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The Articulate Lower Leg: An Exploration Into the Effects of Changes in Jumping Technique in Ballet

Toby Bennett

I remember being very surprised during my own training in the Cecchetti method to discover that many of the jumps that I had been struggling to perform with perfectly stretched legs and feet, such as *changements* and *assemblés*, should in fact have been done with bent legs after all. I had never seen them done this way in class or on stage, nor had I ever been taught to jump like this, but there it was in black and white in the Cecchetti 'manual' – Cecchetti taught people to jump with bent legs.

Bent-legged jumps seem to have all but disappeared in contemporary practice (even in the teaching of the Cecchetti method) and have been replaced with the now almost ubiquitous fully stretched legs. The technique may have been unpopular even with some of Cecchetti's students, Serge Lifar, for example, later referred to the technique as jumping '*à la crapaud*' [like a toad] (Lifar, 1956, 32). Nevertheless, Enrico Cecchetti (1850-1928) ranks as one of the most influential pedagogues of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, his wide-ranging career as a dancer, teacher, choreographer and mime is impressive, spanning as it does the nineteenth century Italian Ballet, Petipa's Imperial Ballet in St Petersburg and Diaghilev's Ballets Russes. I believe, therefore, that his bent-legged jumps deserve further investigation, and the aim of this paper is to explore the technique further in an attempt to understand its position in the changing world of ballet technique rather than to reject it as a stylistic oddity or even bad dancing.

The bent-legged jumping technique was not invented by Cecchetti but was a facet of the Italian school of which Cecchetti was a product, in fact the Italian school also seems to have prescribed that *pointe* work should be done with bent legs. Cecchetti was only one of many Italian dancers and teachers who were influential in late nineteenth century Russian ballet and enriched the Russian dancing by introducing aspects of their more virtuosic technique. However, according to Tamara Karsavina

...the Italian school taught in St. Petersburg was a softened one. By that I mean that Cecchetti, though allowed to put into practice his own methods of teaching had to agree to certain modifications of Italian principles. For instance, slightly bent knees in *pointe* work – a typical

feature of the unmixed Italian school – were entirely ruled out.

Karsavina, 1927, 433

I have come across no indication that Cecchetti taught bent-legged *pointe* work later in his career, however it is clear that his teaching of the bent-legged jumping technique continued and we must suppose that it was not so frowned upon by the St. Petersburg authorities.

Despite Lifar's criticism the bent-legged technique does appear to have had its adherents, some have viewed it much more favourably even regretting its passing, and the following three pupils of Cecchetti all seem to have valued it: Laura Wilson (1901-1999, a pupil of Cecchetti and a long time teacher of the Cecchetti method) lamented its loss which she claimed was 'a big mistake [since] it is such a strength giving thing' (Wilson, 1997). Alicia Markova once said to me that 'it developed wonderful *ballon*, particularly in the men' (Bennett, 1997, 58). And according to Suki Schorer, George Balanchine used to teach the bent-legged technique referring to the jumps as 'Cecchetti jumps', he liked them because 'they give the dancer practice in getting off the floor, instantly establishing a position in the air and holding it for as long as possible' (Schorer, 2000, 78). Like Markova, Schorer also considers that the technique develops *ballon*.

It has been suggested that the reasons for bent-legged jumps include giving an illusion of jumping higher by lifting the legs, and enabling the romantic ballerina to hide her legs under the long tutu (Ryman, 1998, 4). This may be so, but the opinions of Wilson, Markova and Balanchine suggest that the picture is more complex than that and that the technique may have had other benefits. In attempting to understand the technique the following questions will be addressed:

- How was the bent-legged technique performed?
- Are there any biomechanical implications of the technique compared to the contemporary practice of full knee extension?
- What does the technique tell us about the dancer's conceptualisation of the body?
- What are the stylistic and expressive effects of the technique?
- What are the implications of the technique for understanding past performance practices and the issue of historically informed performance?

How Was the Bent-Legged Technique Performed?

In the principal 1946 codification of the Cecchetti allegro steps Craske and Beaumont describe a *grand changement* as follows:

While the body is in the air - Bend both knees (a *plié à quart*) and bring together the flat of the toes of both feet, forcing the instep well outwards.

Craske and Beaumont, 1946, 23

In practice correct execution of the technique involves a push off from the ground during which the knees are not fully stretched but retain a slight, quarter *plié* bend (they do not straighten and then re-bend) neither do the hips extend fully. The ankles and feet do, however, fully stretch in order to bring the pads of the toes together and this effectively produces a bent-legged first position in the air. This is quite different from the straight-legged fifth positions which we would be more likely to see in contemporary practice. According to Schorer, Balanchine required some of his Cecchetti jumps to be performed with this bent-legged first position and some, for example the *soubresaut*, to be performed with the bent legs crossed in fifth position; it is not clear whether Cecchetti ever wanted the crossed fifth position.

It is important to note that the technique involves only a small bend of the knees (indeed in his discussion of *plié* exercises Cecchetti makes a clear distinction between a *demi-plié* [half-*plié*] and a *plié à quart* [quarter-*plié*] Beaumont and Idzikowsky, 1932, 39), thus the technique might be better described as without fully stretched knees rather than with bent knees. In this respect Cecchetti's bent-legged jumps differ from the bent-legged *changements* that I remember encountering whilst dancing in Belgium and which were referred to as '*changements à l'italienne*'. In this version of the *changement* the knees were much more bent and such jumps are occasionally seen in the repertoire, one example is during one of Colas' solos in Frederick Ashton's *Fille Mal Gardée* where he executes a series of them alternating with jumps with the legs split in second position in the air. The appellation 'Italian *changement*' does suggest a common origin in the Italian school for both Cecchetti's bent-legged jumps and this '*changement à l'italienne*' and it may be that in incorporating such jumps into a vocabulary of ballet steps performed with the straight-legged technique, the knee bend has become exaggerated to emphasise its characteristic nature. Perhaps such an exaggeration of the knee bend may also have contributed to the technique's decline, for according to Wilson 'people exaggerated it [and] it looked ridiculous like that' (Wilson, 1997), and perhaps that is why Lifar considered it toad-like.

We must be careful, therefore, not to confuse the Cecchetti bent-legged jumps with jumps where the knee

bend is more emphasised, for both the technique and the visual effect may be quite different. Equally, it is important to remember that the bent-legged technique does look distinctly different from the straight-legged technique and this is likely to have aesthetic and expressive implications some of which will be addressed later.

Cecchetti jumps using the bent-legged technique include *changements*, *assemblés* and *jetés* but an interesting case is his *ballotté* since it adds to the confusion surrounding the difference between very bent, straight, and slightly bent legs. Cecchetti directs that the *ballotté* should be performed with the legs *plié à quart* and a very low extension of the aerial leg upon landing (Craske and Beaumont, 1946, 19), however, most contemporary practice seems to emphasise much more bent knees, in a kind of *retiré* position, and a much higher extension of the leg (contemporary productions of the ballet *Giselle*, for example, normally opt for this *retiré* type *ballotté* in the familiar act one *enchaînement*: *ballotté en avant*, *ballotté en arrière*, *coupé*, *ballonné*, *posé*, *jeté en avant*). I have always assumed that what we were seeing in the Cecchetti *ballotté* was a more genteel, less virtuosic version of the high *retiré*-high extension version, however, the fact that Cecchetti often uses the bent-legged technique when others would use straight legs raises the possibility that Cecchetti is actually describing a straight-legged *ballotté*. And indeed straight-legged *ballottés* are described by various authors including Agrippina Vaganova (1969, 94-95) and Muriel Stuart (Kirstein, 1953, 204-205). An interesting link with the repertoire presents itself here since the *Giselle ballotté* step is also recorded in the Cecchetti work (Craske and Beaumont, 1946, 81). Cecchetti would almost certainly have known the Petipa version of this ballet and it seems likely that he lifted the step directly from there, it is interesting to consider what this can tell us about earlier performance of the *Giselle ballotté enchaînement*.

The bent-legged jumping technique is an interesting phenomenon in its own right but it also needs to be seen within the context of the Cecchetti work as a whole. We have seen that bent legs may have been used, and abandoned, in *pointe* work but what about other manifestations?

A similar technique is also evident in *entrechats*. Craske and Beaumont instruct that during an *entrechat* you should 'interchange the feet – allowing the knees to bend and beat the feet one against the other' (Craske and Beaumont, 1946, 31). In other words the knees bend as a result of the crossing action of the feet and the emphasis appears to be on the slight relaxation of the knee joint to enable the feet to cross. Most contemporary teaching, however, seems to favour holding the knees fully stretched, according to the Royal Academy of Dancing 'all *batterie* requires ... fully stretched legs and feet.' (Royal Academy of Dancing, 1997, 98).

As we have seen Cecchetti also describes simple *jetés*

as being done with bent knees, but in addition to this he indicates that upon landing the non-supporting foot which is held at the *cou-de-pied* should be relaxed with the ankle bent (Craske and Beaumont, 1946, p. 36 and fig. 2). This of course is reminiscent of the baroque technique and suggests a different attitude to the use of the foot and ankle.

Cecchetti even has a bent-legged *pirouette* (Craske and de Moroda, 1979, 86-87), therefore it is clear that there is a cluster of technical elements in the Cecchetti technique which differ in their approach to the use of the legs and feet from most contemporary practice, but what are the implications of this? The following discussion looks first at some biomechanical factors and then goes on to consider the implications for the dancing body, and the expressive quality of the steps.

Biomechanical Implications

Firstly it is important to point out that this discussion focuses on the movement of extending the knee during jumping and is quite separate from the issue of the fully extended knee position where the 'locking' action of the final few degrees of knee extension is considered to be important to protect the knee, particularly from rotational forces.

Despite the fact that both Alicia Markova (as mentioned above) and Suki Schorer (2000) believe that the bent-legged technique developed *ballon*, Rhonda Ryman considers that it 'decreases the thrust that the dancer can generate during the push-off' (Ryman, 1998, 4). The implication appears to be that with the bent-legged technique you can't jump so high as with full-extension. It seems likely that Ryman's reasoning is that since the knees (and the hips) do not reach full extension they cannot work through their full range of motion and the duration of the 'push-off' will be slightly shorter, they cannot therefore, contribute as much 'impulse' to the jump as they would in the full-extension technique. This seems a compelling argument but I think it deserves further investigation. It is also important to remember that the quality of *ballon* and the height of jumping, or elevation, are not the same thing.

An initial biomechanical analysis suggests that the last few degrees of extension gained by fully stretching the knees may not contribute much to the 'push-off', in fact the biomechanics at this stage of knee extension are probably somewhat inefficient. This is because the large joint angle of the nearly straight knee is mechanically less efficient than the more bent knee. In addition when the knee is nearly straight the knee extensor muscles will be reaching the end of their range of motion where most muscles are known to be less efficient. Therefore the main 'push-off' may be coming from the middle portion of the movement where the joint angle and the muscle efficiency are more favourable.

It is also possible that the difference in emphasis between the two techniques may have an effect on how the 'push-off' is produced. Biomechanical studies of dancers performing *pliés* have shown how variable the recruitment of different muscles can be, and how easy it is to change these patterns of recruitment (Clippinger-Robertson et. al., 1984). It is possible, therefore, that the different emphases in the two jumping techniques could have profound effects on the patterning of muscular action during jumping. Craske and Beaumont (1946, 23) give the following instructions for *grand changement*: 'Bend both knees (*plié à quart*) and bring together the flat of the toes of both feet, forcing the insteps well outwards', notice that there is no instruction to straighten the knees but there are two instructions for the feet. Perhaps this emphasis promotes a greater use of the feet and of ankle plantar-flexion (stretching the feet) during the jump than in the full-extension technique which tends to focus more on the knee and the knee extensor muscles. Balanchine also seems to have noticed this changed emphasis since according to Schorer he liked the Cecchetti *soubresaut* because 'it builds awareness of exactly where the feet are' (Schorer, 2000, 78). If this is the case then one of the effects of the bent-legged technique may be to add extra 'push-off' from the feet and lower leg albeit, possibly, at the expense of some lost 'push-off' from knee extension.

In a similar way, a reduced focus on knee extension in the bent-legged technique may also promote the increased use of the muscles involved in hip extension (including the hamstrings, adductors and gluteals) which again might contribute extra 'push-off', this observation is supported by Schorer's comment that during Cecchetti jumps the dancer 'freezes the position in the air by using the inside thigh muscles' (Schorer, 2000, 78). Support for the importance of these muscles in balletic jumps might also come from the observation that adductor and hamstring muscles seem to be used more in correctly performed *pliés* than incorrectly performed ones (Clippinger-Robertson et. al., 1984). In addition, when dancers who normally exhibit greater use of the adductors and hamstrings in their *pliés* are compared to those who favour the knee extensor muscles, they appear to demonstrate a lower incidence of the knee injury Chondromalacia patella (ibid.). Thus, in changing the balance of muscle recruitment the bent-legged technique may have safety benefits as well.

In fact there may be another safety advantage to the bent-legged technique. Sports scientists recognise that the uncontrolled, forceful, full extension of a joint is undesirable. This is because upon reaching full extension the unchecked force is absorbed by non-muscular structures, principally the ligaments and the joint capsule, with the possibility that they may be irreversibly stretched. Since the primary function of these structures is to maintain the joint integrity and alignment, any irreversible stretch-

ing is likely to compromise joint stability and is best avoided. Therefore, sports scientists suggest that optimal technique involves the recruitment of the antagonistic muscles at the end of the movement in order to dissipate the force by muscular means rather than risk ligament and joint capsule injury. In fact such a use of the antagonistic muscle action is an inbuilt involuntary reflex action which acts as a natural protective mechanism. It seems likely that the bent-legged technique is one where such a protective mechanism operates as the antagonistic action of the knee flexor muscles is brought into play in order to retain the slightly bent legs. On the other hand we can see how the full-extension technique might produce the very effect that sports scientists would warn us against as the knees forcefully reach full extension.

Ligament laxity in the knee is often revealed in the ability of dancers to hyper-extend the knee joint, and although hyper-extended knees are generally seen as problematic from a biomechanical point of view (see for example Howse and Hancock, 1992, 181-182) they are still seen as a desirable characteristic for aesthetic reasons and the 'banana legged' ballerina has become a familiar sight. The question therefore arises as to whether the teaching practice of emphasising energetic, full knee extension in jumping might be one factor contributing to the prevalence of hyper-extended knees in ballet. In addition, it is also interesting to consider whether repeated practice of the full-extension jumping technique might have the effect of suppressing the inbuilt protective reflex action thus further exposing dancers to the risk of knee injury. Perhaps then, the bent-legged technique is more anatomically sound than the full-extension technique, and perhaps Balanchine may have been ahead of us by being intuitively aware of the advantages of the bent-legged technique as part of a training programme even though he may not have used Cecchetti jumps in his choreography.

These questions of muscle group recruitment, biomechanical efficiency and knee safety are presented here merely as unproven hypotheses in need of further investigation, I am grateful to my colleague Dr Siobhan Strike of the School of Life and Sport Sciences for discussing these issues with me. I am currently working with colleagues in the Sports Science department at Roehampton University of Surrey to study these questions further; if findings support these ideas then perhaps we would be morally obliged to reassess Cecchetti's bent-legged technique and incorporate its principles into contemporary teaching just as Balanchine himself may have done.

The Dancer's Expressive Body

Biomechanical considerations aside it is also necessary to consider what an investigation of Cecchetti's technique can tell us about the dancing body and the expressive potential of the bent-legged as compared to the full-extension technique.

It would appear that for Cecchetti the fully extended line is not so important, and the softened line of the knee and ankle joint are appreciated above the very different and perhaps harder, colder line of the fully extended leg. We see, therefore, a different emphasis, Cecchetti emphasising the feet and lower legs as they: come together in a bent-legged first position during a variety of jumps; cross in *entrechats* with a deliberate relaxation at the knee; and alternately stretch and relax in both the knees and the ankles during *jetés*. Such an emphasis has been noted by Richard Glasstone in a discussion of the technique of *batterie*, he considers that 'by bringing the knees into play, the emphasis of the [*entrechat*] can be transferred to the lower leg' (Glasstone, 1995). By comparison the full-extension technique appears to emphasise the action in the thigh, and favours a knee action which alternates between full extension and the strongly bent; the result is a tendency to display the leg from the hip as a single, stiff member – Susan Leigh Foster's image of the 'the ballerina's phallic pointe' comes to mind (Foster, 1996).

What this amounts to is, I think, a different conceptualisation of the body by the dancer and the choreographer. In performing the bent-legged technique and related uses of the lower leg and foot, the dancer's focus shifts and he/she becomes more aware of the foot and lower leg as an initiating and controlling factor in movement rather than the knee or hip joint, or the idea of leg acting as a single unit. This change in awareness gives rise to an articulation of the lower leg in the same way that Cecchetti's use of the arms and hands in mime-related ways promotes an articulate use of the upper limb. I use the word 'articulation' deliberately both to suggest a fluid multiple joint articulation and an expressive, almost speaking quality. In this respect a particularly interesting step from the Cecchetti work is the *rond de jambe joué* in which the independently articulate hands and feet could almost be considered to be engaged in a dialogue. The hands circle round each other (in a gesture similar to the familiar ballet mime gesture for 'dance') whilst being held low and addressing the foot which is also circling, this time in a low *rond de jambe* movement in front of the body.

Another effect seen with the bent-legged technique as compared to full extension is exemplified by the *assemble élané* or *assemble porté* (sideways travelling *assemblés* often seen performed on a diagonal pathway moving downstage). In the Cecchetti version the legs are held in a bent-legged first position and the arms in second position whilst in the air. In more familiar contemporary versions the legs are usually held in a tight, straight-legged fifth position and the arms often in a diagonal arabesque type line. The difference is striking and I would like to suggest that in the Cecchetti version the dancer is presented as a human being with two legs and arms to

the side; in contrast the other version presents the dancer's body as a more abstracted, geometrical image with one straight line for the legs which is continued into the line of the torso, this line is crossed at a jaunty angle by the line made by the arms.

Movement Quality and Expression

The following discussion focuses on two *enchaînements* from the recorded Cecchetti work and one example from the repertoire in an attempt to highlight some of the aesthetic and expressive effects of the bent-legged technique. It should be remembered, however, that the effects of this changing attitude to the use of the legs is, perhaps, also apparent in the gradual loss of steps which rely on such a usage. An example would be disappearance of steps such as the *gargouillade* and the *gargouillade volée* where there is clearly a focus on the articulate lower leg.

Jetés en Tournant

The Cecchetti *jetés en tournant* is a step combination, consisting of pairs of small *jetés*, it recurs in several travelling turn *enchaînements* (for example '*Deux jetés, assemblé, temps levé en tournant, fouetté en dehors, fouetté en dedans*' Craske and de Moroda, 1979, 98-99). On the first of these *jetés* the dancer jumps sideways from one leg to the other, without significant elevation but emphasising the travelling. Upon landing the other leg executes a *fouetté à terre* to bring it to the *cou-de-pied devant*. This strong, quick, direct action of the foot coming in gives a rotational impetus taking the dancer into the next turning jump which emphasises the turning and the elevation rather than travelling. The movement *fouetté à terre* is also used in the Cecchetti method during *fouettés à terre en tournant* and is sometimes given as a *barre* exercise in its own right. During the movement the fully stretched foot is brought from a low position at the side to the *cou-de-pied* (with a stretched ankle) strongly brushing the tips of the toes across the floor as it moves. From the dancer's point of view the *fouetté à terre* is initiated by the foot and demonstrates an almost independent action of the lower leg, it is not initiated in the thigh or by a movement of the whole leg as a single unit.

I was able to investigate this step further whilst working with some dancers during a lecture demonstration for the Cecchetti Centre, London (Bennett, 2001), and I was intrigued to notice that when performed with this focus the elevated turning phase of the movement tends to exhibit the *plié à quart* position even though this is not the aim of the movement. The effect of this use of the lower leg was also very striking giving a dynamic clarity to the sequence of alternating travelling and elevated jumps, these jumps being punctuated as the dancer is whipped (*fouetté*) into the elevated turn by the foot initiated *fouetté à terre*. We can compare this step with what

is probably the nearest equivalent in the Royal Academy of Dancing (RAD) syllabus where the dancer performs a series of travelling *emboîtes* (jumping from one leg to the other) with a half turn for each. In this step there is little contrast between the two jumps and the independent action of the lower leg is not apparent, compared to the Cecchetti version the two landing positions seem to be highlighted rather than the contrast and excitement of the travelling jump and the whipped, elevated turn. In body terms what we see is the pumping action of the legs as they fully extend and then bend, acting only in the vertical dimension. One of my students to whom I taught the Cecchetti version and who had previously been trained in the RAD system identified the RAD *emboîtés* as the nearest equivalent and made the observation that the RAD *emboîtés* felt 'more compact and even'.

Full Contretemps

The dance scholar and Labanotation specialist Dr Ann Hutchinson Guest and I have, for a while, been collaborating on a project to produce a Labanotation-based record and analysis of the Cecchetti work (Guest and Bennett, in preparation). The Cecchetti version of the 'full *contretemps*', or simply *contretemps* (Craske and Beaumont, 1946, 26) is a step which we have found very frustrating to pin down. It consists of an intricate sequence of small movements which carry the dancer across the floor and into a large jump. What has become apparent is that at the speed that is required it is difficult to fully stretch the feet and articulate the movements with full attention to the positions they are making. A literal interpretation of the word description in the Cecchetti manuals, for example, tends to yield a very stilted effect. However, if we choose to look at this step in a different way we can see that the emphasis is not so much on the positions but on the intricate play of the lower legs and feet as the dancer skims the floor, and the knees and feet are not expected to stretch fully, indeed one older generation Cecchetti teacher described it to me as if you are almost tripping over your feet as the weight shifts sideways and you almost fall into the movement. The fast intricacy of the movement preparatory to the large jump provides an interesting contrast in its own right.

The Cecchetti *enchaînement* in which the full *contretemps* occurs (Craske and de Moroda, 1979, 38-40) is of particular interest in the context of this paper since it also contains the bent-legged *assemble élançé* and the *rond de jambe joué* mentioned above.

Temps de Poisson

Clearly one effect of bent-legged jumps is to alter the line of the body in jumps. This difference is highlighted by comparing two dancers performing the Bluebird in the Bluebird *pas de deux* from Petipa's *Sleeping Beauty*. In a 1939 photograph by Gordon Anthony of the Cecchetti

trained dancer Harold Turner we see a gracefully curved line through the body from the crown of the head to the toes with the legs held slightly bent at the knee which serves to continue the curve through its whole length (this photograph is reproduced in Bennett, 1997, 57). If we compare another dancer in the same role in a more recent production (I am referring to a 1994 Royal Ballet recording, Nears, 1994) we can see the straight legs of the full-extension technique clearly in evidence and the alteration of the body shape to produce a much less fluid and more angular line, but perhaps a stronger, more masculine looking effect. The body appears energised in quite a different way. In narrative terms these two Bluebirds tell a very different story about the character of the Bluebird and thus the narrative of this *pas de deux*.

Criticism has been levelled at more recent productions of the Bluebird *pas de deux* for ignoring its narrative meaning, Leo Kersley, for example, is highly critical of interpretations of the female role. He explains that the story concerns a princess and her lover who has been turned into a bird by the princess's father who did not approve of the match, thus during the *pas de deux* the Bluebird is singing his love to the princess who should be listening to his song and not 'grinning like a Bluebell girl all the way through' (Kersley, 1989). We can see, therefore, that not only is the narrative changed by the princess's interpretation, but a changing technique applied to the male role may also have contributed to a change in narrative and expressive focus of the *pas de deux*.

Conclusions

One of the problems with focusing on the technique of one pedagogue, even as influential as Cecchetti, is to extrapolate from these observations to more general ones. In this case the bent-legged technique was clearly not invented by Cecchetti but was a facet of the Italian school, but to what extent did the technique permeate other areas of ballet practice? Some evidence points to a wider use of this approach to the legs, for example: According to Gail Grant the bent-legged technique in *changements* was a feature of the French school as well as the Italian (Grant, 1967, 28) and James Neufeld, in a review of the National Ballet of Canada in a reconstruction of August Bournonville's *Abdallah*, suggests that for Bournonville 'the "engine" of so much of his choreography [was] the dancers foot and lower leg' (Neufeld, 1997, 41). It is not possible to dwell further on this here, but it is interesting to note the appearance of bent-legged jumps in other contexts for example a sort of bent-legged *soubresaut* which is used in some productions of *Giselle* during the second act *pas de deux*.

What has interested me as I have tried to understand Cecchetti's bent-legged technique further, is the suggestion that, when compared to contemporary emphasis in leg work, a different conceptualisation of the body and

movement, and a different presentation of the dancing body is revealed, and the effects of this changing emphasis may also help us to understand changes in the dynamic, expressive and narrative potential of the dance. In addition I am also surprised by the biomechanical and safety related issues that appear to emerge, although these are areas which clearly need further investigation before the case can be stated more strongly.

The rich legacy of the extant Cecchetti work, stemming as it does from his varied career in some of the key periods of ballet history, and preserved through various codifications and a continuous teaching tradition, suggests that studies of his technique may be of particular interest. A picture of the richness and variety of this work, some of which appears to lie hidden beneath the surface of modern performance practices, is beginning to be revealed. Giannandrea Poesio and I have written about the place of mime and mime-related arm movements in the Cecchetti work, and we have suggested that it is not just surface ornamentation but is integral to the movement and its expressive quality over and above its links to the more literal mime vocabulary (Bennett and Poesio, 2000). In another study, the results of which were presented at the recent European Association of Dance Historians conference in London (Bennett, in press), I became fascinated at the variety and richness of the dynamic and body information which appears to be embedded Cecchetti's *enchaînements* and which I suggest is often dependent on his particular use of the arms. The study presented here suggests that Cecchetti's articulate use of the legs is analogous to his use of the arms and may also be crucial to the dynamic and expressive impact of his steps.

The time appears ripe for a critical reassessment of the traditional ballet repertoire, and recent reconstructions such as the Kirov ballet's 1999 production of *Sleeping Beauty* are evidence of this. I believe that studies such as the one presented here can only be enriching to those interested in the field of historically informed performance. If the movement is approached on its own terms, and not with the presuppositions of modern technical fashions, much information about changing conceptualisations of the body and performance of the ballet vocabulary can be found embedded in the Cecchetti work; and this is no doubt true of other historical sources. The movement may appear quaint or old-fashioned at first, but I think that a deeper understanding, and an open-minded approach can reveal rich artistic vistas.

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Hospitality and Translation in Katherine Dunham's *L'Ag'Ya*

Ramsay Burt

This paper investigates the relationship between Katherine Dunham's work as a dancer and choreographer and the dance culture she studied during fieldwork in the Caribbean in 1935-7. Focusing in particular on her experience of dancing during vodun rituals and the enactment of a trance dance in her 1938 ballet *L'Ag'Ya*, it considers the ethics underlying her use of Caribbean dance material in the light of recent debates about hospitality. Miss Dunham briefly considered aspects of dances of possession in her book *Dances of Haiti*. She says this was largely completed in 1937, but it was not until 1941 that an essay from it was printed in the journal *Educational Dance*, and the book in its entirety was only published in the bilingual Mexican journal *Acta Anthropologica* in 1947. Miss Dunham discussed in more intimate detail her own experiences dancing Vodun ceremonies in her 1969 book *Island Possessed* (1994). But trance dances appeared not only in *L'Ag'Ya* (1938), but also in *Rites de Passage* (1942) and *Shango* (1945). It would be an oversimplification to assume that her anthropological research came first and that her choreography and performance subsequently drew on this. Miss Dunham's mature anthropological reflections followed years of performative exploration and experience, and her earlier anthropological conclusions seem to have been written while she was creating choreography with the material about which she was writing. My aim in this paper is to acknowledge both the agency of the people in the Caribbean in welcoming Miss Dunham and sharing their dance culture with her, and the ways in which her obligations towards them are figured in her danced testimonies of their hospitality.

When Miss Dunham undertook her fieldwork in the Caribbean in the mid 1930s, she was a young, highly educated, middle class, light skinned African American. She arrived in the Caribbean a year after the end of a nineteen year long military occupation of Haiti by U.S. marines. While doing field work in Haiti and elsewhere, Miss Dunham nevertheless found that, because she was black, she was often welcomed by the people whose dances she was studying. They saw her as someone with a common African heritage, and felt that the ease with which she picked up their dances confirmed her need get back in touch with African-derived religious practices. What comes across in her 1969 book is that she felt strong obligations to the people in Haiti who had helped her become initiated into the Rada-Dahomey vodun cult. Miss Dunham nevertheless also felt obligations towards her

Professors — Robert Redfield and Melville Herskovits — and towards the Rosenwald Foundation which supported her financially during her field trip. But on her return to Chicago in 1937 she found that she had to maintain her dancing and performing and therefore had to choose between her needs as a performer and the requirements of completing her Ph.D. Miss Dunham wanted to educate both black and white people in the United States about black dance -- a task that Téoline, the mambo who supervised her first initiation, had in effect set her. As Miss Dunham observed, to Téoline: 'It seemed that the welfare of the entire Negro race might be improved if these unfortunates in the north could be acquainted again with the rituals of ancestor worship and vodun' (1983: xxiv). Miss Dunham therefore chose choreography as her primary means of research and favoured performance as a means of publication.

Underlying both her work in the Caribbean and her subsequent choices between anthropology and professional dance practice are questions about the relationship between aesthetics and politics. Marianna Torgovnick has observed that it is the conceit of ethnographers to assume that 'only someone who has done work in the field (...) is in a position to make fully meaningful statements', while art historians believe that the elevation of primitive objects to the status of art brings Others into the 'mainstream' in a way that ethnographic studies can never do. But, she goes on, postcolonial discourse has alerted us to the extent to which 'western standards control the flow of the "mainstream" and can bestow or withhold the label "art"' (1990: 81-2). Miss Dunham wanted to elevate the dancing of black people in the Americas to the same status as ballet and modern dance, but she also used the term 'primitive dance' to describe the dancing she studied in the Caribbean. Torgovnick, James Clifford (1988), and Susan Hiller (1991), in recent critiques of primitivism, have drawn attention to the extent to which both ethnography and modernist art practice, particularly during the first half of the twentieth century, colluded with colonial exploitation. Hiller has summed up the political issues at stake: 'In borrowing or appropriating visual ideas which they found in the class of foreign objects that came to be labelled "primitive art", and by articulating their own fantasies about the meaning of the objects and about the peoples who created them, artists have been party to the erasure of the self-representation of colonised peoples in favour of a western representation of their realities' (1991: 2-3). While it is clear that

this is not what Miss Dunham was doing when she used dance practices from the Caribbean, it is not so clear *why* what she was doing was different. The difference, I suggest, lies not only in the fact that Miss Dunham was black but also in the fact that she was working within the area of performance.

Where Clifford, Hiller, Torgovnick, and others have discussed modernist artists' collusion with colonial ideologies in their uses of 'primitive' art, they have largely focused on the visual arts. When the cubists and surrealists appropriated West African masks, they had probably bought them in the flea market or from art dealers, and had had no direct contact with the maker of the mask or with West African wood carving techniques. However, when Miss Dunham created *L'Ag'Ya*, she was using dances that she had learnt directly from women in the Caribbean. There is a danger that postcolonial discourses can be applied to cultural analysis and interpretation in a reductive way that enforces a limiting notion of political correctness. Sometimes non-Western artists and crafts people only figure within postcolonial discussions as the passive recipients of the negative effects of colonialism. A discussion of Miss Dunham's scholarly and performative investigations of trance offers an opportunity to acknowledge the agency of the Caribbean peoples who shared their dances with her. One way out of the potential dangers of a reductive use of postcolonial perspectives is to consider the ethical responsibilities and obligations involved within the relationship between Western artists and ethnographers and the non-Western people whose cultural practices they study. At stake is an ethics based on private and intimate responsibilities and obligations rather than on an institutionally sanctioned moral code. Recent discussions of hospitality by Emmanuel Levinas and Jacques Derrida can help elucidate the ethical relationship between Miss Dunham and the people she danced with in Haiti.

At Herskovits's request, Miss Dunham initially used film to record the dances she was studying but abandoned this after an incident in Trinidad where a priest angrily stopped her filming a Shango ceremony. Arriving in Haiti for her major study she decided to become a participant observer, a technique she was familiar with at the University of Chicago, although Herskovits, at Northwestern, repeatedly wrote trying to dissuade her. Since my focus includes the way Miss Dunham's fieldwork was used to create dance pieces for her company, my concerns are not with the objectivity of her research methodologies but with the value of her testimony about the communities who offered her hospitality — evidence of which only survives through her work. Both Miss Dunham and Zora Neale Hurston went through initiation ceremonies in the Caribbean. As Joyce Aschenbrenner (2002) recently suggests, Miss Dunham seems to have gone more deeply into the social and religious aspects of these experiences than

Hurston, and this attests to the depth of the welcome extended to her.

We know the names of the mambos and houngans (female and male priests) who supervised Miss Dunham's initiations, and the names and something about the lives of those initiated alongside her. They all welcomed her despite, as she put it, the initial stigma of being an American (1983: xxiv), a foreigner. Hospitality, Levinas argues, does not just involve a warm friendliness but an openness to the infinite and potentially overwhelming and threatening otherness of the outsider. Derrida (1999, 2000) points out that, for the stranger, there is a certain violence in having to ask for hospitality in a language that is not one's own, and, for the host, a violation in complying with the dues of hospitality — in saying 'what's mine is your'. There is no simple symmetry within hospitality but the host in effect reduces him or herself to a guest in their own home. The 'home' offered to Miss Dunham was not just a geographical location but a particular way of being in one's body — a set of 'practices of the body' (Mauss) and a 'habitus' (Bourdieu) within which these were meaningful. Allowing her into their 'home' was in effect an intimate sharing of their sense of being at home in their bodies with someone who experienced some aspects of this as alien and, I shall demonstrate, sometimes incomprehensible.

While Miss Dunham felt comfortable dancing in the rituals, she has owned up to her feelings of revulsion at some parts of her initiations. Remembering her first *lavètè* ceremony she described her hair matted with offerings including sacrificial blood. She recalled her fastidiousness about the fetid breath and body odours of the woman with whom she lay 'spoon-fashion' for three days and nights on the mud temple floor (1994: 92). Repelled by the scum of algae and droppings on the surface of the water she had to drink in the altar pool, she wet her lips and reminded herself to take quinine tablets when she got back to her hotel (*ibid.*: 114). She knew that priests and their assistants were observing her and that any hypocritical actions or gestures would be censured. The scientist in Miss Dunham theorised that the function of these highly intimate blurrings of interpersonal boundaries was to induce group solidarity. But she also wrote that during the ceremonies she became confused about her intentions and could not tell where the participant began and the scientist ended (*ibid.*: 106). The intimacy of hospitality folded into the intimacy of shared cult practices amounted to a particularly disorienting and traumatic experience.

According to Miss Dunham, the Haitian ritual dance the *Yanvalou*, which involves a fluid ripple up and down the spine from head to buttocks, had a positive effect on cult solidarity. Decidedly soothing rather than exciting, she observed, it left individuals in a state of complete receptivity, freer to receive suggestions of possible contact with a God or loa (Dunham 1983: 61). This openness

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would also, I suggest, have been a way of enabling hospitality. Haitians say that when a loa possesses someone it is as if a horseman were riding a horse. Vodun ceremonies however do not set out to make people become possessed but to help them when possessed to control their actions more effectively. When an uninitiated person or bossale is possessed by a loa it is believed that the experience is rough and dangerous, a warning that the person should pay proper respect to the ancestral realm and become initiated. In Miss Dunham's accounts of ceremonies, the priests and their assistants resemble choreographers and rehearsal directors: their skill in looking at dance and understanding dancers' experiences is used to coordinate and direct the event as a whole. I have written elsewhere about Miss Dunham's feelings of frustration and fear of rejection when, during her *lavé-tête* and her later canzo ceremony she did not become possessed in the sense of having a seizure and going into a hypnotic trance. She was thus unable to demonstrate through possession that the loa Damballa approved her dedication and accepted her offerings to him. But she did find an extraordinary sense of release in the dancing that concluded each of these ceremonies, and has written that she experienced an extraordinary purity at these moments which she had never previously felt (*ibid.*: 132). It is her absolute openness here to the alterity of her hosts — and of them to her as they danced with her — which, I argue, she testified to in the trance dances she subsequently choreographed.

Just as Miss Dunham herself never became possessed, neither did she want her dancers to become possessed. Joyce Aschenbrenner writes about an incident when a young man rehearsing the role of the boy in *Shango* showed signs of going into a trance. Miss Dunham subdued his seizure and subsequently did not take him on tour (Aschenbrenner 2002: 78). Her company didn't imitate the dances she had seen but translated them into a theatrical idiom for North American audiences. *Shango* was set in Trinidad, *Rites de Passage* in an imaginary Africa, and *L'Ag'Ya* in Martinique. All drew on her experiences in Haiti but none referred to these directly, partly out of respect for those who had welcomed her into their cult, but also, I suggest, out of her inability to assimilate as a whole her overwhelming experiences with them. *L'Ag'Ya* was the earliest of these pieces, Miss Dunham's first large scale work, and one that her company continued to perform until it disbanded in the 1960s. Set in the eighteenth century in the fishing village of Vauclin, it consisted of three scenes. First, Loulouse and Alcide were introduced as lovers. Julot, a semi-outcast, desired Loulouse but was rejected. In the second scene he stole away to the jungle where he fearfully begged for a love-charm from the King of the Zombies. Returning that evening to the village he interrupted a ball and used the charm to magically induce everyone except Loulouse to freeze. As the orchestra went silent and the drummers

took over, he forced Loulouse to dance for him. But just as he was about to steal a kiss from her, Alcide broke out of the spell and engaged Julot in the Martiniquean fighting dance *Ag'Ya* — which loosely resembles Brazilian Capoeira. Tragically the ballet ended with both men dead and Loulouse mourning her lost lover.

When Julot used the charm, he waved it hypnotically around Loulouse like a vodun priest with a sacrificial offering. Miss Dunham described Téoline controlling the seizure of a boy possessed by Damballa in this way using a sacrificed chicken, Damballa's sacred food. A series of photographs by Roger Wood show Miss Dunham dancing *L'Ag'Ya* in London in 1948. In her theatrical trance she gradually shed, piece by piece, the elaborate eighteenth-century dress and headdress she was wearing to dance barelegged in a flimsy petticoat. Trapped between Julot and the drummers, her solo resembled that of a vodun devotee whose possession was driven by the sacred drums and controlled by the priest. However, rather than representing the way a dancer moved when possessed by a particular loa, Loulouse's solo clearly referred to Miss Dunham's sense of release while dancing at the end of her initiation ceremonies. It was not therefore an appropriation but a testimony.

Shoshana Felman has described what she calls 'precocious testimony' where a speaker feels compelled to communicate important information as quickly as possible. Such testimony, she says, speaks 'ahead of knowledge and awareness, and breaks through the limits of its own conscious understanding' (Felman and Laub:1992: 21). This, I suggest, is how Loulouse's solo referred to experience which I argued Miss Dunham had found traumatic. Felman proposes that it is only in this way that victims of trauma can speak about their unforgettable but incomprehensible experiences. Their testimony is broken and partial because what they have been through is too overwhelming for them or us to consciously assimilate. The encounter with the other — facing up to the absolute and overwhelming difference the other represents — is an ethical encounter. Levinas has written that:

To approach the Other in discourse is to welcome his expression, in which at each instant he overflows the idea a thought would carry away from it. It is therefore to receive from the Other beyond the capacity of the I, which means exactly: to have the idea of infinity' (Levinas 1991: 51).

For Levinas the fundamental question about humanity was the nature not of Being but of the existential act of hospitality. Ethics, he said, was first philosophy. And while ethics involves a one-to-one, face-to-face relationship, when a third person becomes involved, Levinas believed that ethics becomes politics. The readers of Miss Dunham's

books and the audiences who watched her dances constituted that third party who in effect politicised her ethical testimony about Haitian hospitality. Her danced solo in L'Ag'Ya did not therefore commit an aesthetic appropriation that colluded with colonial ideologies. It testified through the excruciating immediacy of the live moment of performance to the importance of maintaining a welcoming openness when face to face with the overwhelming idea of infinity.

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Webs of Identity, Webs of Heritage: A Conceptual and Historical Examination of 'the Birth of English Ballet'

Alexandra Carter

Any attempt to revisit history is necessarily coloured by the consciousness of the historian. That consciousness is formed by points of view which, whilst diverse and sometimes contradictory, interact with the dominant theoretical perspectives of the time. This paper arises from three states of self and social consciousness. The first is a post-colonial awareness that any claim for a national identity is based on shifting sands. Although there may be, for example, a national self-consciousness of 'Englishness', the unified nature of the concept and its practical grounds are highly contestable. The claim for the formation of an English ballet which pervades the literature of the 1940s and 1950s can be seen with hindsight to be part of the social and political thrust to stabilise and celebrate a national identity which culminated in the Festival of Britain in 1953. Not any old identity, however, but one which had cultural credibility. For artists and writers of the time, ballet's credibility rested on the aristocratic foundations of a Russian Imperial and an Italian heritage; it did not owe any allegiance to the indigenous music halls and commercial theatres which had been presenting ballet as a part of variety or pantomime during that ascribed 'blank' period in ballet history, the 1880s till the first decade of the twentieth century. I argue here that the notion that English ballet was established primarily with the Vic-Wells in the 1930s negates to the point of oblivion its preceding indigenous history. In doing so, I am aware that this reclaiming of the commercial theatre in our ballet history might seem to contest a second force in contemporary theoretical consciousness, a post-modern one which is suspicious of teleological accounts of history; narratives where one chapter in the past appears to lead neatly on to the next. I have argued elsewhere (Carter, 1995, 1996) that the music hall period, as one of the most vibrant and popular contexts for ballet in the whole of its history, is viable for study in its own right and not just as a stepping stone to the twentieth century. Here, I don't revoke that claim but offer a parallel one: that the influence of this period on the development of ballet in England in the 1920s and '30s was far more significant than has been convenient to acknowledge. The influences of history sketch out not a line but a web, and the complexity of that web has been ignored in the fight for public recognition for ballet as an art form in England in the 1930s. In

making this claim, I am also aware of a third point of contemporary consciousness: that if today we recognise the significance of popular culture and the blurring of boundaries between the activities it embodies and so-called 'high' art, we can also revisit the past without such exclusive notions in place. This paper reinstates popular culture into the web of influences on the development of ballet in England. That web includes contexts for ballet such as pantomime and the smaller music hall venues;¹ 'external' influences such as the Ballets Russes and Massine and, of course, the many other activities which paralleled those of de Valois such as Marie Rambert's school and company and the Camargo Society. For the purpose of this investigation, however, parameters are drawn in order to provide a 'case study'. I intend to explore the links between the ballet of the Alhambra and Empire palaces of varieties and the development of a so-called 'national' institution embodied in the Vic-Wells/Sadlers Wells Theatre companies and school.

That the seeds of an English ballet were sown and quickly blossomed with the establishment of the Vic-Wells ballet by Ninette de Valois in the early 1930s permeates the literature (for example, Haskell, 1934, 1938 & 1950; Howlett, undated; Manchester, 1946; Williamson, 1946; Noble, ca. 1949; Fisher, 1954). Now accepted as 'fact', this claim is replicated in secondary sources. Percival, referring to the significance of Diaghilev's production of *The Sleeping Princess* in 1921, notes that 'no such thing as British ballet existed then' (1994: 5). Similarly, the critical view of the music hall ballet which Haskell exemplifies in his imagining that 'the Empire ballet was choreographically, musically and artistically negligible, just a form of light entertainment' (1934: 188) is perpetuated in Deborah Bull's assertion that 'at the beginning of the century, dance in Britain was in a sorry state, reduced to grabbing performances where it could between the variety acts in music halls'. It was de Valois who 'dragged ballet out of these artistic slums' (1998: 100). It is de Valois who is seen unequivocally as responsible for the establishment of the first English ballet company, though the decade she spent on the commercial circuit, including both large and small music halls, tends to be written out of early biographical accounts (e.g. Williamson, 1946) or noted apologetically (e.g. Fisher, 1954).

Those with actual first-hand experience of the music hall ballets were both less damning of their quality and,

significantly, more alert to their place in an English heritage. Perugini, writing in the mid 1930s, discussed how the recent dance scene was dominated by the Russians. He felt, however, that he was seeing ballet that was 'not English as we had seen it at its best at the Empire and Alhambra in the first quarter of this century' (1935: 272). Bedells, in a gentle dig, wished that 'the critics and balletomanes of today could have seen that production of *Coppelia* at the old Empire. They would know then that ballet in England was flourishing long before Diaghilev was heard of here' (1956: 15). Lawson (1964) suggests that a possible event for the dating of the start of British ballet could have been when Bedells took over from Kyasht at the Empire in 1914.

Despite these views, the 1880s – 1910s tend to be written out of histories and biographies of British ballet. In all the literature, however, whether primary or secondary, none of the writers are explicit about what precisely constitutes 'Englishness' in the context of an English ballet. In this paper, I aim to conflate two aims; first, to unpack this construct of 'English' – or, as referred to in later sources, British, ballet and test its viability.² Second, to contest the ascribed chronological timing of its 'birth'. By doing so, I hope to destabilise its foundations in order to let in the unacknowledged influence of the music hall ballet. If nothing else, I hope to demonstrate, at least, what Simon Schama (1999) calls 'the messiness' of history.

What was this thing called 'English' ballet in the 1930s? What might constitute a national institution and what might be construed as the components of a national heritage? These components might, arguably, be summarised as (i) activity and people who are ethnically indigenous (ii) repertoire (iii) technical and production style (iv) audiences (v) the context of the work and finally but essentially (vi) a self consciousness of a national identity.

Haskell's claim in 1938 that 'there was never a trace of a native English ballet until the present day' (1938: 32) is based on his characterisation of England as 'a consumer rather than a creator' of the ballet form, as opposed to the Russian ballet which 'absorbed foreign influences into the indigenous ballet which was part of the people' (p. 33). Haskell's puzzling claim is more one of convenience than of historical accuracy, for an examination of any country's heritage will show a flux of imports and exports which interact, become assimilated, consolidate and change. And if the creators, in a literal sense, of the music hall ballets such as Katti Lanner and Carlo Coppi were of European descent, paradoxically, the 'mothers' of English ballet were an Irishwoman (Ninette de Valois) and a Pole (Marie Rambert). As the following investigation will demonstrate, the concept of 'indigenous ballet' can be applied as much – or as little – to the music hall ballets as it can to any other period. Arguably, the most indigenous 'English' as-

pect of the so-called new 'English' ballet of the 1930s was the social and educational background or aspirations of the men who wrote about it.³ This might be, perhaps, a significant if sub-conscious element in the ascription of the nomenclature.

On reading these writers' accounts of the formation of English ballet, one not only senses the subdued excitement about this 'new' period but that period is explicitly isolated from what has gone before. There is no sense that influences might have spilled over, to the extent that even when the contribution of artists such as Genée, Bedells and Cecchetti are recorded, their commercial is elided.⁴ But fundamental to my argument is the notion that there cannot be a 'sweeping out' of the old in any historical transitions; if there is a broom it is in the hands of the writers who record the history. The threads of history are woven into different contexts, but these threads can be traced. Many performers and teachers who were influential in the development of ballet in the 1920s and 1930s were deeply rooted in the ballet of the large music halls. These include Adeline Genée, about whom Bedells noted, 'much as the art in this country owes to the Russian ballet . . . I feel we owe still more to the influence of Adeline Genée' (Bedells in Genné, 1995: 439). Bedells herself was hailed as the first English prima ballerina after succeeding Kyasht at the Empire. Edouard Espinoza worked briefly at both the Alhambra and Empire, as performer and creator; Lucia Cormani was choreographer and teacher at the Alhambra. All of these were instrumental in establishing the Association of Operatic Dancing (1920), later the Royal Academy of Dancing (1935) and in the formation of a syllabus of training. Francesca Zanfretta, *premiere danseuse* and mime at the Empire for twelve years, taught de Valois and Ursula Moreton, who took Zanfretta's work in to the Sadlers Wells School. Her mime was written down and 'handed on in its complex and fascinating detail to the Vic-Wells Ballet and its successor companies' (Sorley Walker, 1987: 65). Cavallazzi, who trained at the La Scala school and performed for many years at the Empire, passed on her knowledge of the Italian technique to Bedells. Less influentially, Madame Rosa, an ex-Alhambra dancer partly trained by Palladino, worked with de Valois in pantomime at the Lyceum for five years.

An examination of the professional lives of artists such as Genée, Zanfretta and Cavallazzi reveals how international schools of dance were embodied in these dancers, were central to their music hall performances, and were passed on in to the 1920s, 1930s and beyond.

One of the props for the claim that an English ballet started in the 1930s was that the performers were English. Until Bedells, the music hall principals were mostly foreign, though the residential longevity of some might render them 'native'. However, the great majority of the other performers were English. As 'J.M.B.' (possibly J.M.

Barrie - see Guest, 1992: 112) describes in his poem on the *corps* who were cast as angels in the apotheosis scene from *Faust* (Empire, 1905):

No more the angels deck the sky -
Those angels hail from Peckham Rye
From Bow or Kentish Town.

J.M.B. 1896: 524

In this respect, although their social class background might have been different, the casts of the music hall ballets were no different in their Englishness than the later companies. Another claim is, perhaps, more tenable. Noble (ca. 1949) notes that the Camargo Society 'played a most important part in establishing English ballet, for it encouraged new choreographers, designers, dancers and composers, put the spotlight on native capabilities' (p. 13). Similarly, Manchester claimed that the Camargo Society season at the Savoy in 1932 'proved not only that the English could dance but they also possessed the creative ability to write, compose and choreograph their own ballets and present them in their own manner' (1946: 14). Implicit here is the notion that an English ballet rests not just on a company of native dancers but also on native artistic collaborators. Whilst the creative collaborators on those early ballets of the Vic Wells were British, so were some of the key creators of the music hall ballets. The real name of Wilhelm, whose designs, staging and libretti were a vital part of productions at the Empire, was William Pitcher and he was the son of an English ship builder. Even Katti Lanner, ballet arranger at the Empire for twenty years, had her permanent home in London for over thirty years. If the majority of the music hall collaborators were European, however, it is important to question the significance of this criterion 'native creators' for a 'national' institution. After all, the Imperial Russian ballet owed its development and its golden age to two Frenchmen, Didelot and Petipa (the Russian *Ivanov* was initially written out of history). Perhaps it is more rewarding, in this quest for what constitutes national identity, to examine what was created - and for whom.

One of the recurrent claims for an English ballet in the 1930s was the national flavour of its early works. For example, Manchester describes *Façade* (Ashton, 1931) as 'the first major English ballet; major . . . because it was the first of the real English ballets, something truly national which no other country could have done in exactly the same way' (1946: 15). In this rather tautological statement, Manchester does not tease out just what is 'English' about the work. Haskell is a little more helpful in his claim for *The Rake's Progress* (de Valois, 1935) as 'a truly English masterpiece - a truly national expression' because 'the new English dancer, lacking an inherited tradition, excels where she can hide her lack of self confidence behind a positive role . . . she can best express

herself through the medium of another character' (1938: 163). In other words, 'English' works are those which privilege drama and character roles. Helpman (in Noble ca. 1949) again suggests that 'British choreography . . . has . . . a number of distinctive national features' without articulating them, though implicit in the rest of his chapter is the idea that these might be the influence of drama and painting which derived from Fokine and the Russian classical tradition, and an emphasis on the psychological import of the drama.⁵ But - an analysis of the music hall ballets reveals that, throughout their thirty-year history, there was a similar privileging of narrative and character. There may not have been the overt psychological dimension, for Freud was not, as yet, in public consciousness, but a psychological perspective is as much in the interpretation of a work as in its surface subject matter.

If works such as *Job* (de Valois, 1931) have a literary source, so do many of the music hall ballets, such as *Don Juan* (Coppi, 1892) and *Faust* (Lanner, 1895). It could be claimed, in fact, that the subject matter of these ballets, with themes such as *Our Army and Navy* (Casati, 1889) and *The Sports of England* (Lanner, 1887) were more stridently and unashamedly English than anything that come afterwards.⁶

None of the Alhambra or Empire ballets survive. Furthermore, several which were produced in these venues have been written out of the history of the works. These include *Giselle* (Bertrand, 1884), *The Sleeping Beauty* (Leon Espinoza, 1890) and *The Dancing Doll* (Lanner, 1905). I cannot argue, therefore, that the actual works of the music hall period have contributed directly to an English repertoire. What can be argued is that their influence continued through many facets of their production and technical style.

Ninette de Valois' career in the commercial theatre between 1913 - 1923 is now well recorded (eg. de Valois, 1957; Sorley Walker, 1987). During this period, she 'had many an experience of the old fashioned type of English music hall, as well as the more opulent modern examples' (Sorley Walker, 1957: 54-5). Although de Valois became dissatisfied with the artistic quality of the work she took with her a supreme consciousness of the key characteristics of ballet in a commercial context which became the hallmark of her own repertoire. Although this influence has been acknowledged by de Valois and others in general terms, it has never been explicitly identified for, I would suggest, such a heritage has not been one to dwell upon too overtly. Nevertheless, in the literature which records de Valois' achievements, it is her production values which are identified as her strength. As Robert Helpman said, her 'greatness was as a "choreographic producer", a form of blended talent that has enormously influenced the trend of British choreography' (in Noble ca. 1949: 29). Her production skills included the legibility of the narrative, the need in short-length works to

speed through that narrative, the importance of characterisation, the necessity for a moral tale and general dramatic colour – all key characteristics of the music hall ballet. It could be argued that this production style was the historically dominant one but what de Valois undoubtedly learned from her experience in the commercial theatre was the need to entertain a popular audience.

Although a more detailed stylistic analysis would need to be undertaken, it is also interesting to note that the production of ballets by indigenous artists such as Fred Farren, a character dancer who took over from Lanner at the Empire, and Will Bishop, an eccentric and clog dancer who became ballet master and producer at the Coliseum, brought a distinct English style to ballet in the 1880s and 1890s through the utilisation of their own theatrical expertise and dance vocabularies.

It would be erroneous to claim, however, that the features of the music hall ballet were distinctly English, for they were international. Although further research would need to be done, it is clear that even the Imperial ballet in pre-revolutionary Russia had a similar production style during the same period. Balanchine remembers how 'the third echelon of the *corps*, barely able to stand on point . . . were called 'fountain girls' because they were always placed at the back, near the apparently ubiquitous scenic water' (Jowitt, 1988: 243/4). Similarly, Jowitt notes how Petipa's mass dances emphasised changing colours and kaleidoscopic effects, just like Wilhelm's at the Empire. I digress from my main thread here in order to demonstrate that the music hall ballets were not unique and, therefore, cannot be dismissed as an aberrant 'blip' in dance history.

In the general deprecation of this period, an area which has been overlooked is that of its place in sustaining the presentation of the classical ballet and mime to English audiences. Although de Valois credits Genée as the performer who 'created in England respect and interest in the classical ballet', both the Alhambra and the Empire presented many ballerinas with an impeccable pedigree. Whether from Russia (for example, Kyasht) or Denmark (Genée) or, via a variety of international routes, from Italy (Palladino, Legnani), they presented to English audiences a technical style rooted mainly in the system codified by Blasis. Although both venues used dancers from their associated training schools, there was little opportunity for the English dancer to receive an affordable and consistent, developmental training. There was no concept of an English 'school' of technical training, either in terms of an institution or a style. But - even by the 1930s/40s there was still no notion of a national 'style' of classical dancing, for as Haskell noted in 1950, 'British ballet has not yet a clearly defined British school behind it. Our dancers may be said for the most part to belong to the Russian school' (1950: 46). Such is the international

cross-fertilisation of the *danse d'école* that the claim that the lack of an 'English' technical style was a contributory factor in the lack of an English ballet before the 1930s is a moot point. I would argue that what does distinguish the music hall ballet as essentially English, yet distinct from the dominant notion of a national lineage, is the context of its production.

The large scale, professional music halls, with their bill of variety acts, developed from the self-made entertainment of working class public houses. The entrepreneurs who developed the palaces, the luxury music halls, did so with a view to expanding their clientele by appealing to a much broader range of social classes, and to women. The origins of the palaces were undoubtedly indigenous and, to those men abroad, they became symbolic of 'home'. Booth described the Empire as 'something more than a mere music hall . . . it was . . . an Englishman's club, an Empire club, famous wherever Englishmen fought, worked, adventured' (Booth, 1929: 142). The ballet was rooted in the context of London's West End where it was presented, nightly, for over thirty years. Fonteyn (or an astute researcher on her behalf) is one of the few to admit the significance of this; she notes that the fact that Genée 'danced in Leicester Square, not Covent Garden . . . meant that the force of genuinely British tradition was moving slowly towards its own national ballet . . . the Empire was British through and through' (1980: 299). When the person who wrote the Sadlers Wells theatre notice in the press in 1930 claimed that 'Lilian Baylis has cherished an ambition to establish, for the first time in theatrical history, a permanent ballet in a repertory theatre' (Fisher, 1954: 13), she/he had unwittingly identified the reason why the music hall has been written out of history: although the Alhambra and Empire had permanent ballet companies, they were located in the centre of the world of popular entertainment, not the English repertory theatre.

Clearly, a large percentage of their working class audience were not those who went to see the Ballets Russes. Haskell conveniently claims that

the Empire public was certainly never Diaghilev's. From the first he created a fresh public of his own from the people who understood painting, followed concerts and loved the theatre.

Haskell 1934: 189

Haskell may have been right in general terms, though he forgets about the *fin de siècle* artists, writers and intellectuals who were deeply attached to the halls such as G.B. Shaw, Arthur Symons and Spencer Gore. Furthermore, the Ballets Russes performed on variety bills, so although a 'specialist' audience may have evolved over time the blanket nature of Haskell's claim is dubious. And

Manchester, describing the Camargo season at the Savoy as 'an ambitious project of presenting ballet to a West End audience' (1946: 13) was clearly ignorant of history or just careless with words.

The complexity of the notion that there were two distinct audiences for the halls and the ballet 'proper' is compounded by Perugini's observation that, towards the end of the music hall period, there was a growth in a more discriminating and discerning audience for ballet with the result that 'they were enabled the better to understand the Russian Ballet when it eventually arrived and achieved instant success' (Perugini, 1925a: 1177).

Apart from Guest (1992) no other writer has explored the connection between the 'instant success' of the Ballets Russes in London and the fact that there was already a receptive audience. In theatre scholarship, it is unfortunately in the area of audience composition and reaction where research is largely absent. As the web of tradition remains unexplored, so too does the web of audiences. That there were not two distinct audiences, but one which spanned the worlds of popular entertainment and the arts, is supported by Margaret Craske's memory that

Ninette de Valois took me into a small company which played the music halls. It was divine! That was absolutely the most wonderful audience in the world. If they didn't like you they threw things . . .

Craske in Sorley Walker, 1987: 25

Not only was there not two distinct audiences but neither was there the total chronological dislocation which our books (and our dance consciousness) suggests. The first Ballets Russes appearance in London was in 1911; the last ballet productions at the Alhambra and the Empire were in 1912 and 1915 respectively. De Valois saw Genée and Bedells at the Empire in 1907 and entered the entertainment business in 1913, where she worked until the 1920s. Although it was not until the 1930s that her company was hailed as an impending national institution, she carried with her, in her own choreography and production values, that commercial experience, that fundamental notion of ballet as entertainment. But from the 1930s, it was in the guise and location of serious 'art'.

It is back to the 1930s that English ballet is dated; that is, when it was taken seriously as an art form and not when it was perceived by audiences as entertainment. This implies a question of standards, for critics in the 1930s (such as Haskell, 1938, among many) were dismissive of the music hall works due to their apparent lack of artistic integrity. Yet the standards of the early Sadlers Wells company were also perceived as shaky and some contemporary critics rejected the possibility of a high-quality in-

digenous company (see, for example, Howlett, undated, Ch. III).

What this research has demonstrated is that despite the claims of the writers of the period and most who came after, that the Vic/Sadlers Wells company was the first 'national' one, and therefore the start of English ballet, no writer actually articulates what those conceptions of 'national' or 'birth' comprise. Established by an Irish woman, strongly influenced by a cosmopolitan company based in France and led by a Russian, with a dance and mime technique which rested on the Italian school, the notion of "British" becomes destabilised. The young dancers in the Vic/Sadlers Wells ballet were British but so too were the *corps* of the Alhambra and the Empire; Markova was British but so was Bedells; de Valois' choreography was dramatic, colourful and based on narrative with a moral overtone - so were the music hall ballets. The artists of the Alhambra and Empire - Genée, Bedells, Cavallazzi, Cormani, Espinoza and Zanfretta - not to mention those such as Cecchetti who gained performance experience there - were prime movers or significant influences on the development of British ballet. I am aware of oversimplifying the situation, but the main point of my argument is that British ballet has been over-simplified. Claims for both its birth and its national identity have rested on notions of 'art' and 'standards' rather than actual activity or people. Its history has been written as a lineage, with the line extending back to the Imperial Russian theatres. That line must now be seen, however, to be one of many which form a complex web of activity, of influences and of practice which are both constant and changing. Such is the messy business of history.

Endnotes

1. Although pantomime was different from music hall/variety bills in that it contained spoken narrative, the ballet in pantomime was very similar. It often included a 'Grand Fairyland Ballet' and a 'transformation scene, introduced when a succession of gauzes gradually lifted to reveal enchanted worlds' (Sorley Walker, 1987: 3.) The pantomimes also had their own *corps de ballet*.
2. How the terms 'English' and 'British' ballet are used depends on their context. In most of the writing from the 1930s to the 1950s, 'English' is used but, perhaps due to an expansion of national consciousness, the more recently used term is 'British'.
3. For example, Haskell was educated at Westminster and Cambridge, Buckle (writing later) at Marlborough and Oxford.
4. For example, Bedells' biography in Noble (ca. 1949), Cecchetti in Wilson (1974) or Koegler (1987).
5. As Sorley Walker notes, 'At the time *ballet d'action*, dramatic or *demi-caractère* ballet signified the peak of classical ballet. Not until the sensational vogue for Massine's symphonic ballets in the 'thirties were pure dancing works rated as highly. Not until after World War II were they considered rather more important in the Western world.' (1987: 6)

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The Irish Masque at Court: Metamorphosis in the Jacobean Masque

Anne Daye

Ben Jonson's masque of 1613/14 was prepared for the nuptials of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset with Frances Howard, Countess of Essex. He had previously written *Hymenaii* to celebrate Frances Howard's first marriage at age 13 to Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex in 1606. This second marriage became a notorious *cause célèbre* at the Jacobean court. Robert Carr was a handsome young Scot who had become the favourite of James I, resulting in rapid advancement. When he fell in love with Frances, the king went to great lengths to assist him. This required a divorce on the grounds of non-consummation of the marriage. Opposition to the divorce was dealt with ruthlessly, resulting in the imprisonment in the Tower of Sir Thomas Overbury and the packing of the divorce commission with supporters in defiance of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The marriage was annulled in September 1613, leaving Frances free to marry again. Matters moved swiftly to a splendid court wedding, once the groom had been elevated to the rank of Earl of Somerset to match the status of his bride, who was also the daughter of Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk and the Lord Chamberlain. As if the affair were not already sordid enough, tales of witchcraft circulated and Overbury died mysteriously in the Tower. It took until September 1615 for the rumours to result in investigations leading to the conviction for murder of several individuals in the service of Frances Howard. When brought to trial, she pleaded guilty to poisoning Overbury, was sentenced to death but pardoned, whereas Robert pleaded not guilty and was imprisoned in the Tower for three years before being pardoned. James did not seek to assist them at this stage, as Somerset had been eclipsed by George Villiers, the future Duke of Buckingham.

In the late autumn of 1613 however, this wedding glittered with promise. A marriage at court was due to a bride of such high rank, let alone a groom of such attraction to the king. Indeed the cycle of events almost surpassed that of the nuptials of Princess Elizabeth to Frederick, Elector Palatine the previous season, which was a marriage of greater political import.

The most important masque of the series was written by Thomas Campion, who had also devised the principal masque of the royal nuptials. This is known as either *The Somerset* or *The Squire's Masque* and was presented on the wedding night of December 26 1613. The twelve masquers were of the very highest rank, led by the Duke of Lennox, cousin to the king and his right-hand

man throughout the reign, alongside four earls, four lords and three knights of the Howard family. It was presented in the Banqueting House, with scenery designed by Constantine de' Servi, as Inigo Jones was travelling in Italy between 1613 and 1615.

The second masque at the king's expense was *The Irish Masque at Court* written by Ben Jonson, his first commission after an absence abroad during the great nuptials of 1612. This masque was presented by 'Gentlemen, the King's Servants', in other words young men from the lower ranks of courtiers serving in the King's Bedchamber, selected for their dance skills. This masque was shown on December 29, repeated on January 3, and was probably presented in the Great Hall with minimal scenery.

On January 4, the Lord Mayor of London entertained the newly-weds at Merchant Taylors Hall with a feast, two masques, a play and dancing. It is likely that one of the masques was written by Thomas Middleton, Chronologer to the City, whose *Masque of Cupid* is lost.

On January 6, the important feast of Twelfth Night, *The Masque of Flowers* written by three anonymous collaborators was presented in the Banqueting House by the honourable house of Gray's Inn. The expense of £2000 was borne by Sir Francis Bacon alone. Elaborate scenery and rich costumes also graced this masque, but the designer is unknown.

It is important to the discussion to note the identity of the three masquing groups. The twelve noblemen were the peers of the courtly audience and acceptable partners for the social dancing of the revels. The third masque was presented by the young gentlemen of Gray's Inn, of good family but not noble. However the community of lawyers had always enjoyed a privileged social intercourse with the court, and their leaders tended to hold influential office with the king and parliament. Whenever they presented masques at court, they were welcomed as partners in the revels. The complete absence of any lady masquers is interesting. Anne of Denmark's last masque was *Love Freed from Ignorance and Folly* of 1611. Since then, her happiness had been destroyed by the untimely death of Prince Henry, the departure of her daughter Elizabeth to Germany, and the initial symptoms of the heart disease that ended her life in 1619. At the same time, her surviving son, Charles, was only thirteen, and yet to make his debut as a masquer in 1618. A gap existed in the current masquing set. This may have led to the use of the gentlemen servants of the king, whose birth was good but not noble. They were part of James's policy to bring

in fresh blood to the English court, and to introduce Scots into valuable places. Their status however was too uncertain to allow participation in revels in 1613.

The masques by Campion and the Inns of Court presented poetical, romantic themes directly suitable for a wedding. Jonson's masque had a more overtly political agenda, whilst using the device of ambassadors from Ireland coming to present their congratulations on the wedding. The selection of an Irish theme related directly to current affairs.

When James came to the throne of England in 1603, he united the crowns of Scotland and England with rule over Ireland, and made it his concern to achieve a greater degree of unity within the British Isles. Ireland had been ruled from England since the days of the Norman conquest, with varying degrees of supervision. The Irish Parliament in Dublin owed its sovereignty to the English crown and a Lord Deputy ruled as governor, answerable to the Privy Council. During the reign of Elizabeth, there had been a period of outright rebellion, which she had striven to control. Her favourite, the Earl of Essex, failed to subdue the rebels and returned home in disgrace and was subsequently executed for treason. A serious threat was posed by the strong devotion to Catholicism, refreshed by the Counter-Reformation, of the native Irish and the Old English settlers, who were always happy to enter into league with the Spanish against the English. When James came to the throne, the rebellion had been seriously reduced by a victory in battle of 1601, and he continued to press home the legal measures that would make Ireland a safer neighbour for England. This resulted in the Flight of the Earls in 1607, the sudden departure of the two great rebel leaders, Hugh O' Neill, Earl of Tyrone and Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnell, abandoning their ancestral lands in northern Ireland. There had already been discussions of the advantage of establishing plantations (or colonies) of Protestants loyal to the English crown in Ireland, to balance the Catholic population. Suddenly this became a reality with the availability of sequestered lands in Ulster. When the Lord Deputy, Sir Francis Chichester, proposed that new settlers be drawn from the population of Lowland and Western Scotland, as well as England, the plantation of Ireland became a personal concern of James I. To this was added the offer to settle the county of Coleraine to the merchants of London, who later renamed the town of Derry as Londonderry. The scheme commenced in 1609, and was closely supervised by the king, advised by Sir Francis Bacon, and incidentally with the involvement on the legal side of the Solicitor-General for Ireland, Sir John Davies, the author of the poem of dancing *Orchestra*. The result was the establishment of Ulster as a predominately Protestant region with strong loyalty to the English crown and to the Scottish homeland. James then sought to consolidate the political process by calling his first Irish parliament in May 1613

with new members drawn from the settlers to outnumber the Catholic Old English. This Parliament sat until 1615. James was able to strengthen English common law in Ireland, and to establish a Protestant state church. However, he was tolerant in matters of faith, and pursued policies of peace where possible, so the practice of Catholicism was allowed to continue unless it was seditious. In the long term, James's support for a dual-faith community led to division in the country and a succession of problems for his immediate successors, who in their turn compounded bad feelings by repressive action. The memories of Cromwell's genocide and William of Orange's military campaigns in the second half of the century are still vivid in Ireland.

However, as with the marriage, all seemed promising for a united Britain with Ireland as a flagship region, in 1613. Jonson presented a stereotypical but affectionately drawn quartet of Irishmen as the antimasque. He wove into his script all the ethnic Irish details recorded in Elizabethan and Jacobean travel literature. Dennis, Donnell, Dermock and Patrick run in as a citizen and three footmen seeking the king. They speak in Irish accents with appropriate expletives and vocabulary. They come from Connaught, Leinster, Ulster and Munster, the four provinces of the island, and Dennis claims to have been born in the English Pale, the fortified area around Dublin settled by the English. They refer to the Irish diet of bonyclabber (early yoghurt), watercress and shamrock, butter and beef and usquebaugh. They claim to be servants of their Irish masters who are coming as ambassadors to celebrate the wedding, but have lost all their fine clothes in a storm at sea. This allows for references to sea-monsters in masques and clouds that might have come to their rescue. They complain of harsh treatment at the hands of the white sticks: the court officers of the Lord Chamberlain, Frances Howard's father. They are fulsome in their praise for the king, and express their masters' loyalty:

Donnell: Tey be honesht men

Patrick: And goot men, tine own shubshects.

Dermock: Tou hasht very good shubshects in Ireland.

Dennis: A great good many o'great goot shubshects.

Donnell: Tat love ty mayesty heartily.

Dennis: Ant vill run trough fire and vater for tee, over te bog and te bank, be te graish o' Got and graish o' king.

Dermock: By Got, tey vill fight for tee, King Yamish, and for my mistresh tere.

Dennis: And my little mayshter.

Patrick: And te frow, ty daughter, that is in Tuchland.

(Jonson in *Orgel*, 1969, p.209)

They had promised to dance while waiting for their

masters to gain admittance, and in doing so mention the dance fading (the Rinnce Fada) and the nimble skill of their masters who can dance as light as the best dancer at court. At the sound of the bagpipe and other rude music, the footmen, now comprising six men and six boys, dance. The Irish running footman was also a familiar character of Jacobean London, famed for speed in taking messages long distances as the court postal service.

A song creates a short interval, before they cry 'Room for our maysters'. The gentlemen then enter in their first dance in Irish mantles, to a solemn music of harps. James always kept an Irish harpist on his musical establishment; at this time it was Cormack McDermot, who also acted as a messenger between Whitehall and Dublin, while Anne kept Daniell Cahill on hers. There are likely to have been sufficient harpists in London to make up an ensemble.

As the solemn dance finishes the four speakers come forward to praise their masters and point out how they are hampered by their 'rugs' when fine clothes would set off their dancing better. They are silenced by the entry of 'a civil gentleman of the nation' who brings in an Irish bard. He speaks in elegant English pentameters to show the bard the peacemaking king:

This is that James of which long since thou
 sung'st
 Should end our country's most unnatural broils;
 And if her ear, then deafened with the drum,
 Would stoop but to the music of his peace,
 She need not with the spheres change harmony.
 (Jonson in Orgel, 1969, p.211)

After this, the bard sings to the music of two harps (McDermot and Cahill) declaring that the gentlemen will be transformed in the presence of the king. At this, the mantles were let fall, revealing rich masquing apparel underneath. The masquers completed a second dance, after which the whole concluded with a second bardic song, linking James to the transforming power of nature:

And all get vigor, youth and sprite,
 That are but looked on by his light.
 (Jonson in Orgel, 1969, p.212)

The Irish Masque at Court is at first sight a very straightforward masque. It provides simple delight in the presentation of comic Irishmen, and compliments to James on his rule. The theme is of the most common kind: the arrival of unexpected visitors to the court, and this sense of masquing tradition is developed through references to sea-monsters and clouds. It also pays tribute to the high culture of Old Ireland through the introduction of the harps and the bard. Woven into this amusement are threads relating to the theory of plantation as pursued by James and his Privy Council. This was that the justifica-

tion for taking land and settling families was the civilising of the native population. James had stated this himself:

[to] reforme and civilize the best inclined.... rooting out or transporting the barbarous or stubborne sort, and planting civility in their roomes.

(Canny, 2003, p.198)

This philosophy was shared by Sir Francis Bacon, by 1613 the Attorney-General, who argued in his essay *Of Plantations* that only honest and diligent people should be encouraged to settle, not criminals, and that the model of the homeland should be maintained. He specifically advised:

And send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return.

(Pitcher, 1985, p.164)

This is the journey fictionalised in the masque. Earlier, in 1610, Bacon urged James to note the harp 'that glorious emblem or allegory of Ireland', and to remember its associations with the harp of David and the harp of Orpheus. In this masque, James adopts the harp and bard as part of his own powers.

The Irish mantle was well-known as the dress of the native Irishman. It had been recorded by Lucas de Heering in *Beschrijving der Britische Eilanden* compiled between 1573 and 1575. The mantle was a large rug worn over a shirt, which could be arranged to provide rug protection from the cold and wet, in the same way as a plaid in the Highlands of Scotland. De Heering had already developed it as an emblem of wildness, in contrast to the civil costume of the Old English residents in the Pale. The emblematic role of the Irish native dress is also referenced in the 1590s portrait by Marcus Gheeraerts of Captain Thomas Lee. He had been fighting with the Irish kerns alongside the Earl of Tyrone during the Elizabethan rebellions, and sought to claim that he would bring the rebels to agreement with England by befriending them. This is denoted by the combination of savage and civilised in the bare legs and shirt of the native dress, with a tailored doublet replacing the expected mantle, while the shirt is embroidered with fine black-work, rather than being of coarse stuff. He bears both a gentleman's sword and a kern's lance. His bid for respectability failed however, and he died as a traitor on the scaffold at Tyburn following the fall of his master, the Earl of Essex in 1601. Although there is no direct link between this portrait and the masque, I would suggest it reveals a discourse about the symbolism of the Irish dress that was current amongst the leaders of the day. In *The Irish Masque at Court* the process of civilisation through plantation is animated for

the contemplation of the governing community.

If we then look at the other two masques for which libretti survive, we find that each uses the device of metamorphosis in relation to the main masquers. In *The Somerset Masque*, the masquers are also twelve knights whose journey to the nuptials in Britain had been endangered. The four squires entering the scene set by the coast narrate how dreadful storms were summoned by evil enchanters: Errour, Rumor, Curiosity and Credulity. One ship had foundered with six knights on board, but as they vanished six golden pillars appeared on the shore. The sad squires retreat as the enchanters enter. These present a spectacular antimasque of pure dance in a series of entries by the four evil forces, then the four winds, the four elements (Earth, Water, Air and Fire) and the four parts of the earth (Europe, Asia, Africa and America). As they pass away, singers representing Eternity, the three Destinies and Harmony with nine musicians arrive, bearing a golden tree. In song, Anne of Denmark is addressed as having the power to free the six knights from enchantment, if she would only pluck a branch from the tree by her own sacred hand. This she does, at which a cloud descends bearing six knights, and the other six are transformed out of the six golden pillars on the coastal promontories. Then the scene changes again to London on the banks of the Thames. The masquers proceed to present two masque dances and the revels, interspersed with songs in celebration of marriage. The whole is concluded unusually with a second antimasque section of skippers 'shouting and triumphing after their manner' (Campion, 1614)

As with *The Irish Masque* this seems merely a pleasant device to entertain at a wedding, but in the context of royal masquing another agenda is apparent. It can also be read as an extensive compliment to Queen Anne and her masquing career. The sea imagery is her own device; she was Bel-Anna, Queen of the Ocean in *The Masque of Queens*, and Tethys in *Tethys' Festival*. As Tethys she sat beneath a golden tree which was referred to as The Tree of Victory and as Apollo's Tree, an emblem of James as source of power and life. The raising of storms was part of the malevolence of the witches in *The Masque of Queens* and in itself was a direct reference to the storms that delayed Anne's own journey to Scotland as a bride, and provoked James into setting out across the North Sea to Norway to escort her himself. Campion seeks to make the link by calling the evil enchanters 'Hagge' and 'Fiend', as well as addressing Anne as 'Bel-Anna' and 'Queene of Dames', therefore deploying Jonson's own vocabulary. By giving her the task of plucking a branch from the Golden Tree to effect the transformation, Campion has made her the mainspring of the masque rather than James.

The anonymous authors of the Grays Inn Masque pretended that the Sun himself wished to honour the marriage, and commissioned the two seasons of the year

to attend: Spring and Winter. The antimasque was offered by Winter in the spirit of Christmas sports and was a competition between the forces of Tobacco, led by Kawasha and the forces of Wine, led by Silenus. This also took a novel form for the Jacobean masque, by being presented as an antimasque of Song and an antimasque of Dance. In the words of the song, the contrasting virtues of smoking and drinking were discussed without any clear conclusion. Amongst the train of Kawasha were a skipper and a blind harper, a typical masking in-joke, while one verse is titled 'The Freeman's Song', a reference to the citizens of London. The dance rushed in, comprising two teams of three comic couples, and then rushed away again. Loud music heralded a scene change from city walls to 'a garden of glorious and strange beauty'. This led into the main masque offered by Spring, who had been commanded to organise the release of certain fair youths who had been turned into flowers in ancient times. The garden was planted in geometric beds and filled with exquisite flowers enhanced with lights. On a mount there 'was a bank of flowers curiously painted, behind which, within the arches, the Masquers sat unseen'. Twelve singers as Garden-gods descended from the garden and processed towards the king in state, beseeching him as the Sun to free the men from their enchantment. This was no sooner requested than loud music heralded the transformation, the Grays Inn masquers in silver, white and carnation suits embellished with flowers were revealed and marched down into the room to commence their first dance. After the second dance, they were called to the revels. The penultimate song celebrated James as the creator of Britain:

This Isle was Britain in times past,
But then was Britain rude and waste
But now is Britain fit to be
A seat for a fifth monarchy.

(Evans, 1897, p.113)

The masquers' going-out dance was followed by a song of compliment to the married couple.

This masque lacks the depth of allusion of the other two, but still picks up on the theme of metamorphosis, and the celebration of James as fount of civilisation in Britain. The theme of flowers echoes the final song of Jonson's masque in which the coming of spring and the defeat of winter figures as an emblem of James's power.

The clustering of details common to all three masques suggests some degree of planning and consultation. While the literary criticism of the masque tends to afford the poet extensive sovereignty over the message and form of the masque, it is hard to conceive that Campion, Jonson and three amateur writers from Grays Inn would have collaborated as a matter of course, and the timing of the masques does not allow for a spontaneous response. The

circumstantial evidence points to another level of organisation above the commissioned poets, and I suggest that this was James himself. In undertaking detailed case studies of other masques, I have uncovered far more direct personal involvement from the royal family than has been proposed before.

The theme of civilised Britain, exemplified by the plantations in Ireland echoes the published policy of James and Bacon. The taking of the celebrations into the City of London, in itself an unusual event, suggests the wish to compliment and encourage the settlers of Londonderry in the great enterprise. London city also features in all three masques. The celebration of Queen Anne and her masquing career must have originated with James, and may have had several motives: the reference to their marriage as an ideal for the new couple, the reassurance to Anne that she was still held in esteem despite the favour afforded James Carr, or even a deliberate swan-song acknowledging the end of her masquing career. The themes of tobacco and wine were also close to James: his treatise against tobacco was well known, as was his penchant for deep drinking.

Another element in this cycle is the use of handsome young men who were good at dancing for two masques. The Inns of Court men were especially favoured twice over, in being allowed to dance the revels with the ladies of the court, and then being received at the end:

...the Masquers uncovered their faces, and came up to the State, and kissed the King's, and Queen's and Prince's hands with a great deal of grace and favour, and so were invited to the banquet.

(Evans, 1897, p.113)

James and Henry had first introduced the group of gentlemen the king's servants as masquers in 1612 for *Love Restored* when a low-cost event was needed in the face of great expenditure the following year with the royal wedding. When they tried to initiate revels, the ladies of the court refused to dance with them, causing an unseemly disorder. This time no risks were taken, by leaving the revels out. However the device of metamorphosis may also have been a tactic to declare to the English court that these gentlemen were favoured by the king and were as acceptable as court dancers to the noble audience. James won the point, and was able to enjoy the revels between his young men and the court ladies in 1615.

Based on this study, and others related to it, I would like to propose that James I be considered as the Diaghilev of his day. His passion for dancing emerges in a wealth of small details, such as his calling for a repeat of the anti-masque of song and dance at the end of *The Masque of Flowers*, let alone the larger one of his patronage of the masque from accession to death. He was also a radical

innovator, forcing the English court to accept the anti-masque and new ways of using professional expressive dancers, as well as new masque dancers of intermediate status. He also acted as an integrating director, commissioning poets to work in close collaboration with the court artistic establishment. Like Diaghilev, he also enjoyed the physical beauty of young male dancers, and endeavoured to advance them in status and culture. Rather than Carr, his Nijinsky was George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, noted for his elevation and agility. Above all, James raised the level of theatre dance at the English court to great heights, leaving a legacy of achievement for Charles to develop in his own time.

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Privileging the Popular in Dance Studies

Sherril Dodds

As cultural studies has sought to eschew hierarchical paradigms of culture, its scholars have endeavoured to develop a critical apparatus for the study of popular culture. In spite of this, the subject of dance is notably excluded from these discursive formations (Desmond, 1997; McRobbie, 1990; Thomas and Cooper, 2002).¹ Although cultural studies is remiss in its failure to examine dance as a valuable realm of social production, the discipline of dance studies has created its own cultural hierarchy as research traditionally focuses on the elite domain of theatre art dance (Malnig, 2001/02; Malone, 1996; Desmond, 2000; Buckland, 1999). Yet recent decades reveal an increasing plurality and relativism (Buckland, 1999) in a proliferation of key texts that address popular dance styles (De Frantz, 2002; Dixon Gottschild, 1996, 2000; Malone, 1996; Savigliano, 1995; Stearns and Stearns, 1994; Thomas, 1993, 1997). Given that cultural studies is instrumental in the dismantling of a canonical research paradigm, Sklar (2001) and Desmond (2000) identify a greater attention to 'cultural analysis' within dance studies, which utilises theories and methods typical of a cultural studies approach. In view of this inchoate trajectory, this paper sets out to examine how 'popular dance' is treated within dance scholarship and the extent to which this research intersects with intellectual frameworks employed in cultural studies. It does so through a meta-critical analysis of selected texts that focus on popular dance forms. I consider how this literature deals with the characterising principles of the popular idiom; the theoretical questions and methodological models that it employs; the extent to which it addresses the context of production and consumption; and its treatment of the dancing body.²

Tackling definition

The term 'popular dance' is a contested and unstable category in that it is either employed interchangeably with 'social' and 'vernacular' (Cohen-Stratynner, 2001/02; Malnig, 2001/02) or set in contrast to 'classical' and 'folk' (Buckland, 1983). To date, no sustained investigation into the characterising principles of popular dance exists and, for the purposes of this research, I have purposely allowed for a degree of flexibility and ambiguity.³ The texts that inform this paper all deal with dance forms that are either located or examined outside a high art or folk art tradition and within post-nineteenth century, industrial societies.⁴

As definitions of popular dance remain nebulous, it is interesting to consider how the literature deals with this problematic. Notably, the term 'popular' is used infrequently and is employed to refer to the location of the dance within 'popular culture' rather than as a descriptive category per se (Foley, 2001/02; Osumare, 2000; Taylor, 2000). The exception is Usner (2001/02) who describes 'swing' as a popular dance style, although he does not elucidate this characterisation. The term 'popular' may well be perceived pejoratively because of its associations with 'mass culture'. Within cultural studies, the notion of a 'mass culture' delineates standardised cultural products, created through commercial production techniques, that are passively accepted by a homogeneous mass of consumers (Strinati, 1995).⁵ This association is problematic for scholars examining dance practices frequented by relatively few participants in a live social context. Notions of production and mediation undermine concepts of participation and agency.

Significantly, the term 'vernacular' is more widespread (Jackson, 2001/02; LaBoskey, 2001/02; Malone, 1996; Stearns and Stearns, 1994; Valis Hill, 1992) and several authors attempt to tackle its defining characteristics. Stearns and Stearns (1994, pxvi) describe vernacular dance as "native and homegrown". Yet they offer case studies that occur in professional theatrical contexts, which is in marked contrast to Crease (2000) who states that it is performed by 'amateurs' in 'everyday spaces'. Malone (1996) conceives vernacular dance as that which occurs outside the 'academy' and is dynamic in character. The emphasis on mutability is supported by Jackson (2001/02) who foregrounds 'improvisation' and the individual as its key mode of transmission. Yet, while the concept of 'vernacular dance' is relatively well-developed, these definitions are restricted to live dance practice and exclude representations of 'dance' in other popular contexts, such as cinema, television, books and periodicals.

The final categorisation is the notion of 'social dance' (Cook, 2000; Malnig, 1998; Ponzio, 1996; Sommer, 2001/02; Stern, 2000; Szwed and Marks, 1988; Thomas and Cooper, 2002), although this term is potentially misleading in that all dance is socially situated. Doolittle (2001/02) refers to 'mass social dancing' in the title of her article, but makes overlapping references to 'popular' and 'vernacular' elsewhere; and Monaghan and Dodson (2000) describe the lindyhop as social, but note that it occurs within the contexts of social, stage and competition dance. Indeed, a number of authors observe how dances are

transmitted across theatrical and vernacular spaces, thus further problematising attempts to categorise those forms (Daniel, 1991; McMains, 2001/02; Penny, 1999). These multiple classifications indicate that definitions of dance practices located outside a theatre art context remain underdeveloped and in need of clarification.

Selecting and Interrogating the Dance

The literature reveals a rich array of dance practices and this diversity relates to historical eras, geographical locations, performance contexts and participants' identities. Within this broad spectrum of work, clusters of studies have evolved that share common themes. Although the individual texts could be classified in multifarious ways and the following sub-groupings are neither fixed nor discrete, it is useful to identify shared research interests for two key reasons. First, the 'popularity' of a topic reveals a paradigm of value from which it is possible to ascertain those dance forms that have merited scholarly concern. Second, the transition from isolated studies to wider collections of research is integral to dance scholarship as the latter broadens academic debate to reveal important confluence and divergence of thinking.

One of the most well-developed research areas centres on African American vernacular dance (Dixon Gottschild, 1996, 2000; Emery, 1980; De Frantz, 2002; Jackson, 2001/02; Malone, 1996; Osumare, 2000; Stearns and Stearns, 1994; Vallis Hill, 1992 and 2001/02). The significance of this literature is that it interrogates and celebrates the dance practices of a group historically marginalised through social and economic exclusion. Yet De Frantz (2000) problematises the reductive link between African Americans and what is perceived as trivial entertainment. Other clusters of research focus on period dances of the early 20th century (Doolittle, 2001; Malnig, 1998; Cook, 2000), ballroom and Latin (McMains, 2001; Penny, 1999; Stern, 2000), Lindyhop and swing (Usner, 2001; Monaghan and Dodson, 2000; Monaghan, 2001/02) and contemporary club dance (Gore, 1997; Pini, 1997; Sommer, 2001/02). There is also a pocket of studies that addresses dances associated with, and studied in the context of, a specific nation or region.⁶ Yet I have reservations about this category of texts. To demarcate an area of literature that focuses on the dance of a particular region or nation implies that the remaining research examines dances outside a geographical or culturally bounded area. Nor would I want to call attention to the problematic category of 'national dances'.⁷ What is important for the purposes of this paper is to note that a collection of texts exist that stress the relationship between dance and its regional or national context of production.

Although an overview of this literature would indicate that a diverse range of dance practices and representations are examined, several omissions exist. The more

sustained studies focus on dances characterised by longevity and mainstream interest. Unlike the art dance canon, which is preserved through a performance repertoire, popular dance within a vernacular context undergoes a constant process of innovation and modification by the agents involved. Thus short-lived 'dance crazes' or those situated in 'underground' contexts are easily overlooked.⁸ Thomas and Cooper (2002) reveal that the social dance activities of the elderly is a neglected subject, while Taylor's (2000) isolated study of young girls' perceptions of ballet indicates scant attention both to the dance practices of children and to art dance situated in a popular context. Notably, the majority of studies examine live dance practices. Yet since work in cultural studies comprises practices, institutions, and representations, I would suggest that the concept of 'popular dance' should extend to include literary texts and media images.⁹

It is possible to extrapolate the intellectual concerns pertinent to the study of popular dance through an examination of the theoretical questions that constitute this literature. With the exception of a handful of studies that seek to provide an historical overview of the dances in question (Lammoglia, 2000; Stearns and Stearns, 1994; Szwed and Marks, 1988), the remaining literature bifurcates into two strands of research. The first reflects the post-structuralist interest in subjectivity with its attention to issues of identity,¹⁰ and the second is characterised by foci that examine how dance participates in the creation, maintenance, modification and transgression of cultural values and meanings.¹¹ This substantiates Sklar (2001) and Desmond's (2000) hypothesis that an area of work has developed in dance studies that calls upon issues, theories and methods from cultural studies. 'Identity politics' and 'cultural analysis' are fundamental to cultural studies, in particular the way that culture is a site of contestation that reflects different models of power (Barker, 2000; During, 1993; Nelson *et al.*, 1992; Turner, 1990). Yet because attention has turned to the complex social, political and economic meanings invested in popular dance practice, issues of aesthetics are subsequently overlooked. Whereas there is an established research tradition that deals with the aesthetics of genre and style in relation to theatre dance and its seminal practitioners (Copeland and Cohen, 1982), this area forms a notable omission in the literature under review.¹²

Methodological Frameworks

Cultural studies is often characterised as an interdisciplinary field of enquiry (Nelson *et al.*, 1992; Turner, 1990) since it appropriates theories and methods from other disciplines according to its intellectual task. With the literature in question, there are three key methodological approaches: textual analysis, ethnography and historiography.¹³ To some extent, the method of textual analysis is a problematic strategy for the study of popular

dance. Whereas there is a repertoire in theatre art dance that can be treated as a relatively stable text, popular dance that exists as part of a dynamic social setting is subject to perpetual evolution and modification and personal interpretation of the dance is permitted and encouraged.¹⁴ It is therefore difficult to delimit a discrete text as such since the dancing often takes place over several hours and recurs across weeks, months and possibly years. Although there is an option to study the dance synchronically, its dynamic character is obscured. In view of this, textual analysis is primarily used for the study of textual representations of popular dance, such as Malnig's (1998) examination of dance in women's journals; or for live dance practices that are particularly bounded events, such as McMains's (2001/02) study of Latin Dancesport, which is characterised by a strictly codified vocabulary and visual presentation.

The collection of field data is a common research strategy in cultural studies¹⁵ and, likewise, a considerable proportion of the literature under review uses ethnographic research, or at least some degree of fieldwork, to deal with the transient character of popular dance practices (Daniel, 1991; Jackson, 2001/02; Desmond, 1992; Usner, 2001/02; Osumare, 2000; Penny, 1999; Sommer, 2001/02; Stern, 2000; Thomas and Cooper, 2002). The other way in which scholars have approached the fluidity of this dance is through historical studies (Malone, 1996; Monaghan and Dodson, 2000; Szwed and Marks, 1988; Vallis Hill, 1992 and 2001) that employ methods such as archival research (Cook, 2000; Doolittle, 2001/02; Lammoglia, 2000; Malnig, 1998), interviews (Doolittle, 2001/02; Lammoglia, 2000; Stearns and Stearns, 1994), questionnaires (Lammoglia, 2000) and 'embodied histories'¹⁶ (Doolittle, 2001/02) to construct accounts of popular dance forms.¹⁷

Given that the majority of research focuses on popular dance as a live performance practice, methodologies that encompass 'practice-based research' as distinct from ethnographic 'participant observation' are virtually non-existent. The one exception is a study of mass social dancing of the 1930s and 40s, which culminated in an 'art dance performance' (Doolittle, 2001/02); yet this research output transferred the dance from its social context to a theatrical framework. To date, I have failed to unearth any research that seeks to interrogate and experiment with the compositional aspect of popular dance through the researcher's practice of it within its live social context. Arguably this is because popular dance is perceived as spontaneous and improvised rather than choreographed; although, in a study of African American vernacular dance, Jackson (2001/02) critiques this ethnocentric position in his insistence that improvisation is a form of dance composition.

Contextualising the Dance

A key concern within cultural studies is how cultural practices and representations are shaped by the social, political and economic framework in which they evolve and how this context impacts upon the circulation and subsequent consumption of cultural expression (Agger, 1992; Johnson, 1996; Storey, 1998).¹⁸ In the literature under review, the majority of studies make reference to the wider contextual framework. The level of discussion, however, is variable. Some research directs close attention to the 'performance context' or the infrastructure of the 'dance event'; yet this examination remains discrete from the socio-historical and politico-economic framework in which the dance is situated (Penny, 1999; Stearns and Stearns, 1994; Young, 1999). Yet other studies offer a close examination of the context in which the dance evolves and identify links between how these circumstances affect and shape understanding of the dance form (Browning, 1991; Cook, 2000; Daniel, 1991; Desmond, 1992; Hanna, 2000; Lammoglia, 2000; Malnig, 1998; Malone, 1996; Sommer, 2001/02; Stern, 2000). For example, Doolittle (2001/02) offers a close reading of the mass social dancing of the 1930s and 40s in Alberta, through references to changing historical conditions, the political and economic framework of this period, prescribed patterns of social behaviour regarding class, ethnicity and gender, legislative sanctioning and the shifting populations of urban and rural communities.

Although Desmond (1997) emphasises how dances are modified and the meanings and values that surround them alter as they migrate from one social group to another, processes of circulation and distribution are generally awarded less attention. A few authors briefly refer to modes of transmission, which reveal a diversity of apparatuses at work. For instance, Cook (2000) identifies the use of technology in the dissemination of ragtime dance and Cooper (2000) focuses on the broadcast of Jamaican dancehall through media texts. Unfortunately, these particular examples do not expound on how these processes impact upon the dance itself. Yet other studies offer a considered account of how the dance form and its concomitant meanings are shaped by modes of distribution (Stearns and Stearns, 1994; Stern, 2000; Malone, 1996; Osumare, 2000). For example, Daniel (1991) addresses the influence of the Ministry of Culture on the distribution of Cuban rumba and Desmond (1992) focuses on the marketing and commodification of hula through the tourist industry.

Since the 1980s, issues of consumption have become paramount to cultural studies (Blundell *et al.*, 1993).¹⁹ Yet the swing towards reception studies has undergone a critique due to its neglect of the conditions of production (Garnham, 1997; Murdock, 1997), its uncritical celebration of consumption (McGuigan, 1992; Morris, 1996) and its anti-humanist perspective (Agger, 1992; Billig, 1997;

Jensen and Pauly, 1997). Johnson (1996) draws an important distinction between an abstract 'reader in the text' and the concrete notion of a 'reader in society'.²⁰ In view of this, it is interesting to examine how the literature under review deals with issues of consumption and experiences of participation. In some instances, reception is briefly acknowledged: through the author's observations (Foley, 2001/02; McMains, 2001/02) or experiences of participation (Browning, 1991); through cursory references to interview material (McMains, 2001/02; Ponzio, 1996); or through a discussion of the different identities of those involved (Daniel, 1991). In other cases, aspects of consumption are key (Doolittle, 2001/02; Malone, 1996; Sommer, 2001/02; Stearns and Stearns, 1994; Penny, 1999; Thomas and Cooper, 2002; Usner, 2001/02; Young, 1999). For instance, Young (1999) draws upon interview material, fanzines, databases and internet discussion groups to give voice to the participants of goth club dancing. Since she integrates participant experience directly into the writing, the notion of consumption is rooted in embodied knowledge rather than abstract speculation. Issues of consumption are also explored to raise fundamental ideas about the dance practice. For example, Cook (2000) investigates the 'domestic consumption' of ragtime dance to explore cultural anxieties regarding class, race and gender; and Osumare (2000) addresses the interface between the globalisation of hip hop and local interpretations in Hawaii. This attention to the circuit of production, distribution and consumption seems integral to understanding the values and meanings that surround the dance practice.

Embodying the Dance

Whereas cultural studies is generally negligent of the dancing body, the literature under review not surprisingly demonstrates a far greater engagement with movement practice. In some instances, there is a close examination of the performance context (Cooper, 2000; Desmond, 1992; Hanna, 2000; Monaghan and Dodson, 2000; Ponzio, 1996; Taylor, 2000), a cursory description of key movement components or a list of the dances that might occur (Cook, 2000; Doolittle, 2001/02; LaBoskey, 2001/02; Lammoglia, 2000; Penny, 1991; Usner, 2001/02; Vallis Hill, 1992); however, a rigorous analysis of the dance is absent. There may be an assumption that the reader will have an elementary knowledge of the dance form under investigation. Or else the focus of the article might seek to address the meanings and values that surround the dance rather than an interrogation of the movement per se. Yet I would argue that what is missing from those accounts is a sense of corporeality. The embodied actions of a moving agent in time and space are fundamental to understanding the social meanings and values in circulation. Since research in popular dance is a relatively recent subject of enquiry, a clear delineation of what

the body does and how it moves is paramount to illustrating and animating the dance practice.

Despite the transient and elusive character of many popular dance forms, a substantial proportion of the literature provides a detailed movement analysis through attention to the following: principal movement characteristics; the spatial organisation of the body; speed, rhythm and dynamics; physical demeanour and attitude; structural components; the dance-music relationship; improvisational possibilities and stylistic variations; levels of technical expertise; codes of conduct; and relations between fellow dancers (Browning, 1991; Daniel, 1991; Jackson, 2001/02; Foley, 2001/02; Malnig, 1998; Malone, 1996; McMains, 2001/02; Osumare, 2000; Sommer, 2001/02; Stearns and Stearns, 1994; Stern, 2000; Szwed and Marks, 1988; Vallis Hill, 2001; Young, 1999). From this, a cogent sense of physicality begins to emerge. For instance, through a close movement analysis, Sommer (2001/02, p83) reveals some of the meanings and values that reside in underground house. She states:

Among Househeads, humor is most pointedly made by mimicking and commenting, in dance, on the other guy's style. Yet, because of the overriding sense of inclusion, the quality of the humor can be wickedly accurate but rarely rancorous and cruel ... For example, someone's shirt gets swiped and is passed around in a contest of "keep away." It becomes a handkerchief to blow the nose on, a dress, a wig of long hair tossing in the breeze, a waiter's towel.

Similarly, Young (1999, pp81-82) offers a detailed reading of dance content to illustrate "the politics and aesthetics of Gothic subculture":

Constituting a sort of *danse macabre*, it is flamboyant and theatrical ... Dancers often bring to mind images of Frankenstein awakening, condemned prisoners being electrocuted, or victims of electroshock treatment.

These descriptions evoke a rich sense of corporeality to convey the dance form.

Privileging the Popular

In conclusion, I would argue that a considerable degree of intersection exists between approaches to popular dance within dance studies and some of the core intellectual principles of cultural studies. In a stance of cultural relativism that challenges hierarchical conceptions of culture, a plurality of dance styles form the subject of enquiry in the literature under review. The authors in question interrogate these dance practices and representations through a range of methodological ap-

proaches and key research questions focus on how broader cultural issues are inscribed within and enacted through the dance. Consequently, this research requires a wider frame of analysis and attention turns to how the context of production, modes of distribution and experiences of consumption participate in the meanings and values that shape and surround the dance form. Yet whereas cultural studies is myopic in its neglect of the dancing body, the research here awards the movement content far closer analysis in recognition that the dancing body is a critical site of agency and power in the domain of cultural production. Within dance studies, the area that demands most development is in the defining characteristics of the popular idiom. Indeed whether the term 'popular dance' is even relevant is debatable in light of postmodern narratives that seek to efface the high/low divide (Agger, 1992; Frow, 1995). Yet, although it is a problematic binarism, notions of high versus popular culture continue to express matters of taste and value (Frow, 1995). Therefore it is of note that dance studies now privileges the popular.

Endnotes

1. Although there are seminal texts that examine popular youth practices, the dances associated with these communities are given a cursory mention at most (Hebdige, 1979; Mungham, 1976; Willis, 1990). Even in the recent surge of literature on club culture that deals directly with dance events, any sustained analysis of movement practice is emphatically absent (Thornton, 1995; Malbon, 1999).
2. It is important to note that this is research in process and I am still working through a rich array of materials that address popular dance forms. Consequently I am conscious that there are gaps and omissions in this work.
3. I do not want to underplay the importance of developing a more rigorous definition of 'popular dance' and have commenced an AHRB-funded research project in July 2003 that deals directly with this issue.
4. This definition is in line with an understanding of 'popular culture' within cultural studies, which recognises that the notion of 'popular culture' as distinct from folk art emerged in the twentieth century in conjunction with the mass media and assembly line production techniques (Agger, 1992; During, 1993).
5. Although there are alternative positions that challenge the hegemony of mass culture, Strinati (1995) comments that notions of mass culture continue to inform conceptions of popular culture.
6. This area of research includes Brazilian samba (Browning, 1991), Cuban rumba (Daniel, 1991), Hawaiian hula (Desmond, 1992), Irish step dance (Foley, 2001), American country western dance (Ponzio, 1996) and Jamaican dancehall (Cooper, 2000).
7. The notion of a 'national dance' is homogenising and reductionist as it assumes that a whole nation of people is familiar with, and able to perform, the dance in question.
8. An exception to this is Young's (1999) study of dancing within Gothic youth subculture.
9. Although such research occupies a minority position, several scholars concur. For instance, Malign (1998) examines images of social dance within popular women's journals and a clutch of studies focus on popular representations of dance in film and television (Becker, 1987 and 1989; Dodds, 2001; LaBoskey, 2001/02; Studlar, 1995).
10. Examples of this include: rumba and the formation of a national Cuban identity (Daniel, 1991); nationalism and globalisation in relation to Irish step dance (Foley, 2001/02); masculinity in hip hop films (LaBoskey, 2001/02); femininity in the social dance coverage of women's periodicals (Malign, 1998); nostalgia and ethnicity in neo-swing (Usner, 2001/02); gender and sexuality in Jamaican dancehall (Cooper, 2000); issues of race in Samba (Browning, 1991) and 'Latin dance' (McMains, 2001; Stern, 2000); age, gender and class in competition ballroom (Penny, 1999); race, gender and nationality in country western dance; and class and gender in rag-time dance (Cook, 2000).
11. Examples of this are as follows: how vernacular dancing can "construct culture in black communities" (Jackson, 2001/02, pp41-2); the commodification of culture and the consumption of cultural difference in hula dance (Desmond, 1992); how social dancing can enact "choreographies of community cultural values" (Doolittle, 2001/02, p11); the cultural history of African American vernacular dance (Malone, 1996); the social meanings of dance for participants in the 'third age' (Thomas and Cooper, 2002); the subcultural analysis of Gothic club dancing (Young, 1999); how underground house-dancing creates a 'communitas' in which a 'ludic liminality' occurs (Sommer, 2001/02); the globalisation of hip hop and its interface with local indigenous interpretations (Osumare, 2000); "how an historical inheritance of imagery and metaphor from literary romance informs the position of ballet in popular culture" (Taylor, 2000, p415); exotic dance and censorship (Hanna, 2000); and the transmission and modification of the Lindyhop (Monaghan and Dodson, 2000).
12. An exception to this is Valis Hill's research on 'jazz dance' which examines the choreographic style of Buddy Bradley (Valis Hill, 1982) and Jack Cole (Valis Hill, 2001/02).
13. Please note that some authors employ more than one methodological approach.
14. I fully acknowledge here the problems of applying semiotics and its notion of a linguistic sign to a visual or movement image. With language it is possible to identify the smallest unit of signification (the phoneme), whereas it is impossible to delimit a comparable structural unit with visual representations or dance movements. Yet semiotics has been influential in cultural studies (Barker, 2000) in relation to non-linguistic sign-systems, such as advertising and fashion, and also in dance (Adshead-Lansdale, 1999; Foster, 1986).
15. It is important to note that there is some debate in cultural studies about the degree to which this research constitutes an ethnographic methodology. Billig (1997) argues that scholars within cultural studies do not undergo the extensive fieldwork traditionally associated with classic ethnography and Jensen and Pauly (1997) concur that researchers do not spend enough time observing subjects' lives or gathering additional materials such as life histories. Yet in spite of these reservations, there is a long tradition within cultural studies of privileging human agency and lived experience within the research process. For instance, the 'culturalism' strand, which formed some of the nascent work of British cultural studies, is characterised by empirical research methods that explore how people actively create cultural meanings (Barker, 2000). More recently, a number of scholars have called for the need to study the consumption of culture within the context of audience reception and lived experience (Johnson, 1996; Kellner, 1997; McRobbie, 1997), which can primarily be achieved through ethnographic studies, field interviews, focus groups and questionnaires.
16. Doolittle's notion of an 'embodied history' refers to her research into mass social dancing of the 1930s and 40s in which she invited participants to recall dance memories through the activity of dance itself: she examines "experiences of vanished dancing through actual experiences of dancing with older people. This text is embodied and remembered rather than written down" (2001/02, p19).
17. Notably, there is a well-established tradition of historiography in relation to theatre art dance (Albright and Dils, 2001; Layson and Adshead, 1994) that can potentially provide a methodological model for the study of popular dance.
18. Recent critiques of cultural studies note that this field of scholar-

ship has swayed increasingly towards textual analysis and consumption studies to the neglect of political economy and issues of production (Agger, 1992; Jensen and Pauly, 1997; Kellner, 1997; McGuigan, 1992).

19. This transition is primarily due to the influence of structuralism on cultural studies (Grossberg, 1993; Hall, 1996; Barker, 2000). The particular emphasis on the productive work of the reader derives from Hall's notion of 'encoding and decoding', which argues that the decoding of texts does not necessarily correlate with their intended encoding, and literary reception studies, which asserts that understanding is always from the position of the reader (Barker, 2000). Hence this perspective propounds that consumers, spectators and participants are actively involved in the creation of meaning through their engagement with cultural formations.
20. The former derives from literary studies and textual analysis, whereas the latter is typical of historical or sociological approaches.

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Dancing Along the Funding Tightrope: Project Grand Jeté and Canada's National Ballet School

Norma Sue Fisher-Stitt

In this paper, I explore the relationship between Canada's National Ballet School (NBS) the Canadian federal government and the Ontario provincial government, looking especially at the interactions amongst this triad during the opening stages of the Project Grand Jeté capital campaign. NBS provides a microcosm for an ongoing debate in Canadian arts funding: Where do federal responsibilities end and provincial responsibilities begin? Perhaps more importantly, what makes a government more or less likely to support a specific cultural institution? In the case of NBS, federal support has been more constant than provincial support. Unlike some cultural institutions, the key factor affecting the Ontario government's funding for NBS has never been the school's performance; rather, changes in status generally have been attributable to substantial shifts in provincial cultural policy.

From the outset, NBS considered itself, and wished to be perceived, as a national institution, and the School began lobbying the federal arts funding agency, the Canada Council, for support soon after NBS was founded in 1959. The stance adopted by the School was that "as a national school, it may be appropriate to expect continuing aid at the federal level if the school is to be enabled to take its proper place in the artistic life of the national community for which it is designed" (Abel, 30 Oct 1964). The timing was ideal; Canada was on the verge of entering a period of enthusiastic nationalism in which funding for Canadian arts and artists grew enormously. By 1967, the year of Canada's Centennial and Expo '67, Canada Council funding to NBS had grown to \$80,000. The grants increased dramatically during the 1970s, going from \$100,000 at the beginning of the decade to \$798,000 in 1979.

The national stature and mandate of NBS undoubtedly made it attractive to the Canada Council, but the School also approached the province for support. Historically, the relationship between Ontario and NBS has been far less amicable than that found between the School and the federal government. The often conflicted and ambiguous attitude held by the province of Ontario towards funding the arts and artists, generally, can be traced back to the beginning of the Ontario Arts Council (OAC). In his history of the OAC, Roy MacSkimming explains:

Unlike the Canada Council, which had been advocated and sketched in some detail in the Massey Report, the Ontario Arts Council did not spring from a public blueprint. The government of Ontario in the 1950s and early 1960s was not sufficiently interested in the arts to commission a study or provoke public debate on the subject. And yet Ontario . . . possessed the greatest concentration of professional artists and arts organizations of any province in English-speaking Canada. . . . Not only that, the provincial government was supporting some arts organizations financially—it just preferred not to draw attention to the fact. (14)

Change came with the departure of Leslie Frost as premier and the arrival of John Robarts. Frost had "believed that grants to professional artists would be unpopular with the great majority of voters" (MacSkimming, 15). In contrast, shortly after becoming premier of the province, Robarts worked to ensure that a bill to establish the Province of Ontario Council for the Arts was passed by the Ontario Legislature. In April 1963, Bill 162 was given third reading and the Council was launched with an initial funding base of \$300,000. In the early years of the OAC, the Council reported to the provincial government through the Ministry of Education, and grants were provided for study in the arts. In the mid-1960s, several NBS students were the beneficiaries of Ontario Arts Council educational assistance. Beginning in 1966, additional provincial support was provided to the School itself in the form of operating grants: the initial operating grant of \$10,000 awarded in 1966 was doubled in 1967 to \$20,000.

In 1975, the reporting line for the OAC shifted from the Ministry of Colleges and Universities (which had replaced the prior reporting line through the Ministry of Education in 1972) to the newly formed Ministry of Culture and Recreation. According to MacSkimming, one of the motivations behind this move was "a desire to endow cultural matters . . . with a higher political profile, in order to mobilize policies that would satisfy mounting public demands in those areas" (40). In addition to the Arts Council, the new ministry was responsible for the Ontario government's other cultural agencies, including the Art Gallery of Ontario (AGO) and the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM). Over the next two years, the Ministry and the

Council hammered out their respective roles. In the end the Ministry, not the OAC, assumed responsibility for cultural policy as well as for funding that did not involve artistic judgments (such as operating funds). With this shift, in 1976/77 the Ministry of Culture and Recreation assumed responsibility for funding major arts training institutions, including the National Ballet School. Presumably, training in the arts was not considered to involve artistic judgments.

Despite these shifts in cultural policy and reporting lines, provincial support for NBS grew steadily during the 1970s, almost doubling from \$160,000 in 1972/73 to over \$300,000 in 1976/77. However, in 1975 NBS found itself at the centre of a conflict that seriously damaged its status within the Canadian dance community. The debate emerged in the wake of the release of a report, titled "The Development of Professional Training for Classical Ballet in Canada." This report, conducted by Peter Brinson on behalf of the Canada Council, was an attempt by the federal arts agency to ascertain the needs of ballet in Canada. The report, which recommended that the National Ballet School "should be the national centre of excellence and guardian of standards" (Brinson Report 14) for ballet training in Canada, came under immediate criticism from the rest of the Canadian dance community. By the time the dust settled, the National Ballet School was essentially isolated from the rest of the Canadian dance community, but strongly aligned with the federal Canada Council. In contrast, most Canadian dance groups, like the nation at large, were developing and celebrating regional strengths. Within the province of Ontario, the OAC hired its first dance consultant in 1976, confirming the growing interest in dance and the increased demand for dance funding that was emerging at the provincial level.

The steady pressure placed on the province throughout the 1980s to improve its funding for regional dance and dancers may have contributed to a declining interest on the part of Ontario to offer support to a national institution that was already generously funded by the federal government. Robert Sirman, the current Administrative Director of NBS who was with the Ontario Arts Council in the 1980s, recalls how the School was perceived by the provincial arts funding agency at that time: "[NBS] was not a major player in the Toronto dance scene. I knew that when the dance office called together people for dance consultations. . . , it was highly unlikely the National Ballet School would be invited. The reason was that it seemed to have isolated itself or self-identified as being outside the interests of many of those other players" (personal interview, 6 June 2001).

During the 1990s, NBS resolved to be perceived as an international institution and to develop an international reputation extending the School's focus beyond provincial and national boundaries. Concurrently, relationships with the Canadian dance community improved

as efforts were made to communicate with local and national dance advocates, resulting in new collaborations. However, changes in the Ontario government signaled future struggles over provincial funding for NBS. By 1994, with yet another name change, what had previously been the Ministry of Communications and Culture became the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Recreation. Ominously, the Ministry's name would later be changed again, reversing the position of tourism and culture to become the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Recreation. The addition of Tourism to the portfolio was part of the province's initiative to forge links between culture and tourism. In August 1994, the Ministry released a report through the Advisory Committee on a Cultural Industries Sectoral Strategy (ACCISS) titled *The Business of Culture: A Strategy for Ontario's Cultural Industries*. The report begins with the following summary:

Rarely do people think of culture as an industry. Culture is something we nurture and support because it enriches our lives—not because of its potential to improve our economic well-being. But culture does both. It adds richness to our lives, giving people a way to express and share creativity. At the same time, it creates jobs and wealth. Our cultural industries help us exchange ideas and experiences that are uniquely Canadian, as well as making a significant contribution to our economy. (3)

The report contains 31 recommendations; number 12 recommends that "Industry, working closely with the tourism sector and the arts sector, and supported by all levels of government, develop a joint marketing strategy in cooperation with the tourism industry to position Ontario as a world-renowned cultural tourism destination" (ACCISS, 38).

The provincial funding landscape became even less friendly with the June 1995 election of Mike Harris. He and his Conservative government were elected on a political platform labeled the "Common Sense Revolution." Under Harris, taxes were cut, the number of welfare recipients was reduced, school boards were merged, the curriculum was overhauled, and municipalities were amalgamated. Needless to say, funding for the arts was not a priority for the Harris government.

The status of the National Ballet School within the cultural tourism and Harris environment quickly became apparent. In October 1995, NBS was informed that the Ontario government would no longer provide funding to the School. At that time, the annual operating grant received by NBS from the province was \$836,000. The message was clear; the provincial government felt no connection to, or responsibility for, NBS. A school does not create wealth; neither does it attract tourists. In contrast,

a multi-year several million dollar funding agreement had been signed by NBS and the federal Department of Canadian Heritage just four months earlier, in June 1995. The Canadian government supported the School's mandate to develop an international reputation. The NBS vision meshed well with the federal government's commitment to internationalization and globalization. With these two opposite actions, the loss of funding on one hand and strong support on the other, the stage was set for the impending struggle that was about to emerge between the federal and provincial governments over funding for the capital campaign known as Project Grand Jeté.

In the early 1990s, concurrent with its philosophical reaching out to the national and international dance communities, NBS began to explore the possibility of physically expanding into improved facilities. The project moniker of Grand Jeté was selected, perhaps in acknowledgment of the large leap of faith required in such an undertaking. From the outset, successful completion of the project anticipated the involvement of all three levels of government (municipal, provincial, and federal) in addition to the private sector, and a complex capital campaign strategy was developed.

Project Grand Jeté encompasses a development plan that includes preservation, restoration, construction, and urban renewal. Located on Jarvis Street, a once grand Toronto thoroughfare that has fallen on hard times, the final product will provide NBS with 180,000 sq. ft. of additional space. New academic classrooms and administrative offices will be housed in two restored heritage buildings; 12 new dance studios featuring high ceilings and natural light will be newly constructed. The total budget for the project is \$87.5 million. The property, formerly owned by the CBC, was acquired by NBS in June 2000 for the princely sum of \$1. Context Development, the key private partner, paid \$5 million for one half of the site, where they are building two condominium towers and a row of townhouses, comprising 420 housing units.

In Spring 2001, the NBS newsletter *To the Pointe* described the atmosphere at the unveiling of the plans:

After seven years of studies, plans and consultations, NBS's new facilities came off the drawing board and literally onto centre stage on November 30 [2000] when an architectural model was officially unveiled at the Betty Oliphant Theatre. . . . 'The strong support shown by government, corporations and private donors gives us confidence to advance the School's mission as a centre of excellence, not just for Canada, but for the world,' stated Board Chair Margaret N. McCain. (37: 11)

The confidence and optimism underlying these words

proved to be premature. Initially, there were promising signs of shared government involvement. Early in 2001, the Ontario government launched a SuperBuild capital assistance program, targeting \$300 million for culture and recreation projects province-wide. Under this program, cultural institutions were invited to apply for funding that would be provided by both the provincial and federal governments. In April 2001, ten months after acquiring the Jarvis Street building site, the National Ballet School submitted a \$70 million application to SuperBuild for Project Grand Jeté, with the expectation that a decision would be announced within six months. Unbeknownst to them at the time, they were about to embark on a roller coaster ride that would take 13 months to conclude. Canadian print media sources weave the trail of this extended narrative.

Shortly after all the proposals had been submitted, Christopher Hume, Urban Affairs Reporter for the *Toronto Star*, wrote:

After a decade of darkness, Toronto's cultural institutions are starting to see the light. . . . Building plans now being drawn up . . . could change the face of the city forever. It's unlikely all will come to pass; don't forget, Premier Mike Harris and his Tories, the major cause of the long nightmare, are still ensconced in Queen's Park. But some projects will make it, which will mean some rare good news for Toronto's beleaguered cultural sector. (11 June 2001)

The optimism was short-lived. The first major obstacle was that over \$1 billion in requests had been submitted to the \$300 million SuperBuild fund. A second obstacle soon emerged: when the two governments compared their preferred projects, it became clear that they disagreed over which ones should be funded. In October 2001, the *Globe and Mail* ran an article, "Ballet School Needs Repairs," revealing that "the school has heard nothing about a request for provincial and federal funds needed to build new studio and classroom space" (Immen). In the article, a spokesperson for the Ontario Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Recreation is quoted as saying that "the school is in competition with quite a few other applicants" and that the first grants would be awarded later that autumn. By December, there was still no announcement. Martin Knelman of the *Toronto Star* shared his thoughts on the matter:

Ontario has delayed and delayed and delayed making a decision about which SuperBuild projects are going to get approval. An initial list of favoured applications, forwarded from the province to Ottawa back in July, met with disfavour. Well, now it seems the federal Liber-

als are ready to press forward. . . . And they have a secret list of their own preferred applications. The long-delayed Toronto opera house is on that list, and so is an expanded facility for the National Ballet School. (5 Dec 2001)

The Ballet School however, still was not on the provincial government's list. In an article appearing in the *Globe and Mail* in January 2002, the press secretary for the Ontario Minister of Tourism, Culture and Recreation is quoted as saying that his boss had decided that SuperBuild applicants were to be assessed according to how they "fit into the cultural tourism framework." Priority was to be given to projects that were considered to "enhance Toronto as a gateway to Niagara and Muskoka" (Adams). The clear winners in this scenario became the ROM and the AGO, both provincial institutions that arguably were ineligible for the shared federal/provincial funding agreement behind SuperBuild. The clear loser was NBS. Suddenly, the future of Project Grand Jeté was in jeopardy.

Amidst the wrangling, a new complication arose. In January 2002, Mike Harris announced his intention to step down as Premier. The vote for a new leader was scheduled for March 23, 2002 and Harris made it known that he wanted the SuperBuild announcement to precede his departure. With a new sense of urgency, the political jockeying and backroom negotiations intensified. For its opening move, the federal government offered additional cash as a means through which to break the deadlock. In mid-February, the *Toronto Star* reported that in return for provincial support for NBS, the federal government was willing to support the ROM and the AGO (Hume, 19 Feb 2002).

The provincial government did not respond as the federal politicians had hoped. By early March, as news of the likely SuperBuild recipients leaked out, NBS "was sent reeling by press reports that the school [would] not be funded, even though it [was] high on the federal government's priority list" (Rusk). The School changed its strategy: Karen Kain, a graduate of NBS and one of Canada's most respected dancers, directed a personal plea to Prime Minister Chrétien, asking him to personally intervene. She wrote:

I am greatly distressed by reports in the media that government may not be funding the National Ballet School's plan for new and refurbished facilities. If these are true, decisions will have been made based not on the merit of the project, but on some other criteria. While it is exciting to contemplate the soaring monuments that other Toronto institutions are planning, it is unacceptable to fulfil these dreams at the expense of the talented young people who call NBS

their home. Housing objects and housing people are two different things. (Knelman, 6 Mar 2002)

Kain's letter made headlines in newspapers across Canada, and a new question surfaced: was this cultural funding initiative about buildings, or about people? Five days later, Robert Sirman was interviewed on the radio show *Metro Morning*. He said: "When people think of arts and culture, they're more conscious of performance space, museum space, gallery space. There's nothing to see at a museum; there's nothing to see on a stage if there are not practicing artists who are trained at a level that the public is willing to pay to see." One of the hosts concurred: "That's exactly what the critics are saying. . . . [T]his cultural funding initiative is superficial; it's about aesthetics, about buildings. It's about looking good to the outside world, especially tourists with money. But you know, everyone's so excited that the [provincial] government is spending any money on the arts that no one wants to speak up."

The whole topic became too hot to handle, and talks between the federal and provincial governments were suspended. The federal government accused the province of being inflexible on the matter of NBS; the province accused the federal government of backing out of a done deal (Knelman, 15 Mar 2002). On March 19, 2002, four days before leaving office, Premier Harris made a unilateral announcement, committing \$90 million of provincial funding to six Toronto cultural institutions. The expectation placed on the federal government was that they would match this amount for a total allocation of \$180 million. The National Ballet School was not included in the provincial announcement and an Ontario government official said that "the federal government can aid the National Ballet if it chooses to do so, but that there is no provincial money for the new school" (Mackie, 19 Mar 2002). The press release issued by the Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Recreation stated: "Premier Mike Harris today took the first step in revitalizing Toronto's cultural institutions and transforming the city into one of the world's leading cultural tourism destinations." The Minister is quoted as saying: "Cultural tourism is the fastest growing and most lucrative sector of the overall tourism market. It's a critical time for investment in Toronto's cultural infrastructure so that Ontario can make the most of this global trend" (Ontario Ministry of Tourism and Recreation, Bulletin 15).

A headline in the *Globe and Mail* the following day read: "Feud erupts after Harris goes it alone on arts cash." As related in the *Ottawa Citizen*, the federal government was irate and refused to sign the agreement:

A dispute over \$180 million in funding for major Toronto art galleries, museums and concert halls has ensured the bitterness between depart-

ing Ontario premier Mike Harris and the Liberal government will linger to the very end. In a move many provincial Tories believe is aimed at thwarting Mr. Harris during his last days in office, the federal government is balking at signing an agreement to provide matching funds for the construction of a new opera house [and other projects]. Mr. Harris, in one of his final skirmishes with the Chrétien government, provoked angry responses from federal ministers yesterday when he unilaterally announced Ontario's \$90 million commitment in capital funding for the six Toronto institutions.

Heritage Minister Sheila Copps said . . . the federal government also wants to support improvements to the National Ballet School, something that is not a provincial priority. 'Mr. Harris has turned his back on this and other projects that have the support of the community,' Ms Copps charged. 'What we would like to do is ensure that these projects are funded and that we do not send Mr. Harris off . . . with what is essentially a monument to his own ego. (Lindgren and Bryden)

Reminiscent of the transition from Frost to Robarts that expedited the establishment of the OAC in the 1960s, it was the change in provincial leadership from Mike Harris to Ernie Eves that finally enabled a resolution to the funding stand-off. On May 31, 2002 Prime Minister Chrétien and Premier Eves made a joint announcement on funding for eight institutions. This time, NBS was included, awarded \$40 million for Project Grand Jeté. Under Harris, a government source had dismissed the validity of funding for NBS on the grounds that it was a school "for rich little girls who grow up in Rosedale" (Errett). In contrast, Eves established a Ministry devoted solely to culture less than one month after becoming Premier. The newly appointed Minister of Culture explained the relationship between the School and cultural tourism as follows: "The National Ballet School was required to have some degree of cultural tourism. We were able to go beyond the tourism part and say, look, as an institution in the cultural community does it have importance as of itself? The answer was yes" (Errett).

The extent to which the current provincial government has altered its policy regarding funding to NBS in the long term remains to be seen, but it appears likely that provincial operating grants to the School soon will be restored. The Eves government undoubtedly holds a different view than the former government, but when arts funding decisions are based on non-artistic criteria and placed in the hands of bureaucrats, there is enormous vulnerability to unanticipated and unwarranted shifts in

status. The experience is akin to balancing on a tightrope amidst intermittent wind gusts. As the NBS case illustrates, in such a climate the only thing that can be predicted is the unpredictability of it all. Despite every precaution, there is always the risk that everything will come tumbling down.

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Dance and the Terror: A Semiological Account of the *Bals à Victime*

Sarah Nixon Gasyna

This paper is the product of preliminary investigation of the so-called *Bals à victime*, a social dance phenomenon that purportedly took place in Paris in 1795. The point of departure for this inquiry is the discourse of uncanny tensions that surrounds danced stagings of death.¹ This initial phase of my exploration considers the systems of gendered iconography in social dance attire in terms of semiotic signaling and mediation of the collective cultural mythologization and iconization of death (and regeneration). In this paper, I will argue that through dance, and in the guise of sacrificial effigies, the participants at the balls constructed a cathected memento mori in response to the macabre theatre of the guillotine.

[Slide: Guillotine, execution of Robespierre, 1794]

To set the stage, we must recall that on August 1st, 1794, the bloodiest chapter of the French Revolution, the Reign of Terror, came to a halt with the execution of its reviled leader, Maximilien Robespierre. Less than six months later – by January 1795 – Parisian witnesses reported a peculiar phenomenon: the *Bals à victime*, or Victim Balls.² These were soirées organized as private affairs to which coveted invitations were extended only to members of the *ancien régime* able to claim kinship with an immediate or close relative who had perished at the guillotine.

[Slide: Croisures à la victime, fashion plate, Costume Parisien, c. mid-1790s]

Even more striking was the fact that many of the ballgoers adopted a distinctive and unambiguous dress code – dubbed the *costume à la victime*. For well-to-do Parisiennes (known as *Les Merveilleuses*, or The Marvelous Ones), this unofficial uniform consisted of a cropped hairdo copied from Roman busts (nick-named *à la Titus*), or long tresses swept up under a bonnet or kerchief to expose the nape of the neck, a white chemise of thin cotton or muslin draped according to the ubiquitous neo-classical fashion of the day like the one depicted in this fashion plate from the mid 1790s captioned *Croisures à la victime* (“victim’s crisscrossings”), and most significantly, a thin crimson ribbon wrapped around the throat in emulation of the cut of the blade.³

[Slide: Élégant à la mode, fashion plate, La Mésangère, 1799]

For male revellers, the tendency was to don elaborate and voluminous neckwear, creating a vivid contrast to the exposed throats of the women. As well, many of the young male members of the dispossessed former aristocracy grew their hair long enough to cover the nape of their neck, in overt defiance of the popular and officially sanctioned short hairstyles. These sons of dead nobles, collectively nicknamed *Les Incroyables* (The Astonishing Ones) and *La Jeunesse dorée* (the Gilded Youth), further expressed their non-compliance with the Republican programme by retaining the pre-revolutionary vogue for knee-length breeches – the latter having been outlawed by sans-culottist reforms, and replaced by long trousers (formerly worn only by members of the labouring classes) for all male citizens – “sans-culotte” meaning literally, of course, “without breeches”.⁴ The young man in this slide has arrived at an interesting compromise; he has integrated the two styles by tying ribbons around his knees in overt reference to the breeches of vanished times. This fund of semiotic referents was immediately decipherable to anyone who had witnessed and lived through the Terror. In other words, through explicit mimicry and sly allusion, the *costume à la victime* both codified and enshrined the appearance of the condemned relatives, thus evoking for the spectators the deceased family members’ final moments on their way to the scaffold.

In terms of statistics, between 1789 and 1794, revolutionary tribunals arrested, tried and condemned to death more than 40,000 French citizens. By the later years of the Revolution, a campaign of reprisal was directed expressly towards the members of the *ancien régime*, and at the height of the Reign of Terror – by the summer of 1794 – the nobility and the clergy (who were identified with the former ruling class and with counter-terrorist activity), were singled out for extermination. Sources vary widely with regard to the reported figures for this minor genocide, but it is safe to say that somewhere between twenty-five to fifty such prisoners were guillotined daily during this period.⁵

[Slide: Widow and friends on their way to a ball, Paris, c. 1795]

This fashion plate from the mid 1790s portrays three belles on their way to a ball. Note the dark veil denoting widowhood – an unusual accessory to revelry under ordinary circumstances (even in Paris!).⁶ But as the bloody summer of 1794 drew to a close, the return of peace finally seemed possible. With Robespierre eliminated and

a more moderate regime installed, the wide-ranging climate of dread relaxed and gave way to an atmosphere of dizzy celebration.⁷ Yet the consequences of the Terror – the legacy of multiple losses of life – had to be negotiated by the survivors somehow now that they were finally in a position to attempt to address their lingering trauma. Nonetheless, during the transitional and still turbulent days of Thermidor⁸ there were no entirely safe opportunities for the observance of traditional mourning rituals in the public sphere. To begin with, traditional funerary rites had been effectively prohibited since 1792, the year the revolutionary government had outlawed the Christian church. And even if determined family members wished to proceed with a furtive church service, there was a further obstacle to surmount since clerics themselves were in short supply: many had been killed, and of the surviving priests, thousands – including the city's archbishop – had chosen apostasy over martyrdom.

[Slide: Severed heads on pikes, early 1790s]

Moreover, attempts to retrieve the dismembered bodies of relatives posed further difficulty since the corpses were routinely dumped into safeguarded trenches reserved for “enemies of the Republic,”⁹ and the severed heads of the aristocrats, after being brandished at the crowds, were not infrequently claimed by angry throngs who then paraded them through the streets on pikes. The Victim Balls must therefore be appreciated as clandestine underground gatherings given the political setting and the identity and affiliations of the participants, as well as the subversive nature of the commemoration. It is thus not surprising that locating documentation on the balls involves careful and extensive research. The usual primary sources towards which the dance historian turns for information – notices in society pages, for instance – are circumscribed since the majority of such publications were suspended during the Terror. In addition, surveillance and heavy police and military presence were a constant concern. In her seminal study on revolutionary-era theatrical dance, *Dance in the Shadow of the Guillotine*, Judith Chazin-Bennahum relates that even (or especially) in theatrical houses during the Terror, upwards of sixty guards stood watch to monitor the proceedings. According to one contemporary source, “on the evenings where there would be ballroom dances, forty more soldiers would be assigned.”¹⁰ Chazin-Bennahum adds that, “the police were so constantly present that much of our information about opening nights at theatres and the frequent accompanying riots comes from police records.”¹¹

[Slide: Public guillotining of Madame Roland, 1793]

The prototype for the carnivalesque displays of death at the *Bals à victime* was undeniably the daily staging of executions in the *Place de la Révolution* – grotesque extravaganzas attended by thousands of onlookers.¹² Chazin-

Bennahum and fellow dance historian Susan Leigh Foster have argued that this theatricalization of death, along with the many recurrent official revolutionary pageants, parades and festivals, brought about a fundamental shift in collective attitudes towards spectacle and, specifically, to a blurring of perceptions that had governed the boundaries between performers and observers. Foster argues that “[the proliferation of theatrical] public enactments of identity destabilized the purpose and meaning of theatrical production.... [and that] the mass gatherings that occurred during the 1790s... encouraged... citizens to view their own actions as spectators in the theatre might view those of the performers.... The dramatic, the spectatorial could be instantiated anywhere, as if the proscenium that had cordoned off art from life could now be constructed in any number of places.”¹³ Such a heuristic model provides an especially useful perspective through which to examine the extraordinary participatory spectacles of the Victim Balls. I would propose that they also represent a communally engineered alternative funerary paradigm, a syncretic and performative cultural text wherein the participants – all of whom were displaced aristocratic survivors – engaged in a kind of “auto performance,” a symbolic appropriation of the identity of the dead onto themselves. Additionally, the balls can be read as an enactment of an *anti-performance*, in which sartorial and social conventions were transferred and commingled to generate a syntagmatic unity that contested the horror of execution.

[Slide: Costumes de bal, Parisian fashion plates, 1796-7]

In *The French Revolution: A History*, published in 1837, Thomas Carlyle transcribes Louis-Sébastien Mercier's contemporary report of one such Victim Ball. It is worth quoting in detail: “That the Balls, therefore, have a new figure this winter, we can see.... soft Ionic motions; fit for the light sandal, and antique Grecian tunic! ... under the Terror you durst not dance except in rags. Among the innumerable kinds of Balls, let the hasty reader mark only this single one: the kind they call Victim Balls, *Bals à Victime*.... to be admitted, it needs that you be a Victime; that you have lost a relative under the Terror.” Carlyle concludes with this coda: “Peace to the Dead; let us dance to their memory! For in all ways one must dance.”¹⁴

[Slide: The First Quadrille Performed at Almack's, Paris, c. late 1790s]

There are credible reasons why the ballroom would have been deemed a viable setting for enacting a participatory memorial. First, dancing and balls played a prominent role in the new social order. In *Nouveau Paris*, a seven-volume chronicle of Parisian life during the 1790s, Mercier noted that on the heels of the Terror, literally hundreds of ballrooms opened their doors.¹⁵ He describes the public

balls of the period with these words: "Every day is a holiday; all the advertisements are so appealing that even the sick make an effort to get out and run to the balls."¹⁶

[Slide: Soirée dansante, Paris, c. late 1790s]

That dancing can function as a palliative to grief was acknowledged by at least one contemporary writer, an anonymous author of a treatise on ballroom dancing, who asserted that "Dancing is the parent of joy and supports cheerfulness [and] banishes grief."¹⁷ The Victim Balls, moreover, offered their participants the opportunity to engage in allegorical performances of loss through repeated re-enactments of the indelible last image of their dead family members. In this process – later identified by Freud as "traumatic neurosis" – trauma and survival are closely connected with repetitive compulsive responses. In her writings on communal trauma and history in the 20th century, Cathy Caruth has observed that there seems to be "a necessity by which consciousness, once faced with the possibility of its death, can do nothing but repeat the destructive event over and over again."¹⁸ When a disturbing event is too overwhelming to be experienced directly, it may repetitively resurface in nightmares and in dreams: "The return of the traumatic experience in the dream is not the signal of the direct experience," Caruth suggests, "but, rather, of the attempt to overcome the fact that it was not direct, to attempt to master what was never fully grasped in the first place."¹⁹ The Victim Balls, analogously, appear to correspond in key ways to just such a compulsive repetitive scenario wherein the survivors are "forced to confront [the threat of death] over and over again."²⁰ Significantly, the participants at the balls had the opportunity to replay the moment of trauma in a waking state, although one could argue that their consciousness was altered to a degree by the dual forces of dance and music.

[Slide: La toilette du condamné, Charlotte Corday in prison in 1793]

Like the symbolic language of dreams, fashion contains a multitude of coded images. As we have seen, in the *costume à la victime*, both sexes emulated essential aspects of the guillotine victims' appearance. The popular cropped and shaggy hairstyle was, to be sure, a reference to those seen on classical busts, but it also denoted a contemporary observable fact: the *toilette du condamné*. This idiom referred to the procedure wherein the condemned prisoner's hair was shorn by a jailer in order to facilitate the process of decapitation, as depicted here in a romanticized portrait of the counter revolutionary heroine Charlotte Corday, who, notoriously, assassinated Jean-Paul Marat in his bath.

[Slide: Two Merveilleuses garbed à la grecque, Parisian fashion plates, c. mid 1790s]

Not surprisingly, the throat was the most potent locus for the ciphered inscription of a communally significant "text." As we have seen, women emphasized its vulnerability by winding a red ribbon around their exposed necks in a simulation of the cut of the guillotine. The men, on the other hand, adopted the reverse approach, protecting their throats with voluminous starched cravats that not only completely covered their necks, but frequently buried their chins, and even their mouths. The dress code, then, directly referenced the victims of the guillotine, which, in turn, allowed the performers to "reincarnate" their dead family members through a temporary adoption of their identity, if only for a few hours of an evening. Now, there remains considerably more detailed semiological and performative analysis to undertake in terms of not only the innovations evident in the attire of the revellers, but those in the dancing itself, as well as the various social behaviors adopted at balls during the Thermidorian period. However, these concerns must form the subject matter of a future paper as time considerations limit my discussion today to some final brief comments relating to the amplification of maternal attributes embedded in the neo-classical women's dress.

[Slide: Merveilleuse in characteristic high-waisted tunique à la grecque, Paris, c. mid 1790s]

It is a point of agreement among fashion historians that periods of war habitually wreak havoc with women's hemlines and necklines; the French Revolution was no exception. In fact, the waistline rose so high and the neckline plunged so low, that the two very nearly committed the impossible deed of overlapping. What underlying ideologies did this near convergence communicate to the viewer? One shrewd contemporary observer, the Abbé Montgaillard, reported "a strange thing; that every fashionable Citoyenne you meet is in an interesting situation." However, he saw through what was in fact sartorial trickery, exclaiming: "Mere pillows and stuffing! ... such, in a time of depopulation by war and guillotine, being the fashion."²¹

[Slide: Portrait d'une jeune femme, circle of David, 1798]

Hence, by simulating a pregnant condition through their attire, the women of post-revolutionary France metaphorically communicated the notion of regeneration, a natural impulse towards repopulation. What is more, the new silhouette not only suggested that the wearer might be with child, it also signalled nurturance: her uncovered breasts were ready to nurse newborn offspring.

[Slide: La France républicaine, 1790s]

In fact, prominent painters such as David and Delacroix routinely emphasized the bared female breast in revolutionary propaganda in order to convey in visual

terms the rhetoric of the ideal French woman as a matriarchal icon.²² She was sometimes depicted nursing an infant, or even two – in other words, allegorically nurturing the Republic. Here, we see her incarnated as *La France républicaine*, bosom bared, and sporting the red cap of liberty atop which is perched a rooster that crows in the dawn of a new day for the Republic.

[Slide: *Dancer at a ball, c. late 1790s*]

Symbolically garbed as fecund goddesses in the neo-classical idiom, the French *citoyennes* were thrust into the role of restoring the nation to health and vitality. Carlyle expressed the hope that their appearance and manners might even have radiated a civilizing influence on the new order at large. He writes: “So goes [woman], waltzing ... by Orphic witchery, struggling to recivilise mankind. Not unsuccessfully, we hear. What utmost Republican grimness can resist Greek sandals, in Ionic motion, the very toes covered with gold rings?”²³

To conclude, I would like to leave you with some of the questions that continue to fuel my research: What other buried meanings can the historian draw from the reports of the Victim Balls? Do they stand nominally as substitute mourning rituals, or should the inversion of roles, the fusing of identities, the re-enactment of the ordeal, and the projection of anxieties, be read metaphorically in terms of the discourse of carnivalesque spectacle? Finally, could the balls embody a performative trope of communal recovery from trauma, within a liminal space and a transitional era, with women apotheosized at their nucleus?

The participants at the Victim Balls sought to transcend a problematic everyday reality, and in a Dionysian, almost chthonic performance, cross the border into the realm of the dead (the “Orphic witchery,” perhaps, to which Carlyle alludes). The victims of the Terror needed to grieve the loss of their loved ones, and they were simultaneously seeking ways to acknowledge and celebrate their own escape from the same fate. Hence, at the very least, one may speculate that in this case, the act of dancing at a ball can be understood to have functioned as a cathartic conduit for the memorialization of loss and a collective movement towards healing.

Endnotes

1. The present paper is part of my broader research focus on the relationship between death and dance in late 18th and early 19th century Paris (from the period of the French Revolution to the establishment of the Romantic Ballet), which I intend to research in greater depth over the course of my upcoming doctoral studies at the University of Toronto. The impact and legacy of the mass social trauma of the French Revolution on the “psyches,” or *mentalités*, of the following generation is portentous. It is telling that the ensuing age produced the Romantic movement, typified by its fixation with tragic death, suicide, and phantasmagorical worlds haunted by malevolent spectres. In particular, this anxiety plays out in the ballet scenarios of the French Romantics, as evidenced by their

preoccupation with death and bloodlessness, and the Romantic concern with the afterlife in general.

2. Dozens of historians of the French Revolution have mentioned the Victim Balls. However, frustratingly few first-hand accounts have surfaced. Clearly, more research remains to be done. There exists a long list of sources to investigate, and archives to peruse, an undertaking which I plan to carry out on expeditions to key holdings in France to study documentary material from, if possible, participant or eyewitness accounts (in letters, diaries, newspapers, etc.), to contemporary secondary source reports and supporting documentation (in dance manuals, fashion plates, prints, and other visual records). To my knowledge, there has been but one essay devoted to the topic in English (Ronald Schechter, “Gothic Thermidor: the *Bals des victimes*, the Fantastic, and the Production of Historical Knowledge in Post-Terror France,” *Representations* 61, Winter 1998; 52-68; I thank French historian Dr. David Troit of the University of Toronto for bringing this article to my attention, and for his support of my project). The author proposes the interesting counter argument that the lack of official documentation would indicate that the Victim Balls did not actually occur. Certainly, the absence (to date) of substantial first-hand evidence is problematic. However, it is the very nature of clandestine proceedings that they go unrecorded. To relegate the *Bals à victime* to the realm of collective mythopoeia, to dismiss the many accounts that surfaced in later years as a phenomenon akin to that of “false memory syndrome,” is, in my view, not wholly convincing. The question that must be posed is: can the historian expect to find first-hand documentation of “incriminating” subversive activity (for such the balls undoubtedly were) during a de facto totalitarian régime? I am inclined to endorse a reading “against the grain.” The fact is that the majority of those survivors of the Terror who kept diaries were not willing to publish these memoirs until well after the Revolution had subsided. Moreover, the aftermath from such multiple losses casts its shadow across generations: for example, complicit in the post-traumatic anxiety engendered by the Revolution, the descendants of one aristocratic survivor, Mme de Tourzel, were unwilling to make public her memoirs until 1883 (M. Yalom, *Blood Sisters: The French Revolution in Women’s Memory*. New York: Harper Collins, 1993, 55).
3. Daniel Gerould quoted in Richard D. E. Burton’s *Blood in the City: Violence and Revelation in Paris, 1789-1945* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 2001), 60.
4. To display such provocative clothes in public during the Terror was a perilous act. One revolution-era memoirist recorded that upon being thrown in jail in 1794 “for allegedly wearing noble attire,” an aristocrat, M. Huguenin, had protested, “I’m not the one in prison... it’s my clothes!” (quoted in James H. Johnson, “Versailles Meet Les Halles: Masks, Carnival, and the French Revolution.” *Representations* 73, Winter 2001; 107).
5. Hugh Gough, *The Terror in the French Revolution* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998), 55-58. Although the Revolution claimed victims from across the socio-economic spectrum, “during [June and July 1794, i.e., the last two months of the Terror] nobility, clergy and upper middle class made up almost sixty per cent of the guillotine’s victims, suggesting that the terror was now targeting not just those actively involved in counter-revolution, but the ‘undesirable’ social categories of the rich and religious who were passively identified with it, and who by their very status were judged incompatible with a revolutionary republic. The terror, in other words, was developing into a social war” (Gough, 58).
6. Widows evidently participated fully in social life. One 1798 dance manual deriving from Paris contains instructions for a country dance called “The Young Widow.” (*The Gentleman and Lady’s Companion; Containing the Newest Cotillions and Country Dances; To Which is Added, Instances of Ill Manners, to be Carefully Avoided by Youth of Both Sexes*. Norwich, Ct: J. Trumbull, 1798; N.p.).
7. Simon Lee, *David* (London: Phaedon, 1999), 193.

8. Thermidor was a month in the new Republican calendar that occurred approximately between the 18th of July and the 18th of August. The term "Thermidorean" was also applied to the transitional pre-Directory government that came to power after the elimination of Robespierre.
9. According to Philippe Ariès in *The Hour of Our Death* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), the remains of those executed in Paris during the Revolution were tossed, *pêle-mêle*, into a squalid common "pen for the dead," enclosed only by a rickety fence, to be abandoned and exposed to "the ravages of chance and the elements" (504). Following the Revolution, civic committees were appointed to develop funerary reform policies. Opinion was unanimous that the abuse of the dead had been appalling, but there was considerable debate over the best ways to implement the reforms. One Parisian newspaper, *Le Messager*, deplored the "indecent which characterizes funerals today," and admonished that the "lack of reverence for the remains of the dead is a sacrilegious neglect of morality and religion unprecedented in the history of civilization" (505).
10. Judith Chazin-Bennahum, *Dance in the Shadow of the Guillotine* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1988), 75-76.
11. Chazin-Bennahum, 76.
12. The infamous murdering machine was irreverently referred to by such epithets as "the widow-maker," "the national razor," and "the patriotic shortener." Burton writes that, "sick humour flourished in fashionable and unfashionable circles as never before. There were miniature guillotines for slicing bread and fruit at the dinner table, and dolls resembling one's enemies could be decapitated over dessert, disgorging a red liquid into which ladies present would dip handkerchiefs" (60).
13. Susan Leigh Foster, *Choreography & Narrative: Ballet's Staging of Story and Desire* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1996), 139-140.
14. Thomas Carlyle, *The French Revolution: A History* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1989 [1837]), 423.
15. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *Nouveau Paris* (Paris: Poulet-Malassis, 1862 [1797]), 101.
16. Mercier, 274 (translation mine). In fact, the enthusiasm for the ballroom grew so intense, it came to be designated *la dansomanie*, or "dance mania." Chazin-Bennahum explains that *dansomanie* was "a postrevolutionary dance craze [that] led to the opening of many Paris dance halls and inspired, in 1800, Pierre Gardel's immensely successful comic ballet *La Dansomanie*." ("Women of Faint Heart and Steel Toes." *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet*, Garafola, Lynn, ed. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan UP, 1997), 123. The protagonist of the parodic ballet was an ungainly male citizen severely afflicted by a passion for dance (Foster, 184).
17. Elizabeth Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell: Grace and Folly in Nineteenth Century Dance* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 39.
18. Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996), 32.
19. Caruth, 32.
20. Caruth, 32.
21. Quoted in Carlyle, 424.
22. See Linda Nochlin, *Representing Women* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999).
23. Carlyle, 425.

John Thurmond Junior—John Weaver’s Successor?

Moira Goff

How many dance historians have ever heard of John Thurmond Junior? How many have ever paid any attention to his works? John Thurmond Junior worked in the London theatres during the same period as John Weaver, he danced with him and, like Weaver, he both danced with and created dancing roles for the English dancer-actress Hester Santlow. During the 1720s he enjoyed enormous success with the pantomimes he created for the Drury Lane company, which were danced throughout. Yet, he has been entirely neglected by dance historians, even those specialising in early dance.

This paper will explore John Thurmond Junior’s career on the London stage, including his work as dancing-master at Drury Lane and the pantomimes he created there between 1719 and 1727. It will focus on his *Apollo and Daphne*, first performed at Drury Lane in 1725, and provide evidence that with this pantomime Thurmond Junior deliberately sought to emulate Weaver’s dramatic entertainments of dancing—*The Loves of Mars and Venus* of 1717, and *Orpheus and Eurydice* of 1718. In this paper, I argue that John Thurmond Junior continued John Weaver’s work to establish dancing as an independent and expressive theatre art, and that he thus has a very strong claim to be regarded as Weaver’s successor.

John Thurmond Junior’s Life and Career

John Thurmond the dancing-master was the son of John Thurmond the actor. The two worked alongside one another in the same London theatres for much of their respective careers, so the son was usually billed as Thurmond Junior to distinguish him from his father.¹ The elder John Thurmond married Winifred Lewis at the church of St. James, Clerkenwell on 27 July 1693, so their son John may have been born during 1694, although no record of his baptism has yet been found.² The first professional record of John Thurmond Junior is as an actor in the Smock Alley Theatre in Dublin during the 1707-1708 season.³ By August 1708, he was in London at the Drury Lane Theatre, where he was again billed as an actor.⁴

His first surviving billing as a dancer was at the Queen’s Theatre on 16 March 1710, when he danced “Between the acts” with the Scottish dancer-actress Margaret Bicknell. In both 1710 and 1711, Thurmond Junior joined the company at the Greenwich Theatre for the summer season; on 13 September 1711 the advertisement announced dancing “By Thurmond Jr, particularly a Span-

ish Entry that he performed in the Opera at the Hay-Market last Winter with great Applause. As also that excellent and much admired *Scaramouch*, as it was performed by the famous Monsieur du Brill from the Opera at Brussels”. The “famous Monsieur du Brill” was the dancer Dubreuil, whose speciality was the role of Scaramouch, and who danced in London and Munich as well as Brussels.⁵ The advertisement implies that John Thurmond Junior studied with Dubreuil.

On 28 October 1712, Lewis the son of John and Sarah Thurmond was baptised at St. Martin in the Fields.⁶ John Thurmond Junior probably married Sarah Lewis during 1712; as Mrs Thurmond, she was to enjoy a very successful career as an actress.⁷ In the autumn of 1712, the couple left for Dublin and the Smock Alley Theatre, where they worked until spring 1715.⁸ On their return to London, Thurmond Junior joined John Rich’s company at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, making his first appearance there on 16 May 1715 with a solo *Spanish Entry* and *Scaramouch* and advertised as “lately arriv’d from Ireland”. Thereafter, he was rarely billed as an actor.

Over the next few seasons, Thurmond Junior pursued his dancing career at Lincoln’s Inn Fields in a varied repertoire of dances, including the ubiquitous *Dutch Skipper* and *French Peasant*, as well as a *Punchanello* and *Scaramouch* duet with the dancer John Shaw.⁹ He and Shaw often danced together while both were at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, and they would go on to collaborate on more ambitious projects. John Thurmond Junior was first billed as a choreographer on 4 January 1717, with a *Comic Dance*; later dances included his own version of a *Spanish Entry*, performed on 8 April 1717. He also danced in the commedia dell’arte inspired pantomime afterpieces which were fast becoming a staple of the repertory at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, appearing as Scaramouch (his speciality) in such works as *The Cheats; or, The Tavern Bilkers*, *The Jealous Doctor*, and Rich’s burlesque of John Weaver’s *The Loves of Mars and Venus* entitled *Mars and Venus; or, the Mouse Trap*.¹⁰

Despite his apparent success at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, John Thurmond Junior decided to move on. On 8 October 1718, he was first billed at Drury Lane in a “new *Comic Dance*”. At Drury Lane that season, the dancers included John Shaw (who had moved there for the 1717-1718 season), and the dancer-actresses Margaret Bicknell and Hester Santlow. The following season, 1719-1720, John Weaver rejoined the company. Although Weaver’s *The Loves of Mars and Venus* had been a success, his *Orpheus*

and *Eurydice* had not, and the Drury Lane triumvirate of actor-managers seems to have been on the lookout for a dancing-master who could create new works to rival the pantomime afterpieces at Lincoln's Inn Fields. They decided to give John Thurmond Junior a try.

On 12 February 1719, *The Dumb Farce*, John Thurmond Junior's first afterpiece, was given at Drury Lane. It was described in advertisements as "A new Dramatick Entertainment of Dancing" (the same wording had been used for Weaver's works), and was clearly based on the commedia dell'arte. The list of characters included Harlequin (John Shaw) and Scaramouch (Thurmond Junior), with Punch and Colombine. Alongside these were the characters of Geronte, Octave, and Angelique (danced by Mrs. Santlow). *The Dumb Farce* was popular enough to be performed thirteen times during the 1718-1719 season, but it was not a lasting success for it was played only once thereafter.

John Thurmond Junior's next successful pantomime was *The Escapes of Harlequin*, first performed at Drury Lane on 10 January 1722; it was popular enough to be played nine times during the 1721-1722 season, and revived nearly every season until 1725-1726. Thurmond Junior was identified as the author of the afterpiece by John Weaver in his *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes*.¹¹ *The Escapes of Harlequin* was described in the advertisements as "A new Dramatick Entertainment of Dancing in Grotesque Characters", and was again drawn from the commedia dell'arte. John Shaw was Harlequin, with Hester Santlow as Harlequin Woman, Mrs Bicknell as Colombine, and Thurmond Junior as Punch. There was no new pantomime from Thurmond Junior during the 1722-1723 season, probably because of the continuing success of *The Escapes of Harlequin*. However, he did have the opportunity to play Mezzetin in a revival of John Weaver's *Harlequin Turn'd Judge* on 30 May 1723.

Harlequin Doctor Faustus, John Thurmond Junior's next pantomime, opened at Drury Lane on 26 November 1723. It was the first of the great pantomime successes of the 1720s, reaching forty performances by the end of the season, initiating a rage for pantomimes, and fuelling the rivalry between Drury Lane and Lincoln's Inn Fields. The advertisement for the first performance was very specific, describing *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* as "A new Grotesque Entertainment ... in the Character of Harlequin, Mephostophilus, Scaramouch, Pierrot, Punch, and the Spirit of Helen; The whole concluding with a grand Masque of the Heathen Deities, (viz), Apollo, Mars, Bacchus, Mercury, Diana, Ceres, Flora, and Iris". Doctor Faustus was John Shaw, with Thurmond Junior as Mephostophilus, while in the "Masque of the Deities" they danced respectively as Mercury and Mars, and Hester Santlow appeared as Diana.

Harlequin Doctor Faustus brought together scenic marvels and a range of styles of dancing. In the main

Faustus plot, Thurmond Junior (as Mephostophilus) danced in disguise as an "accomplish'd Shepherd". As the Harlequin Doctor Faustus of the title, Shaw played a scene in which he gave up one leg as surety for a loan and received another by magic, so he was able to perform a "brisk dance" on a table-top. In the final "Masque of the Deities", Thurmond Junior danced a "Pyrrhic" as Mars (recalling the dance by Mars and his Followers in the opening scene of Weaver's *The Loves of Mars and Venus*), Shaw as Mercury performed "a Dance compos'd of the several Attitudes belonging to the Character", and Hester Santlow as Diana stole the show when she appeared "in a fix'd Posture on an Altitude form'd by Clouds, the Moon transparent over her Head in an Azure Sky, tinctur'd with little Stars, she descends to a Symphony of Flutes; and having delivered her Bow and Quiver to two attending Deities, she dances".¹² With *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, John Thurmond Junior showed himself capable of devising and producing a complex spectacular, with varied choreography. At Lincoln's Inn Fields, Rich riposted with *The Necromancer; or, Harlequin Doctor Faustus* which opened on 20 December 1723. He outdid Thurmond Junior in the number of performances during the season (*The Necromancer* was performed fifty-one times), but Lincoln's Inn Fields could not challenge the dancers or the choreography at Drury Lane.

John Thurmond Junior's next great success came in the 1724-1725 season, with *Apollo and Daphne*, which will be discussed in detail later in this paper. In 1726-1727, Thurmond Junior tried to continue his afterpiece successes with *The Miser*, a sequel (of sorts) to *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, first given at Drury Lane on 30 December 1726. It achieved eighteen performances, before Rich countered at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 7 February 1727 with *The Rape of Proserpine*. *The Miser* was hastily revised under the title *Harlequin's Triumph*, which received its first performance on 27 February 1727 and was given sixteen times in all before the end of the season. Together, *The Miser* and *Harlequin's Triumph* received thirty-four performances against the thirty-two achieved by *The Rape of Proserpine*, but that seems not to have been enough for the actor-managers of Drury Lane. Although *Harlequin Doctor Faustus* and *Apollo and Daphne* were revived there in subsequent seasons, *Harlequin's Triumph* was dropped. John Thurmond Junior was replaced as Drury Lane's dancing-master by Monsieur Roger.

Despite his change of status, John Thurmond Junior continued to dance in entr'actes and afterpieces at Drury Lane until the beginning of the 1732-1733 season. His repertoire included such roles as Medusa and a Triton in *Perseus and Andromeda*, created in 1728 by Roger in collaboration with John Weaver, and a Sea God in Roger's very successful pantomime of 1730, *Cephalus and Procris*.¹³ He may have decided to leave Drury Lane when the company began to run into trouble following the dissolution

of the actor-manager triumvirate in 1732. By the end of the 1732-1733 season, the tensions within the company were so great that a group of actors rebelled and set up as rivals to Drury Lane in the Little Theatre in the Haymarket.

John Thurmond Junior missed the turmoil by moving to the recently built theatre at Goodman's Fields. His first appearance with his new company was on 20 December 1732 as the Sportsman in the afterpiece *The Amorous Sportsman*, billed as "Thurmond, from Drury Lane, the first time of his performing on this stage". On 27 December 1732, the entr'acte dances included a *Masquerade Dance* "composed by Thurmond". His entr'acte repertoire at Goodman's Fields also included that perennial favourite the *Dutch Skipper*. Thurmond Junior stayed at Goodman's Fields until the end of the 1733-1734 season. By the autumn of 1734, the worst of Drury Lane's troubles were over and the actors had been reunited; on 5 October 1734, Thurmond Junior returned to his old company as Pan in the afterpiece *Cupid and Psyche; or, Colombine Courtezan*. He stayed at Drury Lane until he retired from the stage at the end of the 1736-1737 season. His last known billing was on 3 May 1737 as the Turk in William Pritchard's afterpiece *The Fall of Phaeton*.

John Thurmond Junior was buried at the church of St. Paul, Covent Garden on 31 January 1754. There is no known portrait of him, but his contemporary William Chetwood (for many years prompter at Drury Lane) described him as "a Person of a clean Head and a clear Heart, and inherits the Mirth and Humour of his late Father".¹⁴

Apollo and Daphne

John Thurmond Junior's *Apollo and Daphne* was first performed at Drury Lane on 20 February 1725; he and Hester Santlow danced the title roles. The pantomime was given eighteen times in its first season, and would probably have had more performances except for the continuing popularity of Thurmond Junior's *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*. It was revived for numerous performances in 1725-1726 and 1726-1727, but disappeared from the repertory after the 1729-1730 season. Thurmond Junior again imitated Weaver in the advertisements, which refer to *Apollo and Daphne* as "A New Dramatick Entertainment of Dancing". He also followed the precedent set by Weaver with *The Loves of Mars and Venus* and *Orpheus and Eurydice*, by publishing a scenario to accompany performances.¹⁵ The scenario for *Apollo and Daphne*, like that for *Orpheus and Eurydice*, begins with a summary of "The Fable" and includes excerpts from Dryden's verse translation of the classical source of the story, in this case Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.¹⁶

Apollo and Daphne, unlike Weaver's serious works, was a pantomime, and John Thurmond Junior followed the Lincoln's Inn Fields practice of having both a serious and a comic plot - the full title of his new work was *Apollo and Daphne; or, Harlequin Mercury*. The two plots unfolded

separately but, unlike Rich's pantomimes at Lincoln's Inn Fields where the comic scenes interrupted the serious plot several times, Thurmond Junior opened and closed *Apollo and Daphne* with the serious plot, putting all the comic scenes together in the middle of the pantomime. This unusual arrangement points to the importance which Thurmond Junior attached to the serious scenes; although he bowed to the commercial necessity of including the comic scenes, he did his best to emulate the structural unity of John Weaver's dramatic entertainments of dancing. Weaver's influence meant that at Drury Lane the principal serious roles were danced, whereas at Lincoln's Inn Fields they were sung (rather in the manner of an opera). Only the serious scenes in John Thurmond Junior's *Apollo and Daphne* will be discussed here.

The music for *Apollo and Daphne* has been attributed to Richard Jones and Henry Carey, but virtually none of it survives.¹⁷ The only information about the afterpiece comes from the published scenario and the advertisements. *Apollo and Daphne* has ten scenes: scenes one to three form the beginning of the serious plot, scenes four to seven comprise the comic plot, scenes eight and nine conclude the serious plot, and scene ten is a final celebratory divertissement.¹⁸ The pantomime begins as "The Curtain rises to a Symphony of soft Music, and discovers *Night* in her Chariot, surrounded with Clouds". She sings, and then *Aurora* appears "in her Chariot" and replies in song. The two sing a duet "Thus *Night* and *Morn*, with endless *Chace*" as their chariots "move slowly away".¹⁹

The clouds "break by degrees" to discover the second scene and the beginning of the serious plot. Since the scenario is very succinct, I will quote the text for each serious scene in its entirety. In scene two:

Daphne, and several Nymphs enter with Spears in their Hands, as ready for the Chace. They dance. During the Movement, *Apollo* appears in the Chariot of the Sun. He seems to gaze with Pleasure on *Daphne*. *Cupid* flies across in the Air, and shoots *Apollo* with his Arrow. Upon which he drives off his Chariot.²⁰

The fable begins conventionally enough, with a dance and special flying effects. Thurmond Junior may perhaps have turned to Weaver's *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, and his gesture for "Admiration" to express Apollo's "Pleasure" at the sight of *Daphne*.²¹

In scene three, Thurmond Junior mixed expressive action with clever stage effects:

Apollo comes on to the Nymphs, and courts *Daphne*; she slights him. The sound of Horns is heard at a Distance; a Stag runs across, follow'd by a Pack of Hounds. *Daphne* breaks from *Apollo*,

and runs off, after the Hounds, the Nymphs and *Apollo* follow her.²²

Apollo's courtship of *Daphne* could well have been expressed with actions similar to the "Gallantry, Respect; Ardent Love; and Adoration" demonstrated by Mars in Weaver's *The Loves of Mars and Venus*. For her part, *Daphne* would probably have responded with Weaver's gestures for "Distaste" and "Detestation", as she rejected *Apollo*.²³ Hester Santlow had played *Venus* in the original production of Weaver's *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, and Thurmond Junior had taken over Weaver's role of *Vulcan* when the afterpiece was revived at Drury Lane in 1724, so both were familiar with Weaver's use of expressive gestures. With *Daphne's* sudden exit, the serious plot was suspended to make way for the comic scenes.

The serious plot resumed in scene eight, as "*Daphne* flies across, pursu'd by *Apollo*".²⁴ The text suggests a quick entrance and exit by the two, but it is possible that the scene was more extended and allowed for an exchange in gesture or even a dance "of the *Pantomimic* kind", allowing *Apollo* and *Daphne* to express their very different passions.²⁵ Although not so ill-matched a couple, their mutual antagonism was as great as that between *Vulcan* and *Venus*.

The next scene change discovered "*Peneus* the River God, Father to *Daphne*, leaning upon his Oar". The serious plot reached its unhappy conclusion in scene nine:

Daphne enters in the utmost Fright, kneels, and supplicates her Father *Peneus* for Succor. He consents to her Prayers by nodding his Head. Immediately she is metamorphos'd into a Lawrel-Tree. *Apollo* enters, and seems to lament her Change.²⁶

Weaver did not include a gesture for fear in his scenario of *The Loves of Mars and Venus*, but other sources refer to it as a stronger version of his "Astonishment".²⁷ *Daphne* could have used Weaver's "Entreaty" gesture as she pleaded for help from her father. Her instantaneous metamorphosis into a laurel tree was probably effected by Mrs Santlow sinking through a trap door, at the same time as the tree rose from beneath the stage. Hester Santlow was no stranger to such effects; as *Eurydice* in John Weaver's *Orpheus and Eurydice* she had had the stage direction "suddenly she sinks".²⁸ For *Apollo's* sorrow, Thurmond Junior perhaps used Weaver's gestures for "Grief" and "Resignation", as *Orpheus* may have done in *Orpheus and Eurydice*.²⁹ The drama ended with a song by *Apollo's* Priest "This never-fading Tree".³⁰

For the conclusion to the pantomime, Thurmond Junior returned to a conventional divertissement. After the song "the Scene draws, and discovers the Temple, and Pallace of *Apollo*. The Priest and Priestesses of *Apollo* are

rang'd on each side". The opening tableau and following sequence of dances are reminiscent of the "Masque Of the Deities" which ended *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, although in *Apollo and Daphne* the mood is definitely pastoral. The divertissement began with a dance by Pan and six Satyrs, which must have been a comic dance since the Satyrs were performed by "the Comedians". They were followed, in turn, by two Peasants and their Wives, and Two Shepherds with their Shepherdesses. The dancing culminated in a duet by "Two Silvans", danced by Thurmond Junior and Hester Santlow. The scenario hints at the varied nature of these dances, in which the characters each "dance their different Measures". *Apollo and Daphne* ended with a general dance to a sung chorus "Come Chaunt it, and Trip it, and Revel away".³¹

The serious scenes in Thurmond Junior's *Apollo and Daphne* must have proved a great attraction for audiences. John Rich was so determined to respond in kind that he waited until the return of Marie Sallé to Lincoln's Inn Fields the following season before mounting his own production. When the Lincoln's Inn Fields *Apollo and Daphne* opened on 14 January 1726, the title roles were danced by Francis and Marie Sallé. Rich did not abandon his usual practice, for his *Apollo and Daphne* included a great deal of singing, particularly for *Venus* who was portrayed as the prime mover of the serious plot which showed the power of love over both *Apollo* and *Diana*. The published libretto gives the sung text, but says nothing about the dance scenes with the Sallés as *Apollo* and *Daphne*. However, it does describe the final divertissement of the pantomime, which featured Francis Sallé as *Zephyrus* and Marie as *Flora* "an Inconstant", suggesting that it may well have owed something to French opera.³²

Drury Lane replied by reviving its version of the pantomime on 11 February 1726, with new comic scenes, under the title *Apollo and Daphne; or, Harlequin's Metamorphoses*. The serious scenes were mostly left unchanged, although the concluding divertissement was described in the advertisements as "a Rural Masque: Les Bois d'Amourette" in which Hester Santlow had become a Nymph with two "Rival Swains" danced by Thurmond Junior and Roger. The rivalry between the two versions of *Apollo and Daphne* continued into the 1726-1727 season, after which Thurmond Junior lost his place as Drury Lane's dancing-master and his pantomime was no longer regularly played.

John Thurmond Junior—John Weaver's Successor

John Thurmond's career provides plenty of evidence that he had both the skills and the knowledge to be John Weaver's successor. As a dancer, he had a repertoire which ranged through virtuoso, serious, comic, and commedia dell'arte dances, and he was unusual in also having worked as an actor. By the time he joined the Drury Lane company in 1718, he had worked in a number of companies,

acting in mainpiece plays, and dancing in both entr'acte entertainments and afterpieces. During the 1716-1717 and 1717-1718 seasons, John Weaver was Drury Lane's dancing-master, but, following the failure of *Orpheus and Eurydice* in 1718, the Drury Lane actor-managers looked for someone to replace Weaver. When Thurmond Junior became the company's new dancing-master, probably in his very first season there, he was indeed Weaver's successor.

In the pantomimes he created for Drury Lane, Thurmond Junior drew on the same range of sources as Weaver - the commedia dell'arte, classical mythology, serious and comic dancing, and drama. He danced in Weaver's works, and he worked closely with Weaver's leading dancers, in particular Hester Santlow who had played title roles in both *The Loves of Mars and Venus* and *Orpheus and Eurydice*. Thurmond Junior's emulation of Weaver can be seen most clearly in the dramatic action of the serious scenes in *Apollo and Daphne*, with its published scenario. If his works appear to be less sophisticated than Weaver's, this is in part because he had to be more concerned with commercial success and thus had less freedom to experiment. Nevertheless, his dances and afterpieces for the London stage show his interest in expressive dancing, and his wish to imitate Weaver. After 1726-1727, Thurmond Junior did not have the resources to create new dramatic entertainments of dancing. The failure of his major works to hold their place in the repertoire was principally due to the breakdown of the Drury Lane management and the rebellion within the company during the 1732-1733 season. John Thurmond Junior, like John Weaver, seems not to have been overly ambitious, which was perhaps why he did not return to Drury Lane as dancing-master in 1734. Like Weaver too, he seems to have been ahead of his time.

Endnotes

1. Unless otherwise stated, biographical information is taken from Philip H. Highfill Jr., Kalman A. Burnim and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*. (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973-1993). The *Biographical Dictionary* unfortunately muddles the careers of Thurmond Senior and Thurmond Junior.
2. London Metropolitan Archives, Parish Registers, St. James Clerkenwell, Marriage Register, 27 July 1693.
3. William Smith Clark, *The Early Irish Stage* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 125.
5. Unless otherwise stated, information about performances on the London stage is taken from *The London Stage 1660-1800*. Part 2: 1700-1729, ed. Emmett L. Avery, Part 3: 1729-1747, ed. Arthur H. Scouten (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960, 1965).
5. Jean-Philippe Van Aelbrouck, *Dictionnaire des danseurs chorégraphes et maîtres de danse à Bruxelles de 1600 à 1830* (Liège: Mardaga, 1994), entry for Dubreuil; Marian Hannah Winter, *The Pre-Romantic Ballet* (London: Pitman Publishing, 1974), 27.
6. Westminster Archives Centre, Parish Registers, St. Martin in the Fields, Baptism Register, 28 October 1712.
7. See the entry for Sarah Thurmond in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.
8. Clark, *Early Irish Stage*, 134, 150, 155.
9. Thurmond Junior danced a *Dutch Skipper* with Mrs Cross on 5 July 1715, a *French Peasant* with her on 10 August 1715, and the *Punchanello and Scaramouch* on 3 October 1715.
10. Thurmond Junior's first appearance in *The Cheats* was on 22 April 1717, in *The Jealous Doctor* on 29 April 1717, and in *Mars and Venus* on 22 November 1717.
11. John Weaver, *The History of the Mimes and Pantomimes* (London: J. Roberts, A. Dod, 1728), 50.
12. *An Exact Description of the Two Fam'd Entertainments of Harlequin Doctor Faustus; with the Grand Masque of the Heathen Deities: and The Necromancer, or Harlequin Doctor Faustus* (London: T. Payne, [1724]), 4, 7, 17-18.
13. *Perseus and Andromeda* was first performed on 15 November 1728; *Cephalus and Procris* was first performed on 28 October 1730.
14. William Chetwood, *A General History of the Stage* (London: W. Owen, 1749), 226.
15. John Thurmond Junior, *Apollo and Daphne; or, Harlequin Mercury* (London: A. Dodd, 1725). The term "scenario" will be used for the printed description of a danced afterpiece; "libretto" will be used to refer to the printed text of a sung afterpiece.
16. Thurmond Junior, *Apollo and Daphne*, 3-14. For Dryden's translation of Ovid, see *Ovid's Metamorphoses*. 2nd ed. (London: J. Tonson, J. Brotherton, W. Meadows, 1720). Thurmond Junior may also have drawn on the "new Musical Masque" *Apollo and Daphne* by John Hughes, first given at Drury Lane on 12 January 1716, and the "new Dramatic Entertainment" *Apollo and Daphne* by Theophilus Cibber with music by Richard Jones, first performed at Drury Lane on 12 August 1723.
17. See Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century*. 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 75; Clive Chapman, "English Pantomime and Its Music" (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1981), 329, 331.
18. There are no scene divisions in the published scenario, but the beginning of each new scene is clearly indicated by a change of scenery.
19. Thurmond Junior, *Apollo and Daphne*, 15-16.
20. Thurmond Junior, *Apollo and Daphne*, 16-17.
21. John Weaver, *The Loves of Mars and Venus* (London: W. Mears, J. Browne, 1717), 21.
22. Thurmond Junior, *Apollo and Daphne*, 17.
23. Weaver, *Loves of Mars and Venus*, 23, 25.
24. Thurmond Junior, *Apollo and Daphne*, 20.
25. Weaver, *Loves of Mars and Venus*, 20.
26. Thurmond Junior, *Apollo and Daphne*, 20.
27. Weaver, *Loves of Mars and Venus*, 21. For the other sources, see Dene Barnett, *The Art of Gesture* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1987), 48-51.
28. John Weaver, *Orpheus and Eurydice* (London: W. Mears, J. Browne, W. Chetwood, 1718), 42.
29. Weaver, *Loves of Mars and Venus*, p. 28. Weaver, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, 36.
30. Thurmond Junior, *Apollo and Daphne*, 20.
31. Thurmond Junior, *Apollo and Daphne*, [2], 21.
32. For the final divertissement, see Lewis Theobald, *Vocal Parts of an Entertainment Called Apollo and Daphne: or, The Burgomaster Trick'd* (London: T. Wood, 1726), 14.

Relational Movement Patterns: The Diversity of Movement Choirs and Their Social Potential in the Weimar Republic

Yvonne Hardt

Movement Choirs were a dance phenomenon in the Weimar Republic that merged the new modern dance culture with ideas of a “festive culture” and “community,” which were central to Weimar thought and society. This is one of the reasons why the movement and dance culture could become a paradigm for social utopias. The new envisioned “social community” (*Gemeinschaft*) was defined in opposition to the “civilized society” (*Gesellschaft*) that was considered the evil outgrowth of the capitalist, technologized age. Because the movement choirs were closely linked to various concepts of “community” it made them suspicious to post-war German society that not only rejected the movement culture of the Weimar Republic as being inevitably tied together with National Socialist body culture but all ideas of a unified community.¹ Until recently, this has led to a neglect as well as to a mystification of this dance form. If the movement choirs are mentioned at all, they are most often subsumed under mass dances and are seen as predecessors of Nazi mass dance spectacles and the *Thingspiel* practice.² This interpretation has been encouraged by the fact that Rudolf von Laban, who is credited with the invention of this dance form, collaborated in some form with the Nazis and shared a “völkisch”, nationalistic view.

However, mass spectacles that included movement choirs were at first initiated by leftwing parties in the Weimar Republic as Karl Toepfer and Patricia Stöckemann have pointed out. But this has neither challenged this linear interpretation nor provoked questions about the social significance of this dance form. While researching how the movement choirs could become a social bodily practice that was acceptable for Socialist, Nationalists as well as bourgeois *Lebensreformer*, I found a very heterogeneous dance practice and complex interpretations of its purpose. Next to Rudolf von Laban several of his students like Albrecht Knust, Martin Gleisner and others like Otto Zimmerman and Jenny Gertz who were aligned to the SPD (Social Democratic Party) and KPD (Communist Party) contributed to the success of the movement choirs and their diversity. In this paper I will give a few examples of this variety by not only focussing on the debates and the ideological background of the movement choirs but by analyzing their movement patterns and symbolic interpretations.

In Weimar Germany movement choirs belonged to a lay dance movement that was closely linked to the dance euphoria that broke out after the First World War and expressed itself in Reigen dancing (circle dances) – a favorite of the youth movement – the eager participation in social dancing that took place in dance halls and in the successful rise of modern dance or *Ausdruckstanz*. Simultaneously the movement choirs appeared in the context of a general revival of the choir in the theater and opera. Max Reinhardt and Hanns Niedecken-Gebhard became famous for their *mis-en-scene* that employed huge masses of actors, singers and dancers. This was the product of an avant-garde theater concept that challenged the black box theater and instead envisioned new spaces that would allow the theatre to become again a source for catharsis as the ancient Greek theater was imagined to have been. The intention of these mass spectacles, that were influenced by Wagner's concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, was to tear down the barrier between performers and audience by communicating somatically with them and to create a new “festive culture” that engaged everybody. The term most often used was “mitschwingen” (to swing or radiate). In German the word *Schwingung* signifies both: a movement and the waves of energy.

However, the mass employment of choirs only developed in the context of the so-called speaking-choirs which became very popular with the Socialist Youth after the First World War.³ The most known writer and initiator of these speaking choirs, Bruno Schönlink, was also very keen in developing speaking-choirs into moving-speaking-choirs (*Sprechbewegungschöre*). The unions, the Socialist Party and the workers educational institutes offered the infrastructure for the festivities, for instance at the May parades, where movement choirs could perform. Most prominently the Cultural Socialist (*Kultursozialisten*) encouraged training and theoretical debates on the new mass movement. For them, Socialism was a political, economical as well as cultural movement.⁴ Rudolf von Laban and his students were aware of these supporters for they used journals and magazines of Cultural Socialist like the *Kulturwille* (Will to culture) or *Die Tat* (Action) to publish their views on the movement choirs. Finally, it is important to note that movement choirs were not predominantly mass dances but most often took place in small groups of 10 to 15 dancers.

What has made the movement choirs suspicious to the postwar-generation was the idea that a group would

follow an individual leader in its movements. However, I would argue that the constitutive principle of the movement choirs was not simply mimetic copying of the leader's movement but it was rather essential to relate to each other. This could take several forms. It was Rudolf von Laban's movement analysis that created the base for these improvisations. While it is true that the main focus was on following the leader of the group, improvisational structures were developed that emphasized spacial and dynamic patterns: moving towards each other or apart, moving up while others moved closely to the floor or moving slowly while others ran. This allowed for some individual freedom in executing the movements because the emphasis was on the relation to one another and not predominantly on synchronization. This leniency in regard to synchronization was also possible, because the main purpose of the movement choirs was not the performance on stage or in front of an audience but was considered as an experience within the group.⁵ This requires a shift in the research perspective. Instead of asking whether the choirs were artistically and aesthetically significant it is important to analyze how this dance practice could become socially relevant to different groups.⁶

Movement choirs became relevant because they could do both: express symbolically the new social community as well as make it happen for the participants. Thus, the movement choirs were part of a significant debate about the meaning, quality and purpose of the new social community that dominated Weimar thought. In this construction of multiple discursive models of the "community", the cultural socialist played a significant part. Their concept of community fostered the idea that the integration of the individual into the community should enhance individuality and not abolish it. As such, they considered the movement choirs an ideal physical and social training, because in the improvisational process one had not only to react to each other, understand that the group could only function when everybody worked together, but simultaneously every dancer could move to his or her own potential.

Albrecht Knust, a known student of Laban, who also worked together with Martin Gleisner in the realization of movement choirs for the Socialist Youth (SAJ), wrote: "It is a fact that nothing is more adequate to develop the capacity to act socially within a community like movement games. One has to comprehend in every moment what function one has to play in the context of the whole group. Doing too little is as harmful as doing too much."⁷ Ilse Loesch illustrated this when commenting on Jenny Gertz's work with children as follows: "The children learn within the group that when they stop the others cannot move."⁸ Accordingly, the movement choirs were considered to train sensibilities that enabled a better integration into a group as well as to lead it. For instance, Jenny Gertz insisted that every child had to take the leading role once

in a while.⁹

Furthermore, the movement choirs could become a relevant practice for the Cultural Socialist because they fitted ideally into the concept of a coeducational mass *Leibesübungen* (heading for all physical training) that positioned itself critically towards the records in sport. The competition in sports was considered to function according to the laws of the capitalist system and needed to be rejected.¹⁰ In comparison to other dance forms the movement choirs had the advantage of being new and thus ideologically innocent. While folk dancing was considered backwards, ballet symbolized the bourgeois decadence by focussing only on virtuosity while simultaneously arousing the sexual fantasies of male viewers. Even worse, the ballet developed originally at the royal courts, thus making any relevance of this art form for the working class impossible.

While I could elaborate on this aspect, I want to change my perspective now to the performative qualities of the movement choirs by asking how they could be used for the political representation of the new social community. As a modern art form the movement choirs were situated in a debate about whether art should and could be political. In contrast to other modern art forms, modern dance has been characterized as very apolitical. Major protagonists like Rudolf von Laban emphasized that the movement choirs should not be simply used for political purposes. While many avant-garde artists sympathized with the left, their art intended to be political not on an obvious or symbolic level but by challenging perceptions and conventions. On the other hand, art by socialists and workers was usually characterized as too simplistic and lacking in artistic merit (of course there were a few exceptions), attracting only those who were already sympathetic. While the Socialist movement choirs used some of these rather obvious symbols of the workers movement like the fist stretched into the air, I would argue that the movement choirs clearly integrated modern concepts of movement and wanted to challenge viewers perceptual habits as much as other expressionistic artists. Furthermore, movement choirs could be used for the symbolic presentation by specifically playing with multiple levels of communication. Symbolizing the masses and community was not harmed by presenting oppositions and contradictions in the movement choirs, but rather paralleled the ambivalent image of the new society and the worker and his/her body within it.

The dance protagonists give us some cues on how the symbolic presentation is linkable to modern movement principles. Otto Zimmermann, who was in charge of the staging of several mass movement choirs for SPD wrote in "Gymnastic and dance from the perspective of the worker": "This fanatic longing of a mass towards a goal constitutes the thematic (stofflich) element for the creation of our dance. Dance abstracts. The motive is

mirrored in the dance as a concentric radiation towards a point positioned outside the group. All bodies of the dancers long in a stretching almost bursting manner towards this goal."¹¹ Thus, the theme of the dance becomes expressed in the spacial dimensions of the dance. However, Zimmermann's description does not allow to identify the goal as clearly as he might have seen it in the Socialist Community. The situation is a little more complex, for this longing, stretching movement is characteristic for many movement choirs regardless of political orientation. For instance, if we look at the "Dämmernde Rhythmen" (dawning rhythms) by Albrecht Knust, which was produced and photographed in the Laban school in Hamburg, we discover this stretching arm movement (here towards the leader outside the group) that might look like what Zimmermann described as a concentric radiation.

When analyzing this movement it becomes clear that the symbolic reading of the dance, moving towards a goal, is not equivalent to a movement technical interpretation of the situation. On the contrary, the pictures show that the suggested symbolic direction is just one of several movements. The suspension and stretching becomes possible through the opposition of movement direction. If the whole body would follow the direction of the arms, no tension and stretching would occur. The effect of the movement which is symbolically readable is thus based on an employment of movement oppositions. The radiation towards a point as expressed through the arm movement, that has an aesthetic effect and creates the illusion of taking space, is more complex than a simple symbolic level might suggest. Laban noted in his analysis of spacial movement patterns: "Next to the main direction there are subordinate directions that allow to hold the equilibrium, let the old movement slowly disappear as well as indicate the new movement direction."¹²

Contrasting movement patterns are found in most photos of the movement choirs. This shows the integration of Laban's movement principle into the practice of the movement choirs but also renders their symbolic interpretation more complex. The movement patterns of the choirs could do both: support a symbolic reading as well as challenge it. Keeping this in mind when analyzing the movement choirs is important not only because it allows for a differentiated interpretation but also because the protagonist employed these oppositions strategically.

Knust's "Götzendienst" (doing a favour to an idol) is a good example of how these oppositions and their symbolic inversions could be used. In this particular scene, two groups: one on a low level (the women), the other standing upright (the men) are confronting each other. At first sight this order of high and low could be interpreted as the symbolical meaning considering the title of the peace. The peace also seems to rely on conventional gender differentiation: the women being on the floor the

men on top. However, the movement executed on the floor is not a weak movement. The candle position needs force and some legs take up the upright line of the men. The women who are on the floor are kicking the men and not vice versa. And finally it could be noted that rolling back is a good position to easily come up to standing. The quality of the movement thus challenges the compositional structure of up and down as the only symbolic meaning. High and low are not easily readable as an hierarchical principle in this dance. This interpretation is supported by the comments of a critic of a socialist youth magazine who noted that the dance showed in humorous ways the "Mädchensimperlichkeit" (the silliness and played weakness of the girls) and "Grobheit der Männer" (the rudeness of men).¹³ He concludes that the assigned gender roles: women weak, men rough was thus exposed as a bodily and social habit rather than a naturally given fact. This fit perfectly in the conception of coeducation of the proletarian youth movement that at least on theoretical grounds emphasized the equality of men and women. Thus, the awareness of the complexity of movement patterns with its implications for the symbolic presentation should be stressed in the analysis of the movement choirs.

The successful integration of men into the movement choirs was not predominantly due to a focus on equality but was rather encouraged by Laban's differentiation between so-called low, middle and high dancers. This differentiation took the physical differences of dancers into consideration. Laban did not give priority to any of them and accordingly did not try to force a coherent movement quality on all dancers. Fritz Böhme, one of the most known dance critics of the time, pointed out that no other dance form so successfully employed this differentiation, when he wrote: "By putting individual dancers of the choir into different functions according to their own preference of moving, Laban broke the coherence of the corps de ballet and created a living ensemble that was at one moment characterized by contrast and then by similarity. This created the illusion of a flood of movement."¹⁴ Other critics also noted that "low dancers" were well integrated, although they did not always share the sympathy for their grounded and deep movements which they often described as barbaric (*hottentotisch*). Yet, another reason for the successful integration of men and non-dancers was that dancing in a choir did not aim at the solitary presentation of one's own body. Thus, the principles of the movement choirs did not encourage a one-sided, objectifying gaze that was seen as characteristic for the ballet and exposed the ballerina as an object of desire.

More so, the movement choirs usually showed forceful male protagonist that fitted well into the image of the strong, trained and well tanned man that was both preferred by Socialist and Nationalists. Martin Gleisner's *Männertanz* (dance by men), which was originally only one part of a dance consisting out of three parts, illus-

trates this need for strong male protagonists.¹⁵ This might not have been Gleisner's intention when he created the dance because he originally unified women and men in the last sequence. But in reality the scene of the men was shown separately at some festivities. His *Männertanz*, performed by a socialist youth group, is characteristic of the way men integrated into dances and shows how the dancers worked with the oppositional spacial movements to express the double-sided image of the male worker's body. Dancing in nature and scarcely dressed in tunics, the men pay tribute to an idealized body image. However, their curved backs and the bent knees make them not only recognizable as so-called low dancers but these movements take up symbolic gestures of the suppressed worker. However, the dancers are not really bent over in a weak manner. There is tension in the movement of the curved back, which could suggest the weight and force from outside as much as an active resistance to it, because the curved movement of the back is supported by a strong center. The use of the abdominal muscles does not only avoid that the body collapses but enlarges the curve and gives the illusion of taking space. This strong appearance is supported by the arm movements that not only indicate the position of defense but widen the back even more. This expressed on a movement basis the idea that the workers body is simultaneously oppressed by outside forces but that he is hard and strong at his core and will fight his enemies. Taking space and having a strong center are major ideas in the context of the Socialist movement and are apparent in movement patterns as well. One could also argue that the scene is moving towards a positive ending, because Gleisner, who is the leader of the movement choir, is already in an upright position thus suggesting that the movement will move upwards. Accordingly, the movement choirs could be read on a simple symbolic level like moving from the bottom to the top as much as they allowed more complicated interpretations that took the ambiguity of the worker's body into consideration.

Jenny Gertz's work with children in the context of the "weltliche Schule" in Halle (a reform school supported by the SPD) shows that the relational patterns of the groups were far more complex than just being antagonistic. On the photos of an improvisation we discover several possibilities how the children, who are all dancing naked, could relate to each other. While it would be plausible to elaborate more on the nude dancing, that was part of a huge discourse on *Freikörperkultur* (free body culture), I prefer to look at the formations in this paper. The children are grouped in pairs or trios. In one couple we discover a movement pattern that almost suggest a mirroring of the partners movement on a vertical as well as horizontal level. While one is kneeling the other is standing, yet bending the opposite leg and leaning also into the opposite direction. It was not necessary to face

each other to illustrate oppositions. Others are involved in an oppositional movement that indicates fighting or conflict, one moving backwards while the other is moving forward. Yet another group is positioned in a circle. While all are on a different levels, turning their bodies into different directions, their arms are all moving into the same direction. If exercises like these were the basis for the movement choir work, we can presume that the awareness of the relation to each other was actively trained and emphasized.

That this did not mean a loss of group coherence or closeness, becomes apparent in movement constellations where the group is moving towards each other, almost bundling together at one spot. This was characteristic for the choirs as it is mentioned in almost all descriptions. How this might have looked, shows yet another picture. While the group is very close, dancers neither do the same movement nor touch each other. They appear like a non-separable bundle. One cannot clearly distinguish which body part belongs to whom. The group gives the appearance of an organic formation with fluid boundaries.

These fluid group boundaries were characteristic for bigger mass choirs as well. This was considered a problem for those wanting to portray order. Photos of Rudolf von Laban's "Alltag and Fest" (Every Day and Festivity) show crowds rather than ordered dancing groups. The movement choir that was created for the anniversary of the National Theater of Mannheim in 1929 and was encouraged and financed by the SPD-city government. It was performed by 500 young dancers dressed in red, white and yellow costumes. How those costumes must have looked after it rained during the performance and dancers had to lay on the floor, can be imagined and must have enhanced the effect of a messy crowd. This sort of appearance could have been problematic for the integration into socialist festivities as Socialists were keen on fighting the image of the dirty, uncontrolled worker. Thus, worker's sport festivals often featured gymnasts in neat orders and dressed in white. Yet, Martin Gleisner rejected those doubts about the movement choirs by believing in the democratic and community fostering principle of them. He also saw them as a potential for an international communication on the basis of moving together. Photos show Socialist Youth groups in exchange with their Czechoslovakian counterpart. The characteristic element of these pictures are large groups performing simple movements like walking, running, raising arms. None of these movements are really synchronized and the group is often moving away from the audience. They look attentively at their group leader, who is dressed in black and moving ahead, or they look at each other while others are already bending down. The group receives its strength as an inseparable unit by being attentive and close to each other.

Generally, this appearance did not please solely on

artistic merit and in order to enjoy these dances some understanding of the idea of somatic or mimetic communication was required. While the choir could illustrate how masses moved from being antagonistic to a united group, as the rather simple plot of most movement and speaking choirs featured, the political message was often conveyed by the use of film footage and text. Martin Gleisner's "Rotes Lied" (Red Song) and Otto Zimmermann's "Prometheus" were the most elaborate mass staging that took place in the context of the unions and the SPD in the Weimar Republic. Description of Zimmermann's production indicate that the movement choirs were only a slight part of that production which the *Arbeiter Bildungs Institut* (Workers Educational Institute) in Leipzig had sponsored with the remarkable sum of 10000 Reichsmark. It is this performative aspect of the setting of movement choirs that should arouse emotions by using flags and torches, music and film that was copied and integrated by the Nazis in their mis-en-scene of mass spectacles.

However, some of the innate movement qualities of the choirs made them problematic for the integration into National Socialist mass spectacles. Neither did they provide the image of a coherent, synchronized and ordered group (as for instance gymnastic performances did) nor did they relate to an outside positioned source of power (*der Führer*). The point of reference was always the dancing group, even though the movement choirs had theoretically the aim of communicating somatically with an empathic audience. The physical closeness between men and women and them executing the same movements did not fit into the idealized and gendered body image of the Nazis. While there were many similarities on an ideological level, especially in regard to an ideal community and the performative aspects of mass spectacles, on the basis of movement quality and patterns differences appear. The Nazis discontinued the use of the movement choirs as early as 1936 when they banned Laban's "Vom Tauwind und der neuen Freude" (Of the Spring Wind and the New Joy) and Lola Rogge's "Amazonen" from the International Dance Games.

There has been an eager discussion about why Laban's "Tauwind" was banned, although Laban actively worked on that festive culture and cooperated with the Nazis. I would suggest that a difference appears between an ideological level on which some points were shared with National Socialist ideology and yet a practical level on which movement choirs did not show ordered groups, encouraged multiple interpretations and followed a more democratic movement principle. While for the Nazis the effect of mass production was important, Laban had always considered the experience of moving as essential for the new festive community culture (Festkultur). More so, movement choirs symbolized flux and constant change that was essential to Laban's idea of dance that he had

already communicated in his *Welt des Tänzers* (World of a dancer). However, the Nazis were not interested in symbolizing change but rather in the mis-en-scene of the status quo, of the powers that were unchangeable and to last. The Nazis dropped the new community dance soon.

This is even more striking as there had already taken place a change in the quality of the choirs. For instance Lola Rogge ceased working with the SPD movement choir and the photos of "Amazonen" (1935) show women dressed in tunics, portraying a heroic image, while being properly ordered like in an army. While more classical arm positions appear, the closeness and messiness, the spontaneity as well as the relatedness to each other have disappeared from this choir.

Thus I may conclude: Movement choirs were a lay dance form that was rather a communal experience than an artistic endeavour. While there were varying styles of movement choirs, constitutive for all of them was a relational movement pattern that did not predominantly create a unified and synchronized mass but rather allowed the dancers the freedom to move according to their potential. This messy appearance and the multiple symbolic potential of the movement choirs did not make them ideal for the representation of political manifests or power. Nonetheless, the flooding masses that could be represented by the choirs, coincided with the longings and staging practice of the Socialist and not with those of the National Socialists.

Endnotes

All translations of the German citations are mine.

1. For a detailed discussion on multiple concepts of community in the Weimar Republic see the first chapter of my dissertation. Yvonne Hardt. *Politische Körper. Ausdruckstanz und politische Identität in der Weimarer Republik*. Diss. FU Berlin, 2003.
2. See for instance Hedwig Müller und Patricia Stöckemann... *jeder Mensch ist ein Tänzer. Ausdruckstanz in Deutschland zwischen 1900 und 1945*, Gießen:1993, S. 23. Evelyn Dörr. "Rudolf von Laban. Tänzerische Identität im Spannungsfeld von Kunst, Wissenschaft und Politik." In: Sabine Karoß (Hg.) *Tanz Politik Identität*. Hamburg: 2001, 103-134. Karl Toepfer. *The Empire of Ecstasy – Dance and German body Culture in the 1920s and 1930s*. Berkeley: 1998, 315-318. Carole Kew. "From Weimar Movement Choir to Nazi Community Dance: The Rise and Fall of Rudolf von Laban's Festkultur." *Dance Research*, Vol. 17, Nr. 2, 1999, 73-98. An exception are those who focus mainly on Rudolf von Laban and interpret his work as apolitical.
3. See Uwe Hornauer. *Laienspiel und Massenchor. Das Arbeitertheater der Kultursozialisten in der Weimarer Republik*. Köln: 1985. Rob Burns und Wilfried van der Will. *Arbeiterkulturbewegung in der Weimarer Republik*. Frankfurt a.M.: 1982, 193f.
4. Hendrik de Man. *Der Sozialismus als Kulturbewegung*, Leipzig: 1920, 18.
5. See Rudolf von Laban. "Vom Sinn der Bewegungschöre." *Schrifttanz*, Vol. 3, Nr. 1, 1930, 25.
6. This does not imply that movement choirs were not artistically interesting, it just signifies a change of perspective.
7. Albrecht Knust. "Die Quellen des neuen Laientanzes." *Der Tanz*, Vol. 5, Nr. 3, 1932, 12f.

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8. Ilse Loesch. "Kinder im neuen Geist." *Der Tanz*, Vol. 5, Nr. 9, 1932, 4.
9. Training these sensibilities was also an issue in the lay dance movement in the United States at this time. See Marc Franko. *The Work of Dance. Labor, Movement, and Identity in the 1930s*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2002, 27. A comparative analysis also renders this linear interpretation that movement choirs were generally profachist problematic.
10. Martin Gleisner. *Tanz für alle*. Von der Gymnastik bis zum Gemeinschaftstanz. Jena: 1928, 137. Gleisner was one of the mayor protagonist of the lay dance movement, a student of Laban, who received all three diplomas of the Laban school in Hamburg. While he cooperated closely with Laban throughout the Weimar Republic, he did not share his nationalistic view and the idea that dance should be unpolitical.
11. Otto Zimmermann. "Gymnastik und Tanz vom Standpunkt des Arbeiters." *Kulturwille*, Vol. 5, Nr. 1, 1928, 4.
12. Rudolf von Laban. *Welt des Tänzers*, 1920, 19.
13. *Der Abend*. "Freikörperkultur in der FTGB. Der Beweis für die Notwendigkeit." Berlin, 10.4.1929.
14. Fritz Böhme. *Rudolf von Laban und die Entwicklung des modernen Tanzdramas*. Leipzig: 1996, 137f.
15. Martin Gleisner was one of the main protagonist of the movement choir movement. Originally a student of Rudolf von Laban, he helped establishing several movement choirs in the context of the Volkshochschule in Jena, Gera and finally in Berlin.

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Wedding Dances and Dance Weddings

Petri Hoppu

My paper examines dancing at weddings in Sweden and western Finland during the 17th and especially 18th century. This was an era during which society changed in a relatively rapid way in Sweden, to which Finland belonged, and weddings can be seen as an indicator of this development. My main sources are ethnographic descriptions from Sweden and Finland from the 18th century. In these descriptions weddings and wedding dances are often described in detail.

Background

From the late 17th century dance became the most important leisure time activity among village youth, and especially at weddings, it began to play a major role. Earlier, dancing had not belonged to the wedding celebration to a very large extent. However, beginning in the 17th century, new couple dances, first the *polska* and little later the *minuet* with the instrumental accompaniment, and grand weddings became elements of a process that gradually changed the peasant society in these countries.¹ The weddings were an essential part of the peasant reality, and in my opinion, the activities in the weddings, especially dancing, strongly affected this reality.

Earlier, in the Middle Ages, marriage was in Finnish-Scandinavian societies more a union between two families than between two persons. Thus, the wedding was a family feast, as well, and singing was one of its essential elements. Old Kalevala rune songs were sung in the Finnish-speaking part of Finland, whereas in Swedish Finland and Sweden the wedding songs belonged to the Scandinavian tradition. Thus, the language border was a border between two different song and wedding cultures, as well.

To be exact, wedding habits began to change in Sweden and Western Finland as early as in the late medieval time, but it was not until in the 17th and 18th centuries that the wedding became a village feast with a clear Christian impact, although the feast itself consisted mostly of other than religious elements.² Ceremonial singing disappeared, and ceremonial dancing took its place. It is remarkable that these changes took places both in Sweden, Swedish Finland and the Finnish-speaking part of Western Finland so that the language did not build any border any more. However, in Eastern Finland, old habits were preserved quite a long time, in Eastern Karelia as late as in the 20th century.

It should be added, as well, that simultaneously with the wedding customs, the courtship manners of the youth were changed. And this happened in a rather similar way: the emphasis moved from the family to the village, and it was the boys' and the girls' groups that became very important for young people. And at the same time, dancing became an important activity in the youth's leisure time.³

Dances at Weddings

Next I shall have a look at the dances that were danced at these weddings. I must remark that I am talking mostly about grand weddings, which, however were the ideal. They were called "silver weddings" (*silverbröllop*) in Swedish and "crown weddings" (*kruunuhääät*) in Finnish. The reason for this was that the bride had a silver crown on her head. The grand weddings began with wedding ceremony that took place in church, but later also at home. After that the wedding feast followed: either at bride's or bridegroom's home, or at both places after one another, as it was common in many regions before the 20th century. The feast lasted several days, and the most important activities were eating, drinking and dancing.

Dancing occurred in many form at weddings: at the beginning of the feast, it was usually ceremonial, but it could also be merely entertaining, or it could also have ritual meanings and functions, other than ceremonial. When thinking about dance culture, the weddings were important in many respects. At weddings dancing lasted several hours every day, and it was seldom that people – especially the old ones – had another chance for such a lively dancing. At weddings the most important features of the new dance culture with the *polska* and the *minuet*, were manifested in a most brilliant manner.

The origins of the *polska* are not known very well. According to professor Egil Bakka from Norway, the South Swedish and Finnish *polskas* have parallel forms in Eastern Europe and these dances have their roots in the impulses of the Polish dances of the 17th century.⁴ We know for sure that at the end of the 17th century, the *polska* was known as a peasant dance in Sweden and maybe also in Finland, and gradually it became by far the most popular dance among the common people. This dance was almost always described as cheerful and wild. Originally, the word "polska" did not probably refer to a single dance but to very different kinds of dances in the 17th century.⁵ In some cases, these dances might have had two parts, first a slow one in 2/4-rhythm and then a quick one in 3/4-rhythm, but during the 18th century, the *polska* be-

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came a dance with one part in 3/4-rhythm.

The history of the minuet in Sweden and Finland, on the other hand, is a little bit better known. It came to Sweden as early as in the late 17th century, and there is one piece of information from the 1690's according to which it was known as a peasant dance, as well. In the 18th century it was known in many parts of Sweden and Western Finland. The minuet was usually a dignified dance, especially as a ceremonial dance, and regionally, it was a popular wedding dance. However, it probably never gained such a popularity as the polska did. It seems, as well, that the polska and the minuet were often danced together as a kind of *en suite*.⁶

Ceremonial Dance

The ceremonial dances took a lot of time, maybe hours, although they were often rather simple. The exception was the minuet that could be very complicated. It has been often said that they reflected the social order of society. There were strict rules about in which order the dancers were allowed to enter the floor: first the priest (or someone else of high social status), then the parents, old people and so on. Of course, the wedding couple was dancing almost all the time, but the other ones had to wait for their turn. I shall now have some examples from Sweden and Finland.

The first one was written by Magnus Gabriel Craelius, and it describes wedding in Tunalån, Sweden in the mid 18th century:

The musicians take their places and begin with their fiddles to encourage people to dance, while the priest takes the bride and dances a polska with her, and when he has finished, he says to the groom: I dance to You, and after that the priest dances one more dance with the bride, and when it is finished, he leaves her to the groom, who, likewise, dances two dances with the bride, and before he begins the second dance, he says to the highest in rank, the bride's or his own father: I dance to You; similarly, all the men dance then with the bride, one after the other, and if there is room enough, the groom takes the bridesmaid, dances two dances with her, and then with one after the other, until he has danced with all the women.

After the bride and the groom have danced out their innocence in this way, all the guests dance together as they like, and sometimes there are so many couples dancing at the same time that they are packed like sardines, and in all the turnings and hooks they take the right figures after the nearest ones.⁷

The Swedish writers Lars Hallman and Olof Strand described the ceremonial dance in a similar manner in the 1740's and 50's: the priest begins to dance two polskas with the bride, then the bridegroom with the bride etc. According to Hallman, these two polskas were called "ost och brödd", that is cheese and bread.⁸ Also in Denmark these terms were known in the 18th century,⁹ and their origin is probably in Poland.

When we move to Finland, we find descriptions of the ceremonial dance both from the 18th and 19th century. The oldest one was written by Eric Lennqvist in West Uusimaa, South Finland, approximately at the same time as Craelius did in Sweden:

Then the ruler of the feast begins the dance with the bride, who again takes the groom, and the dance goes on like this[.]¹⁰

Lennqvist did not describe this ceremony in detail, but the interesting thing is that the first one to dance with the bride was the ruler of the feast (*föregångaren*) and not the priest. However, the main point was it was somebody with a - one way or another - high social status, who was supposed to begin the dance.

Craelius and other Swedish writers mentioned that two polskas were danced in every phase of the ceremonial dance. Interestingly, in many documents from the 19th-century Ostrobothnia, Finland, the informants said that three ceremonial polskas were danced. Anyhow, the main thing was that the dance was supposed to be repeated. One dance was not enough, which proves the importance of the ceremony.

Circle Dances

In addition to ceremonial dances, another important ritual at weddings were circle or chain dances, which, however, often contained dancing in couples. The polska music and steps were often used with them, but they probably had their roots partly in the medieval dance tradition. Craelius has an excellent description of these circle dances:

After the midnight, all the boys gather on the floor around the groom and begin to dance in a circle, one after the other every one of them dance with the groom inside the circle, and after that, when everyone has danced like this, they lift him on their shoulders and give him something to drink, while he thanks them for being in their company, and with this drinking he says farewell to the boys' group; then the boys swing fast around with him, while he is still lifted up, until the married men break in, and as if with violence, take him from them; the men dance then one after the other with the groom, and

finally, they lift him up as the boys did, and after that they all drink to his health and welcome him in their company, and after he has thanked for the drink, and they have swung around a few times with him, they let him go and finish the dance. This is called: to dance the groom away.

As the boys and the married men dance the groom away, similarly, the girls and married women dance the bride away, and after that the bride goes out and she is dressed to a wife, and she comes then with a garland in the hand, and all the girls make a circle around her and begin to dance; however, the bridesmaid or another woman binds her eyes, and as blind and unknown to whom she is close, she sets the garland on the head of one of the girls who dance round her; the lucky one is supposed to become a bride short after that. This is called to dance the garland away.¹¹

Lars Hallman and Olof Strand in Sweden as well as Erik Lennquist in Finland described this ritual in a very similar way.

The meaning of this *rite de passage* was clear to the people who took part in it: the couple said farewell to the youth and moved into the married state. It is surprising how little it changed in time: many features in the dance mentioned in the 18th century descriptions could be found at weddings in Ostrobothnia as late as in the late 19th or even in the early 20th century. The power of this ritual was strong, and it was even regarded as important as the ecclesiastical wedding itself. It was not until this dancing was over that the marriage was fulfilled. In a concrete manner, this could be seen in the bride's clothing and in the names she was called: the bride became a young wife during the ritual.

Common Dance

Common dances at weddings are not usually described in detail in my sources, but Erik Lennquist provides us with some information about them:

The rest of the night is spent with dancing and all possible funny things that will come in mind. And this folk is really fond of dancing with other guests. There is no boy or girl who does not believe that he or she can dance the minuet and the polska good enough; other kinds of dances they do not know.¹²

A very rare description of the polska as a common dance at weddings is found in a Finnish poet's, Paavo Korhonen's poem that was published in 1800. It describes

dancing at a wedding in Rautalampi, Central Finland, at the end of the 18th century:

Soon they all take to the floor,
they dance with skill, with every music.
The boys dance the polska, but the old just move
from one corner to another;
still, they seem to get along well together.¹³

It is typical to these descriptions that they emphasise how everyone wanted to dance and they did it skilfully. The repertoire was very narrow: in many regions there was only the polska, and occasionally also the minuet. However, it seems this did not bother these people. They enjoyed swinging around with their partners again and again in the best possible way they could. Everyone could dance with their own style.

Constructing Society

It would be tempting to say that the dance was merely a mirror of the social values: ceremonies and rituals reflected the social order in peasant society. However, when thinking about dancing at weddings lasting for hours on several days, this kind of an explanation cannot be enough. One cannot explain dancing only by referring to some external factors. The dance at weddings was something that possessed the human body totally. The dancing bodies moving together in couples or circles over and over again melt metaphorically into one social body, and the dance was not only reflecting society but, in a way, society was reproduced and constructed there, on the dance floor, by these bodies. The joy of dance, feeling of community and the touch of other bodies were values in themselves. On the other hand, the hierarchical structure of the ceremonial dance, for example, was a manifestation of the social order in which everything had its time and place.

The concepts of time and space were, indeed, constructed in dancing: the repeated motion is a most effective way to make people to do something together similarly and simultaneously, as William H. McNeill has shown in his study of dance and drill in human history.¹⁴ In Michel Foucault's words, this was an example of a technique of the body: it was a way in which society used its power. This was manifested in a most concrete manner when the priest, the most important representative of the administration, had the honour to begin the dance. And all the other ceremonial dances took place under his control, as well. Thus, it was a matter of power, in one sense, but we must remember that the people were not forced to participate the dance. On the contrary, people voluntarily joined the dance, accepted its hierarchy, and certainly also enjoyed it. Consequently, they adopted the new temporal and spatial order that emerged largely in society at that time, as well. Features of this order were strict-

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ness, discipline and control.

In the 17th and especially in the 18th century the development from medieval society to new one was relatively rapid when thinking of the Swedish and Finnish peasantry: in economics, politics and religion as well as in music and dance the change was clear. And one must emphasise that the latter ones did not merely follow the other spheres of society, but they were among the first ones that changed.

Thus, we can see the influence of two opposite phenomena related to the corporeality of the peasant weddings in the 17th and 18th centuries: *jouissance*, the joy and pleasure of dance, and discipline, the acceptance of the temporal/spatial order and hierarchy of the situation. Joyful bodies could easily become obedient bodies, because achieving the pleasure of the dance demanded discipline at least to some extent, and in any case more than earlier: you had to wait patiently for your turn in dance, you had to practise dancing and know the structure of the dance before you could enter the dance floor, especially in the case of the ceremonial minuet, and you had to follow your partner and the other dancers and do approximately the same movements that they did. This was something that was almost unknown in the medieval dance and wedding culture.

So, lasting for several days with dancing, eating and drinking from day to night, the 17th and 18th century weddings were an essential and appreciated part of the peasants' reality, and their significance cannot be overestimated. What this significance really was, needs a more detailed analysis, in which dance history is seen through cultural and social history. But this analysis should be done, because it concerns one of the most extraordinary and richest traditions in Swedish and Finnish history.

Endnotes

1. See Hoppu, Petri 1999: Symbolien ja sanattomuuden tanssi. Menuetti Suomessa 1700-luvulta nykyaikaan. A doctoral dissertation. Tampere, 212-216; Sarmela, Matti 1981: Suomalaiset häät. In Pohjolan häät. Helsinki, 34-46.
2. Sarmela 1981, 34-39.
3. Sarmela, Matti 1969: The Reciprocity Systems of the Rural Society in the Finnish-Karelian Culture Area. FF Communications no:27. Helsinki, 206.
4. Bakka, Egil 1997: Europeisk dansehistoria. Aurskog, 104-105.
5. Ala-Könni, Erkki 1956: Die Polska-Tänze in Finnland. A doctoral dissertation. Helsinki, 332; Klein, Ernst 1978: Om folkdans. Stockholm, 43.
6. See Hoppu 1999.
7. Craelius, Magnus Gabriel 1774: Försök till ett landskaps beskrivning, uti en berättelse om Tuna läns, Sefwedens och Aspelandes häraders fögderi, 423-424.
8. Wikman, K. Rob. V. 1947: Fest i bondens gård. In Det glada Sverige. Stockholm, 706; see also Norlind, Tobias 1930: Svensk folkmusik och folkdans. Stockholm, 123.
9. Junge, Joachim 1915: Den nordsiellandske Landalmues Character, Meeninger og Sprog. Kolding, 169-171.
10. Lennqvist, Eric 1778: Bröllops Seder i wästra delen af Nyland och de Finska Soknare derstädes. In Tidningar Utgifne af et Sällskap i Åbo, 99.
11. Craelius 1774, 424-425.
12. Lennqvist 1778, 111.
13. Korhonen, Paavo 1800: Huwittawaiset hääLaulut kunniallisissa hää-pidoissa. Vaasa, 17.
14. McNeill, William 1995: Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History. Cambridge.

Ninette de Valois, Lydia Lopokova and John Maynard Keynes, III: Economics and Ballet in London 1932–1942

Carla Stalling Huntington

In many circles, John Maynard Keynes is called the father of modern day economics. Those circles often minimize or even ignore his involvement with professional ballet and the effect that this involvement may have had on his theoretical writings: Ninette de Valois and his wife Lydia Lopokova are mentioned in some texts, but generally these texts are related to Keynes' social life, and not on interpretations of his economic policies. De Valois was a professional dancer, having associations with Diaghilev, and founder of the Royal Ballet of England. Lopokova was also a professional dancer with Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, among other professional companies, during the early third of the 1900s.

De Valois and Lopokova by default are assumed to have had no effect on economic theory, and historiographically they are silenced. There are writers who propose that Keynes' theories were a result of his deconstruction of other economists' points of view and Keynes himself as much as states this in his own writings (Keynes 1936). However he, like his interpreters and contemporaries, never broach the idea that two *ballerinas* could have been influential in shaping modern-day economics. I believe Keynes' success in being identified as *solely responsible* for modern economic theory, to the tune of deconstructing economists that preceded him, is far-fetched. Modern day economic theory, the credit for its success and inventiveness should be shared with de Valois and Lopokova. It was during the time that he was influenced by de Valois and Lopokova that Keynes completed *The General Theory of Employment Interest and Money*—or the foundation of Keynesian economics in 1936. Because he wrote the *General Theory* during the period of time when he was heavily involved with the arts in London, this paper theorizes that not only did Keynes influence acceptable economic theories but also that the performing arts, particularly ballet, influenced his economic theories. It was that interwar period of time during which the Sadler's Wells Ballet blossomed as an organization and The Camargo Society made its mark on London in competition with de Basil's Ballets Russes (Walker 1982). Both London companies were under the tutelage of de Valois, and their merger resulted in the eventual establishment of the Royal Ballet. (Note that the Ballets Russes zygotes were ultimately unsuccessful; none of the offspring from Diaghilev's companies had the support of Keynes, de Valois or Lopokova).

de Valois' leadership and genius as well as Lopokova's influence were connected to what has been credited as Keynes' singular achievement.

With that said, my paper theorizes that Keynes' associations with these two ballet professionals during the 20s and 30s influenced the development of what we "naturally" call Keynesian economics. Additionally, this paper, using a selected set of literature, questions the historiography by analyzing interactions between artistic director Ninette de Valois, dancer Lydia Lopokova and her husband Keynes. Those interactions culminated in the development of state-supported ballet in London and further materialized into the generally accepted principle (according to de Valois) that professional ballet should be a fully government subsidized enterprise (Clarke 1956). Reference documents for this paper include texts written by economists and dance historians: Lydia Lopokova, Ninette de Valois, Mary Glasgow, Keynes' biographers, and Keynes' own writings.

The General Theory, it is said, was written due to the prolonged economic depression commencing in 1929 and it has become the basis of Keynesian economics (Galbraith 1975). The theory set forth in the book was against the supply side, *laissez-faire* economics which stated that if businesses supplied a good or service, unhindered by government, consumers would appear and the economy would equilibrate (Keynes 1936). *Laissez-faire* and supply side economics, Keynes argued, was the cause of the worldwide economic cyclical depression. People were out of work and therefore could not spend to stimulate the general economy. Investments were flat and declining, and at the same time entrepreneurs were unwilling to take risks in business expansions (Keynes 1936). As a result, economists learned from Keynes, among other things, that policies of increasing demand through spending from consumers and government would solve problems of unemployment, stockpiled inventories, and dwindling profitable investments. And I would add, Keynes had first hand knowledge of empty theaters, and unpaid-out-of-work dancers, choreographers, musicians, costume designers, stage hands, painters, impresarios, artistic directors, and so on. He was well acquainted with Diaghilev's entourage and those of de Basil's, Blum's, Massine's and de Valois'. Increasing demand was the key to getting the theaters and artists back on their feet. His

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proposal in *The General Theory* addressed these very concerns.

One of the ways that the theory worked was by increasing government spending, which translated into having the government subsidize such activities as entitlement programs (unemployment insurance, health insurance, welfare transfer payments for examples), wars, and in no small measure, performing arts. These types of government funded programs stimulated the economy, put people to work and allowed spending to eventually transfer from government to consumers to bring the economic situation into one of growth rather than stagnation. Where at one point demand was at, say, negative two, increases in government spending shifted demand to say, positive 10. The model was adapted in Canada (Handler 1988) and the US, manifested here by the FDP and FTP (McDonald 1969, Galbraith 1975, Schlundt 1972, Glasgow 1975), programs which were short lived (because of accusations of communism and the need to control what was being staged, but that's another topic for another conference). These so-called arts funding programs were eventually replaced first by cultural export programs (Prevots 1998) and then by the NEA and NEH, foundation funding, and corporate tax breaks for sponsorship.

Historiographically Keynes has been singly credited with this economic policy. Sure, economists are quick to point out that what Keynes theorized had been said before, but nevertheless, we have "Keynesian economics" not "what other economists said before" economics. Interestingly, one of his biographers, an economist by the name of D. E. Moggridge who has written at least 1,000 pages about Keynes, has written one remarkable sentence: that Keynes' influence on his thinking from Lopokova has been largely ignored (Keynes, M. 1975). I aver that the influence on his thinking from de Valois and Lopokova has been ignored, as has professional ballet industry structure and its relation to economic policy.

What I would like to consider here is the relevancy of Keynes' association with Lopokova and de Valois having direct bearing on the development of "his" theory (Higgins 1975). Moreover, Keynes considered economics an art and moral science, and it is through his association with *artists*, not just economists, that I believe formulated his views of economics (Moggridge 1976). It has been written that "Keynes's activities in connection with the performing arts ... really date from his relationship with Lydia Lopokova. ... In the late 1920s [and onward], Keynes's involvement in the performing arts increased ... [and] by 1936 ... This involvement now began to be reflected in his publications (Moggridge, ed. 1982, 312, 317, 328).

Should we be thinking of the current economic theory that war and government spending pulls economies out of down-turned business cycles and recessions as de

Valoisian or Lopokovaiian economics? Or should we refer to it as performing artistsian economics?

Lopokova and de Valois first met each other in a ballet class being conducted by Maestro Cecchetti in London in 1922 (de Valois 1975). From then on the two professionals worked closely together in staging ballets for the Sadler's Wells Ballet and The Camargo Society (de Valois 1975). Keynes, a noted bisexual, began watching Lopokova in 1918 and took over her financial affairs by 1921 (Keynes 1975). Lopokova and de Valois remained friends for the rest of their lives. De Valois wrote, and I quote her at length here to illustrate the degree to which the two women had Keynes' attention, and her relationship with Lopokova:

To me, she [Lopokova] was a true friend and a most lively and witty companion ... I can recall the joy for me of her guest performances ... she was already married to Keynes and no longer a permanent member of the [Ballets Russes] company. ... Over the years I visited Lydia on her Sussex farm... This may appear to be a simple tale of friendship, but the secret of its importance lies in the part that Lydia Lopokova played in the encouragement of English ballet in the early 1930s ... her dedication to the ballet being shared by Maynard Keynes, who, through his own interest and his wife's determination to help, did much for us, both financially and in other ways. ... In particular she took an active part in founding the Camargo Society ... [the society] played the role of an important fairy godmother for English ballet. ... The Camargo Society (with Maynard Keynes as Treasurer) found time and money to organize the productions of new ballets with which to enrich English repertoire. ... The whole organization of the Camargo Society, part initiated by Keynes and his wife, was inspiring. ... When the Royal Ballet ... opened in the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, after the war in 1946, there was a further link, for Lord Keynes was the first chairman of the Royal Opera House Board of Governors (de Valois 1975, 108 – 111).

While Lopokova stroked his ego and his genitals, and spent his money (she was his wife after all, and in the words of the wife in 2001 film *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, trying to convince her husband of a certain course of action, she was *the neck* on the man who supposedly was *the head* of the business), both women had Keynes' ear when it came to ballet, its creativity, finances, and the need for increased demand for the performing art, the structure of the industry and the types of adversities faced by dancers. In 1924 Lopokova wrote a letter to Keynes

(of which there are hundreds) and in it she says "Everywhere is the same existence of dancing peoples awful lack of work and hunger" (Farjeon 1975, 79). Later in May she wrote to him saying "Oh I had a desire yesterday to become a rich woman again ... I saw many old dancers they are most poor or mad, life is difficult I sigh all over and lean on you" (Farjeon 1975, 98).

Not surprisingly, Lopokova talked to Keynes about the problems facing Diaghilev financially as well as about the ways in which Massine treated her while she was dancing with each respective company. (This could be why Keynes never really warmed up to Massine later when Massine embarked upon directing ballet companies.) Keynes additionally witnessed the events faced by performing arts groups of the day (including the effect of Diaghilev's death on the Ballets Russes, and the resulting development of de Basil's company and de Valois' dislike of "ballet wars") (Garcia-Marquez 1990). The Keyneses often had the artists to their home for social events. In June 1919 after the war "[Keynes] resumed his life in Bloomsbury, and began paying frequent and momentous visits to the Russian ballet. ... the Diaghilev ballet was beginning a new season in London. The dancers and painters found a warm welcome in Gordon Square" (Levy 1975, 70). In the 1921–22 season Lopokova danced with Diaghilev's company in the *Sleeping Princess* which folded prematurely due to lack of demand. This is when Keynes was to have written a "draft" letter to Diaghilev on Lopokova's behalf. The letter references stranded penniless dancers, uncertainty, and lack of direction. He also talks of dancers being approached by other directors in London because of Diaghilev's mismanagement and problems with demand, and their not knowing how to respond to them.

One such "other director" was Massine who had just been fired by Diaghilev (Farjeon 1975). In due time both Lopokova and de Valois joined Massine. After doing so Lopokova finds Massine's business practices unfavorable too. In a 1922 letter to Keynes she wrote, being careful to stroke his ego "The differing at the Coliseum is very little and Massine wants to wait, and here also financial question is a problem to keep these few artists as they have nothing. Also Massine wants to produce a new ballet, but how without finance? When you have a few minutes free wouldn't you suggest a thought to improve the situation? I know it will be wise and substantial" (Hill and Keynes 1989, 39).

Keynes was surrounded not only by ballet dancers and musicians, but also by artists such as Picasso (Levy 1975). His involvement with The Camargo Society gave him direct access to ideas voiced by de Valois who is known to have wanted a state supported ballet company from the time she walked out of Diaghilev's studios and performances in 1924, ten years before the publication of *The General Theory* (Clarke 1956). de Valois strokes

Keynes' ego in different ways than Lopokova, but she strokes it just the same. Historiographically we have syrupy writing from de Valois and Clarke which states

Keynes ... was very largely responsible for the subsequent extension of the now accepted principle of the need for Government support for the arts in a community where private patronage is becoming increasingly rare. Keynes came to the conclusion that CEMA must not be allowed to disappear from the scene, and he was instrumental in persuading the Treasury and the Ministry of Education to put it on a permanent basis: Arts Council of Great Britain (Clarke 1956, 196).

But she does not give him an indexical reference in any of her books.

How did Keynes reach such a conclusion? By being told that this should be the accepted principle by de Valois who together with Lopokova's influence, managed his agreement. In her *Invitation to the Ballet* (published in 1937, around the same time as Keynes' *General Theory*), de Valois delineates the attributes and policy requirements of government support for the arts and discusses the problems of consumer demand (de Valois, 1937, 75-92). Being her muse, Keynes proved to be her source of inspiration and a way to achieve a huge economic victory. The two women probably told him that the problem that created unemployment was lack of demand, lack of investment, and lack of bank credit, since they knew this from experience. de Valois had experienced many days with Diaghilev having to scratch for money, watching creditors seize his assets, and having difficulty finding investors. She theorized from practical experience that if the state would establish a far-reaching and stable fiscal policy, unemployment could be mitigated. Demand could be stimulated and shifted through government expenditure, allowing dancers to become consumers. It was not a far cry to use this model in the general economy and Keynes, known to base his assumptions on intuition (Moggridge 1976), quickly adapted it to the *General Theory*.

Keynes was also known to do things for his friends that were in the realm of policy, like keeping people from having to serve in the military during the war and staying employed with the England Treasury precisely so he could help his friends (Levy 1975). Examples of his benevolence for his friends are numerous. Keynes had a theater built, the Arts Theatre in Cambridge, so that Lopokova could dance there, and so that ballet, theater plays, and cinema could be shown (Glasgow 1975). He took over finances for Lopokova long before they were married, made large contributions to the English ballet and manifested an audience for The Camargo Society when there was slack demand. How far from center would it be for

him to help his wife's friend to institute a funding policy for the arts in Britain, and a solution to economic depression, after she and de Valois submitted it to Keynes and asked him to make it work?

Interpreters of Keynes have stated that much of his writing was theoretical in nature without giving directions or setting policy precisely (Moggridge 1975). It was up to the reader to determine what to do with Keynes' arguments and how to implement them. Suppose we go now to the hypothetical scene whereby de Valois says to Keynes, who knows he is sympathetic to artists, has put his money into financing performing art and who has married a Russian ballerina: "you know Lord Keynes, it would be very notable if we could have the state sponsor all of our ballet productions. If we did that, there would never be any problem at all with dancers being paid, assets being seized and contracts being broken. This type of policy if implemented economy-wide could guarantee full employment and stimulate aggregate demand." And during the times when he and Lopokova talked about the problems facing the arts, at one point she said, "Honey, 'I don't like women in power' particularly the way Ninette is going about it, but I think she has good intuition about these matters. Could you do something?" (Buckle 1975, 50). "Sure my sweet, I'm writing the *General Theory*; it's due out in 1936 and that will be the basis for what de Valois has proposed." Resting on the treatises in *The General Theory*, when the war hit, de Valois said to Lopokova and Keynes, "This war is really making it terrible for us and we can't wait until it's over to get the government to act. We need increased demand now. Can you establish a short term organization just until this war is done, as an interim solution?" Lopokova agrees and says to her husband, "Yes, that is true Muffin. Could you do something?" They came up with working through the Council for the Encouragement of Music and Arts, or CEMA, after having listened to de Valois and Lopokova. This was the precursor to the model of government support for the arts found in the Arts Council of Great Britain.

Why could not de Valois and Lopokova establish economic policies and institutions such as those that have been credited to Keynes? de Valois was a straightforward powerful business woman. She was used to dealings with all manner of society. Lopokova was no push-over either. My theory is that they were women in a time when women were just beginning to attain certain rights and so it was not appropriate for them to go to the likes of a Tony Blair with an idea that the ballet should be state supported, much less with a solution for solving cyclical unemployment. They, particularly de Valois, used Keynes. He was very interested in women's rights and participated in feminist activities. He was raised by a father who was supportive of women and an educated, gainfully employed mother with a career in local politics, who was very liberated in her thinking, behavior and being (Moggridge 1976,

1982).

"Moreover," de Valois continued over lunch with Lord Keynes, "the idea would solve the problem of unemployment in this economic sector and could be used as a model for changing both this idiotic capitalistic system we now live under *and* provide theaters. You would be so well loved by the people of the world. And we all know that you view economics as an art, a moral science that is intended to make the world a better place (Moggridge 1976; Keynes J. M. 1971; Bateman and Davis 1991). A policy like this would foster such an achievement for you Lord Keynes."

Listening to de Valois perhaps affected Lord Keynes in his deepest and hardest places. Keynes had a belief about artists. While he did not think that the economy should be left to the throws of *laissez-faire*, he thought that artists should be left alone to work without having to consider monetary limitations in artistic production (Glasgow 1975). His practices pointed to his support of the arts and his love (or lust) for Lopokova was identified through his financial and emotional support of her.

Concluding this hypothetical lunch, Keynes determined, thanks to de Valois and Lopokova, to take the steps necessary to implement action with CEMA and secondarily sought its metamorphosis into the Arts Council of Great Britain. Coming from Keynes, de Valois knew the powers that be in London would buy the idea. After all he had written *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* wherein he voiced singular opposition to the Treaty of Versailles' reparations against Germany after World War I. He was a very prominent economist who had occasion to travel around the world giving economic advice to highest ranking government leaders. He was a Cambridge man and a member of Bloomsbury. Keynes wrote the *General Theory* as a direct result of lifetime conversations and experiences with de Valois and Lopokova.

De Valois continued in the what would have been the appropriate practice of making him look like the brains. This strategy is really clear too in what Lopokova does in the multitude of letters she wrote to him in which she strokes him. He relished being called smart and relished acclaim. Therefore, de Valois traded the result she wanted for growing his ego by saying, and I paraphrase: Lord Keynes is almost single-handedly responsible for the system of government support we now have (Clarke 1956, 196). This was, after all their unspoken agreement given the times and the circumstances. But here in the 21st century, the historiography needs to be redressed, and de Valois and Lopokova should not be seen as mere silent ballerinas on the stage of Keynesian economic theory. Rather, they are integrally responsible for the accepted principles of Keynesian economics and present-day government support ideologies for the performing arts. de Valoisian and Lopokovian economics is how I suggest we refer to it. No, that would leave Keynes completely out of

the picture, and entirely sexist maneuver. If we have to name it something then, Performing Artisan Economics will suffice.

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Juba's Dance: An Assessment of Newly Acquired Documentation

Stephen Johnson

In 1947 the dance and popular culture historian Marian Hannah Winter wrote an article called 'Juba and American Minstrelsy,' in which she traced—and made significant—the life of the black American dancer William Henry Lane, who performed in the United States and in Britain as 'Juba' during the 1840s.¹ That biography portrayed a clear path of rising prominence and influence. Born in the United States, circa 1825, Juba was—according to Winter—performing in dance houses in New York City by the early 1840s, where he was described by Charles Dickens. Juba danced in competitions, variety houses, and with a new phenomenon, the minstrel show, until 1848, when he travelled to England. He appeared at Vauxhall Gardens with the minstrel troupe 'Pell's Ethiopian Serenaders,' where his unusual dance technique drew extravagant praise. Juba remained in England, on tour, until his early death in 1852.

Prior to Winter's article, Juba was a forgotten figure, the only references to him a few lines in histories of minstrelsy.² Winter carved out for Juba a place of importance in subsequent histories of American performance—that he provided integrity to a developing indigenous dance idiom, based on his direct links with an African-American folk culture. His active participation in the development of that idiom—to Winter, he was the progenitor of what became jazz and tap dance—re-appropriated for black cultural history what otherwise was a clear case, in American blackface minstrelsy, of theft. Juba became, in her words, the 'most influential single performer of nineteenth century American dance' (p28). A 'great man,' historiographically speaking.

There are a number of reasons for re-examining Juba. First, Winter's history is based on relatively few documents (perhaps half a dozen in total); further evidence can add to the complexity and the understanding of this figure—developing the narrative, if you like. Second, much research has gone into the study of theatrical blackface, African American cultural history, and dance, in the decades since Winter's study—by Douglas Lorimer, Hans Nathan, the Stearnses, Lynne Emery, Robert Toll, and more recently by Eric Lott, William Mahar, Dale Cockrell and Brenda Dixon Gottschild (see works cited). All these studies explore a greater range of available documents pertaining to the minstrel show, using a variety of theoretical models, that illuminate the deeply ambivalent relationship audiences had with that form—ridicule and

sentimental identification, nostalgia and a carnivalesque rebelliousness. Such work provides a macrohistorical context unavailable to Winter, that can enrich a more focussed study of Juba's dance. Juba represents what microhistorians—and I consider myself one such—call an 'exceptional normal.'³ That is, Juba appears to be accepted within his immediate historical context, but for reasons that we do not understand—a black performer in an otherwise exclusively white medium. Microhistory focuses on just such cracks in our preconceptions of a society, in the hope of enriching our understanding.

The balance of this paper will be divided into four parts: a revised narrative based on additional documentation; a brief look for the kinds of statements these documents might tell us about his dance; a look at the degree to which he manifests the 'Africanist Aesthetic' heralded by Winter and developed by Robert Thompson, among others; and, finally, I want to return to Juba as the 'exceptional normal' with some final thoughts. I hope the brevity of the following will be understood as introductory and not conclusive. Far from it.⁴

First, the revised history: In 1848 a young dancer of colour (he was perhaps seventeen) arrived in London, billed as 'Boz's Juba,' Boz referring to the aforementioned description by Dickens. This youth may very well have been the 'Juba' or 'Master Juba' who appeared in competitions, and on minstrel and variety stages in the north-east from 1845-48; the reference to Dickens is dubious puffery.⁵ This young dancer—whoever he was—did create a sensation at Vauxhall Gardens. I can with some certainty say he was the most-noticed variety performer during the summer of 1848 in London, and London was a crowded field.⁶ Juba appeared with the Ethiopian Serenaders, led by Gilbert W. Pell (or Pelham), who had toured England two years previously to great acclaim, performing with a minstrel troupe for a full year in the St James's Theatre, as well as a command performance for Queen Victoria. This troupe, and Pell in particular, can be credited with making minstrelsy 'safe' for the British middle class—with a 'cleaned-up' act and dressed in tuxedos, minstrels became fashionable. This is significant, since I suspect that, in 1848, Pell made Juba 'safe' (I will return to this subject).

Pell's Serenaders, with Juba, toured throughout England and Scotland for the next 18 months, playing in legitimate theatres and lecture halls. In the summer of 1850 this relationship—the longest continuous tour of a minstrel show I have found to that date—ended. Juba—in

an irrevocable turn in his performative fortunes— is next noticed in a working class music hall, playing solo. For the balance of his career, he appeared as an entr'acte in lesser theatres, and in concert saloons. In effect, he left both minstrelsy and the middle classes behind, and returned to the locus of his performances in New York. At this point, not surprisingly—but frustratingly for the micro-historian—he all but disappears from the documentary record, which is, after all, serving the literate classes. Where his name is recorded, two features stand out. He is associated with the 'gallery crowd,' his popularity there reported with some disdain (his dance is now 'rougher and less refined'). Also there is reference to something disreputable, dangerous about his dance— he 'jumps too fast,' and is advised to be 'wise in time' and slow down (unspoken is the phrase 'or else').⁷

Then Juba disappears. There is reference to his performance—and possible death—in Dublin in September 1851. Finally, an early posthumous reference to this once-lionized performer, written by T. Allston Brown, places his skeleton on display in Sheffield. Surely a dancer's hell, if true—and there is circumstantial evidence that it is.⁸

Some documents are more useful, more telling than others. As examples, two extended and quite different accounts express the range of attitudes. The first is a thankfully detailed description from a Manchester newspaper indicating the frame of the performance⁹: the characters were grotesquely dressed, and excited laughter from the audience; there was some embarrassment at the extent of this laughter among the more genteel members of the audience; the performers were highly skilled harmonic singers; Juba is described in near-obsessive detail; and so on. The second review on this page is the only 'bad' review of Juba's performance with the minstrel show.¹⁰ Bad reviews are often reliable, I find, because they sanctimoniously believe that if they simply describe what's there, everyone will agree with the negative verdict. In this review we have: a walk-around, apparently in a kind of 'strut'; jumping backwards; shaking thighs; walking on knees; and falling backwards onto the floor. To this the reviewer adds the noise of boots hitting the floor, not a delicate tap, but the loud stamping of oversized boots. Based on these and the other documents, I distinguish a number of broad characteristics about his performance, which I'll organize into a series of contradictions:

1. He appears to have been fully integrated into the minstrel show, playing the tambourine as the 'endman' opposite Pell, singing songs like 'Juliana Johnson' and 'Come Back, Steben.' He was even involved in audience participation events, like 'conundrum' (or pun) contests. On the other hand, in advertising, reviews, and on playbills, he appears to have been quite segregated—I

choose the word carefully—from the rest of the company.

2. Juba's three dances took two disparate forms. The first was a 'wench' dance, in drag, to the singing of 'Lucy Long' by Pell. The Manchester review describes a costume of clashing colours which, I believe, argues for a comic-grotesque parody of hand-me-down plantation fashion. This is supported by the presence of the clown-like Pell, with collar so wide his head could disappear inside. 'Wench' dancing was an early fixture of the minstrel show (although advertised as 'new,' which it may have been to this 'new' audience); Juba's presence in it is, in fact, a sign of his integration into the troupe. Tellingly, Juba did no 'wench' dancing outside of the minstrel show. In contrast, Juba performed 'Festival' and 'Plantation' dances in some kind of formal dress, this time accompanied by Thomas F. Briggs on the banjo. I say in contrast, because I believe the most extraordinary descriptions of Juba's dance could not have been made about someone in a dress, but here, performing with an important early practitioner of this folk instrument. I take this as a serious business, an exhibition, as many critics indicated of 'the dances of his own simple people on festive occasions.' (Manchester review)
3. On the one hand, there is a precision to the descriptions of Juba that is excessive—there are few performers from this period for whom I have height and head size (Manchester review). It is, again choosing my words carefully, anthropological. Just so some descriptions of his dance, which are given to lists of steps and movements (shuffles, double-shuffles, hops, steps, and so on), and a variety of comparisons—with the highland fling, sword dance, Lancashire clog, hornpipe, minuet, polka, as well as whirling dervishes, and the 'willies.'¹¹ And yet—despite the detail—we find the oft-repeated stock phrase that 'any attempt to describe his dancing would be futile.'¹²
4. On the one hand is an admiration for the precision of his movements, and of the sounds of his boots—'in exquisite time,' says one. The bills call for silence from the audience so that Juba's percussive art could be appreciated. He is praised for his clarity and control.¹³ On the other hand, there are frequent descriptions of exuberant, wild abandon. In the following example, I believe the author was trying to capture the rhythm in the prose:

Surely he cannot be flesh and blood, but some

more subtle substance, or how could he turn, and twine, and twist, and twirl, and hop, and jump, and kick, and throw his feet almost with a velocity that makes one think they are playing hide-and seek with a flash of lightning! Heels or toes, on feet or on knees, on the ground or off, it is all the same to Juba; his limbs move as if they were stuffed with electric wires....¹⁴

5. On the one hand, the dance seems to be all about speed; and yet there is reference to a juxtaposing slow movement '[T]here is both light and shade,' says one reviewer, 'from his most frenzied movement to the most subdued demeanour possible....' 'Now he languishes,' says another, 'now burns, now love seems to sway his motions, and anon rage seems to impel his steps. Juba's plantation dance is a sort of terpsichorean illustration of Collins's "Ode on the Passions."¹⁵

We are at the mercy of the tyranny of these documents in any effort to 'get to' the performance—created by middle-class white men, dubious in their reliability, contradictory when not nonsensical. On the other hand, they carry the remnants of the choreography they witnessed—we do what we can with them.

It is possible, first of all, to find similarities between Juba's documentation and other evidence concerning period minstrel dances. I'll note a few examples (using Hans Nathan's itemization), although a closer examination is needed.¹⁶

Iconography shows a drunken man imitating Juba. He performs a high-kick with arms and hat outstretched, mouth wide open, in what looks like high-stepping from a cake-walk. A related caricature shows Juba with one leg raised above the hip, waiting to come down hard on the floor, knees bent and spread apart, his arms in a quintessential minstrel pose, close to the body, splayed out from the elbows. This image appears to be a more extreme version of the position in the most common image of Juba dancing, which shows him with his hands in his pockets (cool torso, hot legs, argues Brenda Dixon Gottschild—an idea I will return to in a moment).¹⁷

A little more imagination must be applied to the eyewitness descriptions. In general I can envision a slow walk-around interrupted by any number of steps: the pigeon wing (the jump and clicking of heels) in the 'leaps and hops and jumps' combined with sound; an early form of the 'Charleston' maneuver, the repeated crossing of legs forward and backward—when Juba 'ties his limbs into double knots'; perhaps the strutting of the 'long-bow J' or 'trucking' or the 'turkey trot' in the phrase 'walking around the stage with an air of satisfaction and his toes turned in'; certainly the stock backward spring is there; and in depictions of aggressive and noisy tap with ex-

treme movement and gesture, perhaps steps like 'Walking the jawbone' and 'Tracking upon the heel.' Indeed, the words used throughout these documents resonate when compared with period descriptions: 'he shakes his leg,' he 'bounds, whirls,' leaps, slides, gyrates, turns, twines, twists, twirls, hops, jumps, kicks, throws his feet, jumps, capers, crosses his legs, stamps his heels, 'whilst his feet still seem upon the ground.' He's on his feet, on his knees, on his ankles. His legs are 'rubber.' And so it goes. The problem with microhistorians—compounded, as we all know, when dealing with performance—is that we are in the business of making as much as we can with as little as we're given. I might see any number of dance steps here, if I look longingly enough.¹⁸

The most important of Winter's assertions—echoed in all discussion of Juba since her article—is that Juba's dance embodied an Africanist aesthetic, and thus contributed to that which became distinct in American dance. I conclude with three questions concerning this claim. First: to what extent does the evidence support it?

I could argue against it, I suppose. I am unconvinced by the late and spurious documents suggesting that Juba learned to dance from black performers, that he was raised in the Irish-Black cultural hotbed of New York's Five Points.¹⁹ I am certainly unconvinced by any eyewitness reference to his dances as 'authentic' depictions of African American culture. Juba was, first and foremost, in show business, and no doubt compromised mightily to survive in it for as long as he did.

But then I consider this 1838 description of a plantation 'Juber' dance, quoted by Lynne Emery, in which 'the main figure was the banjor-man:

Tumming his banjor, grinning with ludicrous gesticulations and playing off his wild notes to the company.' The dancers, 'with open mouth and pearl white teeth, [were] clapping "Juber" to the notes of the banjor....[They] rested the right foot on the heel, and its clap on the floor was in perfect unison with the notes of the banjor, and palms of the hands on the corresponding extremities; while the dancers were all jiggling it away in the merriest possible gaiety of heart, having the most ludicrous twists, wry jerks, and flexible contortions of the body and limbs, that human imagination can divine.'²⁰

It is no stretch of the imagination for me to see in this description, Juba and Briggs on stage, the 'banjor man and the 'clapper'—the words 'ludicrous,' 'twist,' 'jerk,' 'contortions' resonate. Even the prominent reference to mouth, teeth, and grinning, compare with descriptions of Juba's laughs, and 'trills,' and 'screams,' as he danced.²¹ There is an argument to be made that Juba was performing a quite specific, African-infused plantation dance.

In more general terms, it's possible to argue that both Juba and this 'jubar dance' embody an Africanist aesthetic. If I accept the basic criteria of that aesthetic—outlined by Robert Thompson, among others—I look to the documents for the following attributes²²: the overwhelming dominance of percussion in the structure of performance, even in those parts of the dance that do not involve making noise (as Thompson says [100], 'percussive flavouring governs the motion of those parts of the body that carry no weight—the gestures—as well as the steps that do.');

'the simultaneous execution of several time signatures' (102), so that 'the various limbs and members, head, shoulders, and legs are all moving simultaneously, but each in a rhythm of its own....' (103);²³ a whole-body integration of sound and movement, music, song and dance, the body as instrument (Thompson calls it 'apart playing' [104]); and 'antiphony,' or 'call and response,' in which habitually there is a dualistic competitive structure (106-7). Brenda Dixon Gottschild, following Thompson, adds to this aesthetic 'high-affect juxtaposition,' the sudden change of tempo and tone; and 'ephebism'—the youthful expression of vitality, range, and exuberance. In general, theorists of the Africanist aesthetic talk about the 'Cool'—as Gottschild puts it, 'composure' combined with 'vitality,' 'carelessness cultivated with a calculated aesthetic clarity,' expressed with an arrogant saunter juxtaposed by a 'brilliant smile.'²⁴

I see these attributes exploding from the documents describing Juba's dance. In the chaotic and confused descriptions of Juba I read an effort to describe several things at once—several parts of the body moving simultaneously at different speeds and in different rhythms. I read an effort to come to terms with sudden, unaccustomed changes of tone. In the magnificent failure of description—the flood of words, the exuberant protestations that it is indescribable—I see a reflection of the speed, surprise, and exuberance of the Africanist aesthetic.

The second question: why was Juba allowed to disseminate this aesthetic? He was clearly doing something quite different from his fellow minstrels, and just as clearly did not belong on that stage with them. Winter's idea that he was simply too good to suppress doesn't convince me; there are too many instances to the contrary. I believe, instead, that Pell made Juba safe for the middle class by presenting him as an exotic figure 'on exhibition'—not imitating, not acting, but 'being,' on exhibition as surely as were the Kaffir Zulus, the Arab families, the Ojibway warriors, or the Bushmen who were touring at this time, and to the same venues. There was even a touring exhibition of 'authentic' southern plantation slave life at this time—that was later exposed as just another minstrel troupe.²⁵ I note the frequent reference to authenticity, the anthropological precision of descriptions, and in particular the subsequent negative portrayal of him without the context of the 'exhibition' within the min-

strel show, when he now had to be seen for what he was—a parodic performer of skill and of colour, who appeared to be able to whip the working classes into a frenzy. Not a plantation slave 'illustrat[ing] the dances of his own simple people on festive occasions.'

My last question is this: Did Juba pass whatever was original about his dance on to the general culture? Was he a 'great man'? Perhaps not. The absence of evidence about him after he left the minstrel show indicates a declining influence. The brief, vividly racist biographies of him prior to Winter's article indicate a concerted effort to diminish him. In the history of minstrelsy, Pell's date of death and the location of his grave site are known, and this is not unusual. Minstrelsy was a brotherhood, to which Juba's sad, brief narrative served as a negative moral example.²⁶ I would further suggest that, based on these documents, Juba's dance was both extreme and *sui generis*. Africanist it may have been, and mesmerizing; but it reminds me more of 'eccentric,' than of mainstream tap or jazz. I have to wonder if, as time passed, without further African infusions of culture and talent, Juba's influence moved to the margins.

Nevertheless, I believe Winter. After all, where does cultural transmission take place—in the word or in the body? Juba was extraordinarily popular. 'Juba' dancers and 'juba' dancing became a descriptive in variety houses.²⁷ The antidote to Allston Brown's demeaning comment rests in the first posthumous reference to Juba, in Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*, in which the author transcribes an interview with a street-minstrel, just four or five years after Juba's death (Vol 3, p191).²⁸ Having disappeared from the written culture, Juba appears here, on the streets, embedded in a performative culture. Mayhew asks where the minstrel learned his craft. It was from Pell's Ethiopian Serenaders, says the minstrel: 'Pell's gang was at the top of the tree.' Then, I like to imagine, the speaker paused for a moment to reflect, and his next statement took an unexpected turn: 'Juba was along with Pell. Juba was a first class—a regular A—he was a regular black, and a splendid dancer in boots.'

Endnotes

1. Winter, Marian Hannah, 'Juba and American Minstrelsy,' in *Dance Index* 6.2, February 1947 28-47.
2. See Rice, Edward LeRoy. *Monarchs of Minstrelsy*. New York: np, 1911, p 42, 48; and Day, Charles H. *Fun in Black; with The Origin of Minstrelsy by Col. T. Allston Brown*. New York: DeWitt Publishing House, 1893, p 9; among other examples.
3. 'Exceptional normal' is used by Edoardo Grendi (quoted in Levi, p 109). Other related terms include: 'an opaque document,' in Robert Darnton, p 5); a 'dissonance,' in Carlo Ginzburg, p xix; and a 'contradiction of normative systems,' in Giovanni Levi, p 107). See Works Cited.
4. The original talk, of which this publication is a record, included a handout of document excerpts. A selection of these will be incorporated into subsequent endnotes. As I indicated in the talk, I would be interested in any commentary on the documents and their reading here: my email address is

stephen.johnson@utoronto.ca. Note that some materials on this subject have been written about in another context; see works cited.

5. As the most widely disseminated description of African-American dance, written by England's most famous writer, any appropriate performer coming to England would refer to it as a matter of course in advertising. The American 'Juba' became 'Boz's Juba,' and the Dickens' description quoted widely. It was a relationship that no one—including Dickens—would have been able to confirm or deny. There are questions concerning the dancer's age as well, in a discussion of his relationship with Dickens. The quotation is printed in Winter's original article, and is available in Charles Dickens, *American Notes* (London: Oxford, 1957, pp 90-1).

'Five or six couples come upon the floor, marshalled by a lively young negro, who is the wit of the assembly, and the greatest dancer known. He never leaves off making queer faces, and is the delight of all the rest, who grin from ear to ear incessantly....suddenly the lively hero dashes in to the rescue....Single shuffle, double shuffle, cut and cross-cut; snapping his fingers, rolling his eyes, turning in his knees, presenting the backs of his legs in front, spinning about on his toes and heels like nothing but the man's fingers on the tambourine; dancing with two left legs, two right legs, two wooden legs, two wire legs, two spring legs—all sorts of legs and no legs—what is this to him?....'

6. The following brief itinerary is based on a reading of accumulated recent documentation taken from a variety of sources, only a selection of which will be cited here. Other sources will be published in due course.
7. *Era*, 4 August 1850: '[Juba is] jumping very fast at the Colosseum, but too fast is worse than too slow, and we advise [Juba] to be wise in time. It is easier to jump down than to jump up'; *Era*, 11 August 1850: 'Juba has jumped away—by the way of an earnest yet friendly caution, let us hope that he will not throw himself away. Be wise in time is a wholesome motto'; *Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 30 November 1850: 'The performances of Boz's Juba have created quite a sensation in the gallery, who greeted his marvellous feats of dancing with thunders of applause and a standing *encore*. In all the rougher and less refined departments of his art, Juba is a perfect master.'
8. Juba's last reported appearance (from the documentation accumulated to date) was in Dublin: 'DUBLIN—CITY TAVERN, CAPEL-STREET...Boz's Juba appears here nightly and is well received' (*Era* 14 Sept 1851). A performer with a (frustratingly) similar name ('Jumbo') is reported as dying in Dublin two weeks later. The report of Juba's exhibition after death follows: '[Juba] married too late (and a white woman besides), and died early and miserably. In a note addressed to Charley White, Juba informed him that, when next he should be seen by him [White], he would be riding in his own carriage. It has been said that in 1852 his skeleton, without the carriage, was on exhibition at the Surrey Music Hall, Sheffield, England' (Col T. Allston Brown, *New York Clipper*, 4 November 1876). I have discussed this document's potential accuracy, and what it might tell us about Juba's life and death, in a paper for the American Society for Theatre Research (November 2002). The subject—on early minstrelsy, Juba, and Anatomical Museums—is being rewritten for publication elsewhere.
9. Extended Documentary Sample—review of Juba as Lucy Long: *Manchester Guardian*, 18th October 1848 FREE-TRADE HALL—'Juba' and the Serenaders.—A party of serenaders, under the leadership of Mr. G. W. Pell, late of St. James's Theatre, gave one of their peculiar exhibitions on Monday evening in the Free-trade Hall. They are six in number, and are mostly happy in the possession of nigger-like physiognomies. The "making up" of their leader was extremely ludicrous. With literally a yard of shirt collar and frill, it was scarcely possible to witness his extravagant grimaces, without a most undignified unbending of the facial muscles, and many were the handkerchiefs employed to conceal the smothered laughter of their fair owners. The party have some good voices among them, and they harmonize well together; indeed, the melody of several of the chants, and other concerted pieces, was so pleasing to the ear, that they were loudly encored. But the great feature of the entertainment, and that which we imagine attracted the large and respectable audience present, was undoubtedly "Master Juba," the immortalized of Boz. This "phenomenon" (as the bills describe him) is a copper-coloured votary of Terpsichore,—the Monsieur Perrot of Negro life in the southern states; and possesses the additional attraction of being a "real nigger," and not a "sham," like his vocal associates. He is apparently about eighteen years of age; about 5 feet 3 inches in height; of slender make, yet possessing great muscular activity. His head is very small, and his countenance, when at rest, has a rather mild, sedate, and far from unpleasing expression. His first performance was "Miss Lucy Long, in character." With a most bewitching bonnet and veil, a very pink dress, beflounced to the waist, lace-fringed trousers of the most spotless purity, and red leather boots,—the ensemble completed by the green parasol and white cambric pocket handkerchief,—Master Juba certainly looked the black demoiselle of the first ton to the greatest advantage. The playing and singing by the serenaders of a version of the well-known negro ditty, furnished the music to Juba's performance, which was after this fashion:—Promenading in a circle to the left for a few bars, till again facing the audience, he then commenced a series of steps, which altogether baffle description, from their number, oddity, and the rapidity with which they were executed. The highland fling, the sailor's hornpipe, and other European dances, seemed to have been laid under contribution, and intermixed with a number of steps which we may call "Juba's own," for surely their like was never before seen for grotesque agility, not altogether unmixed with grace. The promenade was then repeated; then more dancing; and so on, to the end of the song. His other performances were called the "marriage festival" and "plantation dances," in which, in male costume, he illustrated the dances of his own simple people on festive occasions. They were even more extraordinary than the first,—the grotesque element, in the character of the steps, largely predominating, and the physical exertion apparently much greater. The same peculiarity, of the alternate promenade and dance, was observable in both. To us, the most interesting part of the performance was the exact time, which, even in the most complicated and difficult steps, the dancer kept to the music. He appears to be quite an enthusiast in his art, and every round of applause he received seemed to stimulate him to fresh exertion. Altogether, Master Juba's Terpsichorean performances are well worth a visit.
10. Juba's Only (Known) Bad Review with the Minstrel Show: From *The Puppet-Show* 12 August 1848: 'The principal feature in entertainments at Vauxhall is Juba: as such at least he is put forth—or rather put first—by the proprietors. Out of compliment to Dickens, this extraordinary nigger is called 'Boz's Juba,' in consequence, we believe, of the popular writer having said a good word for him in his *American Notes*: on this principle we could not mention the Industrious Fleas as being clever without having those talented little animals puffed all over London as being under the overwhelming patronage of the *Showman*. Juba's talent consists in walking round the stage with an air of satisfaction and with his toes turned in; in jumping backwards in a less graceful manner than we should have conceived possible; and in shaking his thighs like a man afflicted with palsy. He makes a terrible clatter with his feet, not owing so much to activity on his part as to stupidity on the part of his boot-maker, who has furnished him with a pair of clumsy Wellingtons sufficiently large for the feet and legs of all the Ethiopians in London: besides this, he sometimes moves about the stage on his knees, as if he was praying to be endowed with intelligence, and had unlimited credit with his tailor. As a last resource, he falls back on the floor.... [Describing a colleague] When again we saw him he was labouring (like a horse—or, rather, an ass) under the

- influence of champagne. We understood that he was imitating Juba, and he behaved so ridiculously that he may actually be said to have surpassed him.' [an illustration accompanies this quotation]
11. See Manchester review, above; also *Era*, 18 June 1848: '...it is the most wonderful conglomeration of every step that was ever thought of, and reminds the spectator more of one of the "dancing dervishes," or fabled willis, than anything else he can think of....'
 12. *Era*, 18 June 1848.
 13. *Birmingham Journal*, 16 December 1848: 'all is in character, all in keeping, and in exquisite time.' *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 28 October 1848: 'Mr. Pell would take it as a great favour if the Audience will keep as quite [sic] as possible during Master Juba's Dances; by doing so, they will hear the exact time he keeps with his extraordinary steps.' See also *Manchester Guardian*, 18 October 1848: 'To us, the most interesting part of the performance was the exact time, which, even in the most complicated and difficult steps, the dancer kept to the music.'
 14. *Manchester Examiner*, October 17, 1848.
 15. *Birmingham Journal*. 16 December 1848; *Morning Post*, June 21st, 1848.
 16. See *Dan Emmett and the rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy*, Chapter 5, pp70-97.
 17. The first two images are associated with the review of Juba's performance at Vauxhall Gardens published in *The Puppet-Show*, 12 August 1848. The third is from the *Era*, 18 June 1848, and is the most widely published image; it is in Winter's original article. The reference to Gottschild is from *Digging the Africanist Presence in American Performance*, p98-9.
 18. *Liverpool Journal* 11 November 1848 ('...whilst his feet still seem upon the ground, he contrives to beat distinctly through all the variations of a popular and fashionable tune. He bounds, whirls, and astonishes, by his unexpected and graceful gyrations, which are always, however, in strict accordance with the harmony which it is the province of his activity to exemplify.'): *The Mirror and United Kingdom Magazine*, July 1848 ('Such mobility of muscles, such flexibility of joints, such boundings, such slidings, such gyrations, such toes and such heelings, such backwardings and forwardings, such posturings, such firmness of foot, such elasticity of tendon, such mutation of movement, such vigour, such variety, such natural grace, such powers of endurance, such potency of pastern....'); *Morning Post* 21 June 1848 ('He jumps, he capers, he crosses his legs, he stamps his heels, he dances on his knees, on his ankles, he ties his limbs into double knots, and untwists them as one might a skein of silk....'); *Manchester Examiner*, October 17, 1848 ('how could he turn, and twine, and twist, and twirl, and hop, and jump, and kick, and throw his feet—see above note). References to specific dances are to Nathan chapter five.
 19. Winter's source for this information appears to be a *New York Herald*, August 11, 1895 reminiscence.
 20. Quoted in Lynne Emery, *Black Dance: From 1619 to Today*, p96. Her citation reads: William B. Smith, 'The Persimmon Tree and the Bear Dance,' *Farmer's Register VI* (April 1838), cited in Bruce Jackson, ed. *The Negro and his Folklore in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals*, Vol. XVIII, *Publications of the American Folklore Society, Bibliographical and Special Series*, Kenneth S. Goldstein, ed. (Austin: UofTexas Press, 1967) p7.
 21. *Morning Post*, 21 June 1848: 'He trills, he shakes, he screams, he laughs, as though by the very genius of African melody.'
 22. All quotations are from Robert Farris Thompson, 'An Aesthetic of the Cool: West African Dance,' in *The Theatre of Black Americans*, edited by Errol Hill (see works cited), 99-111. Originally published in *African Forum*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Fall 1966), pp85-102.
 23. Thompson, quoting Deborah Bertonoff, *Dance Towards The Earth* (Tel Aviv: Alytiros, 1963), p46.
 24. See 'First Premises of an Africanist Aesthetic,' Chapter Two of *Digging the Africanist Presence in American Performance*.
 25. The exhibition of plantation life is noted in the *Era*, 9 November 1851, at the Linwood Gallery, London, a venue that often 'exhibited' exotic cultures (see, for example, a review of a 'Mahomedan Family' in *Era*, 7 December 1851. The same exhibition appears to be performing in Dublin, Music Hall, Abbey Street, as 'real negroes,' but noted as in fact 'mixed' and therefore 'fit for penny booth or the free singing tap,' and not this venue (*Era*, 21 December 1851). During the summer of 1851, Pell appeared at Cremorne Gardens in London at the same time as an exhibition of 'Bosjesmen' (see *Era*). See *Sheffield Times*, 27 March 1852 for an exhibition of 'Kaffir Zulus.' See Richard Altick, *The Shows of London*, for many examples of the exhibition of culture.
 26. There was a Minstrel Fund Association, a relief organization, in existence in 1860, according to the *New York Clipper* (fugitive clipping, Harvard Theatre Collection); T. Allston Brown's histories of minstrelsy note Pell's burial location and date of death (*Clipper*, fugitive clipping, possibly 30 March 1912).
 27. See, for example, *Theatrical Journal*, 27 March 1851, for reference to 'Mr and Mrs Dwight, Negro Melodists and Juba Dancer'; and *Era*, 23 November 1851, for reference to 'Messrs. Busby and Brandon, Negro Melodists and Juba Dancers,' and 'D. Hodgson, the female Juba.'
 28. 'It must be eight years ago...since the Ethiopian serenading come up—ay, it must be at least that time, because the twopenny boats was then running to London-bridge, and it was before the 'Cricket' was blown up....I used to wear a yellow waistcoat, in imitation of them at the St. James's Theatre. ...The first came out at St. James's Theatre, and they made a deal of money. ...Pell's gang was at the top of the tree. Juba was along with Pell. Juba was a first class—a regular A1—he was a regular black, and a splendid dancer in boots.'

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Putting the Canon in Its Place: Tales From the Database 'Stravinsky the Global Dancer'

Stephanie Jordan and Lorraine Nicholas

'Stravinsky the Global Dancer': A comprehensive database of choreographies to the music of Stravinsky? Impossible! But we are having a go, and calling it an open-ended, ongoing project.

Currently, the database, which is available live on the Internet, numbers 1,103 entries, featuring 99 musical scores and by 614 choreographers. It is a project begun in 2001, a collaboration between Stephanie Jordan and Lorraine Nicholas. By mapping the dance usage of this most celebrated dance composer, we hoped to generate new information about individual works and demonstrate trends in usage over the century. Useful certainly to Stravinsky scholars and Stravinsky dance scholars, but, it turns out, because it is so extensive, the database and the tales that it tells could also be useful much more widely, to people who are not Stravinsky scholars at all, but rather tracing the history of a particular choreographer, company, dancer or dance designer, or simply chasing information about one piece.

The process of compiling the database raised a number of fundamental questions about the nature of historical enquiry and documentation. This paper addresses those issues. On what basis are decisions made during the process of research for a database, or regarding its format? What issues does the database elucidate in terms of our understanding of dance history?

First, we would emphasise that the research process here seemed unusually open, unsettling compared with most other projects in my experience, a large amount of data collected before any new hypothesis could be ventured, no framework within which to speculate, very little written on the subject of Stravinsky usage beyond *Le Sacre*, and always new data chasing away the glimmer of an analytical idea. It was not before the 800 mark that we dared to study patterns seriously, and those first printouts were cathartic moments! But patterns suggested further possible patterns and research questions beneath, and we have known all along that the database remains incomplete, provisional.

We have been regularly reflexive about our process of gathering information for the database. We were deliberately seeking information about work beyond the accepted Stravinsky canon of Diaghilev/Balanchine, which the composer himself promoted, and more broadly the

Russian émigré and Anglo-American lineage. We were actively looking for trouble. That said, a number of factors have shaped the database, many of them pragmatic.

We have had to acknowledge the limits of what could be achieved within time and geographical constraints (a project centre in the UK and funded blocks of time in selected archives and libraries abroad). To explain in more detail, the main resource bases for this project were the range of London dance libraries, including the Roehampton University of Surrey collection, the New York Public Library Jerome Robbins Dance Division, the Harvard Theatre Collection, the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel (home of the main Stravinsky archive in the world), and the Tanzarchiv in Cologne — we needed language help here and were privileged to work with a German research assistant Gabrielle Staiger. We felt that we had to interrogate the German scene — early on, we realised that it represented a large Stravinsky dance culture. Another decision: in relation to Russia, we admit to being led by curiosity, conditioned by a belief that the political and cultural angle on Stravinsky there, his homeland, would be an important story.

Valuable contributions of data have been received from colleagues in many countries around the world. Yet it soon became obvious that our geographical spread was uneven, and our data particularly strong as it represented the English-speaking world, with Western Europe next in line for strong coverage. Information on Stravinsky dances has become increasingly globalised in recent years, nevertheless, beyond the bounds of the UK, North America and Germany, what we had access to in the libraries and archives used was frequently disappointing. Despite the good holdings of foreign language dance journals in the major British and American collections, the solid primary source base was missing.

Even for the central geographic domain of this project, there are surely some omissions. The major listing *Stravinsky on Stage* (1982) by Alexander Schouvaloff and Victor Borovsky covers itself with the reference to 'major productions'. We decided that it was important to get beyond the very public picture and well beyond established canons of work, and thus to welcome the inclusion of student and non-professional productions: for instance, Jennifer Jackson's 1991 *Les Noces*, a youth project stemming from the Education Department of Birmingham Royal Ballet, or the 1964 *Pulcinella* by John Begg for the Ballet Guild of Cleveland, Ohio, which was performed

in a hospital and a community centre. These enterprises too have interesting points to make about the spread of Stravinsky's music. But if there is no review available of a work or other document to merit its appearing in the more established Stravinsky choreography listings, how could we find out about such a production? In this regard, Stravinsky's publishers' records have proved useful (those of Boosey & Hawkes, publishers of the main body of Stravinsky scores, Schott and Chester). The publishers hold lists of performances for which copyright fees have been paid, potentially the most complete charting possible of the history of a dance work across the years. Having said that, we have every reason to believe that our records are less complete for non-professional productions and small companies.

In summary, and our database Introduction goes into far more detail about methodology than we do here, we recognise the time and geographical constraints on our achievement to date, yet are convinced that we have gained enough information to have the grounds for suggesting certain trends with confidence. Future expansion of the database will enable us to refine our view of these trends.

Now, we look forward to the future input of readers from all over the world who can fill holes in our bank of information. We emphasise that the project is open-ended and looks to the future: our contact details are highlighted, and the database will be updated as new information is received. There is every sign that works will continue to be made: across the planet. Stravinsky was and remains a truly global dancer as much as he was the prime global composer of the twentieth century.

The format of the database is of course telling. Just as the different contextualising of historical events reveals different emphases, the different ordering of information in our short lists has enabled different narratives to emerge. Decisions about how to present the data have been crucial in determining how we and others construct narratives about Stravinsky usage by choreographers. The database offers chronological short listings under the following categories: by dance, by choreographer, by musical composition, by company and by country. Each item listed is also given in a full record format, comprising more detailed factual data and a short annotation.

The database also offers chronological full listings under all the same categories, in other words, with each item already in full record format. At a relatively late stage, the decision was made to create the lists under the 'company' and 'country' headings, because existing lists suggested that this could be revealing. In terms of country and company profiles, quite apart from the total numbers shown, might they suggest particular aesthetic or political issues, and provoke interrogation of Stravinsky representations in different places at different times?

We might now ask what else we would wish the database to project. If the 'Find' facility on the browser's

Edit menu enables us to study the narrative of different cities, what about the number and proportion of pieces by women, or the number of works set on modern dance as opposed to ballet companies? Or the number presented by solo dancers? Here are answers to a few basic questions. The largest number of uses is of *Le Sacre du printemps* (149 uses of the orchestral score, 8 of the piano score), followed by the other narrative ballet scores, in order, *Firebird*, *Petrushka*, *Pulcinella*, *Les Noces*, *Renard* and *Le Baiser de la fée*. New York City Ballet is the main company for Stravinsky settings (52 productions, with four more entries for its predecessor companies, American Ballet and Ballet Society). The big years for Stravinsky production were the anniversary years, 1962, 1972 and 1982 (the centenary). George Balanchine was responsible for the largest number of settings (36), then Aurel Milloss, the Hungarian-Italian choreographer (17). Germany is out front in the country list with a total of 291 productions so far recorded, followed by the USA.

Les Noces is interesting, with a rush of productions during the 1990s, possibly a (late) response to the debates about gender issues and the institution of marriage. Les Grands Ballets Canadiens are an especially interesting case – 5 productions of *Les Noces*! Three were made specially for the company, and there were also stagings of existing productions by Lar Lubovitch and Nijinska. A hand count estimates that almost a quarter of the choreographers featured in the database as a whole are female, a striking proportion given too that the greater proportion of listed choreographies is in the institutionalised opera house sector. And for *Noces*, there is a slightly larger than average number of productions by women.

The database has raised many tantalising research questions, examples of which are discussed in the article 'The Demons in a Database: Interrogating 'Stravinsky the Global Dancer'', forthcoming in *Dance Research*. But the main tale of the database is one about Stravinsky scores developing traditions quite independently of their author, or at least of his pronounced aesthetics. It is a tale of musical renewal through dance.

Yet the database has confirmed that many facets of this tale have been covered up by our dominant histories of great works and traditions. Raising questions that our language limitations will never allow us to answer, the database has been a salutary reminder of our place in the world, and of the insularity of our approaches to dance history. The case of Germany is interesting, for instance. The database demonstrates that it is one of the most prolific Stravinsky dance cultures, but it is barely visible, at least within Anglo-American circles.

The database also drew our attention to how some choreographers (if the extent of their Stravinsky output is a measure to go by) have been really 'big' in dance cultures to which we have little access, and we could not fail but to be impressed by how boldly some of them moved

around during their careers, between companies and across countries and continents. We have been brought up in an Anglo-American culture that privileges Ashton and Balanchine, a certain canon, and gives little space not only to Maurice Béjart and John Neumeier (very obvious names), but also a host of others. The database was a great leveller.

We also became aware of western cultural tradition spreading worldwide through Stravinsky's music, but not only that: his music became a site for negotiating identity as cultures generally have become more and more messy, hybrid in nature and dialectical in their workings. *Sacre*, for instance, is clearly global property nowadays.

In respect of this, it struck me (Jordan) that it would be useful, as much as we badly need in-depth focussed studies of dance, also to have access to globally ambitious dance literature, referring to the spread of dance cultures, drawing together the threads, making comparisons across the kinds of picture currently laid out amongst numerous discrete country-based articles in the *International Encyclopedia of Dance* (1998). In Britain we are vaguely aware of our relationship with the former colonies, the spread of British dance from the centre outwards as it were, and increasingly today the narrative of African People's Dance and South Asian forms negotiating a place within British culture as a whole, but could we not contextualise this within the broader, global, dynamic networks of dance? It would have been useful for us to reference literature of this kind for our own project, but might it also provide another useful conceptual model for our students? The database has raised this 'global' question.

Returning to an earlier thought about the length of time devoted to data collection prior to analysis in the database research process, we might now reflect on this data-intensive activity, which seemed at one point like a luxury within the current UK research climate, which pressures us constantly towards published outcomes. Indeed, at one point early on, I (Jordan) questioned whether I should be spending time undertaking such an impossible project – did I really need to do it in order to make my future book work? We are glad that we decided to go ahead. It has been one of the most enlightening, mind-expanding, geography- and history-improving projects that we have ever undertaken, and hopefully it will have a vigorous life in the hands of many other scholars too in the future.

Finally, of course, we must remember the unsettling fact that the database is still a provisional bank of information. We know that the tales that it tells will change as it changes in the future. Of one thing we can be certain, that it will move us in an increasingly global direction.

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Global Dancer' database and related publications.

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Hearing the Dance: The George Balanchine Critical Editions

Vol I—*Concerto Barocco* Revisited

Christian Matjias

As rehearsal pianist for the staging and coaching of the following ballets by George Balanchine: *Concerto Barocco*, *Serenade*, *Stars and Stripes*, *Tchaikovsky Pas de Deux*, *Western Symphony*, *La Valse*, and *Emeralds*; and having learned these works under Jillana, Maria Tallchief, Allegra Kent, Edward Villella, Merrill Ashley, Marjorie Bressler Thompson, and Patricia Wilde; I was provided a piano reduction score for the work being staged. These scores are copies of the same documents in use by the New York City Ballet and are the official documents of the George Balanchine Trust used in restaging the ballets when licensed for performance around the globe.

Often I was faced with the issue of learning and playing music from scores that are in a state of editorial anarchy. Since Balanchine primarily chose contemporary scores from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, one would expect to find these scores in the most user-friendly arrangements of the period. Therefore it is unusual that these scores should be in such a state of disrepair.

The visual quality and notational content of the scores provided by the Trust are often inconsistent which compromises the integrity of the original musical work. Consequently, the music cannot be executed with any consistency of detail or realization of musical line so crucial to the ballet. This is not a case of intentional musical terrorism, but simply the result of tradition, history, and available resources. An extreme example of this can be seen when comparing two scores by Hershey Kay. The score for *Stars and Stripes* is in an illegible and nearly unplayable state. This work, comprised of marches by John Philip Sousa and arranged for orchestra is in its piano transcription, a poorly copied sketch containing a mass of hastily arranged notes on a three-stave piano score. There is no clear understanding as to how it should be executed in rehearsal by one, let alone two, pianists. In contrast, the rehearsal score for Kay's *Western Symphony*, an arrangement of themes whose origins lay in the North American West, is a clear and legible hand-copied score, and therefore visually coherent and easily playable.

Like *Western Symphony*, the scores for *Tchaikovsky Pas de Deux* and *Apollo* require a minimum of editorial input from the musician and are easily playable in their existing printed arrangements.

The condition of most Balanchine Trust scores lies somewhere between the extremes of *Stars and Stripes* and *Apollo*. A prime example of this is the score for *Serenade* (1934). This late 19th century arrangement of Tchaikovsky's *Serenade for Strings in C*, Op. 48 (1881) is representative of scores produced primarily for use as a study score. Before the advent of affordable, recorded music, amateur and professional musicians learned symphonic and mixed ensemble compositions by playing such arrangements at the piano. This form of score is rich in content and material, but not terribly practical when one seeks to play the work at tempo. If one did wish to play the work at tempo, the pianist would have to simplify and re-arrange the music in order to be functional and realistically playable by ten fingers.

A feature present in many Balanchine Trust scores is that over the course of years during which they have been in use, choreographic notes that have been scribbled into the margins of the score. These notes give verbal cues as to the choreography and were often penciled in by the rehearsal pianist or on occasion by Balanchine himself. Other features of these scores are Balanchine's choices as to musical repeats and deleted measures. This is not a matter of grave artistic concern, but when a composition has served the role of companion to a dance for nearly seven decades, as is the case with *Serenade*, should there not exist an arrangement of the score which can be easily and consistently executed by pianists while also being relevant to both the dance and the printed musical document?

In 1990, I became frustrated with having to make use of the score provided by the Balanchine Trust for *Concerto Barocco* (1940). My response was to arrange a playable piano score of the entire ballet which incorporated both violin and string ensemble parts onto a two-stave piano score. I found I had made an arrangement that was playable and considerably easier for dancers to hear musical line and phrase.

In making this arrangement I followed Bach's examples as seen in BWV 972-987: transcriptions of concerti by Antonio Vivaldi, Benedetto Marcello, Georg Philip Telemann and others. These works guided my editorial decisions regarding playability, notational content and visual style. Composed during his Cöthen period (1717-1723), these transcriptions of instrumental concerti were studies composed for performance on the two-manual cembalo. There can be little doubt Bach's own *Concerto*

in the *Italian Style*, BWN 971 (1735), for solo keyboard was influenced by these earlier transcriptions. In this series of arrangements, Bach is able to clearly intertwine both solo and tutti parts of a traditional concerto onto the more restricted color palette of the harpsichord.

The Trust's rehearsal score is derived from the late 19th century arrangement of the Concerto for Two Violins in d (BWV 1043). Among musicians, the title of this composition is also known as the Bach Double Concerto. This arrangement for two violins and piano uses the old Bach Gesellschaft (1863) as its source. This edition was originally published by Breitkopf and Hartel and has served as the basis for numerous other study and practice editions for this work throughout much of the 20th century. It is familiar to many violinists and pianists who have been faced with the challenge of making a linear, polyphonic accompaniment from this needlessly thick, unwieldy, and decidedly un-Bach-ian arrangement. Originally, this score was intended for use by three musicians, but as a Trust rehearsal score is expected to be realized by one pianist.

We know that in the creation of *Concerto Barocco*, Balanchine used a recording of the Bach Double Concerto when originally staging this ballet. In the *George Balanchine Interpreters Archive* video, *Marie-Jeanne Coaching Concerto Barocco*, John Taras talks of Balanchine's using the Yehudi Menuhin recording in staging this ballet. The 2-disc, 78 RPM recording from HMV (2L 370-73; DB 1718-19) features the young Menuhin with George Enescu on the second solo violin and conducted by Pierre Monteux with the Orchestre Symphonique de Paris, recorded in Paris on 4 June 1932. Taras talks of how the tempi in the recording were comparatively brisk, particularly in the second movement, and how when Balanchine came to set the ballet a few years later, the tempo had been slowed somewhat to accommodate changes in the choreography.

Two interesting footnotes to this story are that Menuhin made this recording of the Bach Double Concerto one month prior to his legendary Abbey Road recording of the Elgar Violin Concerto with the London Symphony, conducted by the composer. The other footnote to this recording history is that with Monteux's directing this June 1932 recording of the Bach Double, he adds one more connection to his role in 20th century dance. Monteux, who early in his career played viola in the pit orchestra at the 1902 premiere of Claude Debussy's transcendent opera, *Pelleas et Melisande*, later went on to conduct several Ballet Russes premieres among which were *Prelude a l'apres-midi d'un faune*, *Petrouchka*, and *Le Sacre du printemps*. With this recording, Monteux inadvertently became part of the creative history of yet another work in the dance canon from the first half of the 20th century.

But the point of this paper is to acknowledge that

perhaps the most significant challenge when staging *Concerto Barocco* concerns the use of live music. Baroque performance practice as seen in the early 21st century is a world away when compared to performance practice as seen in the 1930's. This results in present-day musicians lacking the understanding of how the Bach Double Concerto relates to the choreography of *Concerto Barocco*. Any discussion among musicians regarding Baroque performance practice will likely be fraught with disagreements, widely varying opinions, and Pentecostal-inspired beliefs. But this is an issue for discussion in another venue.

Whenever I worked as rehearsal pianist for a Balanchine ballet, I discussed with répétiteurs my ideas that would eventually become *The George Balanchine Critical Editions*.¹ Everyone agreed that preservation of the musical score as it related to the dance was a crucial component to both the integrity and inevitable evolution of the entire work.

Maria Tallchief and Jillana introduced me to Barbara Horgan, executive director of the George Balanchine Trust in the winter of 2001. I spoke with her about my initial Barocco arrangement from 1990 and how I wished to further develop this arrangement in addition to making editions for scores to *Serenade* and *Apollo*. In that conversation with Barbara and in later conversations with emeriti New York City Ballet conductors Hugo Fiorato and Gordon Boelzner, I assured them it never was and never will be my goal to codify a single, authenticated, or final version of any ballet on which I was approved to work. I am simply looking to document core elements of the ballet, both musical and choreographic, and in the process, create a new format of Urtext editions, a score for both dance and the music.

The George Balanchine Trust gave me permission to work on three scores, and provided assistance in the form of making available the invaluable source materials needed to begin this project. With this groundwork laid, I began work on *The George Balanchine Critical Editions*, produced under the auspices of the George Balanchine Trust, and presently consisting of three in-progress volumes: *Concerto Barocco*, *Apollo*, and *Serenade*.

Initially, I approached the work in the same manner I had used in 1991 when arranging *Concerto Barocco*. I began to give further thought to the choreographic notes scribbled in the margins of the scores provided by the Trust. My own experiences had shown that no two répétiteurs shared the same views or methods of interpreting and teaching the choreography. In addition, the choreographic notes in the music score could not always be relied upon as being definitive. Perhaps they represented a change that was incorporated into the ballet but was later removed. Or perhaps the pianist had written the cue in the incorrect section of the score.

My experiences in playing these ballets had always involved a staging from memory. It is a standard policy

Matjias

of the Trust that the répétiteurs stage the work as they know and remember the ballet. Since many of Balanchine's works were refined and tailored over the course of their life in New York City Ballet, no two répétiteurs will stage the work in a similar manner. This provides an opportunity for dancers to learn a work, not in one set form, but a chance to learn a particular and personalized version of the work since each répétiteur bring to the process his / her experiences and interpretative details as they danced it under George Balanchine's direction.

In discussing these issues with Tina Curran, Director of the Language of Dance Center USA, I learned of the existence of labanotated scores for each of the three ballets with which I was involved. These conversations led to the idea of expanding the Critical Editions series onto a much broader canvas. I sought and received approval from the Trust for Tina and I to request laban scores for the three ballets from the Dance Notation Bureau. With permissions from both the Balanchine Trust and the Dance Notation Bureau, we set out to translate the choreographic directions in the laban scores as well as reproduce the floor plan diagrams present in those same documents.

The music score with which I had begun this series will assist the pianist in effective and musical playing for rehearsals. This could also serve as a source for music directors who will now have a document to refer to when preparing their orchestral score. Ms. Curran and I began working on the idea of creating a second, companion score for each edition, taking note of how a second document could be used to serve the integrity of the staging process. Reflecting on my experiences in staging rehearsals of Balanchine ballets, I recalled that once a répétiteur finished staging the work, the responsibility of upkeep rehearsals were often left to the ballet mistress. With the absence of significant written documentation, the rehearsal director is left to rely upon his/her own memory or a videotape of the staging process.

The second score will consist of a translation of the laban notation, the spatial floor plan diagrams, and a fragment of the musical notation for the exact phrase corresponding to the dance phrase as outlined in the laban score. This two-part edition will provide core elements for both music and choreography. We do not see the répétiteur as the intended reader of this second score. Rather, this is for the rehearsal director who is left with the responsibility of coaching the work after the répétiteur has staged the work.

Given that a company may license a Balanchine ballet for up to two years without a return visit from the répétiteur, and given the breadth of styles and techniques required of today's dancers within a single season of performances, I believe there is a need to provide as much documentation as is available to secure the integrity of future staging for Balanchine's ballets.

Will these scores serve their intended goals? Will

they assist or hinder the staging process? Upon completion of the critical edition scores to *Concerto Barocco* later this year, the Balanchine Trust will send the two-part score to companies licensing this work for performance. For a period of at least a year following completion of the scores, Ms. Curran and I will travel with the répétiteurs to companies who have licensed the works and observe the scores' use in the staging process. We will take into consideration comments on these scores from répétiteurs, ballet mistresses, and musicians that could further assist in the editorial process. The creation of succeeding volumes in the series will be not unlike the ballets themselves - a continually evolving process.

Endnotes

1. The George Balanchine Critical Editions (2001), Produced under the auspices of The George Balanchine Trust, Barbara Horgan, Director. Editors for the Critical Editions Series, Christian Matjias- Executive Editor, Tina Curran- Associate Editor.

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I would like to thank Ms. Barbara Horgan, Director of the George Balanchine Trust; Ms. Ilene Fox, Director of the Dance Notation Bureau; Ann Hutchinson Guest and the Language of Dance Centre for their generous support with the source materials and scores necessary in making The George Balanchine Critical Editions.

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Primary Music Resources to Create the Scores for The George Balanchine Critical Editions

Concerto Barocco (1940), Concerto in D minor for Two Violins, Strings, and Continuo BWV 1043 (Composed 1730-31). Scored for Violin Concertato I, Violin Concertato II, Violin I and II, Viola, and Continuo. *

1. An arrangement for two violins and piano. This was used as the basis for various editions that appeared during the first half of the 20th century in publications from Editions Peters, G. Schirmer, International Music, and others. Courtesy of The George Balanchine Trust
2. The Werke Bach Geselleschaft (Leipzig, 1871) orchestral score. Dover Publications (reprint)

*Bach also arranged this concerto as the Concerto in C minor for Two Cembali (Harpsichords), Strings, and Continuo, BWV 1062 (1736)

Serenade (1934), Serenade in C, Op. 48 (composed 1180, premiered 1881). Scored for String Orchestra: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello, Bass.

1. Piano reduction (arr. Max. Lippold) of Serenade in C, published by Rahter and Sons, Leipzig (1880). Courtesy of The George Balanchine Trust
2. Orchestral Score from the Tchaikovsky Collected Works, Moscow and Leningrad. Kalmus Music (reprint)
3. Piano reduction (1st movement reproduces the Lippold arrangement; 2nd movement arranged by G. Plachulsky; 3rd & 4th movements arranged by Y. Olenev) of Serenade in C, published Moscow Music (1986). Courtesy of Roland John Wiley

Apollo (1928), Apollon Musagete (composed 1927-28, premiered 1928). Scored for String Orchestra: Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello I, Cello II, Bass.

1. Stravinsky's piano reduction published by Russischer Musikverlag G.m.b.H Berlin (1928). Assigned to Boosey and Hawkes (1947) – Courtesy of The George Balanchine Trust

Orchestral Score published by Russischer Musikverlag G.m.b.H. Berlin (1928). Assigned to Boosey and Hawkes (1947). Courtesy of The George Balanchine Trust.

Richard Strauss and Ballet: Outcomes of a Misunderstanding

Vesna Mlakar

Theatrical dance was a significant driving force in the development of the arts in the 20th century. Anyone with aspirations to the avant-garde had to involve themselves sooner or later with ballet or dance in general. This applied equally to artists of all forms: whether writers, musicians or painters. The evolution of dance as a focus for intellectual and artistic Europe in the first half of the 20th century was heavily influenced by the Ballet Russes, directed by Serge Diaghilev from 1909 to 1929.

Research into the ballet oeuvre of Richard Strauss (1864-1949), one of the most important composers of his time, from the point of view of both his ideas and work actually realized, has yielded a new, individually focused but nevertheless extensive portrayal of the subject ranging from dance in opera to commissioned compositions, adaptations and arrangements as well as his own creations.¹

Strauss – whose attitude to developments in dance and dance material was an idiosyncratic combination of fascination with critical distance – was seemingly “on the road” to ballet at the very latest with his internationally acclaimed one-act operas *Salome* (1905) and *Elektra* (1909), for in both works the singer of the title role is also required to dance.²

His first venture in the genre, however, dates back to 1896 and was initiated by the writer Frank Wedekind (1864-1918).³ Numerous attempts were to follow, including Strauss' own three-act ballet *Kythere* – inspired by Watteau's paintings in the Louvre – which was never realized, despite a completed scenario and a number of musical sketches.

Although Strauss expressed a great interest in dance as a form of art from the outset, his attitude towards the genre of ballet remained a paradox during his lifetime. On the one hand, he had little regard for the sort of ballet performed at the court theatres of Central Europe until the turn of the 20th century – be it as a self-contained divertissement or an interlude in opera unrelated to the plot. His dramaturgical ideal for every play undoubtedly derives from the musical dramas of the “poet composer” Richard Wagner (1813-1883) whom Strauss deeply admired, works which are characterized by the coherence of plot and the detail of causal links. On the other hand, Strauss was a theatre practician who placed a high value on the proficient mastery of technique, i.e. the handicraft that a stage artist must possess. With the worldwide success of *The Legend of Joseph*, which was written for the

Ballets Russes, Strauss gained admittance to the dance avant-garde, but in later years found the *Ausdruckstanz*, known in America as “German dance” or “German expressionist dance” too highbrow and cerebral.⁴ Compared to this he found pointe dancing a virtuoso, style-defining element of movement, which was eminently suited to convey plot in the Wagnerian sense. According to an oft quoted statement, made by Strauss twenty-seven years after the première in Paris, and eight years before his death, for the program of the Munich première on April 5, 1941, *The Legend of Joseph* was intended to have a renewing effect on dance. With this “credo of dance” however, he could not have contradicted himself more. He did indeed pursue “dance as dramatic expression” – but not exclusively. And yet no other statement can better shed light on his contradictory and ambivalent attitude towards dance and ballet.⁵

The correspondence between the 76-year-old Richard Strauss and the versed dance enthusiast Clemens Krauss (1893-1954) chief conductor and artistic director of the Bavarian State Opera in Munich from 1937 to 1944 is particularly revealing on this.⁶ A suitable dramatic ballet was being sought as a stylistically contrasting “prelude” for the new staging of *The Legend of Joseph* by my grandparents Pia (1908-2000) and Pino Mlakar (1907). It was decided that an already existing short piece of dance music by Strauss, the *Dance Suite from the Piano Works of François Couperin* from 1923,⁷ could be used. To this first Couperin adaptation Strauss added six new movements, based on a very detailed scenario by Pia and Pino Mlakar, which in turn borrowed from the historical models of the ballet master Feuillet (i.e. the historical baroque dances recorded in Feuillet notation). The result, first performed on April 5, 1941 under the title *Verklungene Feste – Tanzvisionen aus zwei Jahrhunderten* (*Bygone Festivities – Dance Visions of Two Centuries*), became – particularly because of its clearly defined background story – a tribute to dance itself.

The new scenario to be drawn up was not only supposed to reflect the courtly, baroque dance culture but also its ossification, decline and transformation into a new style of artistic dance. The ballet takes place during Restoration period, around 1830. Standing in front of a painting depicting a baroque park with several dancing couples performing a courante, a French duke expresses his desire to revive the illustrious feasts celebrated by his ancestors. For this attractive task he enlists the aid of a ballet master and the first soloist of the Paris opera, who

then convince their employer to introduce the new forms of ballet to the performance, with pointe dancing as a highlight. After a change of scenery, the actual festivities begin, where – with two interludes – various dances such as the courante, carillon, sarabande, gavotte, and minuet with their typical characteristics and styles can be seen being performed. The allegory of “Flora and Zephyr” was used to bridge the gap between “old” and “new” dance: the personified baroque Flora appears on her triumphal chariot, but, hampered by her extravagant costume, has to remain rigidly still (apart from moving her arms, her hands and her head) until Zephyr rescues her. Rejuvenated in the white muslin costume of a Taglioni, she can embrace the new romantic style of dancing. Flora’s *Pas seul* is followed by a *Pas de quatre* performed by sylphs and culminates in a sort of *Grand ballet en blanc* by the ensemble.⁸

The Mlakars had visited the composer in his villa in Garmisch-Partenkirchen on December 7, 1940 to discuss in person with Strauss various detailed issues concerning the content of the new ballet *Verklungene Feste – Tanzvisionen aus zwei Jahrhunderten*. The report Strauss sent Krauss afterwards is illuminating – confirming the oft-mentioned “stubbornness” of the musician with regard to “dance”:

“(…) Mlakar’s proposal (exclusively Versailles, style and social dances) was too boring and hackneyed. Besides, my feeling tells me that two hours of ballet without at least half an hour danced on pointe is impossible (...) In any case, the gauze skirts have to come out at least once on an evening. Then we would have a charming display of three kinds of costume: the courtly robe from 1820, the crinoline from 1770 as a masquerade for the eight couples of dancing courtiers and Fanny Elsler’s little ballet skirt (...)!

By the way, we do not want to be “too historical”! I think I have already gained the upper hand over Mlakar, whose dancing is much too “scientific”. (...) As usual, I liked Mlakar a great deal: the only thing is that he suffers – as all contemporary ballet masters do – from “expression”-illness and forgets the quiddity of dance: release from earthboundness!”⁹

On December 28, 1940, Strauss voices his opinion to Krauss more plainly still:

“(…) Believe me: yet another hour of rococo and the crinoline is too stale. After years and years where ballet has meant running up and down and arms waving about, extensive perfect pointe dancing in gauze skirts will be a really surpris-

ing innovation.”¹⁰

After consulting his ballet master, Clemens Krauss – a gifted diplomat in negotiation – guided the project back in the desired direction, not, however, without making concessions to Strauss. He answers the two letters from Strauss on January 4, 1941 as follows:

“(…) Your wish to use pointe dancing undoubtedly has something attractive about it, but for the modern audience pointe dancing is as much history as the late baroque-epoch. One will have to try to interpret the whole thing more freely and concoct a ballet with a bit of a “plot”.

Personally, I am not a great admirer of pointe dancing, unless the ballet dancer is especially graceful and also has a personality that shines through. I find it dreadful when danced in a group, I must admit. The muscular calves, which show the hard training and the disfigured, cramped feet that this dance demands are anything other than beautiful. For me, the toe dancer is the coloratura singer of the art of dance and pointe dancing a virtuoso branch in the field of dance.”¹¹

Strauss, who, was inclined to be negatively disposed toward modern expressive dance à la Mary Wigman (1886-1973) or Margarethe Wallmann (born 1904)¹², takes this as a personal attack and writes back to Krauss two days later:

“(…) With regard to pointe dancing, I can’t share your unfavorable opinion. Of course the sort of calves of a girl from Giesing¹³ are unfitting, but when you see Palovna [sic]¹⁴ dance, that’s real “art”. The other thing is: a few grimaces, swiveling your arms around, running flat-footedly around on stage can be taught to every little group of enthusiasts!”¹⁵

The adaptations of Couperin’s work also reflect the esthetic ideal of art that Strauss had internalized as a young composer and which had such a deep influence on him – that of the French classical period. Apart from this – and not to be underestimated in connection with his ballet works – Strauss kept returning to the themes and motifs of (chiefly classical) fine art for artistic inspiration. Looking through his personal notes, it is striking that whenever he was abroad for guest performances he never missed the opportunity to visit art museums (such as the Louvre on repeated occasions). In this regard it must be mentioned that Strauss only postponed his collaboration with his future librettist Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874-1929)

in 1900 because he was himself in the process of putting together a ballet scenario, as shall be seen.

In March 1900, Strauss had met a friend of his, the writer Romain Rolland (1866-1944), in Paris. The latter took Strauss round the Louvre, where under Rolland's guidance, Strauss discovered the world of French painting: the French Baroque and the Rococo period, above all Antoine Watteau, impressed him the most at the time. In the face of the overwhelming lucidity and delicateness of this period in painting he took the decision to compose only "soft and joyful music" – "definitely no more heroes".¹⁶ It should be noted that he announced this prior to the composition of his two principal works *Elektra* and *Salome!* It was the insouciant world of Rococo that inspired the musical fantasy of the 36-year-old Strauss – and his musical detachment from Wagner. Strauss tried to process the impressions gained during his visits to the Louvre through the medium of music and dance: between May 17 and September 17, 1900 he produced his three-act ballet scenario titled *Kythere* – alluding to Watteau's famous painting *L'Embarquement pour Cythère*.¹⁷ It seems that then in spite of the advanced progress he made on the musical draft, at some point he simply lost interest in the project.

He probably abandoned the idea of putting the piece on stage because he realized that he had overloaded the three individually named acts – Watteau (Act I), Boucher (Act II) and Fragonard (Act III) – with content and details. In 1909, Strauss gave the draft to Hofmannsthal to read and it is significant that when Hofmannsthal thinks back, he refers to *Kythere* as several ballets. In the words of Strauss' biographer Willi Schuh the setting to music, not to speak of the choreography, would have been "a rather monstrous construct".¹⁸

Strauss later repeatedly availed himself of passages of music from the rejected draft ballet *Kythere*. Thus the Farmer's Waltz in G major, originally meant for the first scene of the first act of *Kythere*, was incorporated in the opera *Feuersnot*. Round-dance themes are adopted in the fourth and last figure of Joseph's dance in *The Legend of Joseph*.¹⁹ The *Bürger als Edelmann* includes a minuet which the dance-master is going to teach Mr. Jourdain: here Strauss did not use – as was first intended and actually performed in 1917 – the original composition by Lully, but instead he used his own minuet, composed twelve years previously. Also rescued from *Kythere* was a gavotte for the tailors, which merges into a polonaise. This approach possibly provides further evidence of Richard Strauss' thoughts and musical sensitivities with regard to dance and ballet music.

While Strauss was working on his *Kythere* project he was approached by Hugo von Hofmannsthal who offered him a ballet libretto in three acts, with the title *The Triumph of Time*. This was just shortly after the poet and the composer had become acquainted with each other in

Paris and so their correspondence started up in 1900, owing to a ballet project. Although enthusiastic, Strauss turned it down on the grounds that he wanted to first tackle his own ballet of which he had made a draft in the summer.²⁰

The Triumph of Time was later partially set to music by Alexander Zemlinsky (1871-1942) and not by Strauss. However, the collaboration with Hofmannsthal did ultimately give rise to a significant ballet work, via two "stops": the first "stop" was *Elektra* which culminates into a triumphal dance of revenge by the female protagonist, who has up till then sung in a highly dramatic manner. The second "stop" was Hofmannsthal's draft, swiftly rejected by Strauss, for a sequel to of this operatic tragedy in the form of a ballet titled *Orest and the Furies*. Hofmannsthal was convinced that the only suitable dancer for the lead role was Waslaw Nijinsky (1889-1950), because – in the words of the poet – he was the "greatest genius of mimic art known to the stage". Thus as early as June 1911 they begun to consider working with Diaghilev's legendary Ballet Russes, where Nijinsky was then the star dancer. In the same letter from Hofmannsthal to Strauss of June 23, 1912 in which the *Orest* plan was abandoned there is first mention between the two of *The Legend of Joseph* that – in retrospect – marks the peak of Strauss' ballet production.²¹

Although none of the letters the composer wrote back with his immediate reaction have survived, he must at least have been so taken with the draft that he agreed to collaborate on the ballet. In getting involved, Strauss possibly sensed the opportunity, after *Salome* and *Elektra*, of re-establishing himself as part of the avant-garde, from which he – in the opinion of many – had become too distanced with the composition of the extremely successful *Rosenhavalier* (1911). Probably he was also aware of the historical dimension of *The Legend of Joseph*: for the first time since Christopher Willibald Gluck's *Don Juan ou Le Festin de Pierre* (1761) und Ludwig van Beethoven's *The Creatures of Prometheus* (1801) a German composer was involved in a large ballet work of international importance. Richard Strauss was – apart from the posthumous use of Robert Schumann's music for *Carnaval* (1910) and *Les Papillons* (1912) – to remain the only German artist to have ever worked for the Ballets Russes.

The misunderstandings in connection with *The Legend of Joseph* are of a different nature, relating more to specific considerations about the work than with *Verklungene Feste*, which was composed much later and where Strauss' attitude to the esthetics of dance in general become clear. The "ballet pantomime" as *The Legend of Joseph* is subtitled, performed under the direction of the composer for the first time on May 14, 1914, shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, was meant to be a multinational project and its genesis and reception are characterized by the differing artistic aims of

Hofmannsthal and Count Harry Kessler on the one hand, and Richard Strauss on the other.

The librettists wanted to create some kind of “spiritual drama” with a mythological- biblical background which they believed they could only realize with the abstract, formal means particular to dance. The composer, however, had in mind an accessible stage piece that expressed and explained itself through the music and by the impression it made on stage. In his eyes, the highly symbolic and extremely mystical allegoric intentions of the creators of the libretto played a subordinate rather than the main role. Strauss regarded them as decorative accessories rather than the principle message of his work²² – a logical development when one considers that Strauss’ main concern was the impression a piece made on stage and the resulting audience response. Thus it is no wonder that there were misunderstandings on both sides. Via Hofmannsthal Nijinsky also started to interfere: after all, it was he who was originally supposed to dance the part of Joseph and to choreograph the entire ballet.²³ Hofmannsthal and Kessler felt that Strauss’ music was often too concrete, sometimes too representational. With Hofmannsthal acting as mediator Nijinsky let Strauss know that he wanted more abstract sounds by which he could be inspired more easily. Thus Hofmannsthal writes to Strauss on December 13, 1912:

“(...) I fear it is the idea of ballet and the need for accentuated rhythms which has misled and confused you. Therefore I must become Nijinsky’s spokesman and implore you to write the most unrestrained, the least dance-like music, pure Strauss music for this leaping before God, this agonizing for God. He truly yearns to have you lead him beyond all normal limits (...)”²⁴

Only a year later, everyone was satisfied or at least had come to an arrangement, more or less handing it over to Strauss with his unmistakable instinct for theatre. On December 2, 1913, Kessler reports to Hofmannsthal:

“(...) Strauss played the finale for me yesterday. The moment when Joseph’s coat slips down and he stands there naked is absolutely wonderful, the music expresses something that is far away, cool, pure and noble. These are the kind of moments that enable you to overlook the occasional bombastic of Strauss’ music.”²⁵

A major source of dissent remained, however. According to the librettists, Joseph is supposed to express the three stages of his personality in an approximately sixteen minute long dance: First he appears as a young “aristocratic” lad happy in the ways of his people, then as

a strapping hero and, finally, as the discoverer or creator of a new, far-away, bright world.²⁶ Strauss composed Joseph’s solo in a simple, vibrant style shaped by the image of a shepherd boy, and therefore chose a musical form that resembles a mazurka. Hofmannsthal did not share this interpretation, although – as confirmed by the experienced dancer and choreographer Pino Mlakar – it has an impulsive quality evocative of nature. The potential for fluid movement, for jumps that liberate the being and culminate in a feeling of ecstasy at being alive, as well a dramatic alternation of highs and lows – these are all contained in the music. In the third part of the solo, wholesomeness and chastity are transformed into an inner-directed intensity. Thus in the overall picture of this dance the whole spectrum of Joseph’s character is expressed in a form which is at once simple, and theatrical but also musically sophisticated. This is in strong contrast to the way in which Joseph’s counterpart – Potiphar’s wife²⁷ – is represented in the music. Here Strauss had a brilliant idea – whether or not consciously conceived – for the first of his three genuine ballets with regard to theatrical effectiveness which had never, admittedly, been of any great concern to Hofmannsthal or Kessler. He had found a device which benefited not only the debut performance of the role by Léonide Massine (1895-1879) but also Heinrich Krölller (1880-1930), Pino Mlakar and other interpreters and choreographers of the Joseph figure.

Strauss’ second independent dance work was the “amusing Viennese ballet in two acts” *Schlagobers* (“Whipped Cream”), which premiered on May 9, 1924, ten years after *The Legend of Joseph*. The genesis of this divertissement is shaped by two “crises” and one happy encounter in Strauss’ work.

In 1919, Richard Strauss came to the Austrian capital as a co-director of the Vienna State Opera (alongside Franz Schalk). He wanted to inject ballet there with new artistic stimuli and hoped to win over the celebrated Munich dancer Heinrich Krölller to work with him. Krölller had first come to public attention with own choreographic works in 1915 in Frankfurt/Main and since 1917 had directed the ballet at the Munich Hoftheater as well as in Berlin. At a time when ballet in Germany was in the doldrums and the focus was entirely on modern free dance or on the international success of the Ballets Russes, Krölller, demonstrating a highly professional attitude, was open to both the traditional classically-grounded language of movement and to modern developments. Strauss had to use all his powers of persuasion to get the gifted ballet master to come to Vienna.

A heavy administrative workload resulted in Strauss not having enough time to compose. In addition, his relationship with Hofmannsthal became perceptibly strained following their often heated discussions about the final version of the first draft of *Ariadne in Naxos*, with its mixture of theatre, dance and opera. Thus Strauss was

initially left on his own with the libretto while at the same time his close collaboration with Krölller rekindled his passion for dance.

Schlagobers, an evening-long spectacular ballet, can be regarded as an ironic homage to the Vienna of the “good old days” – a homage also to the old-fashioned toe dance favored by Strauss. This one time Strauss came up with material and scenario himself and wrote, on his own, a detailed libretto that – in contrast to the music – immediately attracted ridicule from contemporary critics: A confirmand enters the famous Vienna pastry shop Dehmel where, in honor of the occasion, he is allowed to eat whatever takes his fancy. His gluttony results in nausea: he must take to his sickbed and there suffers “sweet” nightmares. Beverages come to life in the form of Prince Coffee, Prince Cocoa or Don Sugaro wooing Princess Tealflower, while in the second act sweets of all kind from the kingdom of Princess Praliné (e.g. Christmas Crackers, Gingerbread, Marzipan, Slum Soldiers) and the Liqueur Cupboard (Mlle Marianne Chartreuse, Ladislav Slivovitz, Boris Vodka) dance around the confirmand. After a revolt in which the insurgents have tea, coffee, cocoa, and, finally – with a calming effect – beer poured on them, the ballet ends in an apotheosis with a general reconciliation and final *ensemble* led by the Princess, during which her palace changes into a gigantic cake stand, upon which the whole company forms a group, surmounted by the Princess, and – somewhere at the sides – the confirmands.²⁸

The Vienna of the early 1920s, struggling with the consequences of the First World War and suffering from inflation and hunger, was hardly a place to depict and apparently glorify gluttony, even if Strauss did this with the best of intentions and to his usual ability. Despite Krölller’s wonderful choreography, the public saw *Schlagobers* as little more than a cynical comment on the state of the day.

The question to be asked is why the thread of the plot of this work – derided as the “Thousand Million Ballet” because over 300 costumes and an extremely lavish set were constructed despite budgetary problems – is so weak? After all, Strauss’ great role models for the stage were the musical dramas of Richard Wagner, which were characterized by the detail of causal relationships constructed. Close examination of the *Schlagobers* libretto clearly reveals Strauss’ efforts to somehow link the various levels of reality to each other – especially in the second act where the “revolution scene” is designed to produce a contrasting effect. His underestimation of the importance of the coherence of the story line in favor of an emphasis on the – formal – quality of pointe dancing is evidence of a further misunderstanding by Strauss. Perhaps this can be traced back to a “basic artistic need” as documented by Romain Rolland in the form of a quotation in a diary entry for May 12, 1924:

“They always expect ideas from me, great inspiration. Don’t I at least have the right to compose music as I wish? I can’t bear the tragedy of our time. I need to make people happy.”²⁹

Summary

The concept of a “musical drama without words”, the main subtitle of the last typescript used by Strauss as a basis for composing *The Legend of Joseph*, served not only the fixation of the theatrical character of this work, as originally intended, but expresses Strauss’ understanding of ballet in general. Astonishingly, with all of his own ballet works – *The Legend of Joseph* (1914), *Schlagobers* (1924) and *Verklungene Feste* (1941) – the composer failed repeatedly to achieve the goal he had to all intents and purposes set himself. In the case of *The Legend of Joseph* Hofmannsthal, Kessler and Strauss successfully talked at cross-purposes³⁰ with the result that the “mystical-archaic ballast” was more or less thrown overboard when it was set to music. *Schlagobers* is the paradox here. Strauss tried to link the main story with numerous subplots as well as many different levels of reality. The formal instrument of pointe dancing turned out to be completely unsuitable for this due to its limited potential for semantic expression – conveying concrete meaning through this medium is very difficult. The same was true for the mere “stringing together” of dance numbers. However Strauss persisted with pointe dancing because it corresponded both to his esthetic ideal and came close to his ideal of technical ability as a basis for all artistic endeavor – as in the “ballet about ballet” *Verklungene Feste*.

Strauss’ musical reproduction of the narrative (i.e. musical illustration of a story) is – from a historical perspective – more the exception than the rule in dance composition. Normally, the music serves more as an inspiration or a basis for the choreographer and is much more abstract than in Strauss’ case, whose music is largely determined by the content of the story, or by the overriding style of the whole, as in the case of *Verklungene Feste* (an additional factor here being that these are edited versions of Couperin pieces). He composed the ballets in the same manner as his operas and his tone poems. With the form of musical drama (in which the sung text is formulated in the libretto as opposed to the physical expression of the story in ballet) at the back of his mind, Strauss seems to have failed to recognize the unique scope of ballet as a dance form to express abstract concepts – and also narrative contents. He appears not to have trusted ballet as a means of theatrical expression. Because music alone cannot tell the whole story, difficulties arose in the production of meaning, which is why Strauss was tempted to be as representational as possible. And it was precisely this specificity in the formulation of particular situations in music (as exemplified above all in *The Legend of Joseph* and *Schlagobers*), Strauss’ technical ability to trans-

late anything into music, that drew repeated criticism – especially with regard to his music for ballet.

Endnotes

- To this day, the music of Strauss, most famous for his operas, continues to be a source of inspiration and material for numerous well-known choreographers. Strauss' concert music was discovered for ballet during his lifetime, beginning with Nijinsky's New York version of *Till Eulenspiegel* in 1916. Among almost innumerable ballets based on his symphonic works, orchestral suites or songs, particular choreographies – ranging from *Ein Heldenleben* (Irene Lewison), *Tod und Verklärung* (Aurel von Milloss), *Don Juan* (Tatjana Gsovsky, Aurel von Milloss, Frederick Ashton, Marcel Luipart), *Macbeth* (Mario Pistoni), *Don Quixote* (John Neumeier) or the *Metamorphosen* (Yvonne Georgi) and *Vier Letzte Lieder* – clearly reveal the significance of Strauss's work in terms of ballet history and in terms of the individual pieces. Two versions of the last-named work have been the most successful in terms of international recognition: Maurice Béjart's *Serai-ce la Mort* (1970) and Rudi van Dantzig's *Letzte Lieder* (1977). Antony Tudor's *Knight Errant* is based on *Der Bürger als Edelmann* and Rudi van Dantzig's *Blown in a Gentle Wind* stems from *Tod und Verklärung*. At first glance, Eliot Feld's *Early Songs* would not be associated with the name Strauss nor would his *Theatre*, a dance version of *Burleske* for piano and orchestra. Possibly the most successful Strauss choreography (apart from Balanchine's *Vienna Waltzes* of 1977) is Antony Tudor's *Dim Lustre*. This piece – again using the partiture from the *Burleske* – was created in 1943 for the Ballet Theatre in New York, than revived by the New York City Ballet in 1964 and remained in its repertoire for several decades.
- The famous *Dance of the Seven Veils* signifies a solo dance sequence for Salome of about ten minutes after which she can only take a short break – an immense demand by the composer of any dramatic singer in view of the vocal requirements of this one-act play. After Elektra has quenched her thirst for revenge, only a relatively short sequence is allocated to her at the end of the opera to savor the moment of her triumph: this is realized again in a dance. Two of the most famous singers of these roles, Christel Goltz (born 1912) and Inge Borkh (born 1921), had enjoyed dance training (Inge Borkh with Grete Wiesenthal) in addition studies in professional singing. They both rehearsed their "Strauss opera dances" with influential personalities in the field of dance and choreography (Christel Goltz with Mary Wigman, amongst others).
- At that time, the poet Frank Wedekind, later famous as the author of the *Lulu* plays, sent him the draft of a ballet pantomime titled *Die Flöhe oder Der Schmerzenstanz*. Wedekind had been working on this "great spectacular play" since February 1892 – in French of course, as the play *Les Puces (ou La danse de douleur)* was intended by its directors to be performed on stage at the famous Paris *Folies-Bergères* at the beginning of 1893. As this promise was not kept, Wedekind turned to Strauss in February 1896. Strauss, however, after making a number of sketches, abandoned the project.
- In the words of the Bavarian composer: "Too much head, not enough foot", as he writes in a letter of December 7, 1940 to the director of the Bavarian State Opera in Munich, Clemens Strauss. Günter Brosche, *Richard Strauss - Clemens Krauss. Briefwechsel*, complete edition (Tutzing: Schneider, 1997), 377-378.
- "With *The Legend of Joseph* I wanted to renew dance. Dance, which as the mother of today's arts, acts as a kind of mediator between them. Dance as a medium to express the dramatic – though not exclusively limited to this concept. The modern concept of dance in which it is reduced to rhythmic and paraphrased action, unfortunately leads us much too far away from the inner core of true dance which is constructed on pure imagination and dedicated to movement and absolute beauty – ballet. This is what I wanted to rejuvenate. I think that it was the Russian dancers who first put the idea in my head. *My Joseph* contains both elements: dance as drama and dance simply as dance. We must never lose the simple possession of pure gracefulness: as in music the pursuit of absolute loveliness must be accorded equal importance to the characteristic, programmatic and the elementary. This was, so to speak, my intention with *The Legend of Joseph*." *Dramaturgische Blätter der Bayerischen Staatsoper* (Munich, 1940/1941, Nr. 11 (05.04.1941)). NB This citation and original German citations following have been translated by Dorothy Gordon.
- Strauss and Krauss enjoyed a close artistic friendship. Among other things they collaborated on the libretto of *Capriccio* (1942).
- First performed in the Redoutensaal (ball-room) of the Vienna Hofburg Imperial Palace on February 17 and 22, 1923 (musical direction: Clemens Krauss). Heinrich Kröllner, who was responsible for the choreography, had asked the composer for some new arrangements of a number of "social- and theatre dances" in the style of Louis XV. Strauss complied with this request with pleasure, because he deeply admired the French classical period. The plans for the ballet prompted him, five years after his first attempt at a new version of early music (in his ballet project *Kythere*), to concern himself in greater detail with Couperin's *Pièces de Clavecin* and to set them in a completely new relationship to each other.
- See Erich H. Mueller von Asow, *Richard Strauss. Thematisches Verzeichnis*, vol. III (Munich: Doblinger, 1974), 1285-1294 and Pia and Pino Mlakar, *Unsterblicher Theatertanz. 300 Jahre Ballettgeschichte der Münchner Oper*, Vol. II: *Von 1860 bis 1967* (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel, 1996), 144-147, 318-319. There is a Labanotation record of the whole ballet (private collection P.P. Mlakar, Ljubljana, Slovenia).
- Letter dated December 7, 1940. Günther Brosche, *Richard Strauss - Clemens Krauss. Briefwechsel* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1997), 379.
- Letter dated December 28, 1940, *ibid.*, 382-383.
- Letter dated January 4, 1941, *ibid.*, 384-385.
- See for example the letters from Strauss to Krauss dated December 16, 1932 and December 7, 1940, *ibid.*, 112 and 379.
- Former traditional working-class district of Munich.
- Strauss always writes Palovna instead of (Anna) Pawlowa.
- Letter dated January 6, 1941, *ibid.*, 386.
- In a diary entry Rolland describes their visit to the museum together: "(...) Je lui montre les salles du XVIII^e siècle, les appartements royaux, et les dessins. Il est très curieux de connaître le rococo français. Il a un véritable gout en peinture, et un gout à la mode. Il admire beaucoup Chardin, dont il rapproche la facture de Velasquez (le peintre qu'il admire le plus). Fragonard l'amuse; il goute le grand Taraval; Boucher le déçoit un peu. Il n'est pas sévère pour Greuze; il a un peu trop de sympathie pour les paysages de Vernet, et il reconnaît la supériorité du grand Watteau; il dit que cet Embarquement est une sorte de „Märchen-Malerei.“ Cahiers Romain Rolland (Cahier 3): *Richard Strauss et Romain Rolland, Correspondance - Fragments de Journal* (Paris: Albin, 1951), 84-85.
- As Willi Schuh observed in his essay, numerous markings and comments in pertinent illustrated books in Strauss' library are evidence of the detailed research he must have carried out. See "Das Szenarium und die musikalischen Skizzen zum Ballett *Kythere*", in: *Richard Strauss Jahrbuch 1959/60* (Bonn: Boosey and Hawkes, 1960), 85.
- Letter from Hofmannsthal to Strauss dated August 2, 1921. See Willi Schuh, *ibid.*, 87.
- See Wayne Heisler, Jr., "Massine, Josephslegende, and Richard Strauss's Music Box Dancer", in: *Proceedings Society of Dance History Scholars, 25th Annual Conference* (Philadelphia, 2002), 51-57.
- Letter dated December 14, 1900. Franz and Alice Strauss, *Richard Strauss - Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Briefwechsel*, complete edition (Zürich: Atlantis Verlag, 1954), 16.
- The idea for this work came from the writer and diplomat Count Harry Kessler (1868-1937), a German intellectual and polymath interested in all fields of art, but ballet in particular. Always apprised of the latest trends in art, he was initially able to fill his friend Hugo von Hofmannsthal with enthusiasm for the biblical

story of Joseph and his experiences with Potiphar's wife in Egypt. Together they worked on a scenario which succeeded in winning Strauss' approval when they involved him later on. (...) "Together with Kessler, who has a truly productive imagination, coupled with a painter's eye, I have created a short ballet for the Russians, *Joseph in Egypt*, the episode with Potiphar's wife and the boyish Joseph naturally for Nijinsky, the most extraordinary personality on the stage today. I shall send you a typed draft tomorrow or the day after. Please read it through with a view to the picturesque, to loveliness, in the frame of mind that inspired you to invent the Boucher-Fragonard-Watteau ballet [*Kythere*]. If I am not mistaken, I can remember two good things about the draft: the idea of treating the biblical subject in the spirit of Paul Veronese and using his costumes, and, from a purely dramatic perspective, the marked antithesis of the two principal characters, which in the end, in diametric opposition, takes one up to the brightness of heaven and the other to a cruel death and damnation. How well this is done, you can judge for yourself. Read it, and let me know your opinion in a couple of days." Ibid., 159-161.

22. See Paul Bekker, "Josephslegende. Uraufführung in der Pariser Großen Oper am 14. Mai 1914", In: *Kritische Zeitbilder* (Berlin, 1921), 98-99.
23. After over two years' cooperation on *The Legend of Joseph* the ballet seemed doomed to failure at the last minute when Diaghilev broke with Nijinsky because of the latter's secret marriage to the Hungarian dancer Romola di Pulzsky and summarily dismissed him – the actual attraction for Kessler, Hofmannsthal and Strauss – in October 1913. This opened the doors for the 18-year-old Russian Léonide Massine, a recent Moscow graduate, who became the new favorite and made his debut as *Joseph* in front of the expectant Paris audience. Michael Fokin (1880-1942), Nijinsky's predecessor, was called upon as choreographer, although Strauss probably was never really satisfied with his translation of the material into dance. See for example Franz Trenner, *Richard Strauss. Chronik zu Leben und Werk*, ed. by Florian Trenner (Wien: Dr. Richard Strauss, 2003), 357.
24. Franz and Alice Strauss, *Richard Strauss - Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Briefwechsel* (Zürich: Atlantis Verlag, 1954), 175ff.
25. Hilde Burger, *Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Harry Graf Kessler. Briefwechsel 1898-1929* (Frankfurt/Main: Insel, 1968), 372.
26. See also Kessler's preface "Die Entstehung der *Josephs Legende*" in the libretto (Berlin: Schallkiste, 1928).
27. Pia und Pino Mlakar, *Unsterblicher Theatertanz. 300 Jahre Ballettgeschichte der Münchner Oper*, Vol. II: *Von 1860 bis 1967* (Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel, 1996), 147 and interview with Pino Mlakar, February 2003.
28. See Richard Strauss, *Schlagobers* (Berlin: Fürstner, 1924), libretto, and Cyril W. Beaumont, *Complete Book of Ballets* (London: Putnam, 1937), 753-756.
29. In: Maria Hülle-Keeding, *Richard Strauss – Romain Rolland. Briefwechsel und Tagebücher* (Berlin: Henschel, 1994), 194.
30. See also Monika Woitas, "Josephs Legende oder Wie man erfolgreich aneinander vorbei redet", in: *Musicologica Austriaca* 13 (Wien: Litschauer, 1995), 135-161.

Fractured Legacy: Why Did the Irish Contribute So Much to American Tap Dance and So Little to the Lindy Hop?

Terry Monaghan and Mo Dodson

The Irish dance historian John Cullinane has observed that the contemporary paucity of studies in Irish dance, as compared with other aspects of Irish culture, is matched by the lack of any allusions to dance in old or Medieval Irish literature.¹ Yet as Catherine Foley remarked in her article on “step dance”, this field nevertheless reflects “issues of relevance to the Irish state.”² We further suggest that the engagement of the Irish and their cultures internationally,

particularly with respect to North America, not only sheds new light on the emergence of global cultural forms but also enhances our understanding of Irish art forms. The contrast between the rich infusion of Irish culture into American Rhythm Tap and the absence of any perceptible influence on the other, later major jazz dance hybrid, the Lindy Hop, for example, is part of a complex story of different immigrations, changes in African and Irish American relationships, and the manner in which both communities saw and expressed themselves as well as reflecting the strains and strengths of the links between Irish Americans and the actual Irish. Thus an examination of the reasons why the Irish had such different involvement with these two jazz related dance forms, can help explain such apparent contradictions as the contrast between the dominant myopic outlook of Irish immigrants in Philadelphia in the early to mid 19th century, particularly in respect to their racist attitudes towards Black Americans as described by Noel Ignatiev in “How The Irish Became White,” and Helen Brennan’s assertion about the international character of Irish dance, in “The Story of Irish Dance.”³

Examining the disparity between the Irish input into rhythm tap and lindy hop not only illustrates the uneven character of the way Irish, African-American and other cultural traditions cross influenced or separated, but also challenges the suggestion that they might simply be recent constructs. Eric Hobsbawm is most notably cited in this respect in relation to the folk music and dance traditions of the British Isles. The actual weakness of his approach can be gauged by his comments about African-American creativity. Whilst not denying its African-American parentage, he clearly implies that jazz was only fully appreciated by white American and European enthusiasts.⁴ In reality these art forms arose amongst communities that were confronted by oppressive agencies who for the most part wanted to deny the former’s past yet precluded, in varying degrees, their inclusion into the modern world. Assembling new identities out of the shattered or carefully hidden cultural remnants of previous

eras were widespread popular aesthetic activities on the part of both communities with various levels of meaning. Although the First World War greatly assisted these developments, the different directions their roads subsequently took tended to obscure the high degree of cultural interaction between them.

Moving away from the folk/classical dichotomy helps us to see marginalized communities re-defining themselves; both in their own eyes and in the way others saw them as their social and economic circumstances changed with the rapid developments of the world economy. Re-interpretations of both voluntary and involuntary emigrations to the Americas, have described them as plunges into the maelstrom of modernity. In the Irish case the failure of the 1798 rebellion led to more resourceful yet often more desperate political and economic emigrations that brought a new type of immigrant to the USA who competed directly for work with free black labour in the cities and towns instead of working alongside as in the early forms of slavery and indentured service or small rural homestead settlements. These “new” Irish fought everyone for work, including each other, whilst the rising racial tensions in the pre-Civil War period gave these conflicts an increasingly bigoted expression.

Yet the cultural merging that took place between these two communities at this time was more significant in terms of becoming a major determinant of American cultural forms than at any other including the 1930/40’s “Swing Era”. Two cultural practices both pre-occupied with major issues of social transition overlapped during the 1830-40’s as the Irish and African-Americans lived, worked and at times fought or danced with each other. The loose, more arm swinging, clogging styles that had characterised the dancing of earlier emigrations was now being challenged by the often elegant, and usually erect, stepping as taught by the dancing masters.⁵ This duality was paralleled by the African American experience which, having been denied its own cultural ancestry, had re-interpreted the upper class European social dance traditions of Minuet and Quadrille from which they developed the Cakewalk, that laid the basis for the dance aspect of the Minstrel tradition. Possibly as “blacked up” white per-

formers, often Irish, racially mimicked the new “black” dance forms, African-Americans dancers looked at the new material that had recently arrived. Mockery was laid on top of mockery, in a way that both African Americans and Irish would have instinctively understood, being faced with attempts to extirpate and re-invent their respective cultural identities. Even Ignatiev’s truly depressing tale of racialised politics and city life in Philadelphia belies that city’s subsequent magnificent rhythm tap tradition whose lightness and speed of style suggests both influences, and which has produced many notable tap dancers up to the present day.⁶

The mutual cultural theft practised ushered in the beginnings of the first forms of rhythm tap, often-called buck dancing. The accounts of the conflicts between John Diamond and William Henry Lane, otherwise known as “Master Juba” are well known. The two way character of this fusion was demonstrated by the profusion of professional clog, step and tap dancers of Irish origin in the following decades who appeared on minstrel and vaudeville stages and eventually in Hollywood and Broadway.⁷

The American Civil War radically adjusted these relationships. The north/south divide, loosely corresponded with a Protestant/Catholic divide that possibly identified the clogging tradition with the South and the Step/Tap tradition with the North. It is said that no battle was fiercer than Antietam where the Irish regiments from Alabama and Kentucky met those from New York and Massachusetts, both flying green banners and singing rebel songs. Although the year 1863 as the time of the New York Draft Riots is often described as a major dividing point between the two communities, it also marked the equality of their sacrifices being the time at which the African-American regiments replaced the Irish Brigade as the principal “cannon fodder” of the Union Armies, and suffered the same horrific casualty rates in their almost unique defences of the Union. Like the legacy of tap dancing it embodied a largely unremarked unity.

Victory and the abolition of slavery opened the way for African-Americans to re-interpret the Minstrel Tradition and to work alongside the many Irish performers active in this field. Increasingly African-American artists separately developed buck dancing into rhythm tap dancing as they digested and incorporated the many European cultures brought into the USA by the increasing rate of immigration. Anything and everything was used to reinterpret their suppressed rhythmic heritage of the African retention. As African-Americans migrated North in growing numbers at the turn of the century, (as Joel Dinerstein argues in *Swinging The Machine*), they became the main articulators of a new American machine aesthetic. African traditional pre-occupations with work rhythms enabled them to play a key role in culturally adjusting the pace and intensity of modern industrial and urban living. Although supplemented to a limited extent

by similar European traditions, the Irish had no role in this respect because of their lack of any perceptible tradition of work rhythms in their dancing or singing which has yet to be explained.⁸

Although initially motivated by Fenian inspired desires to secure the military experience to “free” Ireland, Irish participation in the Civil War became increasingly preoccupied with the actual war, and hoped for improvements in the social status of Irish-Americans. Their subsequent elevation into the white ascendancy thus was not only at the expense of African-Americans but also Ireland, especially in that the freedom of religion enjoyed by Catholics of Irish descent in the US became a radically different experience from the continuing subordinate status of the Catholic Church in Ireland.⁹ British reluctance to acquiesce to this new US perception of the Irish assisted in fracturing the late 19th century attempts to forge “white” unity, as the supposed superiority of the “Nordics” became vigorously challenged by revived notions of “Celtic” identity who insisted they didn’t need the national “leadership” of the former.¹⁰ A historically inaccurate but effective composing of numerous republican rebel ballads that castigated “the cursed Saxons, with their foreign spleen” for invading Ireland, kept alive the hope for Irish independence amidst the confusing swirl of racial doctrines in this period. In reality, the Saxons had left Ireland alone unlike all subsequent British powers. Whatever the factual weaknesses of these accounts, they promoted a sense of Irish identity in the face of British State attempts to uproot practices and ideas that sustained notions of Irish independence, and the Church who wanted to root out the remnants of the ancient beliefs and traditions. Elements of this confusion were incorporated into the subsequent Gaelic revival.

The Irish never became as “white” as is sometimes claimed though. The NAACP noted significant Irish support for their campaign against the pro Ku Klux Klan film “Birth of a Nation”, particularly in Chicago and Boston. The 1916 uprising aroused the hopes of the oppressed of the British Empire whilst Marcus Garvey called himself the Provisional President of Africa, after de Valera’s self bestowed title “Provisional President of Ireland” whilst being hunted by the British authorities during 1918-1919.¹¹ Tragedy followed victory when the civil war in Ireland led to the newly semi-independent Irish Free State, of the 26 counties, becoming one of the most culturally restricted societies of Europe based on an inward looking nationalist agenda. The assassination of the visionary Michael Collins had left the Free State under the political rule of those unwilling to move beyond the necessary, but temporary, compromises made with the UK in 1920 that had brought peace. Their attempts to secure these transitional arrangements permanently with a parody of Celtic Irish identity that Hobsbawm’s observations could reasonably be applied to, led to economic stagnation. The

resultant continuation of large-scale migration only enhanced the traditional sense of “historic loss”.

Irish Gaelic identity suffered considerable harm in the following years. The Irish language slumped, as did other traditional art forms as the Free State, with the backing of the Catholic Church, tried to impose a new sense of Gaelic orthodoxy. Even set dancing was singled out as the product of foreign influences and discouraged giving rise in some areas to a kind of dancing guerrilla warfare of opposition centred on the practice of dancing at the crossroads. These policies culminated in the 1935 Dance Hall Act in which the police broke up unlicensed dances even when taking place in private houses. It should be noted that such measures were part of the prevailing xenophobic trends at this time. The UK had already taken steps to keep the American Jazz dance influence at bay with the Imperial Society of Teachers of Dance formulating the new code of “Modern Ballroom” dance styles, and followed up in 1935 when the Musician’s Union and the Ministry of Labour collaborated to keep out American jazz musicians by denying them work permits even though this reduced work opportunities for UK musicians.¹²

We thus arrive at the central paradox, which is the Irish non-participation in the most ethnically inclusive popular art form that the USA has yet contrived. That same year of 1935 is usually described as the point where Swing burst forth onto the US scene in both its musical and dance forms, with Benny Goodman Orchestra’s coast-to-coast tour and the first Harvest Moon Ball dance competition in New York which created a huge popular awareness of the Lindy Hop. Taking the European technique of partner dancing to a new level of rhythmic and stylistic accomplishment through the incorporation of the, by then, matured African-American vernacular dance tradition, the Lindy Hop emerged as a key cultural signifier of the Swing Era.¹³ Several factors suggest that the Irish could have played an extensive role in shaping the development of Swing as the major American popular cultural form. The swing idiom that can be heard in early Irish American recordings, the Irish roots of continuing enthusiasm for Country and Western music, the predilection for improvisation in Sean Nos, “Old Style,” dancing and playing, and a host of vernacular customs from dancing for a cake to rent parties suggest unique historical connections. The balanced reciprocal forces employed in the Lindy Hop “swing out” finds its closest parallel in the Irish Ceili Swing hold, and the especially vigorous way Irish female partners dance it. The Sligo Ballroom on 125th St in Harlem marked the existence of an Irish community that began with the settlement of famine victims in the area in the 1850’s.¹⁴

The competitor lists for the Lindy Hop division of New York’s major dance contest, the Harvest Moon Ball, which began in 1935, have few white Irish names in the

listing, and they scored no significant successes with the possible exception of Rita Mullen, the female half of a partnership that came second in the first 1935 event.¹⁵ The leading white dancers were invariably of Italian and Jewish origin. Dancers from an Italian background won the Lindy Hop at the HMB in 1943 and 1946. A Jewish couple won the Roseland National Lindy Hop Championship before that in 1933 whilst Harry Rosenberg and both of his main partners Rose Steinberg followed by Ruthie Rhinegold, were widely regarded as outstanding.¹⁶ Dean Collins, the Savoy Ballroom trained Lindy Hopper, who moved to California and was largely responsible for innumerable Lindy/Jitterbug Hollywood dance scenes, including the leading dancers in the Bill Haley “Rock Around The Clock” films, was in fact Jewish.¹⁷ Although the Andrews Sisters name suggests a Scottish Gaelic connection they were in fact of Greek/Norwegian origin whilst Spud Murphy, the legendary arranger for the Glenn Miller Orchestra and other bands turns out to be of German / Albanian descent. Yet the Irish idiom was there in Swing. Duke Ellington, Ella Fitzgerald and Billie Holliday acquired their Irish descent through normal family relationships rather than racially oppressive ones. In the 1930’s St Patrick’s Night was celebrated by the Le Foule Club annually at Harlem’s Savoy Ballroom, where they wore green and played Irish numbers.¹⁸

The Irish cultural and political deadlock of the 1930-50’s, which reached an apogee when de Valera refused the return of the six counties during WW2, was unsustainable in the post war world. The demise of economic protectionism under Taoiseach Sean Lemass and the opening up of the 26 counties to economic and cultural influences from abroad, along with the rapid spread of TV paved the way for major changes of outlook.¹⁹ The inept quality of the Irish Showband scene that developed at this time however displayed a continuing failure to fully embrace the US 1950’s and early 60’s Rock’n’Roll idiom as compared with the later major Irish successes in the rock field.²⁰ The inspiration of the 1960’s US civil rights struggles was probably the most likely actual catalyst for change. The at times forgotten nationalist population of the North had parallel experiences with Southern African-Americans, but when non-violence was met with extreme physical repression it wasn’t long before the historical memories of the United Irishmen of 1798 and the Fenians took a material form again. Cultural resurgence also occurred. The Riverdance phenomena fed off the optimism occasioned by the first IRA cease-fire that still looks like leading to a permanent peace settlement despite continuing setbacks. The weaknesses of Riverdance are well known, but perhaps even its most objectionable feature, the substituting of recordings of the ensemble stepping feet for the live sound, stemmed from a desire to project a new sense of Irish culture onto the largest stages.²¹ Not only did this production and its derivatives

electrify the Irish Diaspora, it reached out to other dance forms, and in particular the related ones of Flamenco and American Rhythm Tap. As might be expected it was the last genre that the show had the most difficulty in connecting with aesthetically.²²

It is still too early to say whether these shows will lead to a resolving of Irish dilemmas about cultural identity as illustrated by their failure to contribute to the USA's most inclusive cultural creation – Swing – other than via their earlier involvement in tap dancing. Irish compassion for famine victims, and their virtually unmatched day of mourning for the victims of September 11th indicates a continuing sense of social and political internationalist sensibilities and compassion. Hopefully further development of the tentative steps taken so far towards describing the true extent of the international aesthetic of Irish dance and music will assist in re-situating our understanding of the Irish engagement with modernity that its problematic relationship with the jazz phenomena has confused.

Endnotes

1. John P. Cullinane, "Irish dance world-wide: Irish migrants and the shaping of traditional Irish dance." *The Irish World Wide: History, Heritages, Identity Volume Three, The Creative Migrant*. Edited by Patrick O'Sullivan. (London: Leicester University Press, 1997) p. 192
2. Catherine Foley, "Perceptions of Irish Step Dance: National, Global, and Local." *Dance Research Journal* (33/1, Summer 2001) p.34
3. Helen Brennan, *The Story of Irish Dance* (Kerry: Brandon, 1999) p.89. Graeme Smith suggests in "My love is in America: migration and Irish music" in the *The Creative Migrant* that instead of the usual national pattern of a rural drift towards the national cities, the Irish emigrated to cities round the world and thus "a global metropolitan culture has continually been seen as the alternative to rural life." p.225.
4. Eric Hobsbawm, *Uncommon People: Resistance, Rebellion and Jazz* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1998) p.262
5. Brennan: p.57, 71
6. Miller Brothers, Nicholas Brothers, Charles "Honi" Coles, Condos Brothers, Clark Brothers, Le Vaughan Robinson etc.
7. Terry Monaghan, "The Legacy of Jazz Dance" p.295-338 *Annual Review of Jazz Studies 9: 1997-98* Edited by Edward Berger, David Cayer, Henry Martin, Dan Morgenstern. (Institute of Jazz Studies Rutgers – The State University of New Jersey & The Scarecrow Press, Inc. Maryland, 2000) p.31
8. Joel Dinerstein, *Swinging The Machine: Modernity, Technology and African American Culture between the World Wars* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003) p.83
9. The Catholic Church in Ireland caught up with, and in fact overtook its US equivalent following Irish independence, in terms of social power. It is possible this hitherto unfamiliar experience of exercising untrammelled community control facilitated the spread of widespread abuse cases that have recently come to light within the organisation of the church both in the US and the British Isles. For example, *New York Times*, "789 Children Abused by Priests Since 1940, Massachusetts Says" (July 24, 2003 p. A1, 14)
10. The case for Irish subordination to the "Teuton English", is made in "The Ancient Fenians" p.517-524 by L. Clark Seelye in *Scribners Monthly* Vol.1 Jan-April 1871
11. Marcus Garvey read out to a packed Madison Square Gardens a telegram of greetings to de Valera in August 1920 saying "We believe Ireland should be free even as Africa shall be free for the Ne-

- groes of the world. Keep up the fight for a free Ireland." Lionel C. Bascom Ed. *Renaissance in Harlem* (New York: Avon Books, 1999) p.263
12. Belinda Quirey, *May I Have The Pleasure? The Story of Popular Dance* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1976) p.81. Jim Godbolt, *A History of Jazz in Britain 1919-1950* (London: Paladin, 1986) p. 115
 13. Monaghan, Terry. "Why Study The Lindy Hop?" *Dance Research Journal: Social & Popular Dance* 33/2 (Winter 2001) p.124-27
 14. An enamelled photograph of the ballroom can be seen in the 125th Street subway station on St. Nicholas Avenue, and the exterior of the ballroom is still recognisable at street level. The fiddler Andy McGann was born in West Harlem in 1928. (Rebecca S. Miller "Irish Traditional and Popular Music in New York City: Identity and Social Change 1930-1975" Edited by Ronald H Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher *The New York Irish*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1996 p.500)
 15. *New York Daily News* (also the main sponsor) reporters indicated whether competitors were "white" or "colored" in the pre-Second World War years of the Harvest Moon Ball dance competition.
 16. Frankie Manning, a leading member of Whitey's Lindy Hoppers, was particularly effusive about Harry Rosenberg in the Robert P. Crease interview with Frankie Manning, Smithsonian Institution: Jazz Oral History Project *The Swing Era*, (July 22-23 1992) p.232-235
 17. Thanks to Peter Loggins, Californian dance historian, for information on Dean Collins.
 18. *New York Amsterdam News* "La Foule, Now 10 Years Old In Celebration At The Savoy", March 25, 1939 p.8
 19. Many thanks to Barbara O'Connor for this point, as well as other helpful corrections.
 20. Despite the existence of established Irish communities adjacent to black ones in major US cities in the 1950's, with their own "youth gangs," only one notable vocalist of Irish extraction emerged among the innumerable Doo Wop singing groups at this time – Jimmy Gallagher of "The Charms". (Thanks to John Runowicz for identifying J. Gallagher in this respect.)
 21. The quality of this "dance miming" was so good that for some time it deceived many US rhythm tap aficionados into thinking that the sound was really "live". (Personal observations made in the New York tap scene.)
 22. Indicatively the production only finally got the inclusion of representative Rhythm Tap right, as signalled by the recruitment of Tarik Winston, after continuous public criticism about the quality of the tap dancing before this. (This observation is based on discussions with former members of the Riverdance cast.)

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The Making of a National Style: The Emergence of an English Dancing Style in the Early 20th Century

Geraldine Morris

In the following paper I deal with the efforts of a group of writers, critics, dancers and pedagogues to establish a national training style during the 1920s in England. That this was not wholly successful is due to a number of factors, not least the struggle for domination within the group. I propose to examine that struggle by giving a brief analysis of the elements that induced the changes in ballet training in the first three decades of the 20th century.

Because of the complex and multi-layered nature of the material, my theoretical base is drawn from Bourdieu's *Field of Cultural Production* (1993); field refers to the whole cultural arena in which an art form operates. Using this concept not only helps to expose the many agents involved in the production of a national training system but also reveals their efforts to promote their favoured training system. My purpose is to enhance our understanding of early English training and to challenge the notion that training became standardized and consistent throughout the dance community in England. Contrary to the widely held belief that change was instigated by Ninette de Valois and Marie Rambert,¹ I suggest that it was due much more to the efforts of a multifarious group of individuals working, both together and against each other, through the pages of two magazines *The Dancing Times* and *The Dance Journal*. This was not a straightforward linear process but more of a struggle between various factions, which, in a sense, is still evident in the structures that persist today.

This is not, strictly speaking, a sociological review of the era and in a short paper it is not possible to carry out a detailed investigation of the field but the notion of field has widened the focus of this research. According to much pedagogic writing² the creation of a training system is the province of teachers but my research using this approach suggests otherwise since it has revealed the significance of the contribution made by others in the field.

Bourdieu argues that an artistic practice can be described as a field because it is partially independent from other social practices. It is self structuring and includes not only artists but also all those who contribute to, or are involved with, the art. These individuals, groups, institutions and consumers act in ways which are appropriate to their function but also use strategies to further their own objectives, their place in the hierarchy and the

value of the art form itself. Since class room training is not a finished product or an art work, my use of the theory is confined to all those concerned with the genesis of the dance form as opposed to the finished products. This involves analysing the position occupied by each contributor within the field, their range of power and the strategies they use to manipulate, control and dominate the field.

I start with a brief overview of ballet training in London, from 1910 to the 1920s. This period is chosen because 1910 was when Philip Richardson became editor of *The Dancing Times* and much of my research is drawn from that publication. Richardson is a key figure in the field and partially responsible for setting up one of the major training bodies The Association of Operatic Dancing (since 1936, Royal Academy of Dance). Additionally, *The Dancing Times* presents a relatively full account of the training, in London, at that time. I then move on to discuss others in the field and investigate their respective positions and finally hope that by examining a selected area of the practice I demonstrate both the eclectic nature of training and the political intrigues that accompanied its standardisation, or, indeed, the perception that a consensus had been reached.

Overview of Ballet Training

Whilst there was no national agreed system for teaching ballet (then operatic dancing) in England before 1920 there were several acclaimed teachers. Pupils from their schools got contracts in opera and variety shows, with the Ballets Russes and with Pavlova and were singled out in the pages of *The Dancing Times*. For instance, when Edouard Espinosa was Maître de Ballet at the Royal Opera House in 1913, his corps de ballet was commended for its high standard of dancing by *The Dancing Times*.³ Both de Valois and Ailne Phillips were selected that same year for their promising work⁴ and a year later the magazine saluted Phyllis Bedells' appointment as the leading dancer at the Empire theatre. In addition, the Great War proved to be something of a watershed trapping many foreign dancers in London, which, probably for financial reasons, forced them to open studios. Calling herself Madame Karina, the Danish dancer Karen Lindahl opened a school in 1914 and this was followed a year later by Seraphine Astafieva's school in Chelsea. The Italians Malvina Cavallazzi, Lucia Cormani and Francesca Zanfretta are also mentioned as teaching in London in

1915⁵ and when Russian dancers, both from the Imperial theatre and the Ballets Russes, visited London many gave classes during their stay (Sokolova 1989, 11).

These foreign dancers came from different schools and did not have a uniform approach to the technical vocabulary. Indeed, Astafieva was celebrated more for her mime than her toe dancing⁶ as was Zanfretta, whose method was recorded for the Vic-Wells school (now Royal Ballet). Yet, Astafieva became the most celebrated teacher, probably because of her role in training Anton Dolin and Alicia Markova⁷. Richardson praises her attention to detail⁸ and later (1948, 122), puts her on a par with Nicholas Legat the distinguished Russian pedagogue. In spite of having such a reputation, she is not mentioned in any of de Valois' books, neither was she engaged by her to teach at the Vic-Wells school or asked to be part of the group that formed the Association of Operatic Dancing.⁹ Indeed none of these teachers became involved with that, or any other, association preferring instead to remain independent and thus unrestricted in their approach. But it must be assumed that they provided much of the training in the teens and that their attitude towards the technical vocabulary coloured the way in which it was interpreted by later dancers.

Throughout these years (1914-18) *The Dancing Times* published articles about the state of English ballet, generated both by the closure of the ballet company at the Empire theatre and the high technical standard of the Ballets Russes. The Danish ballerina Adeline Genee¹⁰ warned that despite the availability of good teachers, lack of agreement on terminology made it impossible to have a coherent corps de ballet.¹¹ But obtaining regular classroom training was a problem for English dancers. Writing in 1977, de Valois¹² pointed out that training was fairly piecemeal, frequently interrupted by the need to accept engagements in the theatre.¹³ Cost was a further worry since contemporary wisdom advocated private lessons as opposed to communal classes. Espinosa¹⁴ argued that training in a class was 'artistically erroneous' and that a pupil could learn much more in a private lesson. De Valois had two private lessons a week and one class from Espinosa and according to Espinosa, this would have taken more than a quarter of her weekly salary.

Those articles were commissioned by Richardson, the Editor of *The Dancing Times*, who was determined to establish a recognised English ballet culture. He was largely responsible for guiding and generating interest in technique and for drawing a substantial section of the amorphous dance world into a coherent group. As early as 1914, he published Espinosa's version of correct *attitudes* and *arabesques*¹⁵ and later, the winner of an *arabesque* competition was displayed on the cover of *The Dancing Times*.¹⁶ A further series of photographs in 1916 highlighted common technical faults: a sickled foot in a *battement degage*, an incorrectly placed *relevé* and poorly

turned out feet in fifth position on *pointe*.¹⁷ Writing in 1948, Richardson justified his inclusion of these pictures, claiming that before 1920 the teaching of classical dance technique had been a closed book to most English dancing schools. To further technical knowledge he championed Espinosa's work, publishing his dictionary of technical terms in 1913 and later, in 1921, his book of *Enchainements*. Not only did Richardson encourage teachers to gain knowledge of 'correct technique' he also increased his own by watching the classes of various pedagogues, including those of Enrico Cecchetti (Genné, 1982). But his mission to improve training was constantly hampered by lack of unity amongst the teachers and he proposed the formation of a society which could award certificates of competence to knowledgeable teachers.¹⁸ Initially, the idea was rejected but his goal was achieved in 1920 with the foundation of the Association for Operatic Dancing (AOD). Of almost equal significance to his cause were the Dancers' Circle dinners which he initiated in 1919.¹⁹ These encouraged greater communication amongst teachers and others in the profession and paved the way for the AOD.

Through publishing photographs of the stylistic and technical elements of ballet, Richardson significantly influenced the appearance of early twentieth century English ballet. These were always supported by a commentary and tacitly excluded any other way of performing those movements. A brief comparison between those published in Cyril Beaumont's edition of Cecchetti's work (1947, plate VIII) and Espinosa's makes the point. Despite being presented in different forms – drawn and photographed – Cecchetti's first arabesque is shown with a straighter back, the dancer in Espinosa's version is almost horizontal. Cecchetti's second arabesque has a much greater pull of the shoulders, which form a straight line in contrast to the other squarer version. Espinosa has no third or fifth arabesque equivalent to those in the manual and in fourth arabesque the arms are shown forward and to the side; as demonstrated in the Cecchetti work, they are in one long line. The discrepancies between the two systems, although subtle, when carried throughout a syllabus, or system of teaching, lead to very different ways of moving and dancers trained in one system will not necessarily adapt to choreography made on dancers trained in the other.

The champion of the Cecchetti method Cyril Beaumont also left a distinctive mark on 20th Century training. Although not as far-reaching as Richardson's, Beaumont's influence on dance training was very significant. In 1922, he established the Cecchetti Society the founding committee of which included Margaret Craske and Derra de Moroda. De Valois was also initially a board member but she quickly resigned claiming that because she held views that differed significantly from those of Beaumont and the rest of the committee she could not

continue as a member (cited in Sorley Walker, 2002 71).

Beaumont published extensively on dance but his major contribution to training was *A Manual of the Theory and Practice of Classical Theatrical Dancing* (1922) which set out Cecchetti's teaching method and interpretation of the classroom vocabulary. The examination system based on this method was filtered through *The Dance Journal* which Beaumont edited during the mid twenties and thirties. This journal was the mouthpiece of the Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing (ISTD), a society started in 1904 with its own branch of ballet/operatic dancing and which in 1924 brought the Cecchetti Society under its auspices. The magazine published articles on all its dance branches but also regularly contributed items on ballet's technical vocabulary and its relevance to classroom training. In 1925, it published the first Elementary Cecchetti examination syllabus which entailed adapting Cecchetti's system. This infuriated Cecchetti who believed his method was only suitable for professional dancers. Beaumont, nevertheless, published the syllabus in June²⁰ and children's examinations and an Advanced syllabus followed in 1927.²¹ The rush to form examination syllabuses may have been to provide a rival method of training to the then flourishing AOD. The first syllabus stresses small details such as the dynamic use of the head, body and arms.²² This contrasted with the information published by *The Dancing Times* for AOD examinations, which was, on the whole, confined to footwork. But as Beaumont later argues the Cecchetti syllabus was designed to develop the whole body 'harmoniously'.²³

Despite promoting Cecchetti examinations, the ISTD retained its own approach to ballet, complete with examination syllabus. Each year guests were invited to give masterclasses in both styles. Tamara Karsavina occasionally took the ISTD class and, as published in the *Journal*, it is significantly different from Cecchetti's, notwithstanding the fact that Karsavina frequently studied with Cecchetti.²⁴ Contrary to his approach, she gave an almost choreographed barre combining different exercises and introducing pointe work. Her centre practice included a repeat of the barre, though with longer and more varied combinations.

Unlike the AOD examinations which were initially designed to instruct teachers on the correct method of teaching ballet, it is likely that the Cecchetti examinations were targeted more at aspiring professionals since they demanded a high level of technical competence. For instance, despite learning the daily *enchaînements*, candidates had to adapt to unprepared *enchaînements* and execute a previously prepared dance based on the Cecchetti method. Both magazines discussed faulty technique but Beaumont's analysis includes a discussion of the necessary qualitative elements: flow in the *port de bras*, rhythm and timing and contrast between *grande allegro* and *terre à terre* work.²⁵

Alongside these institutions two schools were opened which had repercussions for dance training in England. The main aim of Rambert's school and de Valois' Academy for Choreographic Art was to prepare dancers for the professional dance theatre. Both have been written about extensively but a brief account of the dance background of their founders is pertinent. Rambert first opened her school in 1920 and, like de Valois, had her earliest training in a mixture of ballet and social dancing. But she was more impressed by the dancing of Isadora Duncan and it was in that genre that her main interest lay. She studied for a time with Raymond Duncan in Paris but was also persuaded to take some ballet classes with Madame Rat at the Paris Opera. Despite her dislike of ballet, she claimed that these alerted her to the value of using a structured system in training. Later she attended Jacques Dalcroze's summer school and remained as both teacher and pupil for over three years, using her Madame Rat classes as a basis for teaching barefoot ballet in the style of Isadora. It was not, she declared, until she encountered the work of Cecchetti that she came to understand and appreciate ballet and, along with Karsavina, he was her main teacher during her two years with the Ballets Russes. Later she worked with him again in London and also with Astafieva. She used the Cecchetti method as a basis in her school but it is likely that the influences of Dalcroze and Duncan also coloured much of her approach, at least as far as musicality and the more qualitative elements of the movement are concerned.

De Valois' ballet training was equally eclectic and came from three stylistically different teachers: Espinosa, Cecchetti and Legat but she also spent two years learning Dalcroze Eurythmics. Inevitably, her teaching amalgamated elements from each but her time with the Ballets Russes is also bound to have influenced her approach; in particular the attitude of Bronislava Nijinska to the classical vocabulary. Nijinska's choreographed and classroom dance movement is highly dependant on movement as opposed to position. In other words, linking pauses were omitted from her classroom and the vocabulary was taught on a continuous basis.²⁶ This latter trait is apparent in the syllabus de Valois later developed.²⁷ Also included in the early prospectus for de Valois' school are *Plastique* classes which were based on Dalcroze and, according to Pamela May, were introduced to encourage choreography. Indeed other aspects of German expressionist dance affected de Valois's work as many critics of the 1930s were quick to notice (Beaumont 1934).

The foregoing analysis, suggests that there was no singular approach to balletic training in the first three decades of the century; though modern German dance was, according to Richardson (1948, 125), a strong influence. But by the end of the 1920s the work of the AOD gradually came to dominate training in England. There are probably several reasons for this, but the fol-

lowing examination of the strategies used to acquire and then maintain power is revealing.

The Struggle for Domination

In the two leading magazines, *The Dancing Times* and *The Dance Journal*, there is a strong sense of rivalry and even discord between Beaumont and Richardson.²⁸ Yet, it was not only in their respective roles as editors that the two conflicted but also in their attempts to control and support their respective training systems and, in Richardson's case, favoured dancers. He promoted de Valois throughout the teens, though Rambert is hardly mentioned. This favouritism may have occurred because of the friendship between Richardson and de Valois' mother Mrs Stannus, an astute lady who drew Richardson's attention to her daughter's talents. The omission of Rambert is strange. Perhaps Richardson was less interested in her because she had no need to advertise her school in *The Dancing Times* and consequently was less amenable to control. Beaumont, though, acknowledged her and persuaded her to give demonstration classes during the 1920s. Conversely, de Valois appears to have been less interested in Beaumont's work and, although he was keen to engage with her, she almost always refused, rarely associating herself with the ISTD. She did, however, give a class for the Cecchetti society in 1928 as did Rambert that same year.

The main struggle for domination was played out by the editors in the pages of *The Dancing Times* and *The Dance Journal*. Both writers harboured dreams of establishing a recognised state funded school. As early as June 1915, Richardson²⁹ longs for an official school of ballet under the patronage of the Sovereign while in 1925 Beaumont dreams of establishing a Royal Academy of Dancing.³⁰ If the establishment of an official school then seemed too fantastical, specialist state aid was not given to training until 1973,³¹ Richardson believed that an amalgamation of all the dance societies was a step towards achieving that ideal. This is first mentioned in 1916³² in *The Dancing Times* and reiterated by Richardson in 1929³³ but by then Beaumont was in the field and was fiercely opposed to the idea. In an editorial in *The Dance Journal*³⁴ he attacked Richardson's ideas, believing that his aim was to terminate all of the associations.³⁵ The outcome of such an amalgamation would have given Richardson control of all the ballet training, since the AOD had the largest ballet section and Richardson was one of the dominant figures in that association. Apart from having been instrumental in its formation, he was highly political and knew how to manipulate and encourage the dance teachers, most of whom advertised in his magazine. Throughout the 1920s, he continued to publish extensively on technical matters and in 1929 criticised Beaumont for expanding the content of *The Dance Journal* and for not concentrating enough on technique and

training. Beaumont, a mild man, was outraged commenting that, although not questioning the right of *The Dancing Times* to criticise the *Journal*, he did resent being told how to edit it.³⁶

Richardson was shrewd enough to realise that teachers were hungry for information on training and continuing his drive to standardise it, he covered a vast range of topics around the subject. This insured the domination of *The Dancing Times* and although the *Journal* published some articles on training and faults, the majority was concerned with documenting both examination syllabuses and the masterclasses given by visiting teachers. Beaumont was keener to educate the dance teachers and the magazine was more involved with dance history. It published sections of Beaumont's books, including his translations of Jean George Noverre's letters and his history of Russian ballet. Sadly this kind of information has never caught on in the ballet world and Beaumont's position was, as a consequence, affected.³⁷

Richardson's strategies began to reap rewards during the 1930s and many of the students entering the Vic-Wells school came from OAD/RAD backgrounds. Indeed, by 1939 the RAD had 15,000 members as opposed to the 5,000 of the Cecchetti Society.

This divide between the two systems is replicated by the training in the two schools. De Valois shrewdly recognising the power of publicity and self-promotion, aligned herself firmly with Richardson and the Association; she even took their examinations in 1929 (Parker 1995, 17). She had always been less enthusiastic about the Cecchetti system believing it to be too rigid and, by itself, unsuitable for training dancers (de Valois 1977, 16). Through the 1930s, 40s and 50s de Valois was in close contact with the Royal Academy and in 1955 they used most of her method as the basis for their new exams.³⁸ As a result, the RAD and The Royal Ballet School came to dominate training in England. Rambert, a devotee of Cecchetti's system, was less interested it seems in establishing a training system and though she made huge contributions in other ways never eventually dominated English ballet training. Despite being in the forefront in the 1920s, and like Diaghilev, assembling a large group of influential patrons and audiences, her influence on the training proved less significant.

The perception that there has been established an English school of ballet is due in part to Richardson and later Arnold Haskell as well as to de Valois' own writing and promotion of her company and school. By holding a series of Summer Schools for teachers during the late 1940s and 50s she not only promoted the training at the Sadler's Wells School (later Royal Ballet) but also ensured that her future pupils were being trained according to her needs. That the Royal Ballet is still perceived to be the custodian of the English school is due to its dominant position, though the belief that it has, or ever had,

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one single approach to training is unfounded. Equally, the hold by the RAD and ISTD on training, even today, means that there will always be diverse training styles though the struggle to dominate persists.

Endnotes

1. This is certainly implied in Haskell, Arnold. *The National Ballet*, London: Adam & Charles Black, 1943
2. See de Valois, Ninette. *Invitation to the Ballet*, London: The Bodley Head, 1937, Ward Warren, Gretchen. *The Art of Teaching Ballet*, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1996 and Glasstone, Richard. 'Thoughts on Danse d'école' *Dancing Times*, 89, 1067, August, 1999:1033
3. Anon. 'Sitter Out', *The Dancing Times*, 38, November (1913) : 85
4. Anon. 'Sitter Out', *The Dancing Times*, 32, May (1913) : 494
5. Anon. 'Sitter Out', *The Dancing Times*, 53, February (1915) : 184
6. Anon. 'Sitter Out', *The Dancing Times*, 55, April (1915) : 236
7. Amongst several English critics such as Haskell (1943) and Richardson (1948)
8. Anon. 'Sitter Out', *The Dancing Times*, 55, April (1915) : 236
9. It is not clear why de Valois appears not to admire Astafieva but Pamela May in an interview with the author (1999) did indicate that de Valois never allowed any of them, apart from Fonteyn whose mother controlled her, to attend Astafieva's classes.
10. Anon. 'Madame Genée Answers Some Questions', *The Dancing Times*, 73, October (1916) : 71-73
11. Richardson may have forgotten his earlier praise for Espinosa's corps de ballet in 1913 at the ROH or it may have been a political move to support Espinosa's teaching.
12. De Valois, Ninette. *Step by Step*, London: W. H. Allen, 1977: 12
13. Classes were not provided by theatre management.
14. Espinosa, Edouard. 'Some Errors in Tuition', *The Dancing Times*, 73, October (1916) : 79-85
15. Espinosa, Edouard. 'Attitudes and Arabesques', *The Dancing Times*, 51, December (1914) : 77-81
16. Mehro, Yvonne. 'She Takes the Ring', *The Dancing Times*, 55, April (1915) : cover
17. Espinosa, Edouard. 'Some Errors in Tuition', *The Dancing Times*, 73, October (1916) : 79-85
18. Anon. 'Sitter Out', *The Dancing Times*, 76, February (1917): 156-57
19. Anon. 'Sitter Out', *The Dancing Times*, 106, July (1919) : 423
20. Anon. 'Elementary Syllabus', *The Dance Journal*, 1, 3, June (1925) : 41-43
21. Anon. 'Advanced Syllabus', *The Dance Journal*, 1, 9, February (1927) : 41. Anon. 'Children's Syllabuses Grades 1 and 2', *The Dance Journal*, 1, 10, June (1927)
22. While *The Dancing Times* published a series of arm positions posed by Adeline Genée in April 1922, these were posed and the dynamic elements were not detailed or outlined.
23. Beaumont, Cyril. No title but article comments on differences between the Cecchetti method and other schools, *The Dance Journal*, 1, 9, February (1927) : 33
24. Anon. No title, *The Dance Journal*, 1, 11, September (1927) : 29-30
25. Beaumont, Cyril. 'On examinations in the Cecchetti Syllabus', *The Dance Journal*, 1, 9, February (1927) : 41, 43, 44
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27. De Valois, Ninette. *Summer School for Teachers Third Year Syllabus (Advanced)*, Unpublished document in the possession of Valerie Adams dated 1956
28. Katherine Sorley Walker (2002) also notices this.
29. Anon. 'Sitter Out', *The Dancing Times*, 57, June (1915) : 302
30. Beaumont, Cyril. 'Editorial', *The Dance Journal*, 1, 5, December (1925) : 81
31. Before 1973, support for pupils at specialist dance schools was provided by local education authorities under discretionary powers. In 1973 the Royal Ballet lower school and the Yehudi Menuhin school were admitted to a fee remission scheme funded by the Department for Education. Effectively, this meant that pupils from low income families were funded by the DFE with means-testing for families over a certain earning threshold.
32. Anon. 'Letters', *The Dancing Times*, 73, October (1916) : 9-11
33. This information comes from Beaumont see below.
34. Beaumont, Cyril. Editorial, *The Dance Journal*, 2, 12, December (1929) : 460-463
35. This includes ballroom dancing as well as ballet.
36. Beaumont, Cyril. Editorial, *The Dance Journal*, 2, 12, December (1929) : 460-463
37. *The Dancing Times* also published articles on training and, importantly, on other dance but the major thrust in the 20s and 30s came to be training.
38. Author interview with Pamela May (1999)

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Uncommon Steps and Notation in the *Sarabande de Mr. de Beauchamp*

Ken Pierce

Introduction

The *Sarabande de Mr. de Beauchamp* is the only known solo attributed to Pierre Beauchamp to have survived in notated form. (See Figure 1.)¹ Little is known about where or when it was composed, or about how it came to be notated. The notation survives in a single manuscript in the Derra de Moroda archive (Salzburg).² It is clear and easy to read, and contains a relatively small number of obvious notational errors: two missing bar lines, several missing turn symbols, and other minor problems such as one finds even in published dances. Timing is occasionally ambiguous because of the way liaison lines are used in the notation.

I will demonstrate the dance and then discuss some of the questions that come up in reading the notation, in relation to the Beauchamp-Feuillet notation system as it was described and used by Feuillet. I will not consider the provenance of the dance or the circumstances under which it was notated or danced. Nor will I consider the finer points of character that might be implied by the notation.

The music for the dance is in binary form (AABB), played through twice. The first strain (A) is 8 measures long, and the second (B) is sixteen, for a total of 96 measures in the dance. The composer is unknown. The notation takes 12 pages total: one page for each A strain and two pages for each B strain. [DEMONSTRATE DANCE.]³

Overview of Step Components

Table 1 shows the frequency of some of the step components in the Beauchamp Sarabande, broken down measure by measure and summarized at the bottom. Such an abstract tabulation may be helpful in showing general aspects of the dance. I've used a measure-numbering scheme as follows: a "1" or "2" indicates first or second playing; an "A" or "B" indicates first or second strain; and a "1" or "2" indicates first or second time through the strain. Then there's a dot (.) followed by the measure number or numbers within the strain.

The numbers of rises, springs, and double liaisons give a rough indication of how "active" the dance is, with rises and springs showing vertical movement, and

double liaisons correlating roughly with the number of quick movements in a measure. Combining the averages for rises and springs, we see that there are roughly one-and-a-half vertical movements per measure, or approximately one every other beat. Almost two-thirds of the measures have double liaisons, another indication of a fairly active or intricate dance. In the abstract, the first half of the dance appears a bit busier than the second.

Slides, brushes, and pas tombés relate to the overall character of the dance, or at least to how connected it is with the ground. Turns likewise may say something about the character of the dance, both through their number—showing roughly how often the dancer changes direction or pivots in place—and through their distribution, which could point up passages where the dancer faces one direction for a long stretch, or where the turning steps come thick and fast. Notice the cluster of turns at measures 2B1.13-16, a pirouette and other turns in place followed by several turning steps. [DEMONSTRATE 2B1.13-16.]

In the table, I have not distinguished between clockwise and counterclockwise turns. It so happens that in the passage I just showed, the turns all go the same way; but that isn't evident from the table.

Slides, brushes, and turns all provide ways to ornament steps. So do beats. Measure 2A1.2 has an unusual example of ornamental beats: a hop with the other foot beating three times across the instep. [DEMONSTRATE 2A1.1-2.] Counting beats is somewhat subjective; a rough definition of a beat might be "a movement in which the foot comes across the instep, in front of ankle, in back of ankle, or against the heel on the way to someplace else."

There are only a few rests in the dance, and each is only for one beat. Two of these rests (in 1B1.3 and 2B1.3) serve to separate pirouettes from beats that follow.

The table shows no cabrioles and no entrechats; there are no instances of either in this dance. This is in contrast to many other male solos of the period, but it's not unheard of for sarabandes.⁴ Neither are there any pas de sissone, and there are only a couple of jumped assemblés; the springs shown in the table are found mainly in demi-contretemps and contretemps, with a few jetés, chassés, and jumps on two feet.

Table 1: Step Components in the *Sarabande de Mr. de Beauchampa*

(First Playing)								(Second Playing)							
measure	rises	springs	slides/ brushes	quarter turns	beats	double liaisons	one-beat rests	measure	rises	springs	slides/ brushes/ pas tombés	quarter turns	beats	double liaisons	one-beat
1A1.1	.				.	.		2A1.1		.		....
2	.	.			...	.		2	.	.			....
3	.		..	....		..		3	.	.			.	.
4	..			...		..		4	.	.				.	
5			..					5	.	.	tt			.	
6	..	.		...	..	..		6	...		.	....[.]		.
7	.	.	.					7	.	..		.....	.	.
8	.	.	.					8	.					[.]	
1A2.1	.	..		..	..	.		2A2.1		...			.	.
2		...	.	....	..	.		2		..		....	...	.
3		.					.	3	..					..
4	.							4	.					[.]	
5	.	.	.		....	.		5	.					.	
6	..			.		..		6	..			....	.	.
7		.	.	.....				7	.	.	.	..[..]	.	.
8	.					[.]		8	.	.		....		[.]
1B1.1	.							2B1.1	.						
2	.			....				2	.			....
3	.				....	.	.	3					....		.
4	.							4	.						
5		..	....	..		..		5	.			.		.	
6	..			....	.	.		6	.		.	.	.
7	.	.	.	.				7	.	.		.			
8	.	.						8	.		.	..
9		..				..		9	.	.	tt		.	.	
10	.		.	...				10		..		...			.
11		...		.		..		11	.		.			.	
12	.		.				.	12	.						.
13	..			.....		.		13	.			.....[.]	.	.
14	.							14	.	.		....		.
15	.	..		..	.	.		15		..		[.]			
16	.				.	.		16	.			...		.
1B2.1		.		....	....			2B2.1		..		....		..
2	.					.		2		.					
3		..	..			...		3		.		....	.
4	.		.					4		[..]	tt				
5		...		....		.		5	.			..	.
6	.	.			.	.		6		..	tt	..	..	.
7	.	.		....	.			7	..					..
8	.					.		8	.					.	
9		...		...	..	.		9			..				
10	..					.		10	.	..			.
11	.			....				11	.	.				..
12	.		.	...		.		12	.	.		....		.
13	.	.		....	.	.		13	.					.	
14	.	..		...	...	...		14	...		..		.	...
15	.							15		.					
16		.		..				16		.				.	
Subtotals	42	36	20	82	33	42	3		36	35	9 [+8f]	71 [+7]	25	31 [+3]	2
Totals (including bracketed numbers)									78	71	37	160	58	76	5
Average per measure									0.8	0.7	0.4	1.7	0.6	0.8	0.1

^aSimultaneous slides or pas tombés on both feet were counted as two rather than one; simultaneous rises or springs on both feet were counted as one. Quarter turns shown in brackets are missing from notation but clearly intended; double liaisons and springs shown in brackets are suspected or implied. (See Table 2.) Values for beats are somewhat subjective, therefore approximate.

Errors and Ambiguities

Having thought about the dance in the somewhat abstract terms of Table 1, let us think about some specific errors or ambiguities in the notation for it. These are summarized in Table 2. Note that I am not concerned right now with any of the ambiguities inherent in the notation system itself;⁵ nor do I make any claims about whether or not the notation accurately reflects the choreographer's intention.

Errors

The top section of Table 2 shows errors that are clearly indicated by context: missing barlines, missing turn symbols, and missing single liaison lines.

Missing Barlines

Comparing the notation with the music for this dance, we see that the notation lacks two barlines, one on page 8 and the other on page 12. It seems clear from the surrounding steps, which are linked by liaison lines, that the missing barline on page 8 should go just before the final compound step on the page, and that the missing barline on page 12 should go just after the first compound step. (See Figure 2.)

Missing Turn Symbols

When it comes to indicating turns, the Beauchamp-Feuillet notation system is somewhat redundant. The foot flags allow us to see which way the body is facing at the end of a turn, and context is often sufficient to allow reasonable assumptions about which way the dancer turned and how far. The missing turn symbols in this dance pose no problems. (See Figure 2.)

Missing Single Liaison Lines

As I'll discuss later, liaison lines can sometimes provide important information about timing. But the missing single liaison lines in these three instances pose no problems; timing is clear from the context.

Other Missing Symbols

The second section of Table 2 shows two instances in which something is clearly missing, but it's not absolutely clear what. Measure 2B2.10 ends with the legs in second position; the next measure shows them beginning in first. (See Figure 2.) Given the context, it's probably safe to assume that what's missing is a step closing in first. Similarly, measure 2B2.4 shows both feet moving simultaneously from second to first after an *échappé*: it's likely that this should be done with a spring, and in measure 2A1.5, where there is a similar step.⁶ [DEMONSTRATE 2B2.4, 2A1.5.]

Suspected Errors

Sometimes we encounter a step notated like one we've encountered elsewhere, except that it lacks a single symbol. When this happens, we must decide whether the

notator: (1) intends to show an unorthodox step; (2) is using unorthodox notation to show a familiar step; or (3) simply forgot to put in the missing symbol. I believe that we must allow plenty of room for options (2) and (3), especially for a manuscript source from an unknown hand, and one that shows other signs of slightly nonstandard use of notation.

There are seven places in the Beauchamps Sarabande where I believe there's a missing "foot in the air" sign; or at any rate, that one could be added to make the meaning clearer. Four of these are fairly trivial: a demi-contretemps and three contretemps battus, where the lack of an air sign probably has little affect on the reading of the step. (See Figures 1 and 3.)

The other three suspected missing air signs come at the end of turning steps: pirouettes and a hopped, turning *rond de jambe*. The notations in Feuillet's step tables do show several pirouettes that finish with the foot on the ground, but it is common to find pirouettes that finish with the foot in the air. (See Figure 4.)⁷ While it is conceivable that the dancer is meant to put his foot down at the end of these turns and then pick it up again for the next step, it seems much more likely that he is meant to leave his foot in the air after the turn.

Nonstandard Use of Liaison Lines

In the *Traité de la Cadence* published with his 1704 collection of dances by Pécour, Feuillet explains how liaison lines should be used to indicate timing of compound steps. If in a measure of triple meter two steps are shown, with a liaison line connected to one but not to the other, then the second—the one not connected to the liaison line—will take twice as long as the other step, two beats to the other's one. Two or more steps linked by a double liaison line must together take only a single beat. And, Feuillet says, if there are three steps in a measure of duple meter, or four steps in a measure of triple meter, two of them must be joined by a double liaison. He goes on to give examples of the various ways liaison lines can be used to show the timing of compound steps.

These guidelines for the use of liaison lines were probably intended to fill a gap in the notation system as Feuillet explained it in 1700, and to reduce confusion about the timing of notated steps.⁸ In particular, the use of disconnected tie lines in triple meter seems to have come into use only after Feuillet had notated the dances for his 1700 collections, as none of these include disconnected tie lines. The use of disconnected tie lines is inconsistent in the 1704 collection: for example, compare the *coupés* and *coupés à deux mouvements* in the *Passacaille* from *Scilla* with the those in the *Passacaille* from *Persée*. (See Figure 3.) By his own account, it took Feuillet a while to gather notations for the 1704 collection;⁹ it appears that sometime during this process he attempted to standardize the use of disconnected liaison lines.

Table 2: Errors, suspected errors, and notational ambiguities in the *Sarabande de Mr. de Beauchamp*

Errors. The context clearly suggests what is missing.	Missing barlines	2A2.7-8, 2B2.9-10
	Missing turn symbols. Foot flags indicate that the dancer has turned. ^a	1B1.6, 2A1.6, 2A2.7, 2B1.13, 2B1.15
	Missing single liaison. Timing is clear from context.	1B1.12, 1B2.9, 2B2.11
Errors. The context hints at what's missing.	Presumed missing step into first position	2B2.11
	Presumed missing saut after échappé	2B2.4
Suspected errors. Standard usage hints at a missing symbol.	Missing “foot in the air” symbols?	
	—in demi-contetemps or contretemps	1A1.2, 1A1.6, 1B2.9, 2A2.1
	—in a hopped, turning rond de jambe	2A1.7
	—in pirouettes	1B1.2, 2B1.2
Nonstandard use of liaison lines, sometimes causing uncertainty about timing of steps.	Single liaison line links two steps in a three-beat measure. Timing is sometimes uncertain.	
	—in pirouette preparation (timing is clear)	1B1.1, 2A2.5, 2B1.1, 2B1.12
	—following pirouette (timing seems apparent, but isn't completely unambiguous)	1B1.2, 2B1.2
	—in other steps (timing is ambiguous)	1A1.7, 2B2.2
	Single liaison line links four steps or compound steps. Timing is uncertain.	
	—pas de bourrée emboîté plus a step closing in first position	1A2.8, 2A1.8, 2A2.4
	—other instances	1A1.6, 1B1.6, 2A1.6, ^b 2A2.8, 2B2.10
	Double liaison line extends too far. Timing is suggested by context.	1B2.3

a. Though they don't indicate direction and amount of turn, these can be deduced by context, for example by the path shown for the foot.

b. In this measure there is a double liaison line that may be in the wrong place. (See Figure 4 and discussion in text.)

Disconnected Liaison Lines

The Beauchamps Sarabande includes no steps with disconnected liaison lines. This might be seen as evidence that it was notated before Feuillet's 1704 publication, though it may simply be that the notator was unfamiliar with, or unconcerned by, Feuillet's published rules for liaison lines. In any case, the lack of disconnected liaison lines poses only a couple of problems in the Beauchamps Sarabande, in measures 1A1.7 (Figure 1) and 2B2.2. [DEMONSTRATE 2B2.2.] The other places where we might expect disconnected liaison lines are in pirouette preparations and pirouettes, and here timing is not really an issue, or not much of one. Compare the notation for a pirouette preparation followed by a pirouette from one of Pécour's dances with the notation from the Beauchamp Sarabande (Figure 4).¹⁰ I believe that these represent the same steps, and that the timing should be the same. Surely the rise in the demi-coupé of the preparation should occur on beat one; and it makes sense to allow more time for the pirouette itself than for the movement of the left foot that follows it.

Lack of Double Liaison Lines

There are eight instances in the Beauchamp Sarabande in which a single liaison line links four steps or compound steps (that is, two steps linked by a double liaison) in a measure. (See, for example, Figure 2, measure 1B1.6, where the first two steps are linked by a double liaison.) Three of these are as in Figure 2, a sort of "augmented" pas de bourrée emboité, with the final step closing into first position. A fourth, in measure 2A2.8, is also shown in Figure 2. Others are in measures 1A1.6, 1B1.6, 2A1.6, and 2B2.10 (Figures 1, 2, and 4). Measure 2A1.6 is the only one in the entire dance where I think there's not only something missing, but something amiss with what's written: the double liaison that is there seems misplaced, as it would force the rise of the third step in the measure, a turning demi-coupé, to fall *after* the second beat rather than on it. Figure 4 shows a suggested timing for this measure. [DEMONSTRATE 2A1.6.]

I noted earlier that Feuillet was quite specific about the necessity of using double liaison lines somewhere when four steps are linked in a triple-meter measure.¹¹ By his "Privilège", he had the right to determine how Beauchamp-Feuillet notation was used in France, and by whom. Nevertheless, it could be that the notator of the Beauchamp Sarabande was not so concerned with pigeon-holing steps into beats, and that the timing is intentionally vague.

Ambiguous Double Liaison Line

The last line in Table 2 points to the one instance, measure 1B2.3, in which a double liaison line extends too far, showing two brushes and a chassé on the first beat of the measure, with a second chassé in the remainder of the measure. Either the first brush or the first

chassé should be allotted a beat to itself. The latter solution seems preferable. [DEMONSTRATE 1B2.3.]

Hemiolas

There are clearly hemiolas in the music in measures 6-7 of both the A and the B strain, and measures 14-15 of the B strain could also be played as a hemiola. Likewise, we find passages of steps in the dance that have a decided hemiola feel. An awareness of the possibility for hemiola can help us resolve some of the timing questions raised by ambiguous liaison lines.

Before we consider hemiola passages in the dance, though, let's think about how a notator might show such a passage. Take as an example the simple step sequence "pas de bourrée, pas de bourrée, pas grave". We could perform this sequence in hemiola rhythm, allotting two beats to each pas de bourrée and two to the pas grave, meaning that the second pas de bourrée would span the barline. Would the notator show it that way, with a liaison line linking steps from one bar to the next? Certainly there are precedents for such a notational approach, the classic example being Feuillet's notation of *la Contredanse*.¹² Another example is the pirouette that spans the barline in Feuillet's *Entrée d'Apollon*, shown in Figure 4.¹³ And menuet steps are sometimes notated as spanning two bars of three pulses each.

But we also find steps that are clearly to be performed in hemiola rhythm, but in which there's no liaison line across the bar. A fine example of such a step is in Mr. Isaac's hornpipe *The Richmond*, in which there's a pas de sissone across the bar.¹⁴

Let's look now at measures 1A1.6 and 1A1.7 of the Beauchamp Sarabande (Figure 1). As it happens, both have ambiguous liaison lines. The ambiguity in measure 1A1.6 is easily resolved by performing the contretemp battu in one beat, as in measure 1A1.2.¹⁵ This step would then be performed on the second beat of the measure, leaving the third beat—which starts the second part of a hemiola—for the chassé sans sauter at the end of the measure. To complete the hemiola, we would then allow one beat for the first step of measure 1A1.7, the left foot coming in behind the right, and the two final beats for the pas grave at the end of the measure. [DEMONSTRATE 1A1.6-7.]

Likewise, we can resolve the question of timing in measures 1B1.6-7 (Figure 2) if we assume that the dance follows the hemiola rhythm of the music. The steps could then be parsed as "pas de bourrée, pas de bourrée, pas grave", with timing as in the example above.

Measures 2B1.6-7 (Figure 2) offer an interesting example of a hemiola in the dance, once again corresponding to a hemiola in the music. The steps are "beaten pas grave, pirouette, contretemps", with the pirouette spanning the barline. The pirouette is on two feet, notated as usual with a turn on each half position symbol; what's

unusual is that one half position is in measure 2B1.6, the other in measure 2B1.7. [DEMONSTRATE 2B1.6-7.]

The last page of the dance offers two hemiolas in a row (measures 2B2.10-11, 2B2.12-13), in the steps though not in the music. That is, we can resolve ambiguities in the notation by assuming a hemiola rhythm: the last two steps of measure 2B2.10 become the first two steps of a pas de bourrée en présence—or something like it—that crosses the bar to the first beat of measure 2B2.11, leaving the remaining steps to be performed with the timing indicated during the remaining two beats of the measure. The hemiola in measures 2B2.12-13 would parse as “coupé, jump-step-point, pas de bourrée”, with timing as notated. [DEMONSTRATE 2B2.10-11, 2B2.12-13.]

Uncommon Steps

Some years ago I compared notated steps in some ballroom dances with the tables of steps in Feuillet’s *Chorégraphie*, to see what percentage were exactly as in the tables, what percentage were only slightly different, and what percentage were not found in the tables.¹⁶ I tried something similar with the steps in the Beauchamps Sarabande, but with the important difference that instead of comparing an entire compound step—that is, generally a full measure’s worth of movement, linked by a liaison line—with the steps in the table, I looked for sub-units within the measure that could be found in the step tables. For example, in the first measure of the dance there’s a pas de bourrée as found in the step tables, and a beat with a leg opening that resembles a step in the supplemental step tables. This approach is somewhat subjective, but it did turn up quite a few matches, with almost three-quarters of the measures having at least one sub-unit that matched or almost matched a step in the step tables.¹⁷

But the dance does contain some unusual steps and step combinations. Some of these are shown in Table 3. [DEMONSTRATE STEPS LISTED IN TABLE 3.]

Parallel Structure and “Rule of Two”

So far I have talked about step components, errors and ambiguities, hemiolas, and uncommon steps in this sarabande. That is, I have looked at pieces of the dance; but I have not talked about its overall choreographic structure. Neither have I discussed how the dance relates to the music, beyond the level of the beat or the measure (or pair of measures, in the case of a hemiola).

Let’s look again at Table 1. It’s difficult to discern any sort of pattern or structure from it, but there are a couple of things I can point to that suggest something like structural principles. In each playing, the repeat of the A strain begins with a cluster of springs, turning steps, and beats. Also in each playing, there’s a fair number of turning steps at the end of the repeat of the A strain. The first B strain in each playing has four quarter turns in

measure two, and four beats in measure three: in fact, this is virtually the same sequence in each playing of the music, a pirouette followed by beats at the ankle. Near the end of the first B strain, each playing, there’s another cluster of turning steps. And the repeat of the B strain, each playing, has more springs and more double liaisons than the first B strain in each playing.

In other words, there’s a hint of a parallel structure from one playing to the next, with the second time through each strain being more active than the first. We might imagine the same structure extending through additional playings.

I would like to point out what seems to me another recognizable choreographic device, or at least a suspicious pattern. Whether by design or inattention, Beauchamps has used several pairs of steps or step combinations that closely resemble each other. I’ve already mentioned the repeated use of a pirouette followed by beats at the beginning of the first B strain in each playing. This is the only such pairing that’s tied to a particular point in the music, but there are several others, enough to make me think that Beauchamps was applying a sort of “Rule of Two” to his choreography. Some of the pairings I’ve noticed are listed in Table 4.

Table 3: Unusual Steps and Step Combinations

Step	Measure(s)
Pirouette followed by turn on heels	1B1.13 (Figure 2)
Brushes followed by rond de jambe	2B2.9 (Figure 2)
Demi-contretemp, contretemp battu, demi-contretemp	2A2.1 (Figure 3)
Hop with rond de jambe, demi-contretemp back	2B2.10 (Figure 2)
Jump into parallel first position, then step into second position plié	2B2.11 (Figure 2)
Hop with triple beat	2A1.2

Conclusion

To conclude, then: the *Sarabande de Mr. de Beauchamp* is a fairly active dance, but one that stays relatively close to the ground: there are no cabrioles or entrechats. There are several segments with a hemiola feel. The step vocabulary is to a large extent built on the steps shown in Feuillet’s step tables, but the dance includes some surprising and unusual steps and combinations of steps. There seem to be structural parallels between the first and second halves of the dance, and there are several in-

stances of step combinations done exactly twice. The notation poses a few problems, but most of these can be re-

Measure(s)	Step(s)	Measure(s)	Step(s)
1A1-8	demi-contretemp, pas de bourrée en presence (finishing in fourth position)	1B1-8	demi-contretemp, pas de bourrée en presence
1B1.1-3	preparation and pirouette to the left, followed by beats at ankle and demi-coupe (Note that these occur at the same place in the music, first and second playings) ^a	2B1.1-3	preparation and pirouette to the left, followed by beats at ankle
start of 1B1.9	pas tortille changing from third position, right foot front, to third position, left foot front, ending in plié	end of 2A1.4	pas tortille changing from third position, right foot front, to third position, left foot front
1B1.10-11	quarter pirouette, slide into 4th position profile, turn upstage to the other 4th position profile, chassés in place and assemblé	2B1.8-10	coupé with rond de jambe into 4th position profile, turn upstage to the other 4th position profile, échappé into a wider 4th position, contretemps battu, chassé sans sauter, assemblé,...
1B2.1	turning demi-contretemps with beats	2A1.1-2	turning contretemps to a point, followed by demi-contretemps with beats
1B2.5	pas de passacaille	2B2.1	pas de passacaille, but with final leap replaced by a step with the other leg opening side
2A1.5	échappé into second position, jump to first, step side and open other leg around to side	2B2.4	échappé, close feet to first, ^b step forward

a. Contrast these similar sequences with 2A2.5-6 and 2B1.4-5: the preparation is the same but the pirouettes go in opposite directions, the first en dehors and the second en dedans.

b. Probably there are saut symbols missing; see Table 2 and discussion in text.

solved. [DEMONSTRATE DANCE AGAIN.]

Table 4: Pairs of Similar Steps and Step Combinations

Endnotes

1. For figures related to this article, please see <http://web.mit.edu/~kpierce/www/sdhs2003/>.
2. The Derra de Moroda Dance Archives plan to publish a facsimile of the notation, with accompanying CD-ROM and other materials, in the near future. The first page of the notation is reproduced in: Friderica Derra de Moroda, "Chorégraphie: the dance notation of the eighteenth century: Beauchamp or Feuillet?" in *The Book Collector* (1967), 450-76; Wendy Hilton, *Dance of Court & Theater*, Princeton Book Company (1981), 29; and Kaspar Mainz, "Zur Sarabande de Mr de Beauchamp" in *Der Tanz, ein Leben: in Memoriam Friderica Derra de Moroda; Festschrift*, Salzburg: Selke Verlag (1997), 209-215. Regina Beck-Friis's videotape *The Joy of Dance through the Ages*, Malmö: Tönneheims Förlage (2000) shows a partial reconstruction of the dance.
3. I wish to thank Scott Metcalfe, violin, who recorded the music for me, and Francine Lancelot for giving me a copy of the notation, nearly twenty years ago!
4. A glance at Feuillet's 1704 *Recueil de Dances* by Pécour (Paris, 1704; reprint Gregg International Press, 1972) turns up two sarabandes, on pages 154-157 and 210-215, with neither cabrioles nor entrechats—though the first does include a full tour en l'air, and the second a changement de pied. Note the beaten contretemps followed by a turning chassé sans sauter in measure one, page 155, similar to steps in measures 1A1.2-3 of the Beauchamp Sarabande.
5. For example, the notation system doesn't show clearly the timing of ornamental beats at the ankle ("1-and" or "and-1"). Feuillet clearly allows for either possibility—see the *Traité de la Cadance* in the 1704 *Recueil*. (As it happens, in this dance I generally do the first [movement] beat on the [musical] beat, rather than before.)
6. The notation for these échappés lacks slide symbols, unlike the example in Feuillet's *Chorégraphie*, page 23 (Paris, 1700; reprint New York: Broude Brothers, 1968). Such usage is not unusual.
7. Note in passing that Feuillet's tables of supplementary steps, published in the 1701 edition of *Chorégraphie*, show how to notate pirouettes on the ball of the foot and on the heel, implying that the default pirouette was more or less flat-footed.
8. For more on issues of timing, see Ken Pierce, "Dance notation systems in late 17th century France", *Early Music* 26:2 (May, 1998),

Pierce

286-299.

9. *Recueil* (1704), Préface.
10. The example by Pécour is from the 1704 *Recueil*, 166.
11. Four steps linked in compound meter, as in a menuet step, pose a different problem.
12. *Recueil de danses composées par M. Pecour*, Paris: Brunet, 1700, 32-36. (Facsimile published in *Chorégraphie*, New York: Broude Brothers, 1968.)
13. *Recueil de danses composées par M. Feuillet*, Paris: Brunet, 1700, 66. (Facsimile published in *Chorégraphie*, New York: Broude Brothers, 1968.)
14. In *A Collection of Ball-Dances perform'd at Court...*, London (1706), Plate 2, meas. 1-2; the full sequence is "pas de sissone, pas de sissone, pas de bourrée". (Facsimile in Richard Ralph, *The Life and Works of John Weaver*, London: Dance Books Ltd. (1985), 310.)
15. These are contretemps battus after the presumed missing "foot in the air" signs are added.
16. "Dance Vocabulary in the Early 18th Century As Seen Through Feuillet's Step Tables." *Proceedings Society of Dance History Scholars* (1997), 227-236.
17. Seventy-one out of ninety-six measures, but this should be considered approximate.

Interculturalism and Authenticity in the Work of Uday Shankar

Tresa M. Randall

Uday Shankar (1900-1977) has been widely hailed as one of the most important figures in bringing Indian music and dance to the West.¹ His influence is still alive through the performances of his younger brother, sitarist Ravi Shankar, who toured with Uday's company in the 1930s. Western audiences greeted those tours with enthusiasm and awe, yet Shankar was also assessed through highly orientalist criteria; he was expected to conform to visions of an ancient, sensual, exotic East.² Shankar thus functioned as "the Other" to the Western universal. Homi Bhabha argues that the colonial subject is "dependent for its representation upon some strategic limitation or prohibition within the authoritative discourse,"³ and orientalist expectations can certainly be seen as examples of such limitations.

However, while orientalist assumptions certainly pervade much of the literature in the 1930s, I have actually been struck by how many commentators characterized Shankar as an intercultural translator—an active subject rather than a passive object. The examples in this paper demonstrate both tendencies: orientalist and intercultural. By calling Shankar's work "intercultural," I envision him building a bridge between two cultures. Even within a role as an intercultural translator, though, I argue that Shankar was limited by the criteria of "authenticity," which often functioned as a strategic prohibition. In this instance, "authenticity" meant replicating the traditions of Indian culture. I see the criteria of "authenticity" to therefore limit Shankar's creative agency, for he was often attacked when he strayed too far from tradition. The issue of authenticity in relation to his work is certainly complicated by the context of the classical Indian dance renaissance, which happened concurrently with Shankar's tours of the West; critiques of his modernity often came from the supporters of classical dance in India.

I should note that "authenticity" as a term, a concept, is one with many meanings. On a basic level, "authenticity" connotes realness, consistency, being true. I am postponing a fuller definition here so that the various meanings imbued by critics and other observers of Shankar's performances in the 1930s can emerge on their own. The main topic of this paper is how these contested notions of authenticity were reflected in the discourse on Shankar's work in the West, particularly in the United States. I argue that Shankar's performances constituted a unique intercultural location in which the con-

nection of authenticity to concepts of tradition, ethnicity/race, modernity, and art were debated.

Since Shankar is often acknowledged as the first Indian modern dancer, I also stress the importance of investigating how modernist imperatives for authenticity shaped Shankar's works and their reception. Under modernism, the imperative to be original is key, and originality and authenticity are easily conflated. Shankar highly valued his creative freedom, and his own words hint toward deep resonances with modern conceptions of the artist. My own interest in Uday Shankar comes, in part, out of these resonances; I entered this research with a brief background studying Bharata natyam in Madras, India, but I have had much more experience with modern dance, especially American modern dance. I acknowledge how much my interest in questioning "authenticity" as a concept comes out of these lived experiences, and how much the goal of being authentic, or real, may be a characteristically American preoccupation. However, I have also found that Shankar's intercultural productions inspired an impressive discourse on authenticity in a colonial and then postcolonial world. This paper seeks to excavate some of that discourse.

In suggesting that Shankar's productions were intercultural, I am drawing attention to the ways in which his choreography was created for the West as a way to present, or, in Joan Erdman's words, "translate," Indian culture to Western audiences.⁴ Shankar was born in Rajasthan and attended art school in Bombay, but his earliest experience with directing theatrical productions was in London.⁵ While a student at the Royal College of Art, he assisted his father with producing pageants on Indian themes to raise money for Indian veterans of the First World War. Most important in Shankar's training as a director, though, was certainly his experience choreographing for and touring with Anna Pavlova's ballet company in the early 1920s. Shankar credited his experiences with Pavlova as an essential ingredient to his later success.⁶

In order to translate Indian culture for the West, Joan Erdman notes that Shankar mediated between different cultural and philosophical understandings of time, duration, and tempo; styles of movement; and conventions of melody and rhythm. He accommodated his Western audiences by making the "meanings" of his works apparent through titles, costume, mime, and extensive program notes, thus allowing spectators to enjoy the sensuousness of the performance. Erdman has analyzed at length

how Shankar worked toward authenticity in terms of posture, gesture, rhythm, and expression, and certainly it seems that the “Indian-ness” of his dances was never questioned.⁷ Instead, challenges to his authenticity ultimately hinged on debates over the appropriate form for Indian dance—modern or traditional.

The 1930s were not only the decade of Shankar’s greatest success touring the West, but also the decade in which Indian classical dance underwent a revival. As Pallabi Chakravorty, Avanthi Meduri, Janet O’Shea, and others have discussed recently, the revival of classical Indian dance, particularly the creation of Bharata natyam out of an older temple tradition, emerged from an anticolonial, nationalist agenda.⁸ In search of a new identity for modern India, the nationalists re-constructed a pure, spiritual past based on the ancient Vedic texts by reviving and then nationalizing traditional dances. Drawing on Partha Chatterjee’s *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*, Chakravorty suggests that this revival was actually a product of the interaction between East and West. The nationalist discourse in India in the 1930s created dialectics between public and private, world and home, West and East, men and women. As men came to be associated with Western education, Enlightenment philosophy, and self-determination, women were associated with traditional cultural practices such as music and dance and with the essential, inner spiritual identity of ancient India.⁹ It is out of this paradigm that what we now know of as classical Indian dance was created.

This context has great significance for the work of Uday Shankar, who combined East and West, traditional and modern in different ways and for different purposes than these nationalist dance revivals. By the early 1930s, the supporters of classical dance in India began to attack Shankar for not conforming to the classical tradition. The most virulent attacks came from the critic K. Seshagiri, who asserted in the Indian magazine *Sound and Shadow*: “Uday Shankar’s dance considered as some kind of dance, was tolerable. But considered as Indian dance . . . [it] was absolutely unconvincing except for the costumes, the décor, and the music.”¹⁰ In other words, Seshagiri asserts that Shankar’s creative license with movement vocabularies and choreographic structures invalidated his work. If it was not classical dance, it was not Indian dance. Shankar responded to Seshagiri’s attacks in print with a defense of his concept of modern Indian dance, which I will discuss shortly.

Shankar’s reception in the West, though, was quite different. Since the exposure of American and European audiences to Indian dance had previously consisted of the imitations of Western dancers like Ruth St. Denis or exhibition villages at World’s Fairs, the appearance of Uday Shankar with the Russian ballerina Pavlova in 1923 was momentous. As a *Literary Digest* (London) article asserted, “seeing the soul of India in the dance is a new and star-

ling experience for Western eyes.”¹¹ In 1933, two years after Shankar debuted his full company of dancers and musicians in Europe, René Daumal exclaimed:

In the past two years an extraordinary event has been occurring in several cities of Europe . . . a bit of Hindu thought, authentic, alive, in flesh and bone, in sound, in gesture and in spirit made its appearance in public, here, in the midst of us. There was nothing to distort it, neither stupid translators, nor hypocritical interpreters, not even the tiniest shadow of a theosophist.¹²

Even though Daumal was a key supporter of Shankar, and even worked as his secretary, I see these words as a concrete example of how the criteria of “authenticity” limited Shankar’s agency. While Shankar was a translator and an interpreter of India for the West, Daumal wants to see him only as a representation of living “Hindu thought.” Daumal’s reference to theosophy is also significant. Founded by Madame Blavatsky in 1875, the Theosophical Society drew on mystical wisdom from various cultures of the world in a search for the roots of all religion. Theosophy as a movement connected the East and the West, and was influential in all the same areas of the world in which Shankar performed—France, Germany, Britain, the United States, and India. By distinguishing Shankar’s work from theosophy, it is clear that Daumal does not admit to any “hybridization.” To him, Shankar’s performances are “purely Hindu,” the “real thing.”

Faubion Bowers remembers that Americans were “bowled over” by Shankar’s productions: “This was not just the rage for Asia or the disciple’s adherence to the mystic’s cult. Here was exquisite beauty of an overwhelming sort.”¹³ Bowers’ words point toward the fascination with the “real thing” described by Miles Orvell in his study of turn-of-the-century American culture, in which he identifies a shift from a culture of imitation to one of authenticity. Instead of being fascinated with the ability of machines to create replicas, the culture of authenticity sought to reconnect with the “real thing” in the face of a rapidly industrializing world.¹⁴ This phrase—“the real thing”—was used repeatedly in publicity materials, not only for Coca-Cola, but also for dance performances, such as for the 1933-1934 New York season of the Spanish dancer Teresina.¹⁵ Regarding Shankar’s performances of that same season, Faubion Bowers explains: “To us it was the authentic voice of India speaking directly and immediately to us from 5,000 centuries of civilization.”¹⁶ After learning of the critiques in India leveled against Shankar, Bowers characterizes Shankar’s role as a prism for Westerners: “At his time in this, our part of the world, he had to be the prism through which the thousand lights of India were refracted to blindingly dazzle us.”¹⁷ In this way, Bowers acknowledges Shankar’s agency as a cultural

translator.

Some commentators, like G. Setti of Genova, Italy, grappled with the idea that Shankar could be both Indian and modern. He writes,

[Uday Shankar] has such physical beauty, such a transcendental expression, such grandness in his attitudes, such a command of his muscles, that his presence [alone] takes a unique significance. And when we come to think, that besides he is the soul and organizer of this Indian tournee in the occident, we realize that we are in the presence of a rare, if yet mysterious personality of modern India.¹⁸

While this passage indicates orientalism in its attention to beauty, transcendence, and sensual physicality, the author also grapples with Shankar's position as director, choreographer and as a "personality of modern India."

An advertisement in *The New York Woman* also grapples with this transgression of the West-East, modern-traditional binaries. The advertisement features a photograph of Shankar bare-chested, bejeweled and flanked by two female dancers, who seem to worship him with their down-turned gazes and hands pressed together in a position of prayer. Entitled "Women's Delight," the caption begins, "Ardently admired by repressed women throughout the world, India's best press agent, Uday Shankar, returns for the first time since 1932." After a description of Shankar's tendency to dance himself into trance, the ad concludes with a description of the worldliness of this exotic god:

He graduated from the Royal College of Art, London, painted successfully until Pavlova discovered him, is an intimate friend of Gandhi's, speaks exquisite Oxford, wears native clothes, behaves like any high-strung western artist, goes to the movies for the photography, thinks American Pullmans are heaven.¹⁹

Like the promotional material published by Sol Hurok's company, this advertisement clearly sought to capitalize on Shankar's sex-appeal for his upcoming American tour.²⁰ Several sources identify that Shankar's audiences were overwhelmingly female, and Ravi Shankar and Mohan Khokar have both commented that his "god-like image and oozing masculinity on the stage," was important to his success.²¹ However, I also find this advertisement interesting for the ways in which it grapples with Shankar's Oxford speech and Western tastes. The text of the ad seems almost incredulous that this "exotic god" studied art in London.

Shankar was a popular subject for portrait artists in the 1930s. Some iconographic representations feminized

him, as in an example by Val Arms in which Shankar is portrayed with incredibly long eyelashes, an elongated and lean torso, muscular arms and fluid lines.²² In an "action drawing" by Eilean Pearcey, the power of Shankar's body is highlighted as he lunges sideways and gestures with his arms and hands.²³ An oil painting by Edward Seago portrays Shankar as a warrior-god. His posture is regal in its quiet strength and the confident, almost aloof way that his gaze turns away from us.²⁴ Particularly in this representation, Shankar functions as a non-Western "Other," and represents a virile, "natural," and essentialized masculinity. As Ramsay Burt discusses in his analysis of men in modernist dance, this kind of "natural," essentialized masculinity was a recurring image in early 20th century dance.²⁵ However, as these images make clear, Shankar's particular form of masculinity was inseparable from his Indian-ness in the eyes of his Western admirers.

In 1937, composer Elliott Carter critiqued the tendency of Americans to conflate Shankar's dances with his body. Praising Shankar's highly developed technique, Carter writes: "[Shankar's] discipline is so great that the moment he comes onstage and makes a gesture, no matter how slight, he arouses a feeling of respect toward him as an artist . . . What he does, not what he is, alone must be considered. And what he does has to do with the body and its parts from eye to toe."²⁶ I see Carter's reference to "what Shankar does, not what he is," as hinting toward a larger discourse about authenticity, and he seems to be imploring the dance community to take Shankar seriously as a dance artist.

In an article in *Theatre Arts Monthly* in 1934, Mary Watkins, dance critic for the *New York Herald-Tribune*, identifies Shankar along with Spanish dancer Teresina, ballet choreographers Kurt Jooss and Serge Lifar, and modern dance choreographers Doris Humphrey and Charles Weidman as the most important choreographers of the season. Watkins also contributes to our discussion of interculturalism and authenticity; she writes,

What Shankar shows us is actually authentic—but with reservations. That is, it is in no sense a hybrid concoction after the manner in which spectacles for tourists are arranged, but it is a mere skimming of such cream as he, with his artist instinct, is sure can be digested across international footlights.²⁷

While acknowledging Shankar's talent for translating India into forms understandable to the West, Watkins' comments indicate once again that Shankar's authenticity was a subject of public debate in the 1930s.

That same month, influential *New York Times* critic John Martin also celebrated Shankar as a modern artist, comparing the critiques leveled against him by Indian

critic K. Seshagiri with the debates between “traditionalists and the avant-garde” in the West.²⁸ Martin’s article thus informed the American dance community of the debates over tradition and authenticity in Indian dance. It also provides direct evidence of Shankar’s own concept of authenticity. According to Martin, Shankar responded to Seshagiri’s attacks by writing in the *Bombay Chronicle*:

Does he expect that we should go back to 200 years or 500 years ago and blindly imitate what our forefathers were doing at that particular period? The traditions of Indian art have been changing from time to time, and it is impossible to fix upon a particular tradition prevailing at a certain time in the past and call that the only authentic Indian tradition. All that we could properly do [is] to adopt the best from the past and mold it to the requirements of our present-day life. That way real progress lies.²⁹

Shankar is arguing that Indian culture—like any culture—has continually changed, so art must change as well. I find it significant that it is Shankar who here questions “authenticity,” if authenticity means “blindly imitating” the past. Shankar seems to acknowledge just how constructed the classical dance revival was, and he deems it false to simply adopt some practice from the past and “call that the only authentic Indian tradition.” Instead, he invokes the notion of progress in defending his modern approach to Indian dance.

In 1937, the influential Indian art theorist Ananda Coomaraswamy entered this discussion in an article for the American *Magazine of Art*. Arguing that traditional Indian dance is a sacerdotal art, “an imitation of what was done by the Gods in the beginning,” Coomaraswamy concludes that Shankar’s work is authentically Indian, even though it is not strictly classical.³⁰ He argues that Shankar “uses an Indian technique to give expression to Indian themes, derived as in India from the inexhaustible material of the Epics, which are really Myths.”³¹ In other words, Coomaraswamy argues, since Indian dance is essentially a sacerdotal and imitative art form, Shankar becomes authentically Indian by embodying the stories of the ancient Hindu texts.

Interestingly, though, Shankar’s dancer Zohra Segal argues for Shankar’s authenticity for the exact opposite reason: she asserts that Shankar’s work was creative, *not* imitative:

The tradition of a nation is steeped in its people and from time to time a genius is born who expresses its characteristic virtue in a new form. This, at first, is so alien to what has already existed, that the guardians of its tradition think it is a “foreign element, borrowed style, an imita-

tive art,” whereas in reality it is a fresh expression of art. Such a genius is Uday Shankar who danced without knowing any dancing and created a style all his own. It was a novel and free style of dancing, not imitative as many think mistakenly, but creative.³²

Segal seems to be embracing the modernist conception of the artist, in which the artist is free to be creative with his or her sources of inspiration. Segal had attained a certificate from Mary Wigman’s Institute in Dresden prior to joining Shankar’s company, and her words certainly echo some of the basic values of modern dance, such as beliefs in genius, originality and freedom; she writes, “his early creations were created in solitude, without any previous training in dancing, out of the sheer necessity for expression.”³³ This concept of dance arising out of the sheer necessity for expression echoes Wigman’s assertion that what inspires the body to dance is “an inner, indefinable, undeniable urge that desires a visible, definable expression.”³⁴ While Shankar would later claim that all he learned from ballet and modern dance was the ability to place dancers in spatial patterns on stage, I find it important to acknowledge how much Shankar’s very conception of the authenticity of the artist is connected to modern art notions of expression.³⁵ In his response to Seshagiri in 1932, quoted above, Shankar wrote that he considered it his role to take what he could from the past and make it relevant to the present and the future.³⁶ Later, he reflected, “I found that the older conception[s] (sic) of our Indian dances have lost essential truths and its interpretation has become mechanical. It must not only express a dramatic action or an emotion but each movement of the dancer must be penetrated by the living idea.”³⁷ These words are resonant with early modern dance notions of essential truths, new impulses, and reactions against mechanization. Shankar’s later curriculum at his India Culture Center in Almora also echoed the approach of Wigman: in improvisation classes, Shankar would sit in the center of a circle of students with a huge drum, and the students would improvise on themes he supplied.³⁸

His creative process was strikingly similar to that of many modern dancers of the early twentieth century as well. Projesh Banerji recounts how Shankar choreographed his first solos as if “by a magic spell” by studying a statue of Nataraja, the god Shiva in his dancing incarnation.³⁹ This is reminiscent of Ruth St. Denis’s creative process, whereby she gained inspiration for movement by examining religious sculptures. Discussing his use of folk dance material in his choreography, Shankar explains: “I have never used [folk dances] in the original [form]. . . I must tell you that for my folk dances I created the movements . . . but still you will see they are folk. Somewhere, somehow I must have seen some folk movement and then

imagined and allowed something to be born of me."⁴⁰ This mining of folk dances for inspiration connects Shankar to precedents in both ballet and modern dance.

These connections may reinforce Shankar's modernism, but they do not necessarily negate the "authentic Indian-ness" of his choreography. As I mentioned above, Joan Erdman has described how Shankar painstakingly created a new movement vocabulary that was still recognizably "Indian" in posture, gesture, and expression, even though it was not based explicitly on classical dance vocabularies. The concept of authenticity that emerges through Shankar's comments on his work is one in which dance is culturally-based, but which reacts to the modern age; he seems to suggest that being authentic means truly internalizing your culture's values and ways of being, but expressing them creatively. Shankar would seem to agree with cultural studies scholar James Clifford that "authenticity is something produced, not salvaged."⁴¹

In his analysis of the Indian "identity crisis" in the visual and performing arts, Saryu Doshi argues that the late 19th and early 20th centuries were a period of "psychological and emotional torment" in India. Older traditions had been lost or suppressed under the British colonial period, and had stagnated so that they were no longer able to react appropriately to changing times.⁴² After a period of experimentation with employing European styles to paint Indian subjects and themes, Doshi argues that, like Shankar, the painters of the Bengal School "drew upon a wide variety of sources and developed an expression that was highly eclectic and personal."⁴³ Though Shankar may not have conformed to the classical styles, he embodied the vision of the ancient text on dance, the *Natyasastra*, in new ways. As an ancient commentator on the *Natyasastra* writes, "the artistic creation is the direct or unconventionalized expression of a feeling of passion 'generalized,' that is, freed from distinctions in time or space and therefore from individual relationships and practical interests, through an inner force of the artistic or creative intuition within the artist."⁴⁴ While the concept of the "inner force of the artist's intuition" is resonant with modernism, it predates it by millennia. Perhaps Shankar's vision of art comes, then, not from modernism but from an older Indian aesthetic tradition. In a 1937 interview he asserted:

The classical ballet is a more outward expression, the Hindu more inward. The classical gives us beautiful line and movement. It is energetic, but outward . . . Hindu dancing is spiritual, essentially. Its outward manifestations are visible links connecting with the inner spiritual self. Tradition has made it so.⁴⁵

For Shankar, "tradition" refers not to the reconstructed classical dance, but to much broader and deeper

aesthetic and ontological precedents.

Of course, such distinctions between Shankar's definitions of tradition and authenticity and those of the classical Indian dance revivalists were largely unknown to Western audiences in the 1930s. For most commentators of that period, the most unbelievable thing about Shankar was that he could be both Indian and modern. Indeed, as Sanjoy Roy argues, this belief in the *essential incompatibility* of being Eastern and modern persists even today.⁴⁶ When I first began this research project, I expected to find that Shankar had been limited by orientalist expectations. However, what I have found most compelling in looking at the primary sources is how many commentators did grapple with Shankar's mediated position in ways that respected his agency as a creative artist and as an influential player on the world stage. Perhaps this is a testament to Shankar's own vision and charisma. As Clive Barnes noted in 1968, Shankar's aim was always "to produce authentic Shankar": his "greatness has always been partly his ability to take Indian classical forms and, more particularly, those Indian folk dance forms disregarded by the classic schools, and weld them all into something uniquely himself."⁴⁷ In this way, Shankar was a consummately modern choreographer. Ultimately, for him, making his work was not a question of either/or but of both/and: both Eastern and Western, both traditional and modern. Shankar acknowledged how much the concept of the West is implicated in the concept of the East—and that it is a construction, just as are concepts of modernity and tradition.

When "authenticity" is applied as a constraint on the creativity of non-Western artists, though, these oppositional binaries are perpetuated. Specificity is needed in our critical and historical examinations in order to undo the effects of these destructive concepts, for it is in looking at specific ways in which artists have mediated between modernity and tradition, and between East and West, that the binaries are transcended. As historians and critics of dance, we need to honor the discursive ability of all artists to be simultaneously modern, creative, and authentic, and to truly acknowledge the intercultural encounters that shaped so many dance practices in the early twentieth century.

Endnotes

1. Gerry Farrell, *Indian Music and the West* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 145; Joan L. Erdman, "Performance as Translation: Uday Shankar in the West," *TDR* 31, no. 1 (Spring 1987): 64; Anna Kisselgoff, "Uday Shankar, Indian Dancer, Dies; Popularized Hindu Works in West," *New York Times* (27 Sept. 1977).
2. Edward Said's influential critique of Orientalism is highly relevant to the current discussion of Shankar. As Said has explored, the "Orient" was discursively created by the West "politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively," and seen as exotic, feminine, backwards, mysterious, dangerous, and irrational. See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 3.

3. Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October* 28 (1984): 127.
4. Erdman, "Performance as Translation," 64-88.
5. Despite a lack of training, he had seen Kathak performed in Rajasthani courts and various regional folk dances. Early in his life, he also took a passionate interest in the dances of the chamars ("untouchables"), which he studied intensively and then imitated in performances for his mother and siblings. Fernau Hall, "Honoring Uday Shankar," *Dance Chronicle* 7, no. 3 (1984-1985): 328.
6. Shankar quoted in Basanta Koomar Roy, "The Secret of Shan-Kar's Success," *The American Dancer* 10, no. 3 (Jan. 1937): 48.
7. See Erdman, "Performance as Translation" for further discussion, using semiotic analysis, of how Shankar was able to translate these characteristically "Indian" ways of constructing movement into forms understandable to Western audiences.
8. Pallabi Chakravorty, "From Interculturalism to Historicism: Reflections on Classical Indian Dance," *Dance Research Journal* 32, no. 2 (Winter 2000/01): 108-119; Avanthi Meduri, "Nation, Woman, Representation: The Sutured History of the Devadasi and Her Dance," (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1996); Janet O'Shea, "'Traditional' Indian Dance and the Making of Interpretive Communities," *Asian Theatre Journal* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 45-63.
9. Chakravorty, "From Interculturalism to Historicism," 108-119.
10. K. Seshagiri, quoted in John Martin, "The Dance: Art of India," *New York Times*, 4 Feb. 1934, sec. 10, p. 8.
11. "The West Sees the Real Hindu Dance," *Literary Digest*, 21 Jan. 1933.
12. René Daumal, "Uday Shankar and His Group of Hindu Musicians and Dancers." Trans. Vera Milanova. Rpt. from *Cahiers du Sud* (1933). *Roopa-Lekha* (New Delhi). 4, no. 13 (1934): 1.
13. Faubion Bowers, quoted in Mohan Khokar, *His Dance, His Life: A Portrait of Uday Shankar* (New Delhi: Himalayan Books, 1983), 159.
14. Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).
15. Mary F. Watkins, "Five Facets of the Dance," *Theatre Arts Monthly* 18, no. 2 (Feb. 1934): 137.
16. Bowers, quoted in Khokar, *His Dance, His Life*, 159.
17. Bowers, quoted in Khokar, *His Dance, His Life*, 159.
18. G. Setti (1932). Reproduced in "Press Comments." *Roopa-Lekha* (New Delhi). 4, no. 13 (1934) 30.
19. Reproduced in Khokar, *His Dance, His Life*, 72.
20. Promotional brochures (1932, 1934, 1937), clipping file, New York Public Library Dance Collection.
21. Khokar, *His Dance, His Life*, 70; Ravi Shankar, quoted in *The Great Shankars: Uday, Ravi*, ed. Dibyendu Ghosh (Calcutta: Agee-Prakashani, 1983), 11.
22. Val Arms, "The Hindu Ballet." Charcoal drawing. *American Dancer* (February 1938): 14.
23. "Uday Shankar: Some Action Drawings by Eileen Pearcey," *Marg* (Bombay) 6, no. 2 (1952): 45-49.
24. Edward Seago, "Portrait of Uday Shankar" (1938), reproduced in *Apollo: The International Magazine of the Arts* (London), (Dec. 1988): 15.
25. Ramsay Burt, "Men, Modernism, and Modern American Dance," *The Male Dancer: Bodies, Spectacle, Sexualities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 101-134.
26. Elliott Carter, "With the Dancers," *Modern Music* (Jan/Feb 1938), reprinted in "Balanchine and the Moderns," *Ballet Review* 25.3 (Fall 1997): 86. Emphasis mine.
27. Watkins, "Five Facets of the Dance," 136.
28. John Martin, "The Dance: Art of India."
29. Uday Shankar quoted in Martin, "The Dance: Art of India."
30. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "Uday Shankar's Indian Dancing," *Magazine of Art* (Oct. 1937): 611.
31. Coomaraswamy 612.
32. Zohra Segal, "Shankar's Ballet," *Natya* 7, no. 4 (Dec. 1963): 23.
33. Segal 23.
34. Mary Wigman, *The Mary Wigman Book*, ed. Walter Sorell (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973), 87.
35. Shankar quoted in *His Dance, His Life*, 169.
36. Martin, "The Dance: Art of India."
37. Uday Shankar, "My Love For Dance," (1975) in *The Great Shankars: Uday, Ravi*, ed. Dibyendu Ghosh (Calcutta: Agee Prakashani, 1983), 17.
38. Khokar, *His Dance, His Life*.
39. Projesh Banerji, *Uday Shankar and His Art* (Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corporation, 1982), 16.
40. Interview with Uday Shankar in Khokar, *His Dance, His Life*, 169. Emphasis mine.
41. James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 250.
42. Saryu Doshi, "The Identity Crisis in the Visual and Performing Arts," *Marg* (Bombay) 36, no. 2 (1984): 2-4.
43. Doshi 4.
44. Abhinavagupta, cited in Kapila Vatsyayan, "The Sahrdaya: The Initiated Spectator," *Impulse* (1962): 51.
45. Uday Shankar quoted in Robert C. Bagar, "Shan-Kar and the Dance: Explains the Intricacy of Hindu Forms." 6 Jan. 1937; unidentified newspaper article from NYPL-Dance Collection clipping file.
46. Sanjoy Roy, "Dirt, Noise, Traffic: Contemporary Indian Dance in the Western City; Modernity, Ethnicity, and Hybridity," *Dance in the City*, ed. Helen Thomas (London: Macmillan Press, 1997), 83.
47. Clive Barnes, "Dance: Innovation from the East," *New York Times*, 20 Oct. 1968.

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On Translating Taubert: A Preliminary Report

Tilden Russell

The *Rechtschaffener Tantzmeister*, by Gottfried Taubert (Leipzig, 1717), is arguably the most important early source for the study of eighteenth-century dance. Comprising three volumes and over 1100 pages, it is certainly the most voluminous and compendious source. Sadly, though, for most dance historians and historical dancers it is among the most inaccessible and least known sources. The facsimile edition has been out of print since 1984 and has become almost as rare, it seems, as the original.¹ Even when the book can be found, it remains difficult of access to all but those who are undeterred by 18th-century German printed in *Fraktur*. And Taubert's style itself, characterized by periodic sentences, long digressions, and multilingual terminology and word coinages, is not without its problems, as anyone who has tackled it can attest.

Taubert therefore represents a big lacuna in current dance-history scholarship. By default, certain other sources have become privileged through decades of informed scrutiny, while this essential source languishes unknown because few have read it. It is possible that many basic assumptions in the field are skewed as a result of this patchy control of the primary sources. If ever a translation was urgently needed, this is it.

Angelika Gerbes's dissertation is the only English-language study of Taubert. Gerbes translated step instructions from parts of about 100 pages of the original, plus all the chapter headings from the Table of Contents (pp.28-44); it should also be pointed out that much of her remaining text is paraphrased from other passages in Taubert (but without citing specific page sources).²

Since 1999 I have been translating Taubert's Book II, which represents the core of his treatise in terms of dance technique, choreographic notation, and the three "fundamental" dances of his time: the courante, minuet, and bourrée. Book II is 683 pages long, and to date I have translated 285 pages. I have found the work enjoyable and not too difficult, but—at the rate of about 70 pages per year—slow going.

The primary aim of this progress report is to alert the international community of dance history scholars to my project. And now, having done that, I would like to share some experiences and perceptions that I have gleaned along the way about Taubert and his work; I will liven up my remarks as much as possible with Taubert's own words, as new-English'd by me. I will conclude with a case study: Taubert on the courante.

In a work of this magnitude, it is inevitable that Taubert reveals more of himself than perhaps any other dancing master in a comparable work. We learn that he is a consummate professional, proud of his accomplishments and fiercely protective of professional standards. He keeps up-to-date on Parisian developments (pp.572-573, 618). He is proud of the results he achieves with students of all types, especially the least promising. He has taught five- and six-year-old children and nonmusicians to keep the beat (pp.496-497); but even finished musicians improve in their sense of rhythm and *cadence* thanks to his method (p.529).

He is quick to detect incompetence and quackery. He rails against all sorts of bad teachers and hacks, whom he refers to as *Stümpler* and *Pfuscher*. One "discourses as reasonably on the true and well-regulated art of dance as a blind man on color" (p.563); another "renowned master...claims to have taken five years of lessons with all the most expensive Parisian masters (but understood not a single word of French with any meaning in the language of the genuine art of dance)" (p.623); others reintroduce old steps as if they were new (pp.618-619), or make up new steps and pretend they come from France (pp.623-624). He is ready to debate and defend his views: "I challenge anyone who does not believe me to an impartial contest" (p.529). But he has no tolerance for those who can't measure up; they should either stay under cover (p.567), or get out of town (p.624).

Taubert demonstrates that he is knowledgeable in other fields besides dance. When introducing dance and step names, he provides fascinating, rambling multilingual etymologies that, while showing off his learnedness, enrich our appreciation of the nuances of these terms, as when he compares the pirouette to a roulette wheel (or *lutorium verticillum* in Latin; p.717). Frequently his comments on rhetoric and grammar as applied to language and dance are further extended with similes to architecture and house building, as in the long quote that follows, which also is a good example of a periodic sentence:

Just as a good architect, having found the terrain solid, before commencing the house construction, individually prepares and precisely lays out every single piece, from the smallest to the largest, so that the construction can then proceed all the more rapidly; or just as a worthy professor instructs his student in the art of speak-

ing by beginning with single letters, then progressing to syllables, sentences, periods, and paragraphs, as preparation for the composition of an oration; so too will a compleat dancing master consider first of all how he should present information to his student in an orderly sequence, one bit at a time, that is, from the smallest and most rudimentary step [T: *Lectio*] and motion to the biggest and most imposing, so that subsequently he will be able to dance by connecting such details confidently and coherently (pp.500-501; also pp.494 and 522-523)...for dance [like an oration] can be described as *composita oratio & ornata ex multibus partibus concreta*, a composed and ornamented speech made from many parts (p.504).

Because he is a true "humorist" in the eighteenth-century sense of the word, Taubert can be fun to read. Humor, according to Corbyn Morris, "is any remarkable Oddity or Foible belonging to a Person in real Life...Humour generally appears in such Foibles, as each of the Company thinks himself superior to."³ As we all know, dance is an excellent revealer of character, and Taubert offers a Hogarthian progress of eighteenth-century characters, like the student who

...squints fixedly into the air as if peering through a peephole [T: *Sperr-oculus*] at something written on the ceiling, or stares intently, straight down at the ground, with a forbidding, dour, and officious look, or goggles here and there incessantly. Many wrinkle up their brow like a baked pear or a plowed field, open their mouth as if they were going to bite into a roasted pigeon, bare [T: *blöcken = blicken?*] their teeth like Vitus-hounds, or, if they keep their mouth shut, stick their tongue into a cheek or behind the lips, or constantly roll it all around. Others pucker up their mouth as if they had just eaten sour crab-apples. Yet others pick and pull at their nose, and grind their teeth as they move their chin from side to side, ...and commit other such distasteful gestures that could make you sick just from looking at them.

Indeed, some aim to charm in dancing, and to do everything better and more daintily than their natural endowments allow. Therefore they screw up their eyes, ogle and cast sidelong leers like half-dead rats on a dunghill, they twist their head or keep time with it, delicately wrinkle up their mouth, bite their lips and slide them from side to side like leather drawer pulls, and indeed they frequently make such a ludicrous sight that even

an otherwise restrained observer cannot refrain from laughing at their horrible faces and atrocious posture (pp.538-539).

And these are just facial foibles. Imagine what he has to say about the rest of the body (pp.545, 597, 641, 647-648, 650).

Taubert's strongest insults, of dancers and dancing masters alike, frequently involve some kind of fat or grease. Here is what he has to say of a rival dancing master: "For, after he tried in vain to hide his ass's ears, and to mask himself by smearing a thick coat of rabbit-fat over all his actions, words, gestures, and bows, his way of walking and the cut of his figure, as soon as everyone began to feel revulsion for his French delicacies as for unripe fruit, he was forced to give up his craft in abject wretchedness. And the same goes for him as for many another like him: *aut alium, aut nullum*, all are equally worthless" (p.624). And here is a wonderful, long mixed metaphor describing someone who dances a minuet with too many leaps: "...like a young billygoat..., he, I would say, must have stepped in a big puddle of fool's fat. And those who do this are the same salt cods who think their art makes them so superior that they can swim to the top of the soup like grease, but succeed only in exposing themselves to the mockery and ridicule of all reasonable people" (p.665).

The *Rechtschaffener Tantzmeister* is a truly encyclopedic work, a representation of the cosmology, so to speak, of dance in Taubert's time. Kurt Petermann, the general editor of the facsimile edition, calls Taubert "...the first systematizer of dance, who painstakingly surveyed the entire vast field of *Tanzkunst* according to rational principles."⁴ In Taubert's universe, all physical movement is dance. There are two types of dance: prosaic dance (standing, walking, bowing, and costume); and poetic dance, which is dancing to music. With regard to the latter, twice Taubert quotes the poet Simonides who called poetic dance wordless poetry, and poetry a dance of words (pp. 490 and 525). (This formulation, by the way, is an interesting precursor to the remark, commonly attributed to Goethe although he did not say it first, that music is flowing architecture, and architecture is frozen music.) But the words "prosaic" and "poetic" are not used merely for the sake of an attractive analogy. Rather, they rest on Taubert's conception of dance as a rhetorical art with the power to communicate, teach, and persuade, which has as its aim the moral improvement of postlapsarian humanity (pp.535-536, 564-566).

An overview of the organization of Book II reveals that it is different in some very significant ways from any other treatise. It begins conventionally with a survey of the antiquity, historical development, biblical justifications, morality, propriety, and usefulness of dance. The discussion of prosaic dance follows, then the discussion

of poetic dance, which is divided into three parts: theory; praxis; and notation. Theory deals with *bon air* and “*porte les bras*” (as Taubert often puts it); most importantly, in this section the six universal steps, namely the *pas ordinaire*, *pas glissé*, *mouvement* (consisting of *plié* and *élevé*), *demicoupé*, *coupé*, and *pas grave*, are introduced. These steps are called universal because they are the components of the basic steps of the three fundamental dances. It is necessary to explain them here because they will be needed when those dances, and none other, are taught in the section on praxis. More steps are not introduced until after the section on the *menuet ordinaire*, when they are needed for variations in the figured minuet. The notation section is a bilingual edition of Feuillet’s *Chorégraphie* of 1701, the second edition with its supplement of tables, plus material from the *Traité de la Cadance* of 1704.⁵ (Book II concludes with a section on theatrical dance, which I will not deal with today.)

Let’s take a moment to consider what is unique about Taubert’s procedure, and what it signifies. Note that it differs almost diametrically from that of Feuillet’s *Chorégraphie* and *Recueil* of 1700, taken together as a unit, and other treatises following this model.⁶ Feuillet begins by teaching the elements of notation, then introduces the step vocabulary, and finally moves on to choreographies of dances of many kinds. Taubert introduces only the minimal number of steps necessary to learn the three fundamental dances in their simplest, or *ordinaire*, form. Then he teaches the courante and minuet thoroughly, introducing additional steps only in the context of minuet variations. He saves Feuillet’s full step vocabulary until after the three fundamental dances have been fully described.⁷ To sum up, Feuillet’s method is ostensibly autodidactic in purpose, based on the student’s mastering of literacy in notation, and progressing from there to the decipherment of complete dances. Taubert’s method, on the other hand, presupposes the involvement of a dancing master; it is experiential, based on pedagogy and praxis, and it leads, in effect, to the mastery of only one contemporary dance: the minuet.

Taubert teaches the three fundamental dances, or more precisely, only the courante and minuet; the bourrée is dispatched in three pages because it is no longer danced as a dance *per se*, although its basic step is used in other dances. The courante, too, is no longer danced, but Taubert gives it prominence because it is the key to learning all other dances—much as the minuet was soon to become. So what about all the other kinds of dances whose choreographies were published in *recueils*? Why were they published? What made those publications commercially viable? Who bought them? Were they ever publicly performed? This is a problem first identified, I think, by Rebecca Harris-Warrick (I quote from several passages in her article)⁸:

We know from the choreographies that many more social dance types than branles, courantes, and minuets existed: what was the place of these other dances in a ball?...With regard to the *danses à deux* done at formal balls, disappointingly few references have turned up in the 17th-century sources...It would appear that a courtier interested only in dance as a social necessity could hold up his head in society if he could manage a creditable courante and minuet, and remember the patterns of a few contredanses.

Taubert provides *positive* evidence of what Harris-Warrick hypothesized primarily on the basis of a *lack* of evidence. Since by his time the courante was no longer danced at balls, the minuet was the only dance really worth knowing. To study the other dances, Taubert says, is a waste of time:

Thus I do not err in advising any student wishing to learn to dance a few dances well, that he should not waste his time practicing to be able to dance a gigue or sarabande on command, but instead that he should have a large ready supply of variations, that is, figured composite steps and moves, and should learn how to use them in a minuet, because nowadays the minuet is practically the only dance danced in company; in this way he will not always be bringing the same goods to market, but will be able to select the step or leap that will best serve to save him from making a mistake (p.666; also pp.1173-1174).⁹

Taubert’s treatment of the courante amply demonstrates the necessity of having him available *in toto*, as opposed to dipping here and there for specific details. There is very little scholarly writing on the courante, probably due mainly to the fact that aside from Taubert, there is very little primary material to work with, and as yet no one has carefully read and analyzed what Taubert has to say. In her article on the courante, Wendy Hilton referred to de Lauze’s *Apologie de la danse* (1623)¹⁰ and Taubert as “the [only] two dance treatises in which any appreciable space is devoted to the courante”; she went on to call them “...unfortunately...the two most verbose and incomprehensible writers on dance in history.”¹¹ While this statement is corroborated in virtually every study of de Lauze, it is most assuredly untrue of Taubert.¹²

Taubert has more on the courante than any other source—indeed, than all other extant sources put together. He is the only dancing master who explains all the possible ways in which a courante can be danced: *simple* with hands (*an der Hand*); *simple* without hands (*von der Hand*); *figuré* with hands, and *figuré* without hands; furthermore he gives the notated choreography for all of them but the

figuré with hands. His 46 densely printed pages, in five chapters, also deal with the courante's steps, rhythmic profile, *cadence*, figures, bows, and manner.

In his typical fashion, Taubert begins with a probing and insightful disquisition on the name courante:

...many believe its name comes from *à currendo* or *cursitando*, running, because in it one dances very quickly, as if running, straight up and back and also in a circle. For this reason some refer to it as *saltatio currens*, a running dance. Or it comes from the French word *courante*, *profluens* [in Latin], flowing forth, because a good courante dancer seems to swim and gush forth like a fast [T: *scheller* (*sic*)] flowing stream, and also because the courante is always danced *terre à terre*, close to the ground, and without any jumps, analogous to the French *eau courante*, *aqua profluens* [in Latin], running water, as opposed to *aqua saliens* or leaping water [as from a fountain] (p.570).¹³

The swift tempo suggested in this passage is very different from Rameau's description of "une danse très grave, & qui inspire un air de Noblesse,"¹⁴ which determines the tempo of contemporary American reconstructions.¹⁵

Taubert augments his introduction by references to three lost courante sources. Of these, the most tantalizing is a choreography of a *courante simple* by Feuillet (p.587).¹⁶ Taubert also provides extended quoted passages from two other treatises on the courante, by M. Fabies (pp.577-578) and M. Letemps (pp.579-581), the latter of whom was compared favorably, in his day, to Pecour in certain respects.¹⁷ Both sources were obtained from travelers abroad, the Fabies treatise having been brought from France at Taubert's request by the dancing master Touillet, and the Letemps "...by a prominent man of [Danzig], who in his travelling years had received it as special gift" from Letemps himself (p.618). Thus Taubert's courante represents the collected wisdom of four authorities: his three predecessors and himself, and it represents the central (i.e. French) tradition, not a provincial byway. It is important to stress this because otherwise Taubert's remarks are easily marginalized, as is too often the case.

The first courante choreography, in fact, is Feuillet's, as the title tells us: "Choreography of the simple courante *an der Hand*, as notated by Monsieur Feuillet, Parisian dancing master" (p.598), so here presumably the lost source is preserved at least in part. (Note, by the way, Taubert's scrupulous and generous habit of attribution whenever appropriate.¹⁸) His second choreography, of the simple courante *von der Hand*, is "adapted from the earlier figures" (p.604). Unfortunately the three courante choreographies do not include the music, but the dance notation indicates that they each can be danced once

through in sixteen measures (plus the upbeat at the beginning, and an additional measure needed to conclude the figured courante).

On the meter and *cadence* of the courante, Taubert states unequivocally:

1. All courante melodies are in an uneven, triple meter, in which two 3/4 measures or six quarter-notes are the metrical unit.
2. The six beats constitute the *cadence*...
3. Each simple step, such as the *pas tendu*, *pas grave*, or whole *coupé*, if it consists of two universal steps, as too the *demicoupé*, is contained within three beats (p.589).

Taubert makes no reference to a *sesquialtera* or 3/2 division of the *cadence*; indeed, since there are only two steps in any single courante measure, and they each get three beats, the dance must always be in 6/4 and *sesquialtera* would be impossible.¹⁹ He makes it perfectly clear that, while he recognizes that the second half of the 6/4 measure (that is, the fourth beat) normally does not receive a strong rhythmic stress, this causes no technical difficulty or sense of rhythmic ambiguity in dancing the courante:

6. In general, in all courante melodies at the beginning of the 6/4 measure there is either a dotted half-note or dotted quarter-note, so that the note is emphasized either by length or by a trill or *Nachschlag*; the second 3/4 measure, on the other hand, begins only with a quarter-note or two eighth-notes. In this way anyone, even a child, can easily distinguish the *cadence* by the way it is emphasized (p.590).

Taubert identifies two types of step-units, short and long, each composed of two steps, and we know that each step takes an equal amount of time—three quarter-notes—whether it has one part (*pas tendu*, *demicoupé*, or *temps de courante*) or two (*coupé*). Furthermore, each step-unit begins in the second half of the preceding *cadence* and ends in the first half of the following *cadence*. In other words, the short step begins with the *pas tendu* and ends with the *temps de courante*; the long step begins with the *demicoupé* and ends with the *coupé*. Taubert's three choreographies clearly show this structure, which is unlike that of the three complete surviving courante choreographies ("La Courante," "La Bocannes," and "La Duchesse"), each of which begins with a *temps de courante*. Everything I have mentioned here: unambiguous 6/4 meter; short and long step-units; beginning each step-unit in the sec-

ond half of the preceding *cadence*, is mentioned first in the treatise of M. Letemps.

None of this material of Taubert's on the courante is a new discovery of mine. Angelika Gerbes already mentioned it thirty years ago, although she could have made much more of its radical departure from received notions on the courante. But now this material strikes one with the force of revelation because it is so different from what one reads in encyclopedias and articles. To be sure, Taubert is always dutifully mentioned, but he is selectively referenced to support a monolithic and un-nuanced view of the courante as a slow dance in 3/2. As an example of what I mean, let us compare two diagrams purporting to show the steps of the courante according to Taubert: the first (fig. 1) is from a 1961 article by Fritz Feldmann²⁰; the second (fig. 2) is from the 2001 expanded edition of Meredith Little's and Natalie Jenne's *Dance and the Music of J. S. Bach*.²¹ The earlier diagram is correct; the second misrepresents Taubert by fitting the steps into 3/2 meter.

Taubert's description of the courante as being in 6/4 meter is inconsistent with his bilingual edition of Feuillet, where the meter is said to be triple. Feuillet's passage relevant to the meter of the courante, with the English translation by John Weaver²² and the German translation by

Taubert, are given in Table 1. Taubert's translation is usually straightforward and accurate, but not here. Note that Taubert quite gratuitously embroiders on Feuillet's text by specifying that the courante's meter is 3/4 (and not 3/2).²³ Taubert was surely aware of his departure from Feuillet's text. How, then, are we to reconcile this translated passage with the earlier statements in his text proper, keeping in mind, moreover, that Taubert's courante choreography is, by his own word, based on Feuillet's?

As a great musicologist once said, history is polyphonic.²⁴ Sometimes it may seem that there are too many voices to follow. Yet if one of them is silenced, the song will not ring true. Taubert clearly does not solve all our problems, and in fact adds some new ones to our already murky understanding of the courante; nevertheless he is simply too prodigious to ignore. Today I have only scratched the surface, and what I have highlighted here is to Taubert's five chapters on the courante as those chapters are to his treatise as a whole. Once this rich source is made more accessible, it will become a gold mine for dance history research, with transformative potential for the ways in which we write about and recreate eighteenth-century dance.

Table 1.

Ex.A: Feuillet 1700 and 1701, p.87.

Je remarque néanmoins que ceux qui ont fait la Courante, ont mis deux Pas pour chaque Mesure, dont le premier occupe les deux premiers temps de la mesure & le deuxième Pas n'occupe que le troisième temps; & au Menuet ils n'en ont mis qu'un pour deux mesures.

Ex.B: Weaver 1706, p.47.

It is to be observ'd nevertheless, that in *Courant Movements*, two *Steps* are put to each *Barr* or *Measure*; the first of which takes up two parts in three of the *Measure*, and the second takes up the third part; and in the *Minuet*, one *Step* is put to two *Barrs* or *Measures*.

Ex.C: Taubert 1717, p.878.

Nichts destoweniger muss ich auch darbey erinnern, dass diejenigen, welche die *Courante* gemacht, zu jedweder *Mensur* zwey Pas gesetzt haben, von denen der erste die beyden ersten Viertel-Noten der *Mensur* oder des *Tactes* einnimmet, und der andere bekömmt mehr nicht, als das dritte Viertel. Und so auch bey der *Menuet*.

Ex.D: Taubert in translation.

Nonetheless I must point out that those who created the courante put two steps in each measure, the first of which takes the first two quarter notes of the measure, while the second takes no more than the third quarter. And it is the same with the minuet.

Endnotes

1. Gottfried Taubert, *Rechtschaffener Tantzmeister* (Leipzig: Friedrich Lanckischens Erben, 1717; facs. ed. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat der DDR, 1976).
2. Angelika Gerbes, "Gottfried Taubert on social and theatrical dance of the early eighteenth century" (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1972). See also Gerbes, trans., "Gottfried Taubert (c.1673-17?), The Minuet," in *Dance as a Theatre Art; Source Readings in Dance History from 1581 to the Present*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), pp.42-51.
3. Corbyn Morris, *An Essay towards fixing the True Standards of Wit, Humour, Raillery, Satire, and Ridicule* (London, 1744; facs. ed. The Augustan Reprint Society, Series I: Essays on Wit, no.4, 1947), pp.23-24; also James Beattie, "An Essay on Laughter and Ludicrous Composition," *Essays*, 3rd ed., corrected (London: E. and C. Dilly, 1779), p.300: "...that comic exhibition of singular characters, sentiments, and imagery, which is denominated *Humour*."
4. Kurt Petermann, "Nachwort," Taubert, *Rechtschaffener Tantzmeister*, p.XXV.
5. Raoul Auger Feuillet, *Chorégraphie ou l'art de décrire la danse* (Paris: author, 1701; facs. ed. Bologna: Forni Editore, 1970); "Traité de la cadance," in *Recueil de dances contenant un tres grand nombres, des meilleures entrées de ballet de Mr. Pecour* (Paris: author, 1704).

6. Raoul Auger Feuillet, *Chorégraphie ou l'art de décrire la danse* and *Recueil de dances* (Paris, 1700; facs. ed. New York: Broude Brothers, 1968); for justification of considering these two works as a unit, see Meredith Ellis Little and Carol Marsh, *La Danse Noble: An Inventory of Dances and Sources* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1992), p.91. Other treatises that follow this format include: Pierre Rameau, *Abbrégé de la Nouvelle Methode, dans l'Art d'Ecrire ou de Tracer Toutes Sortes de Danses de Ville* (Paris: Author, Sr. Boivin, and Sr. LeClerc [1725]; facs. ed. Westmead: Gregg International, 1972); John Weaver, *Orchesography. Or, the Art of Dancing* (London: H. Meere, 1706; facs. ed. Westmead: Gregg International, 1971); John Essex, *For the Furthur [sic] Improvement of Dancing, A Treatise of Chorography or ye Art of Dancing Country Dances after A New Character* (London: I. Walsh and P. Randall, 1710); Magny, *Principes de Chorégraphie* (Paris: Duchesne and de la Chevardiere, 1765; facs. ed. Geneva: Minkoff, 1980); [N.] Malpied, *Traité sur l'Art de la Danse*, Seconde Édition, Augmentée (Paris: Chez M. Botin, [ca.1790]; facs. ed. Westmead: Gregg International, 1972). Taubert, on the other hand, may be considered an immense expansion of the organization of Louis Bonin, *Die Neueste Art zur Galanten und Theatralischen Tantz-Kunst* (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Joh. Christoff Lochner, 1712; repr. ed. Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1996).
7. Taubert does not introduce the five positions until his Feuillet edition, pp.747 (figs.14-18) and 803-804 (text). C. Sol, *Methode tres facile et fort necessaire, pour montrer à la jeunesse de l'un & l'autre sexe la maniere de bien danser* (La Haye: l'Auteur, 1725), follows Taubert's approach in waiting to introduce the five positions until after discussion of the minuet.
8. Rebecca Harris-Warrick, "Ballroom dancing at the court of Louis XIV," *Early Music* 14/1 (February 1986), pp.40-49; quotes from pp.42 and 46.
9. The sense of this passage is echoed by Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* (Leipzig, 1744), col.1763; quoted in Walter Salmen, *Der Tanzmeister*, Terpsichore Tanzhistorische Studien I (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1997), pp.22-23. It is noteworthy that, aside from the courante and minuet, the only dances for which Taubert provides choreographies are theatrical and not ballroom dances.
10. François De Lauze, *Apologie de la danse* (1623; facs. ed. Geneva: Minkoff, 1977), pp.28-36 and 65-66.
11. Wendy Hilton, "A dance for kings: The 17th-century French Courante," *Early Music* 5/2 (1977), pp.160-172; quotes from p.162.
12. On de Lauze, see Mone Dufour, "Contribution à l'étude de l'Apologie de la danse et la parfaite méthode de l'enseigner tant aux cavaliers qu'aux dames (de Francis de Lauze, 1623)," *La Recherche en Danse* 4 (1988), p.13; Marliese Glück, "Courante," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel, Basel: Bärenreiter, 1995), Sachteil 2, col.1031; Magnus Blomkvist, "François de Lauze und seine 'Apologie de la danse' (1623)," *Tanz und Bewegung in der Barocken Oper; Kongressbericht Salzburg 1994*, ed. Sybille Dahms and Stephanie Schroedter (Innsbruck and Vienna: Studien Verlag, 1996), p.35; and Barbara Ravelhofer, ed., *B. de Montagut: Louange de la Danse, In Praise of the Dance* (Cambridge: RTM Productions, 2000), p.27.
13. The text "*à currendo or cursitando*" comes from Michael Praetorius, *Termini musici, Syntagma musicum* III (Wolfenbüttel, 1619; facs. ed. Kassel, Basel: Bärenreiter, 1958), p.25. This passage is Taubert's only reference to the tempo of the courante. In his sentence that follows on the same page: "Sie ist zwar dem äusserlichen Ansehen nach der allerleichteste und schlechteste; in der That und Warheit aber der allerschwereste und vornehmste Tantz, und erfordert gewisslich viel Zeit, Mühe und Fleiss..." I translate *allerschwereste* as "the hardest," as opposed to "the slowest," in view of its context. My translation of this passage reads: "Viewed superficially, the courante appears the easiest and most insignificant dance; in reality, however, it is the hardest and most excellent, requiring much time, effort, and diligence..." In this interpretation I disagree with Glück, "Courante," col.1033. For further evidence of a fast courante tempo in the early eighteenth century, see: Rebecca Harris-Warrick, "Interpreting pendulum markings for French Baroque dances," *Historical Performance* 9 (Spring 1993), pp.10 and 13 (L'Afflard's courante tempo of 1705); also Johann Mattheson, *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg: Author, 1713; facs. ed. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1993), p.186: "Courante oder Corrente ist eine im Tripel-Tacte lauffende lebhafte Melodie."
14. Pierre Rameau, *Le Maître à danser* (Paris: Chez Jean Villette, 1725; facs. ed. New York: Broude Brothers, 1967), p.110.
15. E.g., see Paige Whitley-Bauguess, *Introduction to Baroque Dance*, 2 vols. (videotape; New Bern, NC: author, 1999), vol.1.
16. In a discussion of dance titles (pp.370-71), Taubert refers to only two courantes by name, neither of which is known today as a tune or a choreographed dance: the "Courante de Beauchamps" and the "Courante du Roy." The same two titles are mentioned by Johann Pasch, *Beschreibung wahrer Tanz-Kunst* (Frankfurt: Wolfgang Michahelles and Johann Adolph, 1707; facs. ed. Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat derDDR, 1978), p.39; and Samuel Rudolph Behr, *L'Art de Bien Danser/ Die Kunst wohl zu Tantzen* (Leipzig: Martin Fulde, 1713; facs. ed. Munich: Heimeran Verlag, 1977), pp.118-119. Taubert also refers to "Bourgogne," not in connection with the courante, but merely as an adjectival title associated with a place of origin.
17. Taubert describes Letemps as "...one of the most famous masters in Paris, of whom it is said, when compared as an artist to M. Pecour, that Pecour has mastered the art and science of dance, and Letemps its refinement and grace, or in other words: Pecour dances artistically and superbly, but Letemps dances sweetly and delicately" (p.578). Bonin, *Die Neueste Art zur Galanten und Theatralischen Tantz-Kunst*, pp.141-2, also based his (very brief) description of the courante on those of Fabies and a "Monsieur Saint André."
18. See Petermann, "Nachwort," Taubert, *Rechtschaffener Tantzmeister*, p.XXVI.
19. The *ligne de liaison* of the *coupé* merely indicates the step-unit, and does not provide clear evidence either of a 6/4 or 3/2 division of the bar. Behr, *L'Art de Bien Danser/ Die Kunst wohl zu Tantzen*, p.122, also says the courante is in 6/4.
20. Fritz Feldmann, "Untersuchungen zur Courante als Tanz," *Deutsches Jahrbuch der Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1961), pp.40-57, diagram p.46. With regard to the "nach Feuillet" in his caption: Feldmann apparently never directly examined Feuillet (which [following Mattheson, *Das Forschende Orchestre*, (Hamburg: Benjamin Schillers Wittwe, 1721), pp.60-61] he dates 1699), so he was probably guessing on the basis of Taubert's attribution of his choreography to Feuillet. Feldmann refers to a *Verschiebung* between the steps and the typical rhythm of the dance as a source of added beauty.
21. Meredith Little and Natalie Jenne, *Dance and the Music of J. S. Bach*, expanded ed. (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001), p.116. Glück, "Courante," col.1033, also places a bend on the fourth beat and a rise on the fifth, citing Taubert, in order to make the rhythmic stress and dance step coincide.
22. John Weaver, *Orchesography. Or, the Art of Dancing* (London: H. Meere, 1706; facs. ed. Westmead: Gregg International, 1971), p.47. Hilton, "A dance for kings," p.172 n.6, incorrectly identifies the author as John Essex.
23. With regard to the minuet, Feuillet says simply that there is one step per two measures. Taubert's translation radically alters this to refer instead to his own description of the *cadence* of the minuet; see pp.630-31.
24. Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1954), p.xiii.

Romantic-Era Almanacs and Dance History Research

Madison U. Sowell

Studies in material culture march lock-step with interdisciplinary studies and are considered not only fashionable but *de rigueur* in many contemporary university curricula. Material culture concerns itself with artifacts—manufactured items that often are not the product of a single, isolated discipline—and the connection of those artifacts to social relations. The study of material culture, therefore, explores the relationship between society or social identities, on the one hand, and the manufacture or use of artifacts, on the other hand. In fact, the *Journal of Material Culture* advertises itself as “an interdisciplinary journal designed to cater [to] the increasing interest in material culture studies” (my emphasis; see website at “www.sagepub.co.uk/journals/details/j0101.html”). Transcending traditional boundaries of discipline and culture, studies in material culture embrace and draw upon various fields, including anthropology and archeology, ethnography, geography, and history. For the dance historian, the question naturally arises as to how dance, traditionally considered one of the most ephemeral art forms, connects or relates to material culture. I submit that one of the strongest documental links between dance and material culture, at least in the nineteenth century, is to be found in the almanac, which often packaged and presented dance in a broad (though largely bourgeois) social context and a decidedly material setting that often highlighted not only the movements but also the accouterments associated with dance.¹

As a longstanding bibliophile and in more recent years an advisory editor to the journal *Book History*, I have a considerable interest in book production and the book as an artifact or refined example of material culture. Early in my academic career Dr. Jeanne Newlin, then curator of the Harvard Theatre Collection, gave me a personal tour of that collection’s vault and introduced me to nineteenth-century almanacs. She indicated, almost in passing, that a study of these little books would produce myriad insights into the cultural milieu of performances. Little did I realize at the time that research into almanacs would illuminate not only the culture surrounding performances but also, in many cases and depending on the type of almanac, the performances themselves.

Before we can grasp the importance of almanacs to dance history research, a definition and an overview of almanacs are in order. The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed an extraordinarily diverse and extremely widespread publication of these items. As com-

monly employed in reference to pre-twentieth-century works, an almanac refers to an annual book of lists, charts, or tables presenting a calendar of the days, weeks, and months for a particular year and providing a register of holy days and saints’ days. It usually sets forth the phases of the moon for each month. But that is not all: an almanac may also contain considerable information specific to the various objects or subjects contemplated in works of this miscellaneous nature.

Speaking of almanacs in America’s Colonial period, Marion Barber Stowell, for example, states, “The almanac was, perforce, a miscellany: it was clock, calendar, weatherman, reporter, textbook, preacher, guidebook, atlas, navigational aid, doctor, bulletin board, agricultural advisor, and entertainer.”² This phenomenon of almanac diffusion transpired across Continental Europe, England, and America. As proof of this, one need only consult the standard bibliographies of nineteenth-century almanacs. For example, John Grand-Carteret’s massive, magisterial tome, *Les almanachs français: Bibliographie-Iconographie . . . 1600-1895*, describes, in 848 pages, a total of 3633 almanacs.³ Of these, only 1381 almanac titles appear for the years 1600-1800, but descriptions of 2252 separate titles are given for the much shorter period of 1800-1895. This paper will explore the considerable resource value of almanacs in dance history research that focuses on the Romantic era, as that age corresponds with the apogee of almanac publication and diffusion in Europe. For the modern dance historian, the literary or theatrical almanac and the musical or dance almanac in particular constitute undervalued and often richly multicultural resources for studying dance and ballet in the larger context of Romanticism.

The research value of these almanacs will be assessed via an examination of samples from the John Russell Collection of Almanacs, approximately 200 in number, housed at Brigham Young University, as well as from those in this author’s personal collection of theatrical almanacs. The Russell Collection contains almanacs dating mainly from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Virtually all are in their original bindings, many of which incorporate decorated papers, silk, or calf, as was typical of the material culture of the time. Though issued yearly and often including calendars, these almanacs are much more than mere date books. Many include literary news and theatrical reviews, and most contain stories, poetry, and songs, either to be sung to well-known melodies or to the new music which is handily provided. Some in-

clude extensive lists of theaters, playwrights, librettists, composers, and performers, and of premieres, debuts, and notable publications from the previous year. Others include the names of those patrons who owned boxes at the theater. Many are enhanced by charming engraved landscapes or vignettes.

Taken together these almanacs provide insight into the political, literary, and artistic history of the period and also of the daily lives of the middle and upper classes at a time when there were no mass media and as a general rule people were expected to entertain themselves and each other while at home. Social dancing figures prominently in many of these publications, as does music; several include plays for amateur theatricals and instructions for card games, riddles, and charades. The many illustrations, some hand-colored, provide a visual resource for the history of dance notation and costume and interior design. Many of these periodicals, especially those specifically addressed to a female audience, are of particular interest to women's studies. Most of the almanacs in the Russell Collection are in French and German, whereas the majority of those in the author's collection are in Italian.

Thus, in the nineteenth century one discovers a plethora of agricultural or farmers' almanacs, architectural almanacs, commercial and financial almanacs, gastronomical and herbal almanacs, geographical and historical almanacs, literary and theatrical almanacs, meteorological almanacs, musical and terpsichorean almanacs, genealogical and necrological almanacs (oftentimes closely allied, but not always, with royal or court almanacs), legal almanacs, medical and pharmaceutical almanacs, military and war almanacs, statistical almanacs, political almanacs, and religious and ecclesiastical almanacs, to name but a few.

Because almanacs are often small enough (generally being 16mo in size and often as small as 24mo or 32mo) to fit into the palm of one hand or into one's coat pocket, they sometimes carry the title or subtitle of *pocketbook* (*Taschenbuch* in German, *taccuino* in Italian). Köhring's classic bibliography of almanacs in the German language underscores this possibility in its title: *Bibliographie der Almanache, Kalender und Taschenbücher*, etc.⁴ The inevitable inclusion of a table of days and months may also be reflected in titles carrying the word *calendar* (*Kalender* in German, *calendario* in Italian and Spanish, *calendrier* in French). Given that many series were produced year after year, or at least were intended for annual publication, an almanac may carry the title of *annual* or *yearbook* (*Jahrbuch* in German, *annuario* in Italian, *annuaire* in French), even though not all annuals or *Jahrbücher* are perforce almanacs. Because they may also contain chronologies of events, some are entitled *annals* (*annali* in Italian, *Annales* in French).

Almanacs published as Christmas or New Year's pre-

sents often appeared under labels such as *keepsake*, *souvenir*, or the various words for *New Year's gift* in different languages (e.g., *strenna* in Italian, *étrenne* in French, *Geschenk* in German).⁵ In nineteenth-century America these yearly compilations bore such titles as *The Gift*, *Friendship's Offering*, and *The Token*, and any number of Romantic writers, including Hawthorne and Poe, first appeared in them. These annuals were produced en masse, and the less expensive versions bound in paper were often sold on street corners by holiday hawkers. Naturally, copies could be acquired and rebound in more expensive bindings, including silk and leather, according to the taste and means of the purchaser or gift-giver. Even though those who acquired these gifts could also have them rebound so as to create standardized sets for their libraries, most were not rebound and were simply discarded at year's end—thus accounting for their relative rarity in today's antiquarian market. Complete sets or runs of even the most famous series are notoriously difficult to come by.

Often a scholar must have a complete and accurate description of the size and content of, or examine first-hand, a book carrying one of the above-mentioned alternate titles in order to determine if it truly qualifies as an almanac. The true almanac almost always contains a calendar in one form or another, usually in its opening or closing pages. However, occasionally the intended calendar was pasted to the inside of the front and/or back cover and may have been removed when rebound, excised for another use, or simply lost. In such cases a physical examination of the book and its contents becomes all the more key, especially if it is not listed in one of the standard bibliographies.

The result of all these variations on a theme, as far as titles go, is that the general and all-inclusive term *almanac* describes Romantic-era works with titles (and subjects) as varied as the following, all published within a couple of years of each other in France, German, and Italy: *Almanach perpétuel des gourmands* (1830), devoted to cuisine; *Annuaire de la Garde Nationale Parisienne* (1830), focused on the Parisian national guard; *Nouvelles étrennes historiques* (1830), treating historical events; *Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte* (new series begun in 1830), presenting stories of the Fatherland; and *Annali del Teatro di Reggio* (1827-1828), highlighting theatrical productions.

Given the astonishing, even bewildering variety of almanacs published in the nineteenth century, it should be noted that these publications (for purposes of analysis, if nothing else) may be grouped as gender- or age-specific, as in almanacs for married or single women, young people, or even children. Similarly, almanacs may be role-related, as in those for mothers, fathers, or families. As a result, dance steps may be juxtaposed to cross-stitch illustrations. Instructions on how to do a *pas simple* or a *pas composé* or the *allemande*, whether in notation or

in descriptive prose, can be followed by recipes for a lemon pudding. This is assuredly true in the case of the *Toiletten-Geschenk: Ein Jahrbuch für Damen* for the years 1805 to 1808. Literary almanacs, whoever their intended audience, may be focused on poetry, prose, or drama. Essays could appear in any of these collections, right alongside poems, fiction, or plays.

Many nineteenth-century almanacs double as instruction manuals and can be viewed or studied as part and parcel of the romantic interest in self-improvement and personal development. Explanations of “how to do X” or “how to do Y” may be accompanied by a table, chart, or other illustration in the case of technical subjects. This is true, for instance, in *W. G. Beckers Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1827*, where one finds a rich miscellany of engraved illustrations, poetry, fiction, and nonfictional prose. In the latter category is a particularly important part in the concluding section devoted to dances, entitled “Taenze mit Musik” (Dances with Music). Following the music and choreographic notations for various contradances there appear the written instructions, “Erklärung zur Bezeichnung des Touren” (Explanation of the Design of the Figures), meant to interpret the dance notation symbols. In the case of the 1828 almanac *Terpsichore: Ein Taschenbuch der neuern Tanz-Kunst* (Dresden), notations include those for line-dancing.

Biographies often play a key role in almanacs. Some almanacs consist primarily of biographies, such as the *Almanacco biografico per l'anno 1829, cioè breve compendio della vita dei più illustri letterati italiani nati in ciascun giorno dell'anno* (Pesaro, 1828), containing a daily biographical entry for an Italian *littérateur* born on each day of the year. Others, such as *La Tersicore milanese* (1821), focus on the most celebrated ballerinas for the current season and may even include poetry written in tribute to the various biographees. But even in non-biographical almanacs, biographies often emerge as a valuable part. In particular, it is not uncommon for elegantly composed prose obituaries to be included. These stand as contemporary testimonies of those men and women most esteemed by their compatriots and often their peers in the field. For example, in U. Heinrich's *Almanach für Freunde der Schauspielkunst auf das Jahr 1849*, a key section contains eight necrologies for five women and three men in the dramatic arts who passed away during the course of the year. Details abound regarding the parentage, training, and careers of the deceased. In cases such as these, the information may not be readily available elsewhere, and the notices serve attempts to assess the value and contributions of those deemed by their contemporaries to be most important in the *metier* or profession that the particular almanac highlights.

Thus, the resource value of theatrical almanacs is almost inestimable for the theater, dance, or music historian. Oftentimes these little tomes contain the only sur-

viving illustrations for an obscure opera or ballet, and the iconography of dancers is especially sought after. At the very least, these books provide useful lists of operatic, balletic, and dramatic works performed during the previous year and bring to our attention what ballet was paired with which opera or what tragedy or comedy was popular in which year. Only recently have cultural historians and musicologists recognized fully the need to combine histories of opera and ballet, rather than insisting on the separation of these two forms when treating Romantic spectacle. Marian Smith's insightful study, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of "Giselle"*, in fact argues “that the longtime marriage between opera and ballet at the [Paris] Opéra had not yet fully ended in the 1830s and 1840s . . . [even though] the affinities of these ballet-pantomimes with opera are no longer obvious to today's theatergoer.”⁶ Theatrical almanacs are especially important resources for this type of cross-disciplinary historical or musicological study.

In addition, such almanacs often detail who performed at least the principal roles; some even provide complete cast listings. Their value is further enhanced when they include reviews of particular performances. To cite a particularly noteworthy example, the *Strenna teatrale europea* was regularly published from 1838 to 1848 and offers critiques of dramatic works appearing on the stage of Milan's La Scala and Venice's La Fenice, as well as in theaters in Cremona, Bergamo, Turin, Genoa, Rome, Florence, Leghorn, and Lucca. Notable productions in Austria, Spain, Portugal, Russia, and France were also commented on. The prose in these cases presents a treasure trove of production facts and quality assessments; it ranges from the simple and straightforward to the rhetorical and opinionated and must be judged accordingly.

On occasion, almanacs specializing in drama, dance, music, or theater would include synopses of the plays, ballets, or operas. These synopses could function in addition to or even in lieu of individual libretti. For example, the *Almanacco de' Reali Teatri S. Carlo e Fondo dell'annata teatrale 1834*, contains both plot summaries and critical comments for a number of operas, including Donizetti's celebrated *L'Elisir d'amore* and Bellini's more obscure *Beatrice di Tenda*. In such cases, where reviews follow the summaries, the prose serves as the chief instrument of the music, dance, or theater critic. It is viewer-response criticism. As such, the prose sheds light on both contemporary performances and period audiences. Comments on specific performers or on a performance as a whole shed light on the production, but they also reveal the standards and tastes, opinions and prejudices of the day.

The essay also figures prominently in many almanacs, as the essays treat topics almost as varied as the almanacs themselves. The Parisian *Almanach des spectacles* (Paris: Barba) for the year 1823 opens with an essay

“Sur l'état actuel de l'art dramatique en France” (On the Current State of the Dramatic Art in France), which poses the provocative question as to whether theater is necessary for society's existence (“Si le théâtre est nécessaire à l'existence de la société”). By contrast, the I. R. *Teatro alla Scala: Almanacco* for 1825, begins with a much more focused biographical essay devoted to the life and musical career of Gioachino Rossini.

Sometimes the “essay” is simply a personal or unsigned reflection on some aspect of the previous year's activities or a mere stringing together of events with commentary. The above-cited *Almanach des spectacles* for 1828, for example, starts off that year's issue alternately praising and deploring the theatrical goings-on and sharing juicy bits of gossip. One paragraph reads simply, in translation, “Lord Clanwilliam, England's ambassador to the Berlin court, was supposed to marry Mlle. Sontag, the former actress of the Théâtre Italien; this marriage did not take place” (5). Such information proves perhaps of more value to historians of popular culture than to scholars of the specific performer or subject itself, but it nevertheless demonstrates another function of almanac prose—to inform and amuse. Indeed, the tradition of humor in almanacs may be traced from the fantastic prognostications of Rabelais through the wit of Benjamin Franklin down to the popular satirists of post-Napoleonic Europe.

Certainly, if the phenomenon of Romanticism is viewed as a phase of individualism that places the individual on center stage, Romantic-era almanacs clearly appear in the library—if not in the hand—of the actor or dancer standing there. These extremely popular annuals were readily available and generally inexpensive resources for the bourgeois and aristocratic classes. Collectively, these little books reviewed current events and contained specific instructions on how to accomplish almost any task, from lace making to painting, from cooking to dancing. As noted, these instructions were often, though not always, directed towards women. The prose, supplemented by engravings and lithographs, kept the women (and their male friends) abreast of the latest fashion styles in wearing apparel, the latest vogue in the performing arts, and, among a plethora of other things, the latest trends in politics, music, art, architecture, and literature.

The information presented could be plain and precise, in order to instruct with clarity, but the best almanac publishers were aware of the need to delight as well. As the editor of *La Tersicore milanese* (Milano: Vallardi, 1821) notes in his pithy preface, “almanacs . . . attain some value, mixing a bit of the useful with a bit of the pleasurable” (Anno 1:3: “Almanacchi . . . ottengono qualche pregio, mescolando un poco di utile ad un po' di diletto”). And so it is that the prose of the almanacs varies dramatically according to whether a hack writer or gossip columnist is churning out the latest *nouvelles diverses* (breaking news) to titillate his readers or a guest author of some renown

has been invited to provide sophisticated reflections on the state of this or that art.

Therefore, taken as a whole, almanacs can be approached from various angles. The literary scholar interested primarily in genre studies will analyze the almanacs in order to understand how the individual issues contribute to the genre of almanac publication itself. The historian of popular culture perhaps will concentrate on types of information deemed worthy of annual presentation to the public. Those researching the history of biography in the nineteenth century will study them to ascertain how the art of biography evolved in the course of the Romantic period's emphasis on the individual. The dance historian, however, can choose from a smorgasbord of possibilities that relate to the history, notation, performance, and transmission of dance as revealed by one of the more intriguing and interdisciplinary examples of material culture.

Endnotes

1. Portions of this paper are excerpted from a much fuller study of the almanac scheduled to appear as an essay entitled “Almanacs and Romantic Nonfictional Prose” in *Expanding Borders: Studies in Romantic Nonfictional Prose*, ed. Steven P. Sondrup (Amsterdam: Benjamins, forthcoming).
2. Marion Barber Stowell, *Early American Almanacs: The Colonial Week-day Bible* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1977), ix.
3. John Grand-Carteret, *Les almanachs français: Bibliographie-Iconographie des almanachs, années, annuaires, calendriers, chansonniers, étrennes, états, heures, listes, livres d'adresse, tableaux, tablettes et autres publications annuelles éditées à Paris (1600-1895)* (Paris: Alisié, 1896). An even more mammoth listing of almanacs is *Almanacs of the United States*, comp. Milton Drake (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1962), 2 vols., which records 14,385 entries for American almanacs.
4. Hans Köhring, *Bibliographie der Almanache, Kalender und Taschenbücher für die Zeit von ca. 1750-1860* (Bad Karlshafen: Bernhard Schäfer, 1929, rpt. 1987).
5. The popularity and richness of the “New Year's gift” in the nineteenth century has garnered the attention of serious scholars in Italy. See, for example, the magnificently illustrated tome by Giuseppe Baretta and Grazia Maria Griffini, *Strenne dell'800 a Milano*, prefazione di Dante Isella (Milano: Libri Scheiwiller, 1986).
6. Marian Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of “Giselle”* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), xiii.

Narrating Dance Modernism: The Role of 'Plasticity' in the Aesthetics of Dance in Denmark Around Year 1900

Karen Vedel

In the reading of source material related to theatre dance in Denmark during the early decades of the 1900s, I have been struck by the frequent appearance of the terms 'plastic' and 'plasticity'. These concepts, which are today no longer a part of the Danish vocabulary associated with dance aesthetics, describe not only a discipline in the training of dancers, actors and opera singers, but also a certain quality of the Bournonville style of ballet in Denmark in the 1800s.

According to Dictionary of The Danish Language 'plasticity' was used in the late 1800s and well into the 1900s to describe:

...an ability and skill in the execution of harmonically beautiful movements, the taking up of an easy, secure posture in accordance with present concepts of beauty, in part also of poses that associate to works of sculpture. (Ordbog over det Danske Sprog 1936, my translation)

My paper takes 'plasticity' as a point of departure for looking at the transition between the Danish ballet of the 1800s and some of the aesthetic concepts of theatrical dance that were introduced to a Danish audience by visiting dance artists in the early decades of the 1900s.

Bournonville on the Role of Plastic Movements

The aesthetic approach of August Bournonville, the most prominent balletmaster of The Royal Danish Ballet in the 1800s—and in fact in all times—was founded on a heritage from Noverre passed on through Vestris, with whom he had trained in Paris in the 1820s. Bournonville's approach in terms of the composition of ballets may be characterized by its adherence to the ideals of the 'ballets d'action'. In this sense his aesthetics were a continuation of the conventions established in French ballet in the 1700s. In many other respects, however, Bournonville, who was a true cosmopolitan, was informed by the ideas of his own time and age. His professional interests were not confined to ballet, but extended into the areas of opera and text-based theatre. In fact, following his residency at the Royal Theatre in Stockholm from 1861–1864, Bournonville received recognition for re his reformation of the conventions of Swedish theatre in the direction of a more modern and naturalistic *mise-en-scène*.

In the writings of Bournonville we find several references to the terms 'plastic' and 'plasticity'. In a discussion of his use of pantomime in the autobiography *Mit Theaterliv* from 1848, he distinguishes 'the plastic' from a formalised gestural language as well as from stylistic characteristics of the *danse d'école*.

The way I see the pantomime, and the way that it has become an element in my ballets, it is not a dialogue, no combination of sign language or conventional gestures; it is a harmonic and rhythmical row of artistically appealing poses, derived from nature and the classical patterns, that must comply with character and costume, with nationality and emotion, with person and time. This row of poses and movements is to an extent a dance, but without turned out feet; its attitudes strive only after the plastic and characteristic, while carefully avoiding all, that resembles virtuosity.... (Bournonville 1979 ed. : 163)

In this paper I will argue that the concepts of 'plasticity' and 'the plastic', as discussed by Bournonville in the quote above, are important to understanding the less than enthusiastic reception of Duncan and a number of other dance artists, who in the grand narrative of modern dance are seen as breaking radically with the ballet of the 1800s.

Background

Following Bournonville's resignation as ballet master in 1878 and well into the early decades of the 20th century, The Royal Danish Ballet underwent a crisis, involving the status of the ensemble in the larger institution of The Royal Danish Theatre. Sixteen Bournonville ballets, or approximately one fourth of his entire production, were in the repertory as part of a living heritage at the time of his resignation.

The preservation of the Bournonville heritage was one of a number of challenges facing Hans Beck, who was the Danish ballet master in charge between 1894 and 1915, the third to follow Bournonville. Other challenges were the declining interest of the audience and the lack of appreciation of the art form by the leadership of The Royal Danish Theatre. On the threshold to the 1900s the

audience, the critics and the dancers longed for new works, while the management favoured opera and text based theatre over ballet. A statistical illustration of the low status of the art form may be seen in the fact that during the season of Beck's appointment in 1894 ballet was billed in only 10% of The Royal Theatre's performances. (Lundgren in Aschengreen, Hallar and Heiner 1980:448)

Beck's strategy as ballet master was first and foremost to act as a custodian. The approach that he employed towards securing the Bournonville-heritage for future generations was to 'update', as he called it, the ballets to comply with contemporary tastes. In his memoirs he tell us how this involves the encouragement of 'masculinity' in the training of male dancers. It also involved editing out sections of some of the ballets in the repertory. At the time of his resignation from the post as ballet master in 1915 he wrote:

... it has been my goal, without compromising my deep respect for the great ballet poet, to bring situations and dances in his works in accordance with the taste of the present. With a delicate hand I have here and there shortened those of his ballets, I was given to re-stage, in the conviction that it was to the advantage of both the ballets and the audience. (Beck in Agerholm 1915:6)

Not until he felt convinced that the best of the Bournonville ballets would sustain oblivion, did he implement the second leg of his strategy by commissioning new works from the more mature dancers in the company, some of whom had already tried their hand at choreography or smaller compositional works in either ballet schools or in Danish theatres other than the national ensemble.

The balance between preservation of the Bournonville heritage and rejuvenation of the repertory was closely monitored by the audience as well as by members of the press and the cultural establishment. Especially the critic Ove Jørgensen, who was a classical philologist, ballet authority and contributing writer to *Tilskueren*, a biannual magazine on contemporary culture, was a strong advocate for the creation of a national monument based on 'the Danish tradition'. "Noblesse oblige!", as he wrote.

Although another four of Bournonville's ballets were lost during the Beck-era, his strategy succeeded in the sense that a 'Bournonvillean aesthetic' survived the crisis of the Danish ballet at the turn of the century. I use here the term 'Bournonvillean aesthetic' in recognition of the changes and appropriations of new ideas took place under Beck.

Dancing Outside the Royal Danish Theatre at the Turn of the 1900s

As a reflection of the negotiations of aesthetics, taking place between The Royal Danish Ballet and its audience, all new works were evaluated within quite limited parameters. This had implications not only on the repertory of the national ensemble, but also on the standards by which dancing guest performances in other venues were received.

Copenhagen was a stop on the Scandinavian circuit for many touring dance artists and ensembles at the time. Rather than appearing at The Royal Danish Theatre, which was almost hermetically closed to dance artists from outside the national ensemble, they would perform in the private theatres or in revues and varieties.

Among the internationally renowned dance artists who appeared on theatre stages in Copenhagen within the first two decades of the 1900s were Jaques-Dalcroze (1901), Danish-born Adeline Genée (1902), Isadora Duncan (1906), The Ballet of the Maryinsky Theatre starring Anna Pavlova and Adolf Bolm (first time 1908), Michail Fokine/Vera Fokina (first time 1918) and dancers from the Swedish Opera Ballet (1918 and 1919). Among the many dance soloists, who appeared in Copenhagen variety shows or revues were Loie Fuller, who performed in Circus Variété in 1905, Rita Sacketto, who made herself a career in the silent movies in Denmark, Cléo de Merode and Lona Barrison.

The response on behalf of the artistic leadership of the Royal Danish Ballet to the positive interest with which the audience reacted to the novelty of the aesthetic expressions of many of the visiting artists was to consolidate the Danish ballet even more strongly around a Bournonvillean aesthetic. The reception of the visiting artists by members of the press typically included a comparison with the privileged domestic style, which—although recognizing and labelling discrete genres i.e. Rhythmical Gymnastics, Barefoot Dancing, Plastique Dancing, Expressionist Dancing and Reformed Ballet—would be concluded in a dismissal of the visiting artists as artistically inferior to the Danish Ballet.

In order to illustrate the process of assigning hegemony to the Bournonville tradition, I will give three examples of the reception of visiting dance artists in Copenhagen, which in their answers to the underlying questions '... is it art?' reveal an 'à priori' adherence to the aesthetics of the Danish Ballet.

Rhythmical Gymnastics

When Jaques-Dalcroze in 1901 performed in Copenhagen, the event was reviewed as a musical performance of unusual, yet artistic nature. In the daily newspaper *Politiken* a short article announcing the upcoming event, referred to the novelty of the expression, which, it was promised, would transcend the conventions of the

genre.

Rhythmical gymnastics or 'rhythmique animée', as Jaques-Dalcroze called the system, taught an embodied understanding of rhythm as a foundation for all arts (Jaques-Dalcroze: 217). Jaques-Dalcroze's system became influential in music pedagogy as well as in dramatic arts, dance and gymnastics. Although his school was based first in Geneva and later in Hellerau by Dresden, his students did not come only from Central Europe. Quite a substantial number of students from Scandinavia sought his school, among them Maggie Gripenberg from Finland and Anna Behle from Sweden, who are both considered pioneers of modern dance in their countries. It has not yet been verified, but it is very probable, that Jaques-Dalcroze also had Danish students. The 1901 concert in Copenhagen, which aroused interest in especially the fields of music and gymnastics, enrolled no less than 80 local children and young women, who were coached by two young female students of Jaques-Dalcroze in preparation for the performance of small dances and songs.

The format combining concert/performance and demonstration of the principles behind Jaques-Dalcroze's system was repeated, when three Dutch sisters: Jeanne, Lilly and Léonie Braun, who had been trained at the Jaques-Dalcroze Academy in Geneva, gave another series of 'concerts' in Denmark in 1917. The reviews describe how in the first half of the performance a local school-teacher from the stage translated the short pedagogical explanations, which preceded the rhythmical and plastic exercises. In the second half the sisters danced to music by Bach, Mendelsohn and Beethoven, played at the piano by a local musician. Some of the interested, yet puzzled reactions, that had characterized the reception by the press in 1901 in terms of the nature of the event, was echoed in the reviews in 1917 in the review in *Politiken*, one of Denmark's two largest dailies, where the musical critic remarks that although the event 'does not qualify as dance', he is charmed by the young women, or 'girls' as he calls them, and convinced by the beautiful expressivity of their dance:

...It was as if one saw in front of one's own eyes the breath, the pulsating heart of this music – copied with a purity and graciousness and animated with a conviction that demanded respect for the rare abilities of these young girls... (Des. *Politiken* 23.09.1917)

The critic from the other of the two largest dailies, *Berlingske Tidende*, who finds that the performance justifies the expression 'rhythmique animée', also notes the enthusiastic reception of the performance by a considerable contingency of actors and artists in the audience. (K.F. *Berlingske Tidende* 23.09.1917)

The fact that some 16 months after their initial con-

cert the Braun-sisters were still in Copenhagen may be seen as an indication of their success at creating an interest in Jaques-Dalcroze's rhythmic training among students in Copenhagen. When towards the end of 1918 one of the three sisters, Léonie Braun, was billed as soloist in a Christmas charity, her performance was staged as dance rather than as a musical event. Performing the programme's cavalcade of dances from old and new ballets in the repertory of The Royal Danish Ballet were some 30 members of the national ensemble. Léonie Brown, who was the 'outsider' on the programme, performed solo to the accompaniment of piano in the second half of the evening. *Politiken's* preview of the event underlined that the event offered a unique possibility to compare the dance art of the Danish ballet with 'Professor Dalcroze's modern system'. (*Politiken* 18. 12. 1917) While Braun's performance was admired for the harmonious and expressive plasticity of her movements, it was not seen as 'art', as it was found lacking the 'steps d'école' of ballet. This contextualization of Léonie Braun's performance suggests, that she was used to validate the aesthetics of the Danish ballet vis à vis 'modern' styles.

Adeline Genée

The unique nature of the programme featuring Léonie Braun next to dancers from the Royal Danish Ballet was made possible by the fact that the performance took place in the Casino Theatre, one of Copenhagen's private venues, rather than on the stage of The Royal Danish Ballet. The guest appearance by Adeline Genée in 1902 was one of the few exceptions to the rule that only dancers from the national ensemble performed in The Royal Danish Theatre. Genée had by 1902 established herself as a lead dancer at the London Empire Theatre, when Hans Beck invited her to perform in the role of Swanilda in *Coppelia*. The question, which was posed explicitly in press and with which the ballet audience went to see the performance, was whether the Danish-born dancer, who had been trained not in the Bournonville style, really did deserve her fame and reputation as a dancer.

Although Swanilda's dance convinced as technically superior to the dance of the Danish ensemble, Genée was criticized on several points. For example in *Politiken*, where her mime is described as 'limited', her grace as 'cold' and her agility is compared with that of a 'steel wire'. (*Politiken* 12.10.1902, signed Christian Hjorth Clausen) When dancing alongside Danish dancers in Bournonville's *Flower Festival in Genzano*, it is noted that Genée's technical brilliance made the Danish dancers appear comfortable and overweight. Put to the test in the domestic repertory, Genée's performance however also confirmed the impression of something 'mechanical' at the expense of plastic qualities and 'interpretative skills' with which to create character. (*Politiken* 24 October 1902)

The ballet aesthetics that are confirmed in connec-

tion with Genée's visit point once more in the direction of the plastically expressive dance as something desirable. In this light it could be expected that Duncan would be well received in Denmark.

Barefoot Dancing

This is however, not entirely the case.

Duncan performed in Copenhagen in April 1906 between performances in Berlin and Stockholm. The season in Copenhagen was short, counting only three performances compared with the season in Stockholm, which lasted two weeks. (Lena Hammergren 2002) In the Danish press articles stressing on one hand the bared feet and the scanty costume, on the other the innovative character of her dance preceded Duncan's visit. An aura of bohemia and scandal surrounded her, generating excitement and curiosity about her as performer.

The review in *Berlingske Tidende* compared Duncan to Ida Brun, a Danish society lady who had performed in private society circles in Europe almost a century earlier. Ida Brun became known for her ability to reproduce poses and attitudes from Antiquity, which she had studied as part of her aesthetic formation through mythology, croquis and art studies. (Brun 1998) (Nancy Ruyter has explored the discipline of 'plastique posing', which balanced between education and performance, in her important contribution to dance history through writings on Genevieve Stebbins and Delsartism.)

While most of the reviews confessed that Duncan's dance was in fact modest and some even called her a 'serious' artist, she was dismissed by the Danish ballet expert, Ove Jørgensen, as an amateur. In fact he called her 'the American dilettante'. (Tilskueren 1906, 513) Following her performances in Copenhagen, Ove Jørgensen concluded a long article called 'Duncan contra Bournonville' by stating, that the aesthetics of Bournonville and the Danish ballet was far superior to that of Duncan. Not only did he dismiss her skills as a dancer, he also disagreed with her entire artistic approach, and refused to believe that she could convince any member of a Danish dance audience that her dance would shape a new direction in the art form of dance. Point by point Jørgensen refuted Duncan's criticism of the ballet. Rather than showing towards the art of a dance of the future, he claimed Duncan's approach was an impoverishment of the art form. While he was not blind to the fact that her aesthetics complied with a contemporary trend in modern (German) philosophy and the visual arts (the Pre-Raphaelites), it was not a trend that he himself subscribed to. By his aesthetic concepts it was pseudo art that had very little to do with Antiquity.

Jørgensen's articles from the early decades of the 20th century reveal an awareness of the necessity to re-invigorate Danish ballet through a process, which he is convinced, must come from within the ensemble rather than

from the outside. In 1905 and 1906 he is still optimistic that it will happen and his belief in the potential of Hans Beck is enormous. Not only does he consider Beck an excellent ballet master, but also a superb dancer. If the audience is in want of Dionysian dance, Jørgensen recommends, that they see Beck in Bournonville's repertory. In comparison with Bournonville, who moulds the dancer's plasticity to show the social status, nationality and personal characteristics of the role, he finds Duncan's dance anaemic, one-dimensional and lacking dramatic contrast. Jørgensen talks in this context about the 'mimoplastic' expression of the ballet as a fusion of mime and plastic expression, which enables representation of a certain time and a certain style. (Tilskueren 1905)

Although Jørgensen sees himself as an advocate of ballet classicism, there are when it comes to his understanding of the role of plasticity, certain 'naturalistic' and in this sense 'modern' undertones in his aesthetic view. In this sense he articulates one of two positions in a generic divide separating neo-classical ballet from modern dance, which becomes more outspoken in the international discourse on dance later in the century. In Denmark, however, the 'other' position, understood as the voice advocating a departure from ballet in favour of a dance aesthetic, that ignores the vocabulary of the *danse d'école*, was too weak to be heard.

Narrating Dance Modernism

By way of conclusion I wish to point out that the aesthetics of Danish ballet in the 1800's survived the turn of the century as a result of a forces operating inside as well as outside The Royal Danish Ballet. The process of consolidating a Danish ballet forged a 'Bournonvillean aesthetic' into a national standard for theatrical dance per se, which retained a privileged position in the Danish discourse into the late 1900's.

In the master narrative of modern dance, the 'birth' of modern dance is described as a break with 19th century ballet in the early 1900s, followed by a progressive development with self-reflexivity as the driving force towards an increasingly absolute dance (see f.ex. Manning 1993). In the discussion offered here it is suggested that, although there was a crisis in Danish ballet around year 1900, there was no radical break with the ballet aesthetics of the previous century. In this sense it may be concluded that the master narrative of modern dance does not apply to Danish dance history.

In the Danish context, the 'otherness' of the performances by the visiting artists discussed in this paper was dismissed not as offering something new in aesthetic terms, but rather as lacking in finesse and expressive qualities. The concepts of plasticity and plastic movements, which came to play a central role in the reception of the visiting dance artists in the early 1900's, had been in operation as aesthetic elements of the national ballet long

before the performances of Dalcroze, Genée and Duncan.

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A Legacy of German Traditions in Modern Dance at the University of Utah: Hanya Holm and Alwin Nikolais

Donna M. White

"Every age has had its dance, and the fact that dance has lived is evidence of its value.... Like the history of all the arts, the history of dance follows those changes in attitude and feeling and those fluctuations in man's concept of art which have given to every period its distinctive qualities."¹

This paper relates some important formative history of the Department of Modern Dance at the University of Utah to two historical choreographic reconstructions that were recently done in the Department. In 2000, Hanya Holm's 1976 work, *Homage to Mahler* was reconstructed by Claudia Gitelman. Kay Dunkley, Labanotator and former Holm dancer, was brought in to complete the notation score for the Dance Notation Bureau in New York. Phase two of the project, the reconstruction of Alwin Nikolais' *Mechanical Organ* from 1982, was done by former Nikolais Company member, Alberto Del Saz in 2001. The choice to undertake these particular reconstructions was not made randomly. It was the specific history of the Department itself that inspired the choices. I was curious to know what distinctive qualities from the past could be revitalized and brought back to life for current students.

My research consisted of a compilation of observational, investigative, and experiential components. Two main goals came to light: 1) To trace some of the early history of the Department, specifically related to its main founders who had been most directly influenced by Holm and Nikolais, Elizabeth Hayes and Joan Woodbury; and 2) To link specific artists' work to that history through the reconstruction of their dances. By undertaking these projects, it was hoped that the past would be illuminated, and a core part of the Departmental legacy would be preserved for a new generation of students.

Change is inevitable. It is essential. But knowledge of the past is equally valuable and the passing on of rituals of experiences from the past is a responsibility of the elders in any society. "It is the past that makes the present, and what goes before is the key to what comes after."²

Dr. Elizabeth Roths Hayes began teaching dance at the University of Utah in 1941 where she stayed until her retirement in 1988. She became the Director of the new dance major program in 1966. Hayes was a graduate of

the University of Wisconsin where she studied with Margaret H'Doubler, along with Louise Kloepper and Elna Mygdal. Hayes also traveled to Germany in to study briefly with Wigman in 1937. Then she studied intensively with Holm on numerous occasions first as a student at Bennington College during the summers of 1938 and 1939, in New York in 1940, and at Colorado College in 1941. According to Hayes, Holm had been instrumental in her structuring of the curriculum at the University of Utah. "Yes, absolutely, I tried to bring those values into the curriculum here at the University of Utah."³

Joan Woodbury was hired at the University of Utah by Hayes in 1950. Also a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, where she had also been a student of Louise Kloepper's. Woodbury said, it was Kloepper who first intrigued her with the philosophy of the German school and influenced her to travel to Colorado College in 1949 to attend Holm's summer school. It was there, in 1949, that she met Alwin Nikolais and Murray Louis. Since that time, Woodbury remained a lifelong friend of Nik's and Murray's (as they are affectionately called). Subsequently, after working at the University of Utah for five years, she traveled to Berlin to study with Mary Wigman as a Fulbright Scholar. The year was 1955.

Nik and Murray were mentors of Woodbury's and encouraged her, along with her colleague, Shirley Ririe, to form their own Company in 1964. The Rire-Woodbury Dance Company is still in existence and is currently working with Louis and Del Saz to prepare a Nikolais retrospective concert that will be performed at the Joyce Theatre in New York in October, 2003. Woodbury stated that it was primarily Nikolais' philosophy that inspired her pedagogy and her own artistry.

Alwin Nikolais (Nik) 1910-1993, was a prominent student of Holm's in the mid-to-late 1940s. He was her assistant at Colorado College during several summers and continued his relationship with her even after he had his own well-established Company. Nik holds a place in history as one of the great geniuses of the 20th century for his innovations in dance choreography, multi-media, electronic music composition, and "total theatre."

Numerous other faculty members in the department, over the years, also had notable, influential contact with Holm and Nikolais. This presentation will not address those contacts but it is undoubtedly true that the German influence on the formation of the Department of

White

Modern Dance at the University of Utah was profoundly affected particularly by Holm and Nikolais through Hayes and Woodbury.

It was striking to realize that just a few years ago these, now historical, values of the German school, had been at the core of the identity and educational philosophy of the Department. It was Holm and Nikolais that had provided Hayes and Woodbury the basis for the design of the curriculum, the core techniques, and philosophical values upon which the Department was built.

Current students and new faculty members were unaware of this. Therefore, by undertaking these reconstruction projects, an immersion in an historically relevant, yet currently unfamiliar lineage including its dances, techniques, and philosophies was initiated. Susan Foster, in her essay, *Dancing Bodies* states:

“Training not only constructs a body but also helps to fashion an expressive self that, in its relation with the body, performs the dance.”⁴

According to Foster, the notion of revisiting historical movement, immersion in technical training and philosophy, and the embodiment of ideas and images could link the past to the present as today’s dancers *re-membered* choreography from another time. By *re-member*, I mean to bring back to wholeness, in every sense, a dance work from the past.

Homage to Mahler (1976) required the dancers to express a monumental, yet simple, direct performance quality. The performance of the work called for a restrained presentation of highly emotionally charged subject matter. Depth and maturity were requisite. A formal, defined, and specific use of weight in such actions as simple as walking, running, pausing, kneeling or sitting was radically different than the casual, weight sensing required by the release-based and contact improvisation techniques studied by students today. The dancers in Holm’s work had to glide seamlessly, contacting the floor with the balls of their feet vs. their heels. Their hands had to be sensitive as they moved through the space as if touching a child’s face or holding a child’s hand. Breath was key and yet it couldn’t be dramatic or overtly expressive. Faces couldn’t show emotion.

Hayes supported these stylistic values as she discussed her classes with Holm, “There couldn’t be any facial expression! This was typical of the period though. Modern dancers were getting away from the sentimental romanticism that had preceded them.”⁵ She elaborates, “Walking with delicacy and detail was very characteristic of Hanya, as was sensitivity to the use of the hands.”⁶

The Holm piece is poetic and the subject matter emotional yet the dancers could not “show” emotion or sentimentality in any sense. Any slight tilt of the head or sense of yearning, layered onto a reach or a fall was com-

pletely unacceptable. The archetypal relationships between husband, wife, children, mother, and father had to transcend their obvious characteristics and reveal more universal representations of humanity. These were not easy performance demands for young students living in a postmodern world of dance fusions and idiosyncratic vernacular forms. This work required them to transcend themselves and the qualities of the age in which they live and enter, on a fully psycho-physical level, another worldview.

These processes were transformational for the dancers. One morning in the studio, after a technique class with Claudia Gitelman in the style of Hanya Holm, one student said, “I was there - in a different time and place.”⁷ The class atmosphere was different than usual. Ms. Gitelman set a tone of specific expectation as she contextualized what she was teaching in relation to Holm’s philosophy and aesthetic. Rarely are students, in their “normal” technique classes, asked to contextualize why or how they are doing movement.

According to Gitelman in *Dancing With Principle*, “Holm often said, “I don’t teach technique, I teach dance.”⁸ Gitelman goes on to state that, “Her [Holm’s] recipe of basic, demanding movement classes, large doses of philosophy, and opportunities for students to find their own solutions to problems she set gave many young artists the resources to discover themselves.”⁹

In support of that statement, Woodbury’s influence on me, as a student and as a member of her company was immense. In her honor and to honor the legacy of Alwin Nikolais at the University of Utah, I gained permission, from the Nikolais/Louis Foundation, to have *Mechanical Organ* (1982) reconstructed by Alberto Del Saz. *Mechanical Organ* is one of Nik’s most kinetic dances. In the thirty minutes of dancing for ten dancers, there are two large group sections, two duets, a solo, and an all male quintet. The dance begins with 5 sets of couples on benches and develops into an energetic “mechanized” toy-like section. According to Del Saz, Nik was inspired by Disneyland’s small mechanized figures.¹⁰

In sections one and six, lighthearted, spirited, upbeat, and sassy movements accompanied in places by exaggerated opened mouths and punctuated by unexpected phrasing, created a highly unique movement vocabulary that characterizes this marvelous work.

Again, in this choreography the dancers were challenged beyond what they were used to. They had to confront differences that were, in some instances, uncomfortable for them. For instance, there is a high degree of specificity in the choreography. There are long balances on one leg—the same leg—faces have to be overtly expressive with exaggerated opened mouths and silent talking, also, there is a choreographic demand for extreme quickness, attack, and arrival.

Nikolais held universality and abstraction at the core

of his philosophy. According to Woodbury, it was Nikolais who was instrumental in taking movement abstraction to a new level in contemporary art and life. What do these philosophies and techniques mean for dancers of the present and the future? According to Woodbury,

“This philosophy is timeless. It is the concept of how to place yourself inside your work. It demands the commitment of being present, of sensing value.”¹¹

These are performance and choreographic techniques that transcend historic styles. They are however products of past artists and it is this legacy, these values that offer limitless wealth to current dancers and educators.

Nikolais always demanded that performers be clear and direct in their intent and Del Saz made the same demands. But it was the specificity, the clear, clean arrival points, the immediacy, that the students initially struggled with the most in Nikolais’ technique as well as in his dance. *Mechanical Organ* also contains a strong element of movement wit – a kinetic in-joke, if you will – that took some work and getting used to. Like learning a new language, it began to make sense eventually and the dancers did rise to the occasion in the end.

The postmodern body/mind and all that it values seemed somewhat ill suited for these works. Piercings and tattoos seemed out of place as the dancers donned their jersey skirts, and pants for the Holm work. One of the dancers had recently pierced his lower lip. When he was told that he could not wear his lip jewelry during the performance, he initially struggled with the mandate but acquiesced in the end. For me, and probably for him, this incident was a metaphor that revealed the clash of time periods and their values. Another dancer in the Nikolais work wanted to wear his hair in a contemporary, “spiky” style. Although Nik might have appreciated this, I couldn’t allow it because it was so radically different than the hairstyles of 1982 when the work was choreographed.

“The dialectic between who one is, what one lives through, and how one makes sense of all that creates a particularly complex interweaving of identity, experience, and representation.”¹²

Though the dancers weren’t actually living through events from another age, they were, through these dances, confronting many sensibilities that were quite foreign to them. They struggled as they had to shed some of the aspects of who they currently were, to become “other” than they were, and possibly “more” than they otherwise might have been. This becoming “other” and “more” was a profound part of the *re-membering* process. The dancers had to discover themselves anew in a different time.

The specific training demands, the choreography, and the reconstruction process facilitated new tastes, sensations, and perceptions about world views.

Prior to these reconstructions, many of the students in the Department had never seen a dance by Hanya Holm or Alwin Nikolais (or numerous other historical choreographers for that matter). Neither had they ever studied their techniques or been challenged by the full psychophysical demands made by them, as Foster describes, constructing a body and an expressive self.

Therefore, the actual choreographic reconstruction process was scheduled to involve more than learning the dances. By design, all cast members participated in daily technique classes – that is the Holm and Nikolais techniques, rehearsed daily with Gitelman or Del Saz, and finally attended discussions, lectures, and interviews with these guest artists. As principle investigator and rehearsal director, the coaching of both works after the guest artists departed, contributed greatly to my research as well.

As the dances were performed and the process ended, reflective questions lingered. What takes place in the process of a reconstruction that requires students to dig deeper into the learning process? How does the process transport them to another time, and in “feeling” the demands of that other time period, what is revealed about the value system of the past? “It is the qualities that belong specifically to the movement – its shape in the air, its weight, speed, attack – that speak to us secretly.”¹³

Based on my experiences with these reconstructions, I believe that the *secret* speaking is the experience of the movement itself. It is an experience that one can only truly know through the doing. That is the wonderfully unique yet sometimes alienating characteristic of dance, that secret layer, that a student or performer can only know in a participatory sense and one that often eludes observers. Therefore, the experience of moving history, and *re-membering* choreography creates a profound way of knowing our past and our present.

In closing, I am convinced that there is no better repository for historical dances than in the bodies of young dancers. These historical works and all they contained were repositied, placed away for safe keeping, in the bodies of the students. What was provided for all of us in this experience of transference was a multi-faceted learning experience that reinforced the power of the lived experience in dance history, performance, and education.

As well, I want to advocate for paying homage to our predecessors. It is important for us all to recognize where we have come from and to instill in our students the desire to taste, experience, and move their dance histories. I speak for dance reconstruction as one of the best ways to illuminate and transfer historical knowledge to young dancers but also to allow them to become more than they might have been without going back. The gifts of the reconstruction process are immense and cannot be gained

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through any other means. The *secret* of the experience is revealed only to those who go there.

Endnotes

1. Margaret H'Doubler, Dance a Creative Art Experience (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1940), 3.
2. James Harvey Robinson, The Ordeal of Civilization (New York: Harper Brothers, 1926), 3
3. Personal interview with Elizabeth Hayes, August 24, 2001
4. Susan Foster, "Dancing Bodies," in Meaning in Motion, J.C. Desmond editor, (Duke University, 1977), 241
5. Personal interview with Elizabeth Hayes, August 24, 2001
6. Ibid.
7. Personal communication, classroom student University of Utah, Salt Lake City 2000.
8. Claudia Gitelman, Dancing with Principle, (University Press of Colorado, 2001), 79.
9. Ibid.
10. Personal communication, Alberto Del Saz, rehearsal Salt Lake City, 2001.
11. Personal interview with Joan Woodbury, June 15, 2003
12. Ann Cooper Albright, Choreographing Difference, (Wesleyan, 1997), 10
13. Joan Acocella quoted in Deborah Jowitt, "Beyond Description: Writing beneath the Surface" in Moving History/Dancing Cultures, Ann Dils & Ann Cooper Albright, editors, (Wesleyan University Press, 2001), 7