivals, produced by such choreographers as Sara Levi-Tanai.

JOAN FROSCH-SCHRODER
Proclaiming Ghanaian Independence: Dance and the Expression of the "African Personality" under Kwame Nkrumah
A deliberate tool to reverse colonial values, dance was promoted through regional arts councils, school curricula, and a national dance company.

FRANCES M. BRUCE
H.P.—The Ballet: Horse Power or Handicap Stakes
An examination of the contributions of Carlos Chávez, Diego Rivera, and Catherine Littlefield to H.P., a ballet of the Americas.

Clark Studio Theater

Session Twelve: 9:15 to 10:45
Social Realities
Moderator:

JILL D. SWEET & BARBARA ADAMS STEPHENS
Dancing to Defeat Fascism
This paper is a study of one woman's experiences as a dancer and stage manager in New York during the 1930s. It provides insights into gender concerns and political issues of the period. The presentation includes an anthropolitical interpretation of the informant's narrative and a poetry reading by the informant.

LYNN FISHER
Australian Dance in the Devil's Decade
Class warfare was waged in the Western Australian dance studios and stages of the 1930s. Dance trivialized and ignored some social realities and dance was exploited to promote certain political causes. Linley Wilson was an artist who slowly developed her political courage and voice during the decade.

BARBARA STRATYNER
"Significant Historical Events...Thrilling Dance Sequences": Communist Party Pageants in New York, 1937
The World Labor Athletic Carnival, the Lenin Memorial pageant, and other events, featuring choreographers including Bill Matons, Pauline Koner, and Lillian Shapiro.

Saturday

Bruno Walter Auditorium

Session Thirteen: 11:00 to 12:00 noon
Interview
Introducer: Monica Moseley

EDNA OCKO & LYNN GARAFOLA
Writing on the Dance Left: An Interview with Edna Ocko
Dance editor of New Theatre and critic who wrote under several pseudonyms for other publications, Ocko also danced, and thus she was both a participant and observer of 1930s dance. She will speak of the period of vitality and the ultimate disappearance of the left-wing dance movement.

Clark Studio Theater

Session Fourteen: 11:00 to 12:00 noon
Studio Lecture-demonstration
Introducer: Janet Soares

NETA PULVERMACHER
Five Beds / Children of the Dream
Based on her memories of the "children's house" in which she grew up on kibbutz Lehavot Habashan, Pulvermacher will show excerpts with her company of her recent Five Beds and speak of the effects of the unique kibbutz experience.

12:00 to 1:00
Lunch
CORD General Business Meeting
Bruno Walter Auditorium

Saturday

Bruno Walter Auditorium

Session Fifteen: 1:00 to 2:00
Lecture
Introducer: Barbara Sparti

LILIAN KARINA
The Dance in the Political Storms of Our Time
From the roots of modern dance to the cultural barbarism of Nazism, through a presentation of letters written by Laban, Wigman, Palucca, and von Swaine to the ministry of Joseph Goebbels, the following questions will be examined: Was censorship dictated or voluntary? Which were the restrictions that broke the development of all the arts?

Clark Studio Theater

Session Sixteen: 1:00 to 2:00
Interview
Introducer: Ann Daly

JANE DUDLEY & SOPHIE MASLOW
with DORIS HERING
Coming of Age as a Young Dancer in the Roosevelt Era
Two choreographers, who came of age in a socially active environment and often worked in collaboration, speak of that time, the formation of the New Dance Group, their work together, and their separate careers.

Stanley H. Kaplan Penthouse

Session Seventeen: 2:15 to 3:45
American Dance Guild Panel
Moderator: Muriel Manings

The New Dance Group: A Multifaceted Dance Community
Established in 1932 "to foster the art of dancing and particularly the art of modern dance techniques," the New Dance Group offered a broad curriculum of classes at modest fees and was the home studio for several distinguished choreographers. The panel features those who participated in New Dance Group history.
REBECCA STEIN
DONALD McKAYLE
PEARL PRIMUS
JANE REMER
STANLEY BERKE

Saturday

Bruno Walter Auditorium

Session Eighteen: 2:15 to 3:45
Children, Age, and Non-typical Dancers
Moderator: Alice Helpern

LINDA J. TOMKO
Elizabeth Burchenal, May Folk-Dance Fetes, and Progressive-era Political Ideals in the United States, 1908-1917
Folk-dance fetes developed by Burchenal for New York City school girls embodied period political values about competition, immigration, and women's roles.

MARY-ELIZABETH MANLEY
"Straight Out of Heaven" Children: How the Children's Dance Theatre Celebrates the Ideals of the Mormon Faith
Believing that dance is itself a kind of faith, Tanner taught for 40 years in Salt Lake City and directed the influential Children's Dance Theatre.

ANN COOPER ALBRIGHT
Moving Across Difference: Dance and Disability
When the physically disabled identify themselves as dancers they ask fundamental questions of the dance community about our common notions of grace, beauty, and physical ability.

Note:
The New Dance Group panel (described on the previous page) is simultaneous with these sessions.

Clark Studio Theater

Session Nineteen: 2:15 to 3:45
Defining National Styles
Moderator: Beth Genné

MARTA ROBERTSON
Made in America: The Development of Americana in Choreography and Music
In ballet and its musical scores, the development of American themes, in part a rejection of Russian and European domination, came in three stages. The paper focuses on works by Bolm, Page, and Loring, first presented in Chicago — a representative city in the development of Americana.

NANCY LEE RUYTER
El Baile Nacional in 18th C. Spain: Its Representation in Contemporary Dance Texts
A discussion of writings from the 18th and early 19th centuries in relation to conflict between imported and national values, and issues of social class and political partisanship.

PHYLISE SMITH
African-American Cultural and Political Affirmation through West African and Hip-hop/funk Dance
West African and Hip-hop/funk dance function as political and cultural expressions for Los Angeles African-American communities. The two dance forms have like movement patterns. Through these dances, members of the Los Angeles communities communicate to each other and to the society at large.

Saturday

Bruno Walter Auditorium

Session Twenty: 4:00 to 5:30
Adaptations, Mostly Creative
Moderator: Kariamu Welsh Asante

KATHERINE STERN
Desegregating / Appropriating Popular Dance: The Case of the Lindy Hop and the Jitterbug
How the Lindy Hop spread outward from the Savoy Ballroom of Harlem and what happened to it along the way.

GAIL MATTHEWS-DENATALE
Wild and Yet Really Subdued: Cultural Change, Stylistic Diversity and Personal Choice in Traditional Appalachian Dance
With the influx of newer dances that sometimes do not reflect traditional behavioral norms, dancers in Western North Carolina are forced to articulate previously unspoken cultural values encoded in their preferred dance traditions. Matthews-DeNatale, a trained ethnographer and member of this community, discusses connections between dance style and identity.

LEDA MUHANA MARTINEZ
African Folkways and Brazilian Carnaval: The Organization of an Anti-Structural Voice
The celebration of Carnaval in Bahia, Brazil, the specific movements used in its dances, and the independent social institutions which are growing from it.

Clark Studio Theater

Session Twenty-One: 4:00 to 5:30
Perceptions of Self
Moderator: George Dorris

LESLIE SATIN
"Ties That Bind": Dance, Autobiography, and the Community
Contemporary redefinitions of autobiography as they intersect with feminist theory provide a framework for considering the representation of the self in the works of several female choreographers.

EVAN ALDERSON
Dance As Memory
The relationships between dance and personal identity, dance and collective identity, are considered theoretically with reference to Graham's Primitive Mysteries.

GEORGE RUSSELL
"Dancers' Work"
A dancer's experience of what is generally considered the choreographer's work, with other insights into the inherent politics of making dances.

Reception

Stanley H. Kaplan Penthouse
6:00 to 7:30
Pre-theater refreshments, wine, mineral waters, and sodas.

Sunday

Bruno Walter Auditorium

Single day registration begins at 9:00 in the lobby outside the Bruno Walter Auditorium.

Session Twenty-Two: 9:30 to 11:00
Utopia
Moderator: Susan Manning

JUDY BURNS
Nature, Science, and Utopianism in American Modern and Postmodern Dance
A look at the constellation of ideas of naturalness, utopianism, and belief in scientific method in four eras of American dance and four key figures: Delsarte, Duncan, H'Doubler, and Monk.

NICOLE PLETT
Oskar Schlemmer's Bauhaus Theater and the Utopian Community
Schlemmer's dance theater explored through the medium of the performance photograph, and how his workshop fit into the self-defined idealism of the Bauhaus.

DEBRA MacCALL
and SUSAN MANNING
Responses to the papers, and a participatory discussion of themes.

Clark Studio Theater

Session Twenty-Three: 9:30 to 11:00
Search for Ethnic Meaning in Foreign Surroundings
Moderator: Mary Coros

TONI FLORES
The Fringe on the Shawl Is the Shawl: Dance and Identity in the Community of Spanish Immigrants in Early 20th Century New York
What meanings and values dance carries in the Spanish immigrant community in New York, with a focus on the career of Mariquita Flores.

JUNE VAIL
Balkan Tradition, American Alternative: "Ethnic" Dance in Maine
Questions of authenticity, how dance creates culture, and the particular experience of Borovcani Dancers and Musicians.

DEIDRE SKLAR
Boundaries Made of Bodies: Movement Performance and the Making of Sameness and Otherness
Drawing on a 1940s work challenging Nazi dogma about movement and racial stereotyping, a consideration of the interplay between sedimented habits and creative invention in the making of bodily boundaries. Examples drawn from fieldwork in southern New Mexico.

Sunday

Bruno Walter Auditorium	Clark Studio Theater
Session Twenty-Four: 11:15 to 12:15 **Going Their Own Way** Moderator: Selma Jeanne Cohen	Session Twenty-Five: 11:15 to 12:15 **Studio Presentation** Introducer: Janet Soares
JANICE ROSS **Jewish Culture and Identity in Russian Ballet: The Case of Leonid Jacobson** Now widely recognized as a stylistic innovator, Jacobson endured decades of censorship and government suppression because of his dual status as an artistic renegade and Jew. His 1970 ballet, Jewish Wedding, will be examined as a means of exploring the controversies that surrounded his work.	MOROCCO (CAROLINA VARGA DINICU) **Dance as Community Identity among Selected Berber Nations of Morocco** Who are the tribes, where are the dances performed, what are the movements and their meanings? Dances of peace, sex, meeting, betrothal.
SASHA ANAWALT **Six Dancers and a Station Wagon: The Early Joffrey Ballet Tours, 1956-62** The Joffrey Ballet has extensively toured the United States with a repertory which is resolutely American, and has left a legacy of an educated audience as well as greater strength for local companies.	

12:15 to 1:30
Lunch
SDHS General Business Meeting
Bruno Walter Auditorium

Sunday

Bruno Walter Auditorium

Session Twenty-Six: 1:30 to 3:00
Joint Creations of Interlocking Cultures
Moderator:

KARIAMU WELSH ASANTE
African Dance in America: Social Change and Ethnic Identity
The evolution of African dance forms in America has created a unique genre of African dance. The Fanga (Liberia) and Mandiani (Senegambia) are examined as icons of political, social and artistic self-determination.

SARAH RUBIDGE
Transforming the Traditional
Artists in both India and Britain are searching for ways to accommodate contemporary thought and culture to their own artistic tradition. Recent work of choreographers engaged in this task is examined in relation to the artistic transformations currently taking place in their pieces.

RUTH ESHEL
Dance of the Ethiopian Jews
The mass emigration of Ethiopian Jews to Israel brought African village traditions into juxtaposition with a secular urban country whose religious hierarchy is based on European traditions. What is being kept, and what is disappearing or being assimilated?

Clark Studio Theater

Session Twenty-Seven: 1:30 to 3:00
Form, Style, and Meaning
Moderator: Madeleine M. Nichols

DRID WILLIAMS
Traditional Danced Spaces: Concepts of Deixis and the Staging of non-Western Dances
A comparative analysis of traditional dances showing how they are distorted by choreographers who do not understand spatial relationships. By ignoring meanings in the originals, they create ugly tourist art and distort ethnic identities.

JULIANA FLINN
"Do-Si-Do the One Below": American Country Dancing and American Cultural Values
How country dancing articulates and reinforces an ethic which emphasizes community.

JANE HARRIS WOODSIDE
Reviving Traditional Cherokee Dance
From near oblivion, the dances of the Eastern Band Cherokee have undergone a revival since the 1970s. Traditional, simple tribal dances meet different needs from the more popular Pow Wow dances. Values, economic factors, and dance's role in self-esteem are considered.

Biographies

Ann Cooper Albright has taught and performed in Philadelphia and New York, and is currently an assistant professor at Oberlin College. She earned degrees from Bryn Mawr College, Temple University, and New York University. Combining her interests in dancing and cultural theory, her teaching seeks to engage students in both the practice and the theory of the body. Her writings have appeared in Contact Quarterly and Women and Performance, and she is presently working on a book.

Evan Alderson holds a Ph.D. in English from the University of California, Berkeley. He teaches interdisciplinary history and theory in the School for the Contemporary Arts at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, B.C. He has published numerous essays on dance theory and related areas. He is presently Dean of Arts at Simon Fraser University.

Elizabeth Aldrich is a lecturer, teacher, and choreographer. Among the companies who have commissioned her choreography are the New York Baroque Dance Company and the American Ballroom Theatre. She has created dances for several feature films, including the Merchant-Ivory Remains of the Day and Scorsese's The Age of Innocence, both scheduled for fall release. Ms. Aldrich is the author of From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in 19th-century Dance, and is presently working on a book about 19th-century American table manners.

Sasha Anawalt is a former dance critic for the Los Angeles Herald Examiner and KCRW, National Public Radio. At present, she is writing a history of The Joffrey Ballet that incorporates Robert Joffrey's biography, to be published by Charles Scribner's Sons.

Anthony G. Barrand is Associate University Professor and associate professor of anthropology at Boston University, where **Kathryn A. Smith** is his teaching fellow and doctoral student. Both are widely known teachers of the full range of seasonal display dances known as the "Morris" and co-founders of the "American Wooden Shoe Dance Challenge."

Stanley Berke has been a professional dancer, teacher and choreographer for more than forty years in Egypt, Israel, Australia, Japan and the United States. He joined the New Dance Group faculty in the early sixties and served on the board of directors for eighteen years. He is currently the artistic director of the Nassau Community College Dance Ensemble and coordinator of the dance program.

Frances M. Bruce has an LL.B. from St. Andrews University, Scotland. She taught ballet in Philadelphia from 1970 until six years ago when she moved to Dallas. She completed her M.A. in Dance and Related Arts at Texas Woman's University in 1992 and will begin training as a Feldenkrais practitioner in July.

Theresa Jill Buckland has recently been appointed M.A. course director of dance studies at the University of Surrey, and was formerly at the Crewe+Alsager faculty of the Manchester Metropolitan University. Her research interests lie in the areas of popular dance culture and dance anthropology. Publications include contributions to Dance Research Journal, Yearbook for Traditional Music and Folk Music Journal. Recently published is an article on dance in music video and a co-edited collection, British Calendar Customs: Contemporary Perspectives.

Judy Burns is a doctoral candidate at New York University's Performance Studies Department. She is interested in cultural studies of American dance and music. An editor of Women and Performance, she also has taught at Brooklyn

College and the Bates Dance Festival.

Ananya Chatterjea is a doctoral candidate in dance education at Temple University. She holds master's degrees in literature from Calcutta University and in dance education from Columbia University, and trained for over twenty years in Indian classical dance styles, notably Odissi, and folk dance forms. She has represented the Indian government in cultural programs, and currently performs with the Asian American Dance Theatre Company of New York.

Jenifer Craig is an associate professor and chair of the University of Oregon Dance Department. She earned her Ph.D. from the University of Southern California with a focus on dance in the West in the 19th century. She is currently writing a biography of Bella Lewitzky.

Hilary Crampton had a career as performer, teacher and choreographer in Australia before turning to academic studies in dance. Research interests include arts policy and its impact on artistic practice, critical writing for dance, cross-cultural collaboration, and the documentation and archiving of performance. She presently is lecturer in performing arts at Deakin University, Australia.

Ann Daly is assistant professor of dance history and criticism at the University of Texas at Austin. Co-editor of book reviews for TDR: A Journal of Performance Studies, she also serves on the editorial boards of Dance Research Journal and Studies in Dance History. She has written on dance, gender and culture for numerous publications, and is now completing a book on the significance of Isadora Duncan in America. In spring 1994 she will be a postdoctoral fellow at the University of Virginia.

Dena Davida is artistic director of the Tangente dance laboratory space in Montreal, and programmer for the Festival International de Nouvelle Danse. She is just finishing her Master's in Movement Studies at Wesleyan University with a collection of essays which view post-modern dance from an anthropological perspective. She teaches part-time at the University of Quebec and the University of Sherbrooke.

Lisa Doolittle (MALS Wesleyan) is assistant professor at the University of Lethbridge, Canada, teaching dance, and movement and improvisation for actors. She choreographs both theatrical and dance productions and writes on the cultural context of movement and movement training, particularly for women.

Jane Dudley has been a soloist in the Martha Graham Dance Company; a member of the Dudley-Maslow-Bales trio; President of the New Dance Group; Artistic Director of the Batsheva Dance Company, Israel; and Founder-Director of the London Contemporary Dance Company. Her recent choreography includes two operas presented at the Guildhall School, London.

Ruth Eshel is dance critic of the daily newspaper Ha'aretz, and a lecturer at Haifa University. A dancer and choreographer in Israel for twenty years, she also holds an M.A. in theater from the University of Quebec. She is the author of Dancing with the Dream: The Development of Artistic Dance in Israel 1920-1964.

Lynn Fisher has lectured in dance education and history in Australian universities since 1976. She is also a freelance historian and filmmaker, dance critic and journalist, and arts administrator.

Juliana Flinn is associate professor of anthropology at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. She has conducted field research in Micronesia on kinship, cultural identity, sociocultural change, and dance, particularly as it relates to cultural identity. Her recent research

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focuses on American country dancing, with fieldwork primarily in Arkansas.

Toni Flores, an anthropologist and folklorist, teaches women's studies and American studies at Hobart and William Smith Colleges. A descendent of Spanish and Italian immigrant grandparents and a niece of Mariquita Flores, she is interested in questions of identity, women's lives, women's work, and the experience of marginality, and has done field work in Spain, Mexico, and the United States.

Anne Flynn grew up in Brooklyn and moved to Canada in 1978 to teach at the University of Calgary, where she is currently associate professor. She holds degrees from SUNY-Brockport and Wesleyan University and is a dance generalist: teacher, ex-performer, choreographer, writer, community worker and co-founder of Dance Connection magazine.

Joan Frosch-Schröder is a 1989-90 Lilly Fellow, assistant professor of dance at the University of Maryland, and associate director of the Maui Alliance Dance Company of Hawaii. She is currently editing Moving Communities: Dance in Contexts of Culture and Power, based on the CORD Network conference she chaired in October 1992.

Lynn Garafola is the author of Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, coeditor (with Joan Acocella) of André Levinson on Dance: Writings from Paris in the Twenties, translator of the recently published diaries of Marius Petipa, and coeditor of the journal Studies in Dance History. A critic for Dance Magazine, she has written for Raritan, Ballet Review, The Women's Review of Books, The Nation, and The Times Literary Supplement. The recipient of a 1993-1994 fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities, she is at work on a book about Ida Rubinstein.

Sylvia Glasser is director of Moving into Dance, which she founded in 1978 in Johannesburg as a nonracial organization to provide dance training for communities disadvantaged by the apartheid system. She has a B.A. in social anthropology, an M.A., and has taught and choreographed in North America and Australia.

Ellen Graff is assistant professor of dance at Barnard College. She danced with the Martha Graham Company, in musical theater, and in film and television. She holds a Ph.D. in Performance Studies from New York University.

Richard Collin Green received a B.A. from Stanford University and is currently completing an M.A. in performance studies at New York University. He is also a dancer/choreographer who has been working this season with Marlies Yearby's Moving Spirits Dance Theater.

Carol Halsted (Ed.D.) is an associate professor of dance at Oakland University in Rochester, Michigan. She had her early modern dance training at the New Dance Group Studio in New York during the 1960s. She has been Michigan Dance Teacher of the Year and past President of the American College Dance Festival Association.

Doris Hering is a Dance Magazine senior editor. She is also writing a book, The Directors, for Oxford University Press. In 1992 she received the Howard D. Rothschild Fellowship for research at the Harvard Theater Collection, and in 1993 was Sage Cowles Lecturer in Dance at the University of Minnesota.

Constance Valis Hill is a choreographer, dance writer and historian who teaches at the Alvin Ailey School and New York University's Tisch School of the Arts, where she is also a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Performance Studies. She is associate editor of Attitude and dance critic for the Albany Times Union, has written for numerous publications, and edited

the International Tap Association Journal.

Judith Brin Ingber is most associated with Jewish dance and her work as choreographer and dancer of the troupe "Voices of Sepharad." Like many dancers from Minnesota, however, she was personally touched by Gertrude Lippincott. A grant from the University of Minnesota backed research on Lippincott's wide-ranging influence.

Deborah Jowitt writes dance criticism for the Village Voice. She is the author of Dance Beat, The Dance in Mind, and Time and the Dancing Image. She serves on the faculty of the Dance Department of New York University's Tisch School of the Arts and as Co-Chairman of the Dance Critics Association.

Lilian Karina was born in St. Petersburg, and has truly experienced the political storms of this century as an émigré to Berlin, Budapest and, in 1939, to Stockholm. She trained with Eugenia Eduardova and Victor Gsovsky, performed and taught with Aurel von Milloss, and in the Swedish Royal Opera and the National Theater. Karina was a founder in 1944 of the Swedish Choreographic Institute (with Akeson, Cramér, Häger, and Cullberg), and in 1962 co-founded the Cullberg Ballet. She has been dance critic for the newspaper Expressen, published several books, and now does research and lectures.

Jo Lechay has performed and taught in Canada, Europe, South America and the United States. Featured soloist with Merle Marsicano in New York for twelve years, she formed her own dance company in Iowa in 1975, reconstituting it in Montreal as ISIS, which she co-directs with writer-director Eugene Lion.

Muriel Manings is currently serving a term as President of the American Dance Guild. She started her dance career at the New Dance Group, where she taught, was a member of the board, and performed with the Dudley-Maslow-Bales, Sophie Maslow, and New Dance Group Companies. She was artistic director of the Repertory Dancers, and has been teacher and choreographer at Escuela des Artes and Conjunto Moderno in Cuba. She is retired from Queensborough Community College, CUNY.

Mary-Elizabeth Manley is associate professor of dance at York University, Canada. Her interests are in creative dance for children, pedagogy, and dance injuries. She is the founding director of Artstart, a community fine arts program for children. She is currently involved in biographical research on Virginia Tanner as well as the methodology of teaching creative and modern dance to children.

Giora Manor was born in Prague and is a member of kibbutz Mishmar Haemek in Israel. After working in the theater, he became a journalist, specializing in dance criticism. He published several books (on dance in Israel and about the Bible in dance) and served as a correspondent of dance periodicals in Europe and the United States. He is the artistic adviser of the Israel Dance Library in Tel-Aviv.

Leda Muhana Martinez is on leave from the faculty of the Federal University of Bahia, Brazil. She is co-founder and choreographer of Grupo Tran Chan, which has performed throughout Brazil, in Europe, and the United States. She holds an M.A. in dance kinesiology from the University of Utah, and is currently writing her doctoral dissertation at Temple University on applying theories of creative and psychological functions to the teaching of choreography.

Sophie Maslow, after graduating from the Neighborhood Playhouse Theater School, joined the Martha Graham Company and became a soloist. Then, as a trio with Jane Dudley and William Bales, gave concerts in New York and toured the United States. Her choreographic background of one hundred dances include those for her own company, opera, theater,

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television, and festivals at Madison Square Garden. She has been guest artist and teacher around the world, and has received an honorary doctorate from Skidmore College as well as numerous awards.

Gail Matthews-DeNatale holds a Ph.D. in folklore from Indiana University. As a child she learned mountain-style dancing from her father and friends in Western North Carolina. Combining years of field research with insider knowledge, she brings a unique perspective to this study of the relationship between dance and identity.

Donald McKayle began his dance training with a scholarship at the New Dance Group. He has choreographed more than fifty works for dance companies around the world, and his career has spanned television, theater, film, education, and writing. Some of his now classic dance works—Games, Rainbow 'Round My Shoulder, and District Storyville—were first presented by the New Dance Group. He has received the Capezio Award and the Samuel H. Scripps/American Dance Festival Award.

Nona Monahin is an instructor in historical dance in the Five College Early Music Program, Mount Holyoke College. A member of the Cambridge Court Dancers, she is a Ph.D. candidate in musicology at the University of Adelaide, Australia.

Morocco (Carolina Varga Dinicu) has performed and taught seminars in the United States, Canada, Europe, Morocco, Israel, and Egypt. Her company, the Casbah Dance Experience, was created to present Mideastern and North African dance in concert and school settings, and has been awarded numerous choreographic and cultural services grants. She has spent thirty-two years researching on-site the music, steps and styles of each dance.

Edna Ocko (Myers) began her career in dance as a pianist for dancers, went on to study with Hanya Holm, and with other dancers from Holm's studio founded the Workers' Dance League, which eventually became the New Dance Group. She wrote her first criticism in the early 1930s, and in 1933 became the dance editor of New Theatre as well as one of its principal critics. After the demise of New Theatre, she left the professional dance field to become editor of the theater arts magazine TAC. In the 1960s, she earned a doctorate and became chief psychologist of the Northside Center, Harlem's first psychiatric clinic, and in the 1970s, an associate professor at the City College of New York. She is now theoretically retired.

John Perpener is an assistant professor in the Department of Dance at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. He holds an M.F.A. from Southern Methodist University and a Ph.D. from the Department of Performance Studies at NYU. He has taught at Howard University and the University of Maryland, and has performed with the Hartford Ballet, the Maryland Dance Theatre, and the D.C. Black Repertory Dance Company.

Nicole Plett is a freelance arts and dance writer based in Princeton, N.J. She earned her M.A. degree from the University of New Mexico in art history with a specialization in the history of photography. She is editor of the 1988 illustrated anthology, Eleanor King: Sixty Years in American Dance. In 1991 she joined the research staff of the Program in Women's Studies at Princeton University.

Stacey Prickett (Ph.D., M.A., Dance Laban Centre, London) has written articles and reviews for Dance Research (U.K.), Dance Theatre Journal and The Guardian, and contributed to cultural studies research projects for British Actors' Equity Union and the Council on Dance

Education and Training.

Pearl Primus was presented in 1991 with the National Medal of Arts by the President of the United States "for weaving together dance, choreography and anthropology to explore the themes of spirituality and heritage." She started her dance career as a scholarship student at the New Dance Group and her destiny as a serious dancer was shaped by Jane Dudley, Sophie Maslow, Nona Schurman and Eve Gentry. She has received many awards and honorary degrees.

Neta Pulvermacher was born in kibbutz Lehavot Habashan, Israel. A graduate of the Juilliard School, she has also studied with Bessie Schönberg. Her choreographic works have been presented throughout the United States, Canada, and Israel, and she has also taught widely. The Yard, American Dance Festival, the Alaska Dance Theater, and the Kibbutz Dance Company Workshop are among the organizations which have commissioned new works.

Jane Remer is an author and consultant in the arts and education, and is director of grants and programs for Capezio/Ballet Makers Dance Foundation. She is the author of Changing Schools through the Arts: How to Build on the Power of an Idea (ACA Books, 1990). She was a student, parent, and served on the board of the New Dance Group for many years.

Marta Robertson holds a Ph.D. in musicology from the University of Michigan, and currently teaches dance at the Houston Ballet Academy. Her dissertation focuses on Aaron Copland, Martha Graham, and Appalachian Spring. In the fall, Ms. Robertson will join the faculty at the University of Puget Sound.

Janice Ross lectures on dance history and performance art at Stanford University where she also directs the graduate program in dance. A past President of Dance Critics Association, she was dance critic for the Oakland Tribune 1980-1990 and has been the Bay Area correspondent for Dance Magazine since 1976. She is presently at work on a critical assessment of the work of Anna Halprin, to be published by the University of California Press.

Sarah Rubidge is Head of M.A. Dance Studies at the Laban Centre for Movement and Dance. She has written on contemporary developments in dance in Britain for several years and her articles have appeared in dance publications such as Dance Theatre Journal and Choreography and Dance. She most recently contributed to the Arts Council of Great Britain's book on dance and television, Parallel Lines.

George Russell's work as dancer, choreographer, teacher and writer has been influenced by Richard Bull, Susan Foster and Cynthia Novack. He helped found and writes regularly for the new journal less hot air on dance. From 1990 to 1991 he was a visiting lecturer at Wesleyan University.

Nancy Lee Ruyter teaches dance history, Spanish dance, and choreography at the University of California, Irvine. She has published Reformers and Visionaries, a study of the background of American modern dance, and is completing a book on Genevieve Stebbins and the Delsarte System. Research interests include the dance histories of Spain and Croatia.

Lori Anne Salem is a doctoral student at Temple University, where she was awarded the Russell Conwell Fellowship, a teaching assistantship, and a dissertation fellowship. She taught dance at SUNY Fredonia, holds a master's degree in dance, a bachelor's in music, and is a Certified Movement Analyst.

Leslie Satin is a choreographer/dancer and writer. She currently teaches at SUNY-Empire State College and is a member of the editorial board of Women and Performance. She is a

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doctoral candidate at New York University's Department of Performance Studies.

Deidre Sklar is an independent researcher in dance ethnology and performance studies currently teaching in the dance department at the University of California, Riverside. Her most recent published articles include "Can Bodylore Be Brought to Its Senses?" in Journal of American Folklore (forthcoming) and "Invigorating Dance Ethnology" in UCLA Journal of Dance Ethnology.

Phylise Smith is a 1991 graduate of the UCLA Dance Ethnology Program and currently teaches West African dance in Los Angeles. Smith has written and presented several papers on West African dance, and has published in the Orange County Multi-Education Project and the 1990 Los Angeles Festival Booklet.

Barbara Sparti has specialized in 15th-17th century Italian dance as performer, reconstructor, choreographer and scholar. She was Distinguished Visiting Professor at UCLA in 1990 and her edition/translation of Guglielmo Ebreo's 1463 dance treatise has just been published by Oxford University Press.

Rebecca K. Stein was a founding member of the New Dance Group, and performed in Van der Lubbe's Head. She danced with Edith Segal's Red Dancers, the W.P.A. Dance Theater Project, Anna Sokolow, and Jack Cole (in the Ziegfeld Follies and in nightclubs). She taught dance at the New Theater League, Piscator Theater, and the Group Theatre. She is now a sculptor, and her works are in many collections.

Barbara Adams Stephens, stage name Barbara Adams, danced in New York in the 1930s and worked as a stage manager from 1934-1950. More recently she began to write and publish poetry in small press publications and literary journals.

Katherine Stern served as grantwriter and business manager for the Jiving Lindy Hoppers in 1991. She holds a doctorate in comparative literature and teaches at the University of Alaska-Fairbanks.

Barbara Stratyner serves as the curator of exhibitions for The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. Her current exhibition is It Can't Happen Here: Anti-Fascist Performance in New York. Her traveling show Body and Soul: The Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater is at the Anacostia Museum, Washington, D.C. She holds a Ph.D. in performance studies from New York University, an M.S. in museum education from the Bank Street College of Education, and teaches at the City College of New York and the Parsons School of Design.

Jill D. Sweet is an associate professor of anthropology at Skidmore College. She holds a Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of New Mexico and an M.F.A. in dance from the University of California, Irvine. She has published a book and many articles on Pueblo Indian dance.

Linda J. Tomko is a historian, dancer, and reconstructor of period dance. She is assistant professor of dance at the University of California, Riverside; faculty member of the annual Stanford University Workshop in Baroque Dance and Music; reviews editor for Dance Research Journal, and compiler of the Society of Dance History Scholars' Proceedings.

June Vail (B.A., Connecticut College; M.A., Wesleyan University) is associate professor and director of dance in the Department of Theater Arts at Bowdoin College. She teaches dance history and criticism, choreography, and cross-cultural approaches to dance. A former performer, she has written about dance since

1982 as dance critic for the statewide weekly newspaper Maine Times.

Jody M. Weber received her B.F.A. in dance from SUNY-Purchase and her M.A. in 1992 at American University, where she was honored with a full teaching fellowship. Since completing her degree, she has been developing programs for the Glen Echo Dance Theater and performing with the Deborah Riley Dance Projects.

Dr. Kariamu Welsh Asante is an associate professor in the department of African American Studies at Temple University in Philadelphia. Dr. Welsh Asante is the editor of the biannual journal The International Journal of African Dance. She has been the recipient of two Fulbright Awards, both to Zimbabwe, to work with the National Dance Company of Zimbabwe of which she was the founding Artistic Director.

Dr. Drid Williams was a professional teacher/choreographer/dancer for thirty years. After living in Ghana, she took graduate degrees (Social Anthropology, Oxford). She has taught in the United States and Australia and is now at United States International University-Africa in Kenya. Her book Ten Lectures on Theories of the Dance was published in 1991.

John M. Wilson, professor of dance at the University of Arizona, has received two national and three university teaching awards for his innovative research and courses in art-making behavior as it represents human psychology, history, and society. The current paper is excerpted from his seminar "Politics and Art: Power and Survival through the Ages."

Jane Harris Woodside, since 1989, has coordinated with dance ethnologist Susan Spalding the Dance Heritage Program sponsored by the Center for Appalachian Studies and Services at East Tennessee State University, where she is the assistant director. She has co-edited a manuscript of essays on traditional dance, Communities in Motion: Dance Community and Tradition. A folklorist, her own dance research has concentrated on Cherokee traditional dance in western North Carolina.

Affamée/Starved

Choreography and text:
Jo Lechay and Eugene Lion
Dancer: Jo Lechay
Direction: Eugene Lion
Music: Quebreizh, John Cage, Charmaine Leblanc, Manuel de Falla, Donald Martin Jenni, and traditional songs
Costume: Francois Barbeau
Lighting/technical director:
Andrew Calamatas
First performance: Moncton University Art Gallery, Moncton, New Brunswick, April 29. 1988.

Excerpts from

Five Beds / Children of the Dream

Choreography: Neta Pulvermacher
in collaboration with the dancers
Text/Direction/Costumes:
Neta Pulvermacher
Score: Yuval Gabay
Lighting Design: Rhonda Rubinson
Dancers:
Marjorie Folkman
Terry Hollis
Neta Pulvermacher
Derry Swan
Lanileigh Ting.
First performance: St. Mark's Danspace, New York City, February 25, 1993.

Morocco and the Casbah Dance Experience

Dancers:
Tarik abd el Malik
Djinni Hassanein
Varvara
Zanna Lanfray
Nesrin
Delena
Adriana
Aviva
Doborah Maltese

Draupadi

One section of a three part work entitled
Multitudinous Trio
Choreography and performance:
Ananya Chatterjea
Music: Ravi Shankar and Philip Glass

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