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Society of Dance History Scholars
SDHS
Advancing the Field of Dance Studies

PROCEEDINGS

Looking Back Moving Forward

31st Annual Conference, 2008

June 12-15,
Skidmore College
Saratoga Springs, NY

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Thirty-First Annual Conference
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SOCIETY OF DANCE HISTORY SCHOLARS
CONFERENCE PAPERS

LOOKING BACK/MOVING FORWARD
June 12-15
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Compiled by Suzanne M. Jaeger and Ashanti Pretlow

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Other than the two plenary sessions, the following papers and roundtable presentations are arranged according to the order of the conference program.

Looking Back

Susan Manning

My topic today is "Looking Back," and I would like to take this opportunity to trace the development of dance studies in the U.S. from the years between the two world wars until the present. Two qualifications up front: first the term "dance studies," which as noted in my president's column in spring 2006, had emerged in common usage in the U.S. over the last decade as boundaries between dance history, dance ethnography, dance criticism, and dance-making became less distinct than they were earlier. As Janet Lansdale, co-founder of the Department of Dance Studies at the University of Surrey in 1981, pointed out in a subsequent issue of the newsletter, "dance studies" was introduced into common usage much earlier in Britain than in the U.S.

Janet's correction brings me to my second qualification: my limited focus on the U.S., with occasional reference to developments in Anglophone Canada. This keynote attempts to summarize a roughly eighty-year history of dance studies in the U.S. I do so with full awareness that colleagues from other nations could tell very different stories and, indeed, with gratitude that at this conference Anadel Lynton will overview 25 years of dance research at the Cenidi-Danza in Mexico City, while Simone Willeit and Gerald Siegmund independently will discuss developments in German dance research. Nor is my viewpoint on dance studies in the U.S. the last word: this morning we already heard from a number of founders of SDHS, and tomorrow Nancy Ruyter will discuss the "related and separate histories of CORD and SDHS," while a panel of younger scholars will assess the field "Moving Forward."

Back now to my task within this larger conversation over the next few days. My overview intends to explore where we have been in order to ask where we might go—somewhat in the spirit of Paul Gauguin's well-known painting from his sojourn to Tahiti, *Where Do We Come From? What Are We? Where Are We Going?* To anticipate my argument: The period from the 1920s and 1930s through the 1970s created an informal network for dance studies in the U.S. both within and without the academy. During these decades dance intellectuals based in New York City collaborated with faculty based in college and university dance departments across the country to establish a canon of Western theatre dance and a double focus on what Marta Savigliano recently described as dance as a noun and dancing as a participle or, differently stated, dance as art and dancing as culture.[1]

In part prompted by new initiatives funded after 1965 by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), the 1970s consolidated the informal network that had developed over preceding decades, in effect creating a discipline. By "discipline" I mean not only the institutional apparatus of peer-reviewed journals, annual conferences for intellectual exchange, and prizes for scholarly excellence but also the intellectual resources of shared knowledge, collective conversation, and ongoing debate. In other words, beginning in the late 1970s, dance scholars in the U.S. could assume an audience for whom they did not need to gloss names and terms such as *bharata natyam*, Jean-Georges Noverre, or John Martin. They could aspire to win the de la Torre Bueno Prize, then administered by the Dance Perspectives Foundation, regularly present their research at CORD and SDHS, publish their findings in *Dance Research Journal* and *Dance Chronicle*. It was this infrastructure that enabled the next generation of scholars—my own generation, in fact—to pursue careers within the U.S. academy, taking advantage of tenure, promotion, and research support in ways that had not been possible for an earlier generation, with some notable exceptions. (Many of these notables spoke earlier today, and they shared vivid memories of figuring out what a syllabus in "dance history" might comprise even as they were teaching the course.)

The 1970s also set in motion artistic and intellectual changes that can be described in shorthand as postmodernism and poststructuralism. Combined with the recently established disciplinary apparatus for the field, these isms inaugurated a new phase, as younger scholars challenged the canon constructed by our predecessors, engaged theoretical cross-currents in the humanities and social sciences, and created the next layer of institutional apparatus—Ph.D.-granting programs in dance studies that, from one perspective,

supplanted earlier doctoral programs in dance education. As a field we're still working out the implications—both intellectual and institutional—of developments set in motion during the 1970s.

Yet, at the same time, we also seem to stand at a moment of transition to a next phase. Not that postmodernism in the arts and poststructuralism in the humanities are exhausted, but they are now well-established, and in many fields the earlier waves that created so much generational conflict have passed and become integrated into ongoing inquiries. What's next? At recent conferences hosted by the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS), three new trends point the way toward the future: first, the "public humanities"—research and teaching that sees publics beyond the academy as potential audiences. Second, the "digitized humanities"—research and teaching that takes full advantage of digital technology, including in the individual artist's or scholar's portfolio for tenure and promotion. And third, the "globalized humanities"—research and teaching that crosses over, indeed questions, the stable boundaries of nation-states. How might dance studies take advantage of these emergent trends in the humanities? That's one of my larger questions today, but before projecting into the future, let me first trace how dance studies has evolved in the U.S. to this point.

Practice First: Dance Studies and the Dance Department

Dance first entered the U.S. academy in the years between the two world wars as modern dancers looked to colleges and universities as supportive venues for their emergent art. The dance program at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, founded in 1926, and the School for the Dance at Bennington College, founded in 1934, innovated two models that, in varied combinations, have structured dance departments well into the present. At Madison the progressive education theories of John Dewey came together with new research in physical education to espouse dance as a means for students to explore and integrate their physical, emotional, creative, and intellectual selves. At Bennington artists at the forefront of the emergent genre of modern dance—Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, Hanya Holm, among others—taught their techniques to students, cast students in their own choreography, and even recruited students into their companies. These two models—dance as an integral component of a well-rounded life and dance as a genre of contemporary artist expression—at times conflicted. Yet together they generated a productive dynamic that established the dance department as an integral part of the patronage system for American modern dance in the postwar period. The dance department served as training ground for young dancers, as employment for artist-educators, and as a site for audience-building across generations. Indeed, were it not for the patronage of the dance department, modern dance might not have survived long enough to transmute into postmodern dance during the last two decades of the twentieth century.

Focused on practice as its core mission, the dance department considered historical and cultural studies a secondary field that supported the training of the aspiring artist and literate spectator. In fact, historical and cultural studies typically divided between two required courses: one that traced the history of Western theatre dance from Renaissance and Baroque court entertainments to the ballet reforms and modern dance innovations of the twentieth century, and the other that looked at diverse dance forms across cultural boundaries and outside the Western canon. In other words, what Marta Savigliano recently characterized as the duality of dance as art/dancing as culture has marked the college dance curriculum from the start.

From one perspective, this duality reflected the complementarity between the Wisconsin model, dancing as part of an integrated life and culture, and the Bennington model, modern dance as an art form.[2] Yet, however understood, this duality remained subordinate to technique and composition as the primacy curricular focus. Departmental resources went to production—offering master classes and residencies by guest artists, presenting touring companies on campus, supporting faculty and student choreography—not to academic studies of dance in its myriad cultural and historical contexts.

Outside the Academy: Dance Intellectuals in New York City

In mid-century New York City, resources for dance studies developed alongside distinctly American forms of theatre dance, providing a useable past for professional dancers and dance-makers. The Dance Notation Bureau was founded in 1940. In 1944 the New York Public Library started a Dance Collection, which took its place alongside the Music Collection

(founded in 1888) and the Theatre Collection (founded in 1931). And in 1945 Katherine Dunham opened her School, which provided training in "cultural studies" for artist-scholars who wanted to follow her example, pursue ethnographic fieldwork, translate ethnographic sources into stage compositions, and publish the results.[3]

Crucial to this infrastructure in New York City were critics who possessed a broad knowledge of the field and, equally importantly, audiences eager to read what they had to say. Beginning with Lincoln Kirstein's *Dance: A Short History of Classic Theatrical Dancing* (1935) and John Martin's *Introduction to the Dance* (1939), leading dance critics regularly published histories addressed to generalists as well as specialists. Walter Terry, Jack Anderson, Don McDonagh, Marcia Siegel, Deborah Jowitt, and Nancy Reynolds all followed Kirstein's and Martin's lead in publishing general surveys of dance history, while also contributing biographies of leading artists. Selma Jeanne Cohen, David Vaughan, Joan Acocella, Jennifer Dunning, and Gay Morris also penned both scholarship and criticism.[4] Kirstein and his circle published *Dance Index* from 1942 to 1948, a monograph series that focused on the history of ballet and on the history of American dance in diverse genres. *Dance Perspectives*, edited by Selma Jeanne Cohen from 1959 to 1976, continued the monograph format and considerably widened the range of topics, from Kabuki and belly dance to court ballet and cine-dance.

While *Dance Index* and *Dance Perspectives* suggested a plethora of cultural and historical topics for dance studies, the surveys and biographies written by critic-scholars focused attention on influential choreographers. As scripted by dance intellectuals based in New York City, dance studies came to encompass a canon of dance-makers amid an array of dance forms understood in relation to culturally-specific collectives. As was the case for the U.S. dance department, the dance world in New York City divided historical from cultural approaches and prioritized the history of Western theatre dance. In fact, dance department faculty regularly invited dance intellectuals based in New York City to lecture on campus and assigned their writings in courses on dance history and criticism. (My introduction to dance studies, for example, took place at a New England boarding school in the early 1970s, when the dance instructor invited Deborah Jowitt and Selma Jeanne Cohen to lecture on campus and assigned Don McDonagh's *The Rise and Fall and Rise of Modern Dance* as the primary textbook for dance history.)

Perhaps not surprisingly, Katherine Dunham's school folded a dozen years after its founding, for its curriculum did not support the formation of a dance canon but rather focused on the migration of peoples and practices across national borders. Thus, in retrospect, the curriculum at that Dunham School anticipated the present-day concern with globalization and in this sense appears an emergent formation—to use terminology from Raymond Williams. Yet, from the perspective of its own time, the years from 1945 to 1957 that also witnessed the Red Scare, the curriculum at the Dunham School seemed a residual formation, for its interracial staff and student body recalled the commitments of the cultural left over the preceding decade.

Paralleling the historiography scripted by dance intellectuals, dance revivals and reconstructions in the metropole supported a mapping of the field in terms of influential dance-makers. In 1967 the Joffrey Ballet presented Kurt Jooss's *The Green Table*, the first of many revivals and reconstructions of early twentieth-century ballet, perhaps none more significant than Millicent Hodson's recreation of Vaslav Nijinksy's 1913 *Le Sacre du Printemps*. Beginning in the 1970s, as the forward momentum of modern dance transmuted into postmodern dance, the founders of modern dance assumed a new importance. The Dance Collection (later renamed the Jerome Robbins Dance Division) initiated an oral history project with members of the founding generations. Revivals of works by Loie Fuller, Isadora Duncan, Denishawn, Michio Ito, Mary Wigman, and Oskar Schlemmer were staged. As the decades passed, and the vanguard became the rear guard, further revivals and reconstructions were staged—the works of Alvin Nikolais, early Graham and Cunningham, "lost ballets" by George Balanchine, leftist dance from the 1930s, seminal works by black choreographers at mid-century, even Judson Dance Theatre.

As dance studies developed from the 1940s through the 1970s, women predominated as leaders and institution-builders, taking over from the male intellectuals who had authored the first serious publications in the field. Anne Hutchinson, Genevieve Oswald, Selma Jeanne Cohen, Gertrude Kurath, and Joann Keali'inohomoku, among others, led the postwar development of the field, which became populated largely by women. This shift from male to female participation and leadership echoed earlier

changes in dance practice, and also differentiated dance studies from other fields during the years before second-wave feminism altered the landscape of the arts and humanities.

Consolidation and Change: The 1970s and Beyond

The decade of the 1970s witnessed the transformation of dance studies into a discipline with the institutional and intellectual apparatus of peer-reviewed journals, recognition for scholarly distinction, annual conferences, graduate programs, and the like. As the discipline developed over the next three decades, some elements of the earlier network consolidated while others underwent critique and change. However, it must be emphasized that this shift from what I'm calling an "informal network" to what I'm calling a "discipline" did not happen evenly or all at once. Again I call on Raymond Williams to underscore that earlier social, intellectual and artistic formations overlap with succeeding formations and that the process of change is jagged, messy, and uneven. But as historians, we do engage in the conceptual mapping called periodization, and that is precisely what I'm doing with the history of the field.

The infrastructure for dance studies began to change after the establishment of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) in 1965. As NEA touring funds seeded the "dance boom" of the 1970s, NEH and NEA monies underwrote new initiatives in dance research and writing that transformed the field. This is particularly noteworthy in the U.S., where state patronage typically has played a far less influential role in the arts and humanities than in Canada, Great Britain, continental Europe, Latin America, and Asia. In fact, I would argue, NEA and NEH-funded projects were indirectly responsible for creating the voluntary associations—CORD, DCA, SDHS—that expanded the field over the last 30-plus years.

In 1970 Selma Jeanne Cohen received an NEA grant to found the Dance Critics Conference at the American Dance Festival (ADF), and a few years later passed leadership of the conference to Deborah Jowitt. For nearly 25 years, dance critics from around the country gathered at ADF every summer to watch dance and to hone their own abilities to translate the moving body into dynamic prose. Until the final year of NEA funding in 1994, the Dance Critics Conference disseminated an ethic of descriptive criticism that Edwin Denby had pioneered during the years of World War II in response to the emergent aesthetic of George Balanchine and Merce Cunningham. Following Denby's lead, Deborah Jowitt, Marcia Siegel, among others, masterfully practiced descriptive criticism during the heyday of formalism in U.S. dance and instructed the many participants in the Dance Critics Conference in its precepts. It was this network of students that provided the critical mass and momentum that led to the founding of the Dance Critics Association (DCA) in 1974.

In interviews with Katja Kolcio published in *Branching Out*, both Deborah Jowitt and Marcia Siegel noted the connection with the NEA—both in the general sense of funding the heightened dance activity of the 1970s and in the specific sense of funding the Dance Critics Workshop. Hence the connection between NEA funding and the founding of the DCA seems quite direct. In contrast, the connection between CORD and SDHS and state patronage is far more indirect.

As noted by Bonnie Bird in her opening address at the first CORD conference held in 1967, the initial impetus for the formation of the group came from a meeting between dance educators and program officers in the Arts and Humanities from the U.S. Office of Education. The mandate of the Office of Education, noted program officer Harlan Hoffa at the 1967 meeting, was to support research in arts education, not—in his words—"substantive research in dance history, in the development of new painting media, or in the development of a new ballet shoe."[5] At that first conference sponsored by CORD, titled "Research in Dance: Problems and Possibilities," topics ranged broadly beyond Harlan's brief for "the methodology of behavioral research" and encompassed sessions devoted to "historical research," "movement research," and what we would now call "dance ethnography" and "practice as research." Yet however much the conception of CORD quickly broadened beyond arts education, the initial organizational meetings in 1964 and 1965 arose from an interaction between dance educators and program officers for the U.S. government.

The impact of state patronage on the formation of SDHS is even more indirect, for the influence derives from three NEH-funded summer seminars on advanced dance history led by Selma Jeanne Cohen at the University of Chicago. In 1974, 1975, and 1976, fifteen or so students gathered each summer to study a different topic in depth: Romantic Ballet, Ballet in

Russia, and American Dance Before 1900. One of the students during the final summer was Connie Kreemer, who then worked with Selma Jeanne and others to organize the early gatherings of SDHS at Trinity College in 1978 and at Barnard College in 1979 and 1980. Many students from those seminars later became stalwart participants in SDHS, along with other associates of Selma Jeanne Cohen, whose apartment in Greenwich Village served in those years as a salon for dance intellectuals in the city.

One final connection between the development of dance studies as a discipline and state patronage: the NEH funded the early planning studies that led to the production of the *International Encyclopedia of Dance* under the editorship of Selma Jeanne Cohen and her associates George Dorris, Nancy Goldner, Beate Gordon, Nancy Reynolds, David Vaughan, and Suzanne Youngerman. And it was George Dorris, along with Jack Anderson, who founded *Dance Chronicle* in 1977. The inaugural issue stated:

> In planning *Dance Chronicle: Studies in Dance and the Related Arts*, we were aware of the dance world's need for the kind of learned journal which music, literature, art, and theatre have long taken for granted, a need which first *Dance Index* and then *Dance Perspectives* used to fill. *Dance Chronicle* hopes to bring together the serious dance audience and the serious dance writer.[6]

By the way, *Dance Chronicle* celebrated its 30th anniversary last year and marked the milestone by passing the editorship from George Dorris and Jack Anderson to Lynne Brooks and Joellen Meglin.

For those of you who are not resident in the U.S., my focus on the indirect impact of government funding on dance studies may strike you as odd. Especially if one compares the U.S. situation with such initiatives as the Centre national de la danse in Paris, which receives 85% of its funding from the Cultural Ministry. But I'm interested in the impact of these NEA and NEH grants on dance studies in the 1970s precisely because state patronage is so rare in the U.S. And I certainly acknowledge that more consequential to the development of dance studies from the 1970s forward are the influences of postmodernism in the arts and poststructuralism in the humanities. In fact, I would argue, while NEA and NEH-funded initiatives in the 1970s consolidated developments over the preceding decades, postmodernism and poststructuralism led to critique and change.

As modern dance gave way to postmodern dance in the 1980s, college and university dance programs became more open to critical theory, following the lead of choreographers who no longer considered the intellectual elaboration of their concerns as taboo as had their mid-century predecessors. Many departments now hire junior faculty with doctorates to teach historical and cultural studies, rather than rely on senior faculty without specialized training in the field, as once was the norm.

Over the last few decades many dance departments have actively sought to reform the mid-century curriculum—offering jazz dance, non-Western forms, and social dance styles; experimenting with courses that combine practice and theory; and allowing majors to concentrate on "studies" rather than on technique and composition. (In this reform effort Susan Foster, artist-scholar extraordinaire, played a key role, for she first transformed the department at Wesleyan University before doing the same at the University of California-Riverside, where she founded the Ph.D. in Dance History and Theory in 1991.) Yet, despite the evident shift in orientation, contemporary dance practice continues to determine the curriculum of the U.S. dance department, with the values of postmodern dance having replaced the values of modern dance in many leading departments. From one perspective, this makes for a profound integration of theory and practice, as artists, scholars, and artist-scholars together reflect on the social construction of the body and the splintering of identity in post-industrialized society. From another perspective, scholarship remains subordinate to production, as embodiment takes on ultimate value as a form of resistance within a highly mediatized world.

Training of dance faculty has changed accordingly. Success as a dance artist—whatever one's academic degree—still carries weight in the university setting, although more and more professional dancers also have earned MFAs—sometimes before, sometimes during, sometimes after their years of most active performing. At the doctoral level, research has shifted paradigms, from the protocols of Schools of Education that awarded doctorates in dance from the 1940s through the 1960s (around 70 total are recorded, from Columbia Teachers College, Stanford, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Texas Women's University, among other institutions[7]) to changing methods and theories within the humanities. After the 1970s

poststructuralism replaced New Criticism as a dominant paradigm, a shift evident in doctoral programs at the Department of Performance Studies at New York University, Temple University, the University of California-Riverside, Northwestern University, University of Texas-Austin, the University of California-Los Angeles, the University of California-Berkeley—listed roughly in the order in which their students exerted influence on the field. Note that four of these programs—New York University, Northwestern, Austin, and Berkeley—integrate dance studies with theatre and performance studies. And just within the last year Ohio State University has started a new Ph.D. program that builds on its MFA and its strengths in notation and documentation, and York University outside Toronto has established a Ph.D. program to complement its long-standing MA in dance studies.

The 1980s also saw the beginning of scholarly interest in the body cut across diverse disciplines of the humanities, and this enabled graduate students to pursue dance research in a variety of departments and disciplines, from anthropology and musicology to art history and philosophy. Complementing the new view of the body as a social construction was the concept of performativity, which I define as the scriptedness of everyday life. Both preoccupations reflected currents within poststructural thinking and combined with scrutiny of gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, class and nation to open up new spaces for dance research. In addition, the shift from the canon-based disciplines of the New Critical academy to the methods-based disciplines of the poststructural academy aided those of us working in dance studies.

For example, in my own field of graduate training and subsequent employment—drama and theatre studies—I have seen a shift over the last thirty years from graduate coursework focused solely on the Western dramatic canon to coursework focused partly on the canon and partly on theoretical tools for rereading the canon to the current focus, at least at my own institution, on methods and theories applied to diverse case studies. It's this current focus that has allowed so many wonderful dance scholars to train at Northwestern, even though we have no graduate program in dance per se. And something similar has happened in other doctoral programs in theatre and performance studies. And, I suspect, in musicology and ethnomusicology and anthropology and in other disciplines and departments that I know only secondhand. In the U.S. academy today, dance scholars are tenured in departments of Music, Theatre, Performance Studies, Sociology, Anthropology, English, History, Art History, and modern languages as well as in Dance.

Dance studies didn't fit all that well in the New Critical academy, which is why canon-formation in the field largely happened through the writings of dance intellectuals based outside the university system. Dance studies has made more progress within the poststructural academy, although many of us feel that the field has never made the strides that it could, given all the body talk across disciplines. In any case, we now can pose the question of whether dance studies presents methodological challenges that are different in degree or in kind from other inquiries within the humanities and qualitative social sciences. Does the discipline of dance studies present methodological challenges distinctly different from the issues faced by musicologists, ethnomusicologists, anthropologists, theatre and drama scholars? Or does dance studies exemplify, perhaps intensify, the methodological challenges of all inquiries focused on bodily practices—whether the inquiry focuses on social activism, medicine, or dance?

This historical overview comes to an end with the present moment in the U.S. Where are we now? Let me attempt a balanced assessment. On the positive side, we have a substantial infrastructure for dance research, including the consortium of dance libraries and archives that make up the Dance Heritage Coalition. Dance departments are increasingly open to research faculty, with job ads that no longer specify simply "dance history/world dance" as one of many teaching areas but actually list specific research areas within historical and cultural studies. Disciplines across the humanities are increasingly open to dance research, with publications on the topic appearing in a broad range of venues. On the negative side, we have too high a proportion of research focused on twentieth-century theatre dance (my own included!). There are too many smaller organizations and no one venue where the full range of dance research may be showcased. English dominates as a scholarly language, so much valuable research in other languages does not circulate broadly enough. And the duality of dance as art/dancing as culture persists: Is this a defining parameter of the field, like the overlap of historical and theoretical approaches to literary studies? Or is it a binary that unnecessarily fragments the field? And, more importantly, where to next?

Dance Studies in the Twenty-First Century

Let me start with the duality of dance as art/dancing as culture. Thirty years ago "dance history" and "dance ethnography" constituted distinct subfields, but over the last decade or two, this distinction has broken down, as scholars have employed both archival and ethnographic methods. In retrospect, Avanthi Meduri's 1988 essay "Bharata Naytyam—What Are You?" (based on her NYU dissertation and now widely anthologized), Cynthia Novack's 1990 study *Sharing the Dance: Contact Improvisation and American Culture*, and Marta Savigliano's 1995 opus *Tango and the Political Economy of Passion* pointed the way toward exploring the interface of dance and dancing. Since the mid-1990s, much path-breaking research has combined insights from the archive *and* the field site, including this year's prize-winning essay by Priya Srinivasan ("The Bodies Beneath the Smoke or What's Behind the Cigarette Poster" in *Discourses in Dance* 4:1) and prize-winning book by Jacqueline Shea-Murphy, *The People Have Never Stopped Dancing.*

From my perspective, another productive move is cross-genre research that intercuts between dance forms that earlier were chronicled separately. Whereas some studies interrelate diverse dance genres (Linda Tomko's *Dancing Class* and Mark Franko's *The Work of Dance)*, others connect dance to theatre, literature, and visual art (Felicia McCarren's *Dancing Machines* and Penny Farfan's *Women, Modernism and Performance*). Yet other studies model a shift from "dance studies" to "studies of movement culture" (Susan Foster's *Choreography & Narrative* and David Gere's *How to Make Dances in an Epidemic*). I predict that over the next few decades scholarship will increasingly cross boundaries between social and theatrical dance, Western and nonWestern dance, popular and avant-garde dance. Indeed, we're only now understanding how and why and when these binaries emerged in the first place—an inquiry launched in Anthea Kraut's *Choreographing the Folk: The Dance Stagings of Zora Neale Hurston*.

As my iteration of book titles suggests, the issue is no longer the dearth of dance scholarship, which arguably was the case several decades ago, but the plethora of new scholarship across many disciplines and departments in the U.S. *and* abroad. This seems to me the greatest challenge of the moment: how do we create intellectual and institutional mechanisms for the expanded range of dance research, much of which does not take place under the auspices of the dance department but under the rubric of theatre and performance studies, musicology and ethnomusicology, anthropology and sociology, Asian Studies and Latin American and Caribbean Studies and on and on and on? And this is true not only of English-language scholarship but also of the range of dance research across languages and nation-states.

For example, I recently addressed a group of doctoral students in France working on dance-related topics: there are 80 in all, of whom only a dozen work in the three university-based dance departments in France—at Paris XIII, Nice, and Clermont-Ferrand. The other nearly 70 students writing dance dissertations in France are working in a range of fields from historical and literary studies to philosophy and political theory. How can we as English-language dance scholars find productive means of exchange with these young French scholars? Some connections were made last year when SDHS and CORD met together at the Centre national de la danse (CND) in Paris. I'm hoping that some of the French scholars, those who command English as a second language, might present their research at next year's SDHS conference at San Francisco/Stanford or the following year's conference in 2010 at the University of Surrey.

Yet attending conferences together is only part of what the "globalized humanities" requires. There's also a more awkward conversation about what different assumptions and worldviews, partially articulated, partially not, that scholars from different national contexts bring to their research, even to research on the same topics. Over dinner one night last year in Paris, for example, I began to have this conversation with a French colleague who remarked that apparently Merlau-Ponty was only recently translated into English because all of a sudden native English speakers were referencing his work! I told her that actually Merlau-Ponty has been available in English for quite some time, but that the new wave of interest was related to other intellectual currents around the term "embodiment." However, the conversation stopped there. My spoken French is essentially non-existent; she needed to vent about all the other American atrocities committed at the conference, most especially the demand that French citizens and residents pay twice to attend a conference at the CND—first to either SDHS or CORD and then to the state-funded CND! In other words, our intellectual conversation was cut short by linguistic differences and by the differences between the U.S-

model of a professional society as a voluntary association and the French model of a state-funded institution, whose international ambitions seemed at odds with local needs.

What can we learn from these sorts of encounters? How can we structure cross-national dance conferences so that we talk *with* one another, not just *at* one another? One model is the Working Group on Choreography and Corporeality that meets regularly at meetings of FIRT/International Federation by Theatre Research. Founded by Susan Foster and Lena Hammergren roughly a decade ago, this working group is currently convened by Tommy DeFrantz and Phillippa Rothfield, and the next meeting will happen later this summer in Seoul. (Look on the FIRT website for further information.) This Working Group is committed to reading and commenting on each other's work in draft form—*in English*. It's an amazing experience, from what I hear, but how can the conversation that goes on there be enlarged and accessible to more of us?

Another new initiative: the American Society for Theatre Research (ASTR), like SDHS and CORD and the American Society for Aesthetics, received a generous bequest after the passing of Selma Jeanne Cohen in 2005. ASTR has decided to devote part of Selma Jeanne's bequest to encouraging cross-over between dance studies and theatre studies. They have established a Biennial Sally Banes Publication Prize for writing that contributes to and cuts across dance and theatre studies, and a Selma Jeanne Conference Presentation Award for conference papers that do the same. Look at the ASTR website for more information.

It's time to draw to a close, and I haven't even mentioned the public humanities or the digitized humanities. Here let me say that dance studies seems in a fabulous position to take advantage of both developments in the humanities. Given the overlap between dance criticism and dance scholarship noted[4] earlier, much dance research does address an audience beyond the academy. And even those of us who prioritized addressing other scholars often had to deploy a relatively plain style in order to be understood across disciplines. A related point could be made about the digital humanities, for what field could gain more from digitized documentation of its primary subject matter? In fact, scholars already have begun taking advantage of this potential. I'm thinking here of the website that connects with Ann Cooper Albright's book on Loie Fuller and the dvd that accompanies a German anthology on Pina Bausch's *Rite of Spring* co-edited by Gabriele Brandstetter and Gabriele Klein. How might the standards of "fair use" advocated by the Dance Heritage Coalition assist dance studies in taking a lead in the digitized humanities? And digital technology in obvious ways supports the public humanities: here the project that comes to mind is David Gere's web-based project on AIDS activism around the globe.

Once again the challenge is finding ways to bring all these varied initiatives into conversation with one another. At tomorrow's membership meeting, SDHS president Janice Ross will report on ongoing conversations between the SDHS and CORD boards about how we can work together more productively. For my part, simply let me end by saying that "looking back" gives me much optimism for "moving forward."

Endnotes

1 Marta Savigliano, "Worlding Dance and Dancing Out There in the World," in *Worlding Dance*, ed. Susan Foster (London: Palgrave, 2008).

2 The productive tension between dance as art and dancing as culture also marked the German modern dance world of the 1920s. In that context, the opposition remained outside academia. Rather, followers of Rudolf Laban argued for the integration of dance into everyday life, thus countering the followers of Mary Wigman, who argued for the development of dance as an art in its own right. The arguments reached a highpoint at the 1930 Dancers Congress, as I point out in *Ecstasy and the Demon: The Dances of Mary Wigman* (2nd ed., Madison WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006).

3 VèVè Clark and Sara Johnson, eds., *KAISO! Writings by and about Katherine Dunham* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 472-78. Along with other arts schools in the immediate postwar years, the Katherine Dunham School of Arts and Research offered a "special rate for veterans taking [the] full course of studies." The impetus that the G.I. Bill provided to arts education in the U.S. is an overlooked dimension of this period.

This career trajectory from critic to scholar has continued into the present-day and has landed some critic-scholars in full-time academic positions. This path has been taken by, among others, Sally Banes, Lynn Garafola, Ann Daly, and Janice Ross.

5 Harlan Hoffa, "Government and the Arts," in *Research in Dance: Problems and Possibilities* (New York: Congress on Research in Dance, 1968), 138.

6 "Statement of Purpose," *Dance Chronicle* 1:1 (1977), 1.

7 Esther E. Pease, ed. *Compilation of Dance Research, 1901-1964* (Washington: American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, 1964).

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Introductory Remarks to Moving Forward Plenary at 2008 SDHS

Arriving at the Post–Bringing the Future into the Present

Randy Martin

It is surely a sign of the health and maturity of an organization when it is confident enough in its foundations and sufficiently generous in its influence, that it can feature the talent that emerges in its midst. Over the years I have had the opportunity to attend the meetings of many professional associations, and I cannot say that this is always the case. The study of dance has arrived at a place that merits our collective celebration–not as some facile gesture of self-congratulation, but as a moment of recognition of the ambitions we share in rigorous approaches to understanding and giving value to dance in its myriad manifestations. Susan Manning in her keynote address, "Looking Back" has given us a magnificently capacious mapping of the terrain we move upon. A rich history inhabits this landscape, a loam from which many species of dance inquiry receive nurture and bear fruit. Because of these vibrant traditions, we can also proclaim that we have arrived at the post–not in the sense that the past is left behind, no, we live our pasts most actively. Rather, the arrival of the post signals that the future too inhabits our present. As such, the figure of the post invokes a complication in the present more than a break with the past. It invites us to bear the weight of what has been left out of our field of view, what has to now eluded representation. The post would ask that we take stock anew of the diversity available to us.

Diversity in dance, like that of the United States itself, is widely recognized yet variously explained. Unlike Bali, India, or France, with their potent court traditions, the state has approached the arts with great trepidation in establishing its authority to rule. Where the best approximation of national culture is popular culture, the market imposes standards of worth that can beg the questions of cultural value. The result has been a persistent anxiety over how to evaluate the plethora of cultural forms extant in the United States (Bjelajac, 2001). Dance has proliferated but also met with scepticism by purveyors of taste and by those who would claim the mantle of national cultural authority, whether it has been associated with the concert stage or the street (Wagner, 1997). Dance, at the same time, displays many of the constitutive contradictions that forged the nation. The United States of America emerged historically as a patchwork of settler colonies where imperial powers jostled over which distant power claimed the right to populate the land in the name of freedom, a prolonged forced depopulation and displacement of indigenous peoples, imposed settlement by slaves, and a juridical-economic immigration complex that sorts inhabitants by citizenship status.

Freedom of movement, what so many dance idioms proclaim, allowed the multitudes to celebrate in the moment what history had frequently denied them. It was not simply the land but cultural practices as well that were appropriated to create a sense of home. Such would be considered the case for both modern dance and rock-and-roll. Martha Graham explains her uniquely self-generating technique as an adoption of "our two forms of indigenous dance," African and Native American as the "primitive sources" from which "we are forming a new culture" (Graham 1966, 99-100). Dance in this reckoning is both a medium of national cultural formation and a means of accomplishing the mixing by which that culture is made. Graham, who is conventionally taken to be the source of a distinctly American modern dance is disclosing the diversity internal to what conventionally passes as whiteness (Stodelle, 1984). This internal mixing–albeit one that begs the power relations of who gets to do the mixing and what gets to be mixed–points to a dynamic view of diversity as the relations of encounter and constitution of difference, rather than a view of stable, internally homogeneous cultural expressions that coexist passively within a national space. Hence, while it is true that standard accounts of modern dance largely omit modernist black dance that was contemporary with it, they also treat dance as monocultural and miss that ways in which it helps us grasp the internal diversity of racial formation

(Manning 2004; Gottschild 2003).

It would be possible to give an account of diversity in U.S. dance that robbed us of any critical understanding of what is at stake in diversity to begin with. Dance would simply provide another occasion to graft the forward moving time of formal innovation onto the advancing historical development known as progress (McDonagh, 1976; Jowitt, 1988). Graham's appropriation of indigenous dance would be equally as innovative and progressive as MTV's (Music Television) ease of taking over hip hop as its own dance idiom (Lewis 1990). Accordingly, postcolonialism would simply be the surpassing of earlier colonial limits when pristine primitive sources were no longer available, rather than a more profound rethinking of how culture comes to have value, and what can be made of the difference in our midst–both features of a more critical approach to diversity. In dance this would mean rethinking the very form of successionist narrative by which we are assured of continuous change without needing to interrogate what that change is for (Franko and Richards, 2000). Diversity is hereby reduced to a march of styles, an esthetic progression with scant means to reference how dance articulates with the social world beyond the stained mirror of pale reflection. So long as this state of affairs holds, dance will suffer an intellectual marginalization that denies a full appreciation of what it has to teach. Given the wealth of recent work devoted to recognizing diversity in dance, this would be an injustice indeed. Part of the problem lies in the way in which the evaluation of changes in dance's cultural form has been explained. The relation of modernism to postmodernism is most commonly treated as one of historical succession where postmodern dance comments and innovates on what had come before in a manner that would render it indistinguishable from the process of linear stylistic progression in modernism itself (Banes 1979). The route to the postmodern is a narrow passage indeed, with both alternative modernities and alternate postmodernisms omitted from consideration (Chatterjee, 2004).

If diversity is to be more than a passive array of difference whose ambition is no more than a pluralistic cultural relativism, its more potent formulation as generative and transformative difference, as emergent cultural value, and as deepened mutual association and indebtedness will be lost. This more critical view requires a rethinking of the relation between modernism and postmodernism as one of mutually displacing frameworks for recognizing and valuing creative work, where the centralizing dominance of the new is disrupted by a decentered field of difference. To do so would be to articulate postmodernism with a postcolonial perspective or what Robert J. C. Young as called tricontinentalism (Young, 2001). Diversity in this reckoning is not simply about including those voices or perspectives that were hitherto excluded. Rather, it entails embracing the idea that something like a globalized universality can only be found in reversing a singular path to development associated with convergence along the imperial metropolis with multi-valent and polycentric epistemologies, structures of feeling, social kinesthetics (Mignolo 2000, Spivak, 1999). Notably, Ngugi wa' Thiong'o (1986) had called for a decolonization of the mind. Needless to say, refusing a partition of the world between those entitled to speak and those who were merely repositories of the word or objects of an orientalist gaze, would allow for a proliferation of bodily agencies registered in a thicket of movements large and small.

A double decolonization of nature and of the unconscious is precisely what Fredric Jameson (1984) imagines when he links the emergence of postmodernism to the Algerian war against France of the late fifties. Modernism's gleeful forward march over endless and seamless temporal horizons gets disrupted by the exhaustion of new territorial domains for colonial expansion and the saturation of consumer markets curtails the free space of the unconscious for desire beyond commodified forms. The simultaneous cultural revolution in the metropolis by which the political energies of the private realm are unleashed (evident in social mobilizations around race, gender, sexuality, ecology), is coupled with the bursting onto the world stage of those voices hitherto deemed without subjectivity or agency (the various battles of liberation and emancipation from colonial strictures and imperial powers from Algeria, Cuba and Vietnam to Mozambique, Chile and Nicaragua). These energies reach emblematic apotheosis in a global 1968 which offered at once a challenge to the dominance of a normalizing center, but also a cascade of sensibilities toward what can be valued in human affairs and a rethinking of how and by whom they might be directed–captured in the slogan "anything is possible."

Seen in the context of these various postcolonial expressions, postmodern dance can be rethought in terms of the various material aspects of this decentered and emergent social kinesthetic. The shift from purity of form to method of production has afforded very

nuanced accounts of improvisation in dance as opening to gendered conceptions of process over structure and affinities to ensemble compositional technique well established in jazz (Albright and Gere 2003, Foster 2002, Goldman, forthcoming). The critical aperture of improvisation is further expanded as we move from the pedestrian, associated with Judson Church, to quotidian and popular in which the category of practice is privileged as a feature of daily life (Lefebvre 1971, Garfinkel 1967, Goffman 1963) and dance is privileged as the participatory mode of the more commercial musical traffic. The emphasis on improvisation already complicates any periodizing scheme between modern and postmodern, not only because like the more pervasive binary of modern and primitive or savage, the two constitute contemporaneous elements of a dialectic (Levi-Strauss 1966), but because improvisation and the popular could readily figure in the work of a choreographer thought of a modernist, such as Alwin Nikolais (Martin, 2007). Posing the improvisational as a critical axis for delineating the postmodern has a decided benefit of opening dance to its own multiculturalism, to its collaborative relations with other creative media and art forms, and to the popular.

Another question for dance postmodernism as emblematic of an opening to diversity is how decentering becomes more than a description of stylistic differentiation and helps us understand deeper affinities between movement and culture–precisely what is meant by a social kinesthetic. Such a line of inquiry would lead us to interrogate the linkages between movement practices where taking the body off-center drives stylistic innovation, technical accomplishment, and transgressive pleasure. These elements are in evidence in such otherwise disparate yet contemporary practices as contact improvisation, hip hop, capoeira, surfing and skateboarding. While these expressions may be associated with distinct demographics–white, urban neo-bohemians, african american and latino youth, metropolitan reception of third world practices, and white desuburbanized teenagers–their kinesthetic repertoires and valuation of risk (a dancerly realignment of pleasure and danger) disclose corporal affinities that sustain a proliferation of cultural groupings. Unsurprisingly, as postmodern dance develops it incorporates these various physicalities as "sources" reminiscent of Martha Graham's formulation. Yet a crucial distinction is the shift from the authorial voice of the choreographer, to the ensemble as both creative accomplice and corporeal archive of these technical dispositions. Indeed, this shift from the choreographic to the technical, from the auteur to the collaborative ensemble could be said to mark the edge of innovation in U.S. concert dance over the past two decades. Certainly the proliferation of technical abilities dancers collect in the course of their training corresponds to an uneven economy of repertory and pick-up companies (Foster 2002), and the privilege of the technical over the compositional is consistent with broader shifts among professionals from autonomy over specialized knowledge to a work force subjected to various managerialisms and schemas of accountability. As such, the postmodern is, as Lyotard (1984) put it a "condition" not an ideology or political disposition. The same might be said for diversity as such. But this ambivalence is already far away from the presumed and taken-for-granted affirmative quality of modern progress. Correlatively, the value of diversity cannot be given by the fact of difference, but from a demonstration of what is delivered, of what is now possible, desirable, imaginable.

Logically then, considerations of diversity in dance would force an opening to the evaluative criteria by which we know what dance is and what it teaches. This break from dance as a stable object firmly emplotted with fixed axes of time and place gave rise to the new dance studies in the 1980s (Foster 1986). That is to say the confidence by which dance could be placed in some transcendental time as a single historical narrative (dance history) and in space as an array of equivalent cultural differences (dance ethnology) came under severe pressure. Studying dance became an interdisciplinary subject, but also a knowledge generating object and then a kind of being or ontology. Not merely a reflection of the newly recognizable diversity in dance, dance studies became a feature of diversity, an agency by which the thought of dance became an instance of dancing and an instance of the theoretical embodied as a kind of practice (Foster 1995a, Foster 1995b). Technical and methodological diversity assume a mutually constitutive legibility. Dance studies can take up a partisanship that the critical review conventionally leaves undisclosed, and that displays intellectual and kinesthetic affinities that the still reigning formalism of criticism hold in abeyance.

Hence, at a moment when some of the very cultural and economic media logics lead dailies and magazines to shed their dance reviewers from staff, dance writers with different itineraries have begun to

proliferate. Ann Cooper Albright captures this entanglement of dancing that challenges passive viewing protocols and critical inscription, where attending to bodily and cultural diversity constitutes an "act of witnessing" which "raises the stakes of audience engagement, sometimes making the audience member uncomfortable, sometimes provoking highly charged responses to the work" (Albright 1997, xxii). She considers difference across a range of dimensions from resistance to fitness-crazed techno-bodies (Jennifer Monson), to the distinct motional capacities of those with disabilities (Cleveland Ballet Dancing Wheels or Alito Alessi and Emery Blackwell), to divergent histories disclosed through autobiography (David Dorfman and Blondell Cummings). David Gere, mining the generativity of sexual difference in the face of a devestating AIDS epidemic considers "the essential commonality of activism and dance" among choreographers such as Tim Miller, Paul Timothy Diaz, and Joe Goode (Gere 2004, 7). In his extensive treatment of the work of Alvin Ailey, Thomas De Frantz complicates the choreographer's singularly iconic status with a more nuanced methodological approach such that "it is pointless to consider Ailey's choreography *solely* as an arrangement of physical motion, or as a representation of gender or sexuality, or as a depiction of beauty or class mobility, or as an arrangement of popular youth narratives. Ailey's choreography and company offer an unusual nodule of everyday American politics in internationally recognized aesthetic action" (de Frantz 2004, xvi). In an intimate alignment between colonialism's will to capture all space and modernism's imperative to move time forward, Andre Lepecki has crafted an ontology of stillness, absence, haunting and melancholy that he reads in quite disparate examples such as the street crawls of William Pope L. and the spatial masking of Trisha Brown. He opens critical alternatives through shifting scale from the mass to the micro. "I am attending to movement less concerned with mass social mobilization than with the creation of micro-countermemories and small counteractions happening at the threshold of the significantly apparent–that is, precisely within the haunted territories of Europe's racist and colonialist melancholia and disavowal" (Lepecki 2006, 108). The more robust diversity–as a resource for mobilizing bodies, as a way of knowing, and as a kind of being-- imagined here would be able to mix these scales with alacrity and wit. Yet if we really want to know what diversity in dance can be an do, we need to do more than survey the field. It is essential to enter diversity's body as manifest in its bountiful specificity. This and more is what the work of Harmony Bench, Lauren Erin Brown, Kate Elswit, P. Kimberleigh Jordan, Katherine Profeta, and Cristina Fernandes Rosa provide in their various contributions here.

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Plenary Remarks

Harmony Bench

It goes without saying that dance is all over the place. It's on TV, in people's backyards, on the subway, in the theater, on the street, and on the Internet. It is an exciting time to be researching dance and participating in a field that, of necessity, has been multi-disciplinary and interdisciplinary—incorporating historical research, ethnographic methods, movement analysis, and critical theories. These multiple orientations have developed into projects including re-reading and recovering alternate or non-canonical dance histories, attending to the global economies in which dance and bodies circulate, and analyzing dance and movement outside the theater in everyday, local, or mass-media contexts.

For my part, I feel there is much work to be done in theorizing the ways media technologies complement, bolster, subvert, disseminate or otherwise engage with dance practices. I am particularly interested in what cultural assumptions subtend mediations of dance and how bodies, as images, are choreographed. I question how media technologies, from print-based dance notation systems to digital stereoscopic gallery installations, are called upon to release dancing bodies from their geographical situation, and consider the political implications of dance's representational dis-location. I additionally re-assert a dance history perspective for dance-media in the face of dominant visual arts narratives.

My current work focuses on the phenomenon of interactive dances on the Web and CD-ROM, which I call hyperdances, to think through notions central to theorizing Western dance practices. The concepts I address include: choreography and improvisation as they are rearticulated through replay and feedback loops, the negotiation between digital archives and performance in works incorporating real-time user interaction, the construction of digital sites for dance, and the computer as a venue for performance.

I utilize "choreography" as an analytical framework that includes but is not limited to dancing bodies. Attention to choreography allows me to focus on how bodies move in any context, and, I think, enables me to bring a perspective informed by dance into the other scholarly areas in which I engage, including media studies and performance studies. Media studies, for example, is currently dominated by voices from cinema, game studies, and literary theory. But I find that dance scholars have much to contribute to an area of inquiry in which movement is key. Some media scholars are content to describe onscreen movement as simply "moves" in gameplay or "kinetic" in other new media contexts, as though it is self-evident what bodies or images might be doing when they move onscreen. I consider such shorthand the digital equivalent of the familiar colonial-era declarations "and then they danced" found in missionary and other texts. I am therefore interested in theorizing these "moves" and "kinetic" aspects of new media by parsing choreographies for screen. I am also interested in the repertoire of bodily movements elicited by digital objects through their graphic or haptic interfaces. What corporeal maneuvers are required for bodies to engage with our proliferating digital devices?

Video games, wireless technologies, and unframed media present opportunities for theoretical intervention by scholars attentive to moving bodies. As do computational choreographies in which software programs and artificial intelligence agents are assigned complex choreographic tasks. But among the vast array of digital technologies, networks, handheld devices, and gadgetry that might produce some interesting dance-related work or occasions for analysis, I would say that YouTube is currently one of the most important. It is full of the silly and the mundane, yet offers a site where many of what might be called "new directions" in dance studies intersect, including the circulation of dance among communities of dancers regionally and transnationally, and the place of dance in popular culture. I also think that YouTube and other mechanisms for sharing video, whether formally through library websites or informally through other file-sharing means, have the ability to alter the way dance research is conducted and the way dance histories are taught.

Remarks on the Field: Moving Forward

Lauren Erin Brown

First, I want to express my thanks to Danielle Goldman and Barbara Browning for coordinating today's session and to Randy Martin for moderating. Second, let me say how pleased I am to be included amongst these scholars, all of whom are doing such exciting work. From studies of technology and religiosity to post-colonialism and politics—it is an amazingly diverse set of methodologies. For a field as young as dance history, this diversity is in part its greatest strength and at times its greatest weakness. While our core has solidified around performance studies as its method of choice, and made great strides within the academy as a result, I think the ineffable nature of dance requires a level of interdisciplinarity not seen in most fields. It is this continued willingness — nay necessity — to examine dance from a multitude of angles that results in our panel today: a historian, several performance studies scholars, choreographers, practioners, and a theologian—with some of us playing dual roles.

These are impressive leaps—pun intended— for a field that began with straightforward biographies barely a half-century ago. Backcopies of SDHS Proceedings reveal the mapping of our field. Much of the 1970s and 80s were dedicated to identifying the terrain beyond the artist biography, with papers on "Dance Terms in Renaissance Dictionaries" and "Isis and Isadora Duncan." The influence of the burgeoning field of cultural studies crept in a little during this period, but truly flourished in the 1990s. With the trinity of race/class/and gender and various Marxist theoreticians at hand, dance scholars added whole new topographical dimensions to the map of dance history. And as we worked in concert with literary theorists, gender studies scholars, historians, and the like, these fields began to recognize the power of our ground: the body.

One of the most important larger trends I see developing between dance historians and the broader field of history is a fresh embrace of transnationalism. I say fresh because historians have been bandying these theories about in some form or another for a good forty years now. But with the rise of globalism these frames, or the re-evaluation of placing national boundaries on our histories, have taken on a new urgency. It is as if historians wish to take our maps of the world and shake off the painted borders of the nation-state. This is a particularly engaging idea for dance where our understanding of genre is so often linked to a perceived nationhood. What happens to Butoh when we stop thinking of it as something ineffably "Asian" and start looking for connections beyond Japan? Does it change our history of butoh's growth? More important to the broader historical community, can it change our understanding of Japan or what it means to be Asian at a particular moment in history? In problematizing these nation-state categories can we perhaps help understand their creation, importance, or limits? Now, the best transnational work in both history and dance history comes from scholars long aware of the duplicity of national identity – those who focus on the African Diaspora, the Atlantic Worlds, and the dance traveling amongst these parties. But many more of us, myself included, are now grappling with diplomacy, national identity, diaspora, or postcolonial theory – and I think this is an incredibly fruitful path, one that can finally push us beyond the important, but somewhat tired holy trinity of race/class/and gender.

As for where I fit into this mix—the paper I am offering this weekend is a small part of my larger project, "Cultural Czars: American Nationalism, Dance, and Cold War Arts Funding." As my book details, a confluence of circumstances—the limited ballet tradition in the United States, the waves of Russian artists who arrived in America in the wake of Russian-cum-Soviet political turmoil, the shift in relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. as World War II morphed into the Cold War—brought the Americanized version of Russian ballet into the national spotlight and suffused it with public popularity and political importance. By tracing the evolution of post-war arts funding, using dance as a case study, my research does three things. First, by evaluating why a "highbrow" art like ballet became so important and popular in this period I call into question our perception of a fixed post-war cultural hierarchy. Second, considering the larger project of

post-war American nationalism, I argue the decision to re-invest in the arts broadly, and ballet specifically, was a means by which the United States as an expanding superpower validated the legitimacy of its international position while maintaining the domestic cultural status quo. Third, on a practical level the investment in a distinctly American ballet begged the question: could a physical form and its movement articulate a nationality—and trump visual markers like race? The postwar emphasis on abstraction across all dance genres forced vested parties to reconsider what made a body American. I contend that ballet's political and philanthropic consecration not only solidified the divide between the white and the ethnic dancing body; but also what it meant to be an American, both at home and abroad.

My interests, therefore, reside at the nexus of cultural diplomacy, national identity, and the physical body. Trained as I am in American history, I am excited about the ways writing on dance helps me question not only the idea that there is something uniquely "American," but also how it allows me to push other historians—be they diplomatic, economic, or Medievalists—to consider dance as something more than soft power, or historical window-dressing. And in turn, I am eager to see how this weekend, engaging with everyone here, with their different approaches and methods, will help all of us reconsider the way we use evidence, where we look for it, and the type of questions we ask of the field of dance history as we move forward. Thank you.

A Few Thoughts on Framing, Historiography, and Spectatorship

Kate Elswit

My research centers on what I see as a "physical dramaturgy" in German dance during the First World War and the Weimar Republic, which refers to a creation and dramatization of meaning through the physicality of the bodies that danced onstage during that period. It is a concept related to the modernist preoccupation with physicality as well as Germany's particular physical culture movements (see Segel 1998 and Toepfer 1997). This dramaturgy materialized through the physicality of the dancers, inscribed not only *into* them by choreographic intent but *onto* them in the process of their apprehension by spectators, who would have been trained through extra-theatrical experience to "read" meaning into the physicality of performing bodies. By allocating agency to reception, the chapters of my dissertation introduce and then progressively complicate the relationship between the physical dramaturgy and the thematic content of certain performances seen between 1915 and 1933. The figures central to my study are Oskar Schlemmer, Valeska Gert, Anita Berber, Kurt Jooss, and the Tiller Girls. By choosing to examine five case studies that were highly publicly visible, and yet none of which comfortably fit within common definitions of Ausdruckstanz, I hope to trouble the ways in which we consider the dance as embodied practice during this period.

A second aspect of my study is its methodology, which uses multiple frames to facilitate a speculative attitude toward dance history. I find it striking that literary theory has conceptualized reader-response theories as modes of reception, whereas dance history — with its more ephemeral objects of study — really has not, even though almost all of our evidence is mediated by the act of apprehension. Although the concept of "framing" is often used in dance and theatre studies to discuss the ways in which a performance is initially presented to its audiences (as in Foster 1986: 59--64), the term also appears within cultural analysis to foreground the work of presentation done by scholars in the act of analytical reflection and re-articulation. My concept of framing accords with Mieke Bal's proposition for a plurality of frames rather than contexts in order to relieve the pressure on historical objects to produce certain pre-determined meanings (2002:143). Framing offers one opportunity to foreground the transformations that performances undergo.

The more time I spent in archives, the more I began to realize just how many dance history books paraphrase reviewers' or choreographers' writings as indicatively stated facts, often without citing them. I understand reviews, as Ric Knowles suggests, to be no more than evidence of "meanings and responses that specific performances in particular locations made available" (2004:21). By presenting the archival primary source materials I have uncovered from multiple, often contradictory frames, rather than attempting to draw out a single authoritative instantiation of the performances, I engage in a logistical enquiry that foregrounds the tension between actual performances and audiences' perceptions of them, using that tension to recuperate what exactly about the physicality of the performances might have caused those discrepancies to emerge. In doing this, I utilize a pragmatic, if occasionally dogmatic, understanding of the nature of live dance performance to unsettle the notion that the past performances could have occurred as they were reported to: the performers did not actually die onstage in dances of death; they did not become machines; and so forth. Take, for example, Oskar Schlemmer's claim to be exploring the inherent mechanics of the human body, whereas his audiences saw him as mechanizing it; the more-than-semantic disjunction between the two is an extraordinarily productive place to begin.

Alexandra Carter writes that "history is an imaginative act, but not an arbitrary one" (2004:3). Preventing the arbitrary through Bal's proposition that rigor be set by the objects of the research themselves, which check the thrust of interpretation by diverting and complicating it (2002:45), Carter's line has become a kind of mantra for the way in which I understand the work of historical research. A few months ago, I realized that I could potentially make a case for Anita Berber having not existed. She was such a mythical figure that the written accounts I could find did not seem comfortably match any real life referent. In the end, I discovered that doubt was productive: rather than recycling unverifiable semi-truths, I

explored what about her performances themselves could have motivated those gaps in the historical record and left such problematic evidence, by considering those problems to be not only byproducts of her performances but an important part of their content.[1] Hayden White discusses the imaginable as the contrast by which one arrives at the actual (1978: 98); however, I am not certain that there needs to be such a clear hierarchy of indicative and the subjunctive modes of thought, so long as the evidence and the speculation are clearly marked as such.

Much scholarship that bridges dance and cultural studies still allows dance as art (its aesthetic features) to be replaced by dance as evidence (its denotative features) in an indicative relationship where dance explains culture, which explains dance. Perhaps the aesthetic and cultural framing of past dances might be reconciled by returning to the event of performance in light of recent writing on engaged spectatorship and considering performance as constituted through its reception both privately by audience members as individuals and socially by audience members as a culturally situated collective.[2] The social dimensions of aesthetic participation emerge by foregrounding the agency of spectatorial co-production, which differs from the physical activation of viewers through interactive installations or performances (see: Bishop 2006:10–12). The philosopher Jacques Rancière has posited that spectatorship is "our normal situation" rather than "passivity that must be turned into activity." Rancière's spectator is emancipated not through active solicitation by the artist, but rather by recognizing the act of translation that is inherent to all spectatorship and belongs to a particular constituent community (2004). Such notions of engaged spectatorship have the potential to enrich the practice of dance history by speculatively reconceptualizing archival fragments as records of a diffused constellation of possible activity, conceived as vibrantly as that on stage.

Endnotes

[1] Jennifer Doyle's work on Tracy Emin (2006: 97–120) has been enormously helpful in this regard. While seeking to understand the mythical nature of this figure, I also began to draw comparisons with the contemporary singer Amy Winehouse, particularly when British playwright Mark Ravenhill published a blog post suggesting that Winehouse *should* do drugs, because she is a totemic figure onto whom we can project our own fantasies of transgressive excess without endangering ourselves by enacting them. If Winehouse (or Berber) are not performers in themselves but locations for our own imagined alternative selves, then any research into them must also account for that evidence as that of social imagination materialized in the form of a particular star figure.

[2] On this duality of audience members as social and individual, as well as the capacity for audiences to decode everything in a theatrical frame as a fictional sign, see Bennett (1997:86–165,206). A productive discussion of audience agency also underlies Kershaw's introduction to performance's potential efficacy (1992:1–39).

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INTERSECTIONS AND INTERSECTIONALITY

P. Kimberleigh Jordan

I will perform an intersection while presenting this paper: I will read the text that I have written, while screening a video of Philadanco performing ***Forces of Rhythm*** *(choreographed by Louis Johnson). As a choreographic work, it exemplifies some of the intersections that I will discuss.*

A good portion of my study of dance history has existed outside of the academy. Though I have spent a significant part of my life matriculating in institutions of higher education, I have taken a less traveled path to the field of dance history. My initial engagements with dance history were in professional dance training programs, where the **compulsory** dance history class was squeezed between say, partnering class and choreography rehearsal. These were classes in a dance studio, where we students sat on the floor in our dance clothes and warm-ups, and the dance history teacher was the only one in the room wearing street clothes. This experience of dance history had an isolated quality to it: it was isolated in our curriculum as a one-hour a week, squeezed-in endeavor. It was also isolated because of its content as the history of a certain strand of staged Western European dance.

On the other hand, my current "way of doing dance history" (as the program committee has posed the driving question for this panel) has a quality that I want to lift up for our thinking today: it is *intersectional*. The term intersectional that I am employing here is from a rich intellectual movement in legal studies called critical race theory, developed by Kimberlé Crenshaw and others in the 1980s and '90s. It is a way of expressing the intersection of race, gender, class and other factors. Intersectionality describes the interconnectedness in both framing identity and analyzing power relations.[1] It is this quality that I bring to my work now as I endeavor to reach beyond the isolations and boundaries of dance history as I first learned them.

Intersectionality is important to my work and I want to complicate the notion a little further by adding an additional intersection that the legal scholars did not address: that is, the intersection of body and intellect. Barbara Browning in her book *Samba: Resistance in Motion,* writes about the problem of 'having both a mind and a body'. . . being both an intellectual and a dancer. Of course, [she continues] the irony is implicit in the figuration . . .."[2] Following Browning's argument, I understand myself to be both an intellectual and a dancer, working and living at the intersections of race, gender and class. In addition, I am willing to embrace both history and theory.

Life in these intersections is an exciting, and even desirable place. In undergraduate school, as a raced/gendered/classed/dance/intellectual, I thought that I was merely passing through the intersection on the way to a singular social location and academic discipline. My second degree is from a Union Theological Seminary, where I engaged all of these strands in a particular set of intersections called "theology and the arts." My current institutional affiliation in the Performance Studies Department at New York University has been a good address—and it is definitely located in the intersection. I now realize that as an African American/woman/dancer/thinker/ religionist--the intersection is where I reside.

I am currently completing my dissertation, called "My Flesh Shall Live in Hope:" the Black Body Moving in Sacred Space." The idea of intersectionality sheds some light on the disciplinary paths that are meeting in my work. In this project, I engage dance history, dance studies and dance ethnography. I am interested in concert dance, vernacular dance and liturgical dance (which has elements of both). I look at 19th and 20th century timeframes. It is a performance studies dissertation, which embraces religious studies under a big umbrella of African American studies.

Fast forward a little over a decade to a dance studio at the Alvin Ailey School. This time I am the one wearing street clothes. Many young dancers surround me, stretching on the floor and taking notes. I am now the teacher of the compulsory dance history class, which is squeezed in between say, ballet class and Dunham class. I think that the most exciting day

in our term was the day that we screened Louis Johnson's work, *Forces of Rhythm*. This piece "grabbed" my students like no other work that we engaged. They wanted to discuss it. They wanted to know more about it. They wanted to dance it. As you can see, *Forces of Rhythm* is a choreography of many intersections: it is Black "girls" in pointe shoes and brown flesh-toned tights dancing with barefooted Black men in funky red briefs and bowler hats. It soul singer Rufus Thomas singing "Do the Breakdown, Children," as the pointe "girls" do échappés. It is all of them boogie-ing down at moments in the finalé. It is precisely because of these intersections and their intersectionality, that my students were so engaged by *Forces of Rhythm.*[3] The idea of the intersection was as compelling for them as for me. Therefore, I offer the intersection and intersectionality as ways of considering the future directions in dance history scholarship.

Endnotes

1 Kimberle Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity, Politics and Violence Against Women of Color" Stanford Law Review, vol. 43, No. 6 (July 1991), 1244.

2 Barbara Browning, *Samba: Resistance in Motion.* Arts and Politics of the Everyday Series, eds. P. Mellencamp, M. Morris, A. Ross (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995) x-xi.

3 See Thomas F. DeFrantz, "Ballet in Black: Louis Johnson and African American Vernacular Humor in Ballet" in L. Doolittle and A. Flynn, eds. Dancing Bodies, *Living Histories: New Writings about Dance and Culture* (Banff, Alberta, Canada: the Banff Center Press, 2000), 178-195. In this article, DeFrantz offers the notion of "black classicism, " which aligns with my larger argument in this paper for "intersections and intersectionality." DeFrantz describes "black classicism " as both "the ability of black dancers to "embody [. . .] social movement styles within classical technique" [and] a "compositional strategy that embraced a continuum of idioms [. . .] that explored the spaces between modern dance, social dance, and ballet technique [. . .therefore,] dancing well "in between" idioms became a hallmark of African American achievement in ballet . . . . (183).

"Moving Forward" Plenary Remarks

Katherine Profeta

I was asked to speak briefly today about my research in relation to new directions within the field.

I've decided to organize my remarks by letting you know how I came to my research interests, which is from at least three different directions: first, my academic studies, which occurred in the dramaturgy and dramatic criticism department of Yale Drama School. Second, my work as a founding member and choreographer of an experimental theater company, Elevator Repair Service. And third, my work as a dance dramaturg, primarily with Ralph Lemon. In practice these three strands are quite tangled, but for the purposes of these remarks I will try and comb them out.

As a "dance person" who attended a theater school, it may come as little surprise that one of my key areas of research is into work that questions the way the genres of dance and theater are conventionally understood in the European-American tradition, both by the performers and by the audiences. Current trends in theater scholarship introduce concepts like Elinor Fuchs' "death of character", or Hans-Thies Lehmann's "postdramatic theater" – both describing the decline of illusionistic theater practice, or at least its waning predominance. And to me these notions signal an increasingly fertile common ground between experimental theater and experimental dance practice. Currently the European Conceptual Dance movement, by boiling down the act of performance to its basic minimum, encourages the irrelevance of genre. As for less minimalist work that also plays across genre boundaries, I'm interested in what you might call a post-Bausch dancetheater. For instance, Anne Teresa de Keersmaeker has made a number of what she labels her "text pieces," in which movement and speech intertwine as modes of communication – often one kicks in at just the moment that the expressive power of the other is exhausted.

Second strand. My role as choreographer of the theater company Elevator Repair Service is often to make untrained bodies move – though "untrained" is a misnomer, since these bodies have been trained in plenty of things, just not ballet or modern or postmodern technique. My interest here is in what you might call "locating the virtuosity of the amateur". ERS also has a practice of generating material by taking on "impossible tasks"– though it is vital to distinguish the fruitfully impossible task from the just plain impossible one. So, back in my academic research, I am interested in ways of theorizing these rehearsal strategies and sussing out all their implications. In this line of thinking I follow after the recent work of, for example, Sara Jane Bailes, who writes about an aesthetic of failure in theater groups like Forced Entertainment, Goat Island, and, full disclosure, Elevator Repair Service.

The final and largest strand is my work as a dance dramaturg. First let me say that for deepening my thinking about what it might mean to be a dramaturg I am indebted to the January 2003 issue of *Women and Performance*, edited by Andre Lepecki and Cindy Brizzell, which offered a number of insightful essays on dramaturgical labor. The most important way in which my perspective as Lemon's dramaturg affects my current research into his work is that it allows me to respect his assertion that the *Geography Trilogy* was about process more than end product. Since I was part of the process, I am able to analyze what was done on the research trip, or in the rehearsal room, as much as what finally ended up on the proscenium stage. This is also an appropriate way of writing about work that took on the tricky project of intercultural collaboration, especially in the first and second parts of his trilogy, where he invited artists from West Africa and Asia, respectively, to join him. The reader wants to know not just what ended up on stage but what kind of collaboration generated it, and what are the political implications of how the work was done.

Most recently I have spent much time thinking about Lemon's research performances for the third part of the trilogy. In the third part he engaged the American South as a locale both familiar and strange to him, with his biography as an African-American man born to Southern parents but raised in Minnesota. Many of his research performances occurred at lynching sites and other sites of past racial trauma, and he describes those performances as *countermemorials* – counter in the sense that they encourage memory-work without encouraging resolution .[1] Later today I will give a paper on Lemon's creative re-working of

the Buck Dance as a tool for memory, tribute, and the potential conjuring of past generations, all the while keeping in mind its fraught history as an ingredient on the minstrel stage. I argue that the sense of tribute was in fact stronger for being articulated through this ambivalent form.

In sum, my interests are in how contemporary experimental performance gets made and understood, and my current writing is about the process and themes of one such work, the *Geography Trilogy*. Though I find it difficult to indicate what direction "Moving Forward" might be for the larger field of dance studies, I have tried to describe my own trajectory, and what direction or, more accurately, directions, I recognize as "forward."

Endnotes

[1] Here Lemon is alluding to the German tradition of *Gegendenkmäler*, or countermonuments. These are sculptural works that have an ephemeral and/or performative component, and engage the traumatic history of the Holocaust while expressly avoiding closure and its concomitant amnesia. They have been written about eloquently by scholar James E. Young.

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Few steps, as we move forward

Cristina F. Rosa

I would like to draw here an intersecting line between future directions in the field of Dance Studies and my academic interest in the construction of identities in Brazil through movement. In his discussions on the geopolitics of knowledge, Walter Mignolo[i] sustains that the political and economical decolonization of the New World needs to be followed by an epistemic (educational, intellectual) shift in these communities, or by what he has entitled "the liberation of philosophy and the decolonization of the social sciences"(62-67).[ii] In his argument, Mignolo concludes that until the knowledges present in embodied practices such as *Candomblé* and *capoeira* are recognized as relevant as (the work of) Kant or Aristotle, epistemic racism will not be overcome.[iii]

Scholars working on body-centered practices in Brazil have faced two major limitations particular to *the geo-politic of (dancing) knowledge*. The first relates to research methodologies currently available. Theoretical approaches that focus on the social-political specificity of Afro-Brazilian embodied practices, for instance, have failed to critically articulate the ways in which the practitioners' corporeality and their bodily actions produce cultural knowledge. Conversely, recent methodologies that privilege the critical analysis of embodied knowledge and corporeal orature - fostered primarily in the US and Europe - have been constructed almost exclusively under Anglo-Saxon models of racialization of identities and social relations. Overall, emerging scholars working on Afro-Brazilian dance forms find theoretical frameworks designed to either address the socio-historical specificity of their cultural phenomenon, or to excavate the (layers of) knowledges produced, stored and transmitted through motion, outside their context.

The second limitation pertains the categories under which hegemonic systems of signification have consistently archived subaltern practices. Today, dance forms particular to Afro-Brazilian communities are featured and celebrated, for example, at a wide range of national and international productions. For many members of the local dance community of scholars and choreographers in Brazil, nevertheless, classical ballet continues to function as the primary technique, essential to the formation of "professional" dancers. Other corporeal practices such as samba, candomblé, and capoeira have been archived primarily under categories such as "folk," "leisure", or "sport". They have been excluded, thus, from the academic "world of contemporary dance."

I would like to advocate here the importance of understanding the role non-hegemonic dance forms have played in the (trans)formation of gender and national identities, especially in the Americas. In the case of Brazil, where African descendents constitute a significant portion of the population, new embodied identities have emerged through an active process of selection of movements, gestures and intentions to signify blackness. Enacted in body-centered practices, these new identities retain and evoke both the colonial identification inscribed onto subaltern bodies, and their ability to overcome those fixed identities[iv] through corporeal mobility and surrogation (Roach). As we move forward, the field of Dance Studies ought to trace new pathways towards the power humans have to re-invent themselves through choreographed or improvised movements, rather than their ability to anchor on 'tradition' when facing racism, sexploitation and hardship. The analysis of body-centered practices unravels, among others, the specificity with which local agents (i.e. black moving bodies) have recuperated-cum-invented cultures and identities, producing alternative discourses about themselves and about the world in which they live. The analysis of such practices enables researchers to critically investigate the (physical) specificity with which bodies-in-motion actualize cultural knowledge and social memory. Ultimately, the study of non-hegemonic bodily discourses provide us with concrete evidence that can be used to historicize and contextualize the active participation of marginalized individuals within the formation of post-colonial imagined communities.[v]

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Moving Scripts

Stepping into one of the new pathways ready to be explored in the field of Dance Studies, my current research conducts a comparative study of the

embodied concept *ginga* woven into different corporeal practices in Brazil.[vi] There, I will consider specifically the reasons and the means through which the physicality of *ginga* articulates identity through motion or *movement-as-identity*. *Ginga* means to move with a syncopated rhythm to an individual logic that sets a person apart, while responding to the world. Associated with the 'off-beat' swing of black moving bodies in Brazil, *ginga* is embedded in the transatlantic black aesthetic of coolness.

My scholarship considers the aesthetic of *ginga*, which currently permeates both popular and erudite practices, as a corporeal articulation/orature associated with subaltern bodies in Brazil. First of all, I call attention to the ways in which marginalized bodies have been perceived, studied or ignored, according to the aesthetic and philosophical principles they figurate. Secondly, I investigate the system of classification under which non-Western embodied practices have been organized, codified and valorized - ascribed currency and validity- into written archives. The forms and ideas *ginga* moving bodies choreograph, whether on stage or during their everyday life practices, act as *moving scripts*, which produce, transmit and incorporate a black transatlantic episteme into the discourse of Brazilianess. Although ephemeral, such choreographies leave memorable traces on the community/audience, and they collaborate collectively towards keeping their social memory and embodied knowledge alive.

Given the interdisciplinary approach to my research, I have built my methodology within the intersection of different fields of knowledge. I have selected a series of interdisciplinary approaches to measure the tangible effects ginga moving bodies produce, and the traces they leave behind. This methodological approach is also invested in mapping and contextualizing the scenarios within which these *moving scripts* are actualized. By putting different theoretical frameworks in dialogue with one another, I hope to resolve the challenges that ephemeral endeavors place on traditional methodologies of research developed in Brazil, and overcome the limitations that scholars working on Brazil have encountered.

[i] Walter Mignolo is the William H. Wannamaker Professor of Literature and Romance Studies at Duke University. I was first introduced to the ideas discussed here at a public lecture Mignolo delivered at Universidade Fedaral da Bahia (UFBA), on August 2006. The lecture was based on his recent article, "The Geopolitics of Knowledge and the Colonial Difference," which had been published in The South Atlantic Quarterly, Winter 2000. Mignolo's article, in its own turn, has functioned as a critical response to the ideas presented by I. Wallerstein, A. Qhijano and E. Dussel at a conference panel entitled "Historical Capitalism, Coloniality of Power and Transmodernity," in 1998.

[ii] As Mignolo explains, Philosophy of liberation "comes from subaltern perspective – not from the colonial/Christian discourse of Spanish colonialism but from the perspective of its consequences, that is, the repression of American Indians, African Slavery, and the emergency of the Creole consciousness (…) in subaltern and dependent positions"(2000, 66). This repression is not only of the people, the bodies and their will or desire, but there is also an effective effort to erase, condemn (as immoral, pathological or irrational) the ways in which they view the world. Their system of beliefs and intelligibility is violently rejected and replaced by what Spivak calls "epistemic violence."

[iii] Statement made at a public lecture at UFBA, August 06.

[iv] Furthermore, while subaltern individuals recuperate-cum-invent new cultures and identities, from the "bottom up," Brazilian hegemonic discourses, subscribed by the elites in Brazil (state, academia, private sector) further appropriate and package certain local(ized) traits, from the "top down," to represent and promote national ideology.

[v] As further discussed in my dissertation, it is worthwhile connecting and contrasting the reasons and the means through which choreographic styles, techniques and repertoires achieve and lose currency over time, or as they are performed at different stages.

[vi] My comparative study currently includes a social dance (*samba-de-roda*), a martial art (*capoeira angola*), a team sport (*futebol-arte*), and a contemporary dance company (Grupo Corpo).

THE FOUNDER'S PANEL AT SKIDMORE COLLEGE

PRESENTERS: GEORGE DORRIS, CATHERINE TUROCY, SONDRA LOMAX AND SELMA ODOM

MODERATOR: GIGI BENNAHUM

A huge thanks to Kathleen Fraser for being the amanuensis for this panel.

The Founders Panel originally had four speakers with Gigi Bennahum as Moderator. On Saturday morning, many more gathered in a circle to add their comments. They were Nancy Ruyter, Deborah Jowitt, Barbara Palfy, Camille Hardy, Connie Kreemer and Linda Tomko.

Our Panel has been in the planning for several years as it celebrates 30 years since Connie Kreemer directed that promising conference on April 8, 1978 at Trinity College in Hartford where there were 50 people in attendance. Five years later SDHS was incorporated with the help of Curtis Carter. We all acknowledge that the gossamer ghost of Selma Jeanne Cohen hovers over these many years as well as this meeting today as Selma Jeanne was instrumental in both the creation of SDHS and its current ACLS membership.

The heart of SDHS are our conferences, and most of them have taken place in the hallowed halls of Academia where there are welcoming dance programs to host the innovative and far-reaching events. It was Selma Jeanne's dream for universities to create programs with undergraduate and graduate degrees in dance history and diverse areas of dance studies. To a large extent her hopes have been realized with members of SDHS pushing forward curricula in their respective institutions recognizing that dance scholarship was a credible academic pursuit.

We received letters from many founders who could not be with us: Libby Smigel, Judith Cobau, Sandra Genter, Iris Fanger, Dawn Lille, Naomi Prevots, Curtis Carter, Annette MacDonald, Marilyn Hunt, Emma Lou Thomas, Sandra Hammond, Jeanette Roosevelt, and many others.

In an early message from Connie Kreemer this year, she reminded us that Genevieve Oswald who directed the dance collection at the New York Public Library was deeply involved in the origins of SDHS. Connie recalled that she found the brochure for the conference, "Western Dance History:Resources and Teaching Methods," at Barnard and the Dance Collection Library - February 16-18, 1979. Connie was the chair person, and others on the program committee were Selma Jeanne, Selma Odom and Dianne Woodruff. She wrote that, "there was an open house reception at the Dance Notation Bureau on Friday, Feb. 16th, and the dance performances listed were the NYC Ballet's performance of "A Midsummer Night's Dream" -prices for tickets started at $3.00, going all the way up to $17! Tickets for Twyla Tharp and Dancers at the Brooklyn Academy were from $5.00 to a whopping $10.50."

We also wanted to remember those SDHS members who are no longer with us, to offer a respectful moment for their past work for us: Selma Jeanne Cohen, Christena Schlundt, Ingrid Brainard, Cynthia Novak, Barbara Barker, Iro Tembeck, and Kathie Matheson. We would appreciate knowing if there are others who have passed away without our knowing.

There were lively comments from founders in the room. Linda Tomko recalled her first participation at Barnard Conference in 1980 when she was doing her Masters at UCLA. Tomko helped with the Joint conference at UCLA in 1981. Christena Schlundt persuaded her to edit the Newsletter. She told the story of the Ohio conference in Columbus. Many panelists waited in the airports all night as the snow was fierce. Camille who was the Program Chair at Ohio State, said "Nothing will be as Planned." But it was a terrific conference. Christena encouraged Camille to get her Ph.D. as a "union card" for her future. Barbara Palfy spoke about the excitement and often dissention of the early days, especially between

the “Isadora” descendents. She mentioned that the canon still has holes that have not been plugged up. Palfy was a librarian when she went to the first conference in 1980. The keynote speaker was Ivor Guest who sat on a throne-like Chair where it was his first time among us. Selma Jeanne asked Debbie Sowell to take notes that were endless and ended up many, many pages to type up. It was a labor of love for Sowell. Debbie Jowitt clearly enjoyed the conversations and dialogues surrounding our conferences, “I am so glad to hear people talk about history, as it helps me in my work as a critic.” Selma Jeanne was her mentor as well, and Jowitt recalled the 1980 conference at Barnard where there was a “face off” between Patricia Rowe and Selma Jeanne. These debates were common in the early days of SDHS. At the time, Jowitt and Sally Banes were teaching history at NYU and there was some sort of disagreement as to whether the *Ballet de la Reine* had actually been performed. Dianne Woodruff proved that it had been, and Jowitt spoke to Banes in the hall that now they knew what to say about it in their classes. Beth Genné remembered that Genevieve Oswald who at the time was in charge of dance books at the 42nd Street Library told Beth that there was only one shelf for dance history books. She had to fight for a dance section, separated from music. Oswald oversaw the move to Lincoln Center where dance received its own space and now is a thriving and world-class research collection, largely due to the ingenious leadership of Gegi Oswald. We then had a discussion about the evolution and stages of our publications that Barbara Palfy has written about here.

Dance History Scholars and Me: The Early Years

George Dorris

Soon after I moved to New York in 1964, to teach English at Queens College, I met Jack Anderson after a performance by New York City Ballet of *Liebeslieder Waltzer*. My principal interests then were literature, music (with a particular sideline in opera), theatre, and also dance. A poet who also wrote dance criticism, Jack was then working at Dance Magazine, where I first met people like Doris Hering, Monica Mosley, and Judy Brin, who have remained good friends ever since. I soon met other dance writers, including Arlene Croce, who had just started a magazine called *Ballet Review*, which I soon began to write for – and turned in my latest piece for it ten days ago. This in turn led to meeting others, such as Selma Jeanne Cohen, who was then editing *Dance Perspectives*. By the early 70s Jack was teaching dance history, first at the New School and then at Lehmann College, and I began teaching some classes in the Physical Education department at York College of the City University of New York, where I'd been since 1967, and my writing and research were moving more and more into dance – and particularly dance history, which combined so many of my other interests. (Until the big budget crunch of the mid070s almost closed the City University, requiring major cutbacks, I was hoping to become Professor of English and Physical Education, but alas in vain.)

In 1977 Selma Jeanne decided to stop *Dance Perspectives*, which was then being published by Marcel Dekker, so Mary Ann Liebert, a vice-president there, asked Jack and me to start a new journal to take its place and *Dance Chronicle* was born. From the start I served as managing editor, as Jack was busy with writing books, poems, and that same year, moved writing for *Dance Magazine* to the *New York Times*. Selma Jeanne was most supportive, but for whatever reason, though, I wasn't invited to Hartford for the initial meeting Connie Kreemer called, so I wasn't there at this organization's very beginning, But when I heard of a big week-long conference Carl Wolz was organizing in Honolulu sponsored by the American Dance Guild and CORD, I made plans to go. So I was at the meeting there that talked about forming a new group specifically focused on dance history, as well as meeting many of the people who were to play important roles in forming it, including the late Ingrid Brainard, Camille Hardy, Adrienne Kaeppler, and Nancy Ruyter.

That's why I was there at Barnard for the first meeting of what became Dance History Scholars. At the final session, when Christina Schlundt asked for volunteers to meet and prepare for a follow-up, she simply co-opted me. So the next morning this steering committee had its first meeting in Selma Jeanne's living room. I know quite a lot about that, for as the only man in the room I was naturally appointed secretary! I gave my notes and minutes to Teren Ellison when she was asked to write the history of SDHS and I recently consulted it on the website. I also remember coming back and telling Jack that Millicent Hodson had the strange dream of someday recreating Nijinsky's choreography for *The Rite of Spring*, which we both thought unlikely!

It was at this first meeting of the Steering Committee, as I recall, that we came up with the name Dance History Scholars – and I think I came up with it because it suggested the reason for our friendly breaking away from CORD, which had a much wider focus on many aspects of dance, while its history was our original focus – and one which I still believe is a very important one. For while as a literary scholar I was finding that while there is little new to be discovered about Shakespeare, John Dryden, Daniel Defoe and Alexander Pope, there remain large areas of dance that have yet to be investigated.

The next year we met again at Barnard, again hosted by patient Jeanette, and really began to feel like an organization, so it seemed natural that when ADG and CORD planned another joint conference, this time meeting in June at UCLA, that Dance History Scholars

was asked to complete the triumvirate. Organized by Nancy Ruyter with Emma Lewis Thomas, it was a wonderful week, as some of you will recall, with more performances than usual in addition to the many papers, and once again with people from all around the world. For example, Ann Hutchinson and Ivor Guest were also staying in the little house just off campus where I found a room.

As if that weren't enough, the fourth conference, organized by my beloved Ingrid, met at Harvard, which helped give us the academic respectability that only an Ivy League school can in the snobbish academic world. It was there, I particularly remember, that Catherine Turocy tentatively danced in a mask for the first time outside her studio, to everyone's astonishment and delight. It was also there that the delightful custom was begun of having an evening of social dancing, with dances taught by all who were willing – and given the usual shortage of men I think I danced every dance save one. No wonder my feet ached the next morning!

The last conference I'll mention, our fifth, in 1983, was especially memorable for other reasons. Held, as they mostly were then, in February, around noon I flew from Newark to Colombus, Ohio, along with Nancy Reynolds, John Mueller, and others, with no difficulty. But a few hours later a storm blanketed the East Coast with snow, so that when Selma Jeanne, Deborah Jowitt, and Marcia Siegel tried to get to that same Newark Airport, their bus couldn't get through and they only got back to Manhattan early the next morning! Many others were also stranded, so Camille Hardy, that year's program chair, inventively reworked the schedule to fill in as many gaps as possible and created some impromptu sessions. Among them was one where P. W. Manchester agreed to reminisce on her memories of dance in London and New York from the 1930s into the 60s, but only if I would interview her. Sitting in a studio with people spread around us on the floor, we thus began the first of the "conversations" that we continued until the third in 1988 at the splendid Ballet Russe conference at the North Carolina School of the Arts, arranged by Cathy Block.

I can't say enough about how important Dance History Scholars has been to me in editing *Dance Chronicle*, with our invaluable Barbara Palfy scouting each conference for leads on articles we might have. But even more, when Selma Jeanne asked me to be one of her six associate editors on *The International Encyclopedia of Dance*, it was to my friends at what was now SDHS that I turned first. My fields were Western Dance between 1500 and 1800 and also Music, so Ingrid, Julia Sutton, Elizabeth Aldrich, and others pitched in to assist me and along the way I met younger scholars like Carol Marsh and Rebecca Harris Warrick. With many others, they have made my life so much richer – but that's all part of another story!

Looking Back/Moving Forward Conference

Thoughts from a Founding member of SDHS

My first experience of a scholarly dance conference was the CORD conference in San Francisco in 1973. CORD was only 8 years old, dance as a formal study in the universities was still new, and dance research was the exciting field to join. I attended the conference as a student of Dr. Shirley Wynne, founder of the Baroque Dance Ensemble and Professor of Dance at Ohio State University, and I assisted her by demonstrating various points on the topic of Baroque dance.

While at the conference I met or saw Bonnie Bird, Selma Jeanne Cohen, Julia Sutton, Ingrid Brainard, Patricia Rowe, Martha Hill, Wendy Hilton and Jeannette Roosevelt. I felt as if I was being introduced to a secret group of activists ready to set the world spinning with new research and theory on dance. Even then there was some dissension in the ranks, as people talked about CORD and how it was really too big to serve the specific needs of the early dance movement. So much more in-depth study needed to be done in the early dance field, but at CORD there never seemed to be panels enough or papers enough on the subjects of Renaissance dance style or Baroque choreography. Dance anthropology and musicology papers were more prominent, and there were so many papers being given simultaneously that no one could possibly attend all the panels anyway.

Thus, early dance scholars got together at that conference and began to discuss the idea of breaking away from CORD and forming another society to more directly serve their needs. They felt that CORD was doing well with subjects such as ethnic dance ("world" dance was not a widespread term then), dance anthropology, and dance theory, but was not at all active enough in development of a standard research methodology for historical investigations and in analysis of pre-nineteenth century dance. By the time these discussions arose again at the New York City conference in 1976, I had graduated from Ohio State, moved to New York, and founded The New York Baroque Dance Company with Ann Jacoby. While working on presenting my modern dance concerts at DTW in NYC, I was also researching eighteenth-century mask and gesture and presenting papers on Baroque dance topics.

I went to the SDHS conferences in the late 70's and found myself very supportive of establishing a society to promote early dance research and to set standards for historical research in dance. I joined the board and was happy and excited to be a part of this grassroots movement. Being a dancer and choreographer who did specific research focused on the eighteenth-century, I valued the opportunities available at these conferences to meet other people in my field, to see their work, to hear about the latest interpretations of Baroque treatises.

It was enlightening to attend panels on all centuries of dance. My understanding of dance theories developing and influencing each other, crossing boundaries of time and place deepened and this was just the beginning of the riches to behold. From the perspective of a young dancer with a BFA from Ohio State, my appreciation for innovative research, well written papers and critical thought grew with every conference. The national and international mix of dance critics, scholars, teachers, lecturers and performers, gravitating to the conferences shared my passion for dance. For the first time I was part of a much larger discourse. The SDHS conferences provided a meeting place for us to experience the crucial process of examination, interpretation and application of historical dance theory. Raging fights, injured egos, victories, defeats, confusion and clarity ran through the visceral body of the SDHS conferences and the intellectual life of dance thrived. I owe a great deal to the historians who fought these battles and I hope we continue to revel in our arguments which contribute to a deeper knowledge and understanding of dance.

Over the years the NYBDC took more of my time, and the financial burden of being an independent scholar not funded by a university made it more and more difficult for me to attend the annual conferences. Often they conflicted with performances and residencies of my dance company.

Today, looking at where we have arrived with SDHS as an organization, I feel it is a time to re-

examine our purpose and our unique responsibility to dance. Reflecting on the origins of SDHS I could not help but to look more closely at this organization and as well as CORD. SDHS seems to have become a clone of CORD, with very little distinguishing either its mission or the nature of its conferences and the papers presented. This kind of duplication is notwhy I was so enthusiastic about SDHS at the beginning nor why I served as a board member.

Quoting from CORD"S website:

> "Our purpose is to encourage scholars in dance to research, publish, and discuss material from all areas of dance. CORD has an international membership of teachers, students, writers, performers, choreographers, researchers, archivists and librarians. Colleges, universities and libraries also belong. CORD is a not-for-profit, tax exempt organization open to individuals and institutions."

The SDHS website describes its purpose in much the same way:

> "Society of Dance History Scholars advances the field of dance studies through research, publication, performance, and outreach to audiences across the arts, humanities, and social sciences. As a constituent member of the American Council of Learned Societies, SDHS holds wide-ranging annual conferences; publishes new scholarship through its proceedings and book series; collaborates regularly with peer organizations in the U.S. and abroad; and presents yearly awards for exemplary scholarship, including the de la Torre Bueno Prize®."

In this SDHS conference, *Looking Back/Moving Forward*, there are twenty-four panels out of thirty which include papers looking at historical aspects of twentieth-century dance. Twenty of these twenty-four panels are exclusively about twentieth-century dance. Two panels out of thirty focus on historical dance research in the nineteenth century. There are no panels dedicated to historical dance research in the eighteenth, seventeenth, sixteenth or earlier centuries. What a change from our original history and founding purpose!

In reviewing the last CORD conference schedule, I noted that all the panels were focused on research in the twentieth century. So the early dance community, whose activism was so crucial to the founding of SDHS, has lost its standing in both SDHS and CORD! Papers and panels from this community were proposed to this year's SDHS conference committee but not accepted!

It is wonderful that early dance specialist Ken Pierce is giving a workshop in the dances of Dezais. It is exciting that Karen Eliot will be mentioning a dancer from the Enlightenment as she talks about her book: Dancing Lives: Five Female Dancers from the Ballet d'Action to Merce Cunningham. But what about dance connecting to our political history during this year which celebrates the anniversary of the French and Indian War? This land we are standing on was a very part of that struggle. The French, the British, and more than one Indian nation were involved. What a missed opportunity for a dance history conference to connect with the local community and a larger picture. If we do not make these connections for dance, who will?

In Looking Back/Moving Forward I hope we are able to discuss what has happened here, and how any differences that may once have existed between CORD and SDHS have basically disappeared. May we have the courage and strength to adapt and to re-envision our work in dance history at SHDS. Is it really necessary to repeat the history of 1973 and form a new organization so that historical dance will once again have a place in history?

Founders Panel at Skidmore College 2008

Selma Odom

Selma Jeanne Cohen was the reason I became involved in the beginnings of SDHS. I hadn't even turned twenty when I took a dance history course with her at the American Dance Festival, then at Connecticut College in New London. She directed us to what little there was to read, and I remember going to the library and thinking how tiny dance was in print compared to the literature and history I was reading as an undergraduate English major at the time, 1963. What impressed me most positively was writing she herself had published and the creative work she had embarked on as Editor of *Dance Perspectives.* I began to imagine the possibility of a career in dance research.

She introduced me, in person, to the Dance Collection of the New York Public Library when I was an MA student in theatre history. Through her, I attended the first CORD conference in 1967, an experience which opened doors to many dimensions of dance research beyond history—movement analysis, ethnology and anthropology, therapy, science and education. It was exhilarating to meet a large network of people passionate about their work. Selma Jeanne somehow convinced Lydia Joel that I would be capable of doing a report for *Dance Magazine* since I was by then reviewing in Boston, and so I did at the age of twenty-three. Looking back, it amazes me that she had so much confidence in the young people she was encouraging.

We kept in touch, and I invited her to do a guest lecture on women in eighteenth century dance at the University of Michigan, where I first taught. Soon after that I'm certain it was her recommendation that helped me move to York University in Toronto, where Grant Strate was also willing to place faith in the inexperienced. He looked to her for advice, as did so many people, and had already invited her to come to teach in Canada. During the 1970s, while developing our graduate program, I attended and participated in several CORD conferences, and within a few years my York colleague Dianne Woodruff was editor of CORD's publication, *Dance Research Journal.*

Unfortunately, I missed the April 1978 gathering Connie Kreemer organized because I'd just become a mother. My memory is that at the August 1978 conference in Hawaii, which gave us a wonderful week-long contact with the broad diversity of world dance performance and research, Selma Jeanne and several colleagues got together for lunch and started talking about the need for more conferences focused on dance history. By then a lot of people were active, and there simply wasn't time for enough of them to present their burgeoning research within existing conference programming. CORD then encompassed a wide range of research fields such as dance science and medicine, which later established separate organizations. In the late 1970s, people doing dance history wanted more opportunities to exchange their work and share teaching experiences.

To recapture this moment, I decided to check my personal SDHS archives, stored in spidery conditions under the basement stairs. Here are some of the sources I found that suggest how we organized meetings before SDHS took shape as an organization. Barnard College and the Dance Collection co-sponsored Western Dance History Resources and Teaching Methods in February 1979, and for that meeting, the format was not academic papers but rather panels with multiple participants: Approaches to the Dance History Survey Course, Research Problems, Extensions of the Historian's Craft, and, the one I convened, Building a Dance History Curriculum.

I asked my group of three panelists and four resource people (all of whom prepared remarks) to focus on the following:

How to go about developing a structured curriculum and introducing new courses? How do we set priorities, deal with questions of budget, timing, staffing, administration, building library resources, etc.?

How to work cooperatively on materials we all need such as anthologies of source readings, reference tools, slides, films, and videotapes, etc.?

How best to serve students' needs and interests?

How will our curriculum decisions affect future thinking and research in the field?

All of the panels were excellent, and well worth the huge amount of hand-typed correspondence we used to do to organize them in the days before

computing. My file includes carbon copies of all the individual letters and thank-you notes. For Western Dance History Dance Research: Where Are We? The Status of the Field Today, also held at Barnard in February 1980, people presented papers, lecture demonstrations, and workshops. That conference was preceded by an intimate fireside chat-workshop for a lot of people squeezed into one of the spaces Jeannette Roosevelt arranged, and I can remember gripping my knees with excitement while seated on the floor listening to Gigi Bennahum discuss her research in France.

Afterwards, I wrote to Millicent Hodson, who had already begun her work to retrieve the Nijinsky *Sacre*, who gave a paper with Vévé Clark: "Still agog about your presentation on Maya Deren—the best thing I heard in the dance history conference. Your group should make a film *about* her in addition to all the wonderful other work I'm sure you'll do." The model of collaborative research they represented was such an eye-opener, and of course later the project came to fruition in the two-volumes of *The Legend of Maya Deren.* I also wrote, "I'm curious to know how your group worked out communication delays yet avoided long distance telephone calls." That reminded me of how different communication was before e-mail and even fax! We all had to be super-cost conscious about phone bills, so the entire rhythm of communication was slower and rather formal, through letters and mailings. Sealing envelopes, worry about printing and postage bills and other aspects of what we did are almost unimaginable now.

I thanked Suzanne Shelton for "chairing our session and indulging me in a too-long presentation" and in a letter to Jeanette I wrote, "thank you for your heroic job in hosting the conference. Given the flu you had, the tasks of making coffee, moving equipment, etc. should have been taken off your shoulders, but you rose amazingly to the challenge!" And to Lew Thomas, the conference program chair, I wrote, "I thought your calm during the actual meetings was admirable! And many of the papers I heard have given me so much to reflect on in the next months. It was a stimulating program and evidence of the growing force of our field."

Looking back, I'm surprised that organizers twice emphasized the word "Western" dance history to name these first meetings. I'm at a loss to explain it now, because already the beginnings that eventually led to the *International Encyclopedia of Dance* were underway—the huge collaborative effort for which Selma Jeanne and colleagues mobilized dance researchers around the world. I don't recall that we thought of dance history in terms of the West versus the "rest." Certainly my students and I did not, working in the multicultural city of Toronto. Perhaps such backward glances are fascinating, even when they don't quite make sense.

I hope the records from the past I found give a sense of how, thirty years ago, we were groping toward our identities as teachers and researchers.

CAMILLE HARDY'S THOUGHTS ON BEING A FOUNDER

In 1977 Selma Jeanne Cohen and Erik Aschengreen gave a seminar on August Bournonville at Sarah Lawrence. Among the participants were Nancy Reynolds, Beth Gene, Connie Kreamer and myself. Conversations at the time were the first news I had of Selma Jeanne's notion about an organization for dance historians. Connie ran with the ball and held the first meeting at Trinity in the following year.

While I wasn't in Hartford, I did attend the first meeting at Barnard in 1979 and, more importantly, the second Barnard conference in 1980. We were very proud of our accomplishments and thrilled at the fact that Ivor and Anne Guest attended. Everyone celebrated with a luncheon at the Terrace restaurant. Those of us who helped Selma Jeanne get organized in those early years wanted to give her a gift. I collected money and Connie made the purchase at Fortunoff: a signed art nouveau vase in crystal. We presented it at the 1980 luncheon. Selma Jeanne beamed with delight.

During the ensuing years I was program chair for two conferences, served for multiple terms on the board of directors, attended meetings, presented papers and made many wonderful trips with our exotic colleagues. (I met George Dorris on a beach in Hawaii -- now there's a tale!) How I came to be a dance historian was very simple: I was asked to develop a course during my first professional assignment. At twenty-five, I had no fear. With a brand new Ph.D. in Theater, I created my first dance history survey and team taught that class with British choreographer and performer Mavis Ray. That was in 1972, and I'm still adding new courses.

On the night Selma Jeanne died in December 2005, I was sitting in her living room with her legal counsel Leslie Steineau. I looked at the vase, which had remained on display for more than two decades. I asked Leslie if I could have it. He wanted to know for what purpose. The vase reminded me of Selma Jeanne: beautiful, tough and capable of inspiration. I thought it should stay with SDHS -- passed along like a talisman from president to president. The vase is a reminder of the original owner and of the camaraderie among SDHS founders. Permission was granted and I presented it to Susan Manning at the memorial celebration of Selma Jeanne that Lynn Garafola and I organized at Columbia University that spring.

Now the vase has been passed to Janice Ross to enjoy until her successor takes over. Let us regard it as a goodwill token of SDHS's founding and founder-in chief.

SDHS Memories

Sondra Lomax
Assistant Dean for Development
University of Texas at Austin

I was still in graduate school at York University, studying dance history and criticism under Selma Odom, when I attended the first SDHS conference that was organized by Connie Kreemer in 1978. The following year, I was dancing in Montreal with Les Grands Ballets Canadiens and could not attend, but I did manage to get to New York in 1980 for the third gathering, as I was not performing that weekend.

While at that conference, I met Barbara Barker, who was teaching ballet technique and dance history at the University of Texas at Austin. We immediately bonded, as Barbara was a former ballet dancer and an academician who taught both theory and studio courses. She mirrored my interests exactly, plus she lived in my home state of Texas.

Through Barbara, I was persuaded to join the Steering Committee of the Society of Dance History Scholars and to help with the incorporation of the organization. I was the youngest member on the committee. The professional connections and lifelong friendships that I made on the Steering Committee, and later, after incorporation, as a long-term board member, were important to my subsequent academic career. Barbara Barker became a mentor and good friend, who helped me secure an appointment on the dance faculty at the University of Texas at Austin in 1984. She was taking a one year sabbatical from Texas to do research in London, and I was given her courses. That initial one-year appointment turned into a career for me at the University of Texas, when Barbara remarried and transferred to the University of Minnesota two years later.

Barbara played a major role in the development of SDHS, as she remained on the board for several years and served as President. She was always upbeat, witty, and brought a sense of joy to all the meetings. Her research centered on 19th century ballet and chorus "girls" and her writing style was as readable as it was funny and informative.

Her experience as a "pioneer" dance history teacher was passed onto me. We used to rush to buy the most recent dance history publications, assembled our teaching materials and reading assignments from a variety of books in big binders of photocopied articles, and relished in the early years of new research, new teaching methods, and the whole new field of dance history, which SDHS was helping to foster.

My years with Barbara at SDHS were memorable, as were the interactions with so many of the brilliant scholars on the board and in the membership. Barbara succumbed to breast cancer a few years ago, but her role in the founding of SDHS will not be soon forgotten.

Barbara Palfy's Thoughts on the Evolution of our Publications

Bright beads from a broken necklace constitute my reminiscences of the early SDHS years. I was not a founder, but having been a librarian in the Dance Collection (Genevieve Oswald, Curator) and segued into doing editorial work on dance publications—first, Dance Perspectives (Selma Jeanne Cohen, then sole editor), soon Dance Chronicle (George Dorris and Jack Anderson, editors), later other journals and books—I did know what was going on. Gegi Oswald and Pat Rowe had caballed in the reading room to form CORD; now an exciting new organization was looming.

The first conference I managed to attend was the second at Barnard in New York in 1980. It was every kind of "rush" imaginable: knowledgeable people purveying the succulent results of their research and thinking. That I can name many of them owes to one of them: Debra Hickenlooper Sowell. There was no such gift as a Proceedings yet, but Selma Jeanne had tapped Debra to "cover" the weekend, which she did, thoroughly. It appeared as five pages, single-space typed on 8-1/2″x14″ paper. I treasure my copy.

Departed (some sadly forever—Selma Jeanne Cohen, Ingrid Brainard, Barbara Barker, Wendy Hilton) members like Julia Sutton, Judith Cobau, Régine Astier, Suzanne Shelton, Susan Au, Suzanne Youngerman, Dianne Woodruff, Kathy McGinnis (Block), Anne Skalski Barbara Cohen (Stratyner), Carol Téten, Gretchen Schneider, Gloria Strauss, et al. presented—as did still active members Catherine Turocy, Julie Van Camp, Lynn Brooks, Sandra Hammond, Nancy Ruyter, Camille Hardy, Linda Tomko Selma Odom, and our emerita treasurer Ginnine Cocuzza, who introduced us to Angna Enters. Several sessions had "respondents," which enriched the offerings. All were brilliant. A treasure chest was opened.

The gem of the weekend was Ivor Guest, over specially from London to present the keynote address (on Cesare Pugni). It was given at the luncheon, which I recall taking place in a great paneled refectory at Barnard. In the middle a platform was placed and on it a thronelike chair. From there Ivor scattered his pearls.

Early conferences were graced—yes, I use the word—by dancing at the banquet. We learned a proper minuet. We square danced and round danced. The choices were local to the conference site, but often historical, of course. And we weren't bad, very good, in fact. The pleasure perpetuated because latterly I recall dancing at Goucher 2, Durham, Temple 2—others?

Toward the end of 1988 or in early 1989 it must have been, during Gigi Bennahum's presidency, the process to become a member of ACLS was afoot. One requirement was a publication, and an ad hoc committee had been formed to explore what it should be. Selma Odom was chair but for some reason had to step back from the position and asked if I would take over. Gladly, I said, since I was already freelancing as a copyeditor. I remember John Chapman and Aanya Adler-Friess on the committee and Selma O was available for consultation (others?). There was at least one meeting of the committee at the next conference, Arizona State University, where we discussed ways and means and agonized over the title—slowly, ponderously, and needless to say intelligently. We did agree that it should be a successor to Dance Perspectives, that is, a monograph series.

The timing now becomes unclear in my memory. A publisher with whom I worked was commencing a journals list, and wanted to do ours. That sounded good and would swiftly settle one problem. I canvassed our committee and the Board, and Gigi named John Chapman and me co-editors. At the Arizona conference Daniel Nagrin had presented his wife's, Helen Tamiris's, early journals, now open for the first time. He would be glad to have them published and since Christena Schlundt's monograph, Tamiris: A Chronicle of Her Dance Career, was out-of-print, these could shape up as a likely first issue. Another canvass, and off we went.

So appeared the first issue of Studies in Dance History. It was less than it should or could have been; the publisher made production mistakes and the editing could have been more rigorous. Against our better thinking, the publisher insisted on two issues a year, for which we really weren't prepared. But we were launched! After the fact, I formed an editorial board. Proper organization of the publication became a task faced by the succeeding president, Elizabeth Aldrich, and it took the five years I predicted for the journal to fully realize itself. SDHS became a recognized member of ACLU.

Using "Fair Use" to Free Archival Resources:

The Dance Heritage Coalition's Project to Increase Access to Dance Collections

Barbara Drazin, Peter Jaszi, and Libby Smigel

Collections held by archives, libraries, and museums are at the heart of dance research and teaching, but copyright protections can bar or restrict access to dance materials in these cultural institutions. Strict copyright adherence impairs libraries and museums from fulfilling their cultural mandates, by affecting the breadth of materials available for scholarly study, public programming, and classroom use. Thus, copyrights adversely skew the dialogue in the dance history and culture field. Advances in technology further complicate the issue for performance-oriented collections, because copyright issues related to new methods of delivering information are poorly understood for visual arts and video materials—materials essential to dance scholarship. Furthermore, revisions to and extensions of existing copyright laws now essentially guarantee copyright protections in perpetuity. Because part of its mandate included ensuring access to the records of dance history, the Dance Heritage Coalition (DHC)[1] began to explore how the fair use doctrine could give dance collections greater ease in making the records available and give scholars and teachers more confidence in searching out significant materials for their work.

Because an overly restrictive application of copyrights potentially contravenes the constitutional guarantee of free speech and expression, the "fair use" provision in Section 107 of the Copyright Law offers relief. The "fair use" language of the Copyright Law is designed to offer a flexible and powerful tool for situations where significant civic, educational, or cultural missions collide with the privileges of rights-holders. The "fair use" doctrine is available for *any* community that can demonstrate its significant civic or historical need for access to materials presumptively protected by copyright. The statutory criteria for determining "fair use" give general guidance, rather than providing prescriptive yardsticks, precisely because it would be impossible for lawmakers to have predicted the range of circumstances in which "fair use" might be appropriately invoked.

The DHC project has been advised from the outset by Peter Jaszi, intellectual property law specialist at the Washington College of Law at American University, whose ground-breaking work on fair use has dated from 1992 when the Society for Cinema Studies tapped his expertise. Issued as a white paper published in the *Cinema Journal* in 1993, this project produced an influential discussion on whether cinema scholars and their publishers could claim "fair use" of film stills needed for cinema studies research. More recently, Jaszi has worked with documentary filmmakers, teachers and other communities to develop "Best Practices" codes that state their shared assumptions about what is fair use—and what isn't. Even today, there are relatively few court precedents to help define the scope of "fair use." Often, the communities that have most needed the "fair use" doctrine to fulfill their mandates have been the communities with the least capacity for confronting a legal challenge from a rightsholder. With the general strengthening of copyright law protecting rightsholders, the "fair use" doctrine has become even more important as a legal resort for those communities who are unable to secure permissions through conventional means. And the record is clear that in many decisions about fair use, courts consider the customs of the "practice community," i.e., the collective understanding of what would be reasonable uses of presumptively copyrighted material.

When making their fair use determinations, balancing the needs of the public and the privileges of the rightsholders, contemporary courts focus on two questions about which the views of practice communities can be particularly influential. First is the issue of "transformative" use. Does the unlicensed use put the material to a new purpose? Is there added value in the new use, whether by adding commentary or simply by recontextualizing the material? The second consideration concerns the selection of the material used. Is the amount used appropriate for the purpose? That is, does the unlicensed material meet but not exceed the needs of the new use? A significant opinion

supporting fair use where creative materials are repurposed within historical contexts was issued in a 2006 case where a publisher included eight images of copyrighted rock concert poster art in a book after being unsuccessful in negotiating a fee for a license with the rightsholder.[2] The opinion contrasted the original purpose of the posters (publicity and perhaps interior decoration) with that of the book illustrations (historical chronicle of the concert tours).

At the heart of the DHC project is the conviction that, by developing a consensus in the dance research and archival field of what constitutes balanced applications of the "fair use" exception, dance collections will be able to move forward more confidently in their programmatic and archival practices. This proactive invocation of "fair use" has, in fact, succeeded in the recent project undertaken by the practice community of independent documentary filmmakers, whose work by its nature involves the use of copyrighted materials to create a new narrative. Furthermore, the process of documenting—taking a camera into a space where presumptively copyrighted material like music or trademarks might be visible or audible adjuncts in the scene—creates constant challenges to copyright autonomy. In November 2005, as an outcome of research and focus groups advised by Jaszi and staff of the American University Center for Social Media, organizations and associations of documentary filmmakers endorsed a statement defining best practices in applying the "fair use" standard to their work.[3] Since then, the reverberations from the documentary filmmakers' statement have had a positive effect on the field, with major insurers of "errors and omissions" coverage (essential for public release of films) agreeing to use the best practices statement as the measure of "fair use" compliance.

The Dance Heritage Coalition modeled its "fair use" initiative on the documentary filmmakers' project. In the summer of 2007, for Phase 1, Smigel and Drazin interviewed each of the board members of the eight DHC member archives about the scope of their collections as well as the projects and uses of their collections affected by copyrights. For Phase 2, from October 2007 to May 2008, the DHC convened a set of focus groups composed of librarians and archivists, technical staff who work with librarians, and scholars-educators in eight cities (Tallahassee, Washington, Philadelphia, New York, Chicago, Denver, San Francisco, and Los Angeles). Through these interviews and discussions, the DHC developed a set of scenarios where copyrights conflict with the programs and missions of dance-related cultural institutions. The objective of these discussions centered on identifying a consensus on what constitutes fair and balanced use of presumptively copyrighted materials for each scenario. Four significant contexts were identified where a statement of best practices for fair use would aid access to collections:

1) digital initiatives, including online delivery or posting of collection resources and materials;
2) exhibition of materials held in collections and their use in auxiliary products, such as catalogues, posters, guides for children, etc.;
3) access to and delivery of materials for use by individuals and organizations outside the library or archive, such as scholarly presentations, documentary projects, or other sharing of programming and resources; and
4) preservation initiatives, such as proactive migration of materials from old to new archival-quality or access formats.

For each of the scenarios, central to the discussions were the ways that archival, curatorial, and library services and programs repurposed their holdings by adding value and context. The discussions also considered the limitations of "fair use." According to the consensus of the participants, good stewardship as archivists as well as good-faith practice of "fair use" were described as giving complete identification of the materials and the rightsholders insofar as possible.

At the time of the 2008 SDHS conference, findings and agreements from the focus group were being collated, in preparation for drafting a Statement of Best Practices for Fair Use of Dance Collections, the third phase of the project. Once the board of directors of the Dance Heritage Coalition has approved the fair use statement, Phase 4 will involve seeking official endorsements from dance-related scholarly organizations and library associations. The statement will be published and available online at the culmination of the project. (For audience members and others who wish to be apprised of the next steps in the DHC's fair use project, please submit contact information to the project director, Libby Smigel, at Lsmigel@danceheritage.org.)

To demonstrate constructively how conservative interpretations of copyrights can impact access to materials of dance legacy, Barbara Drazin cited obstacles encountered in assembling the DHC's public, free-of-charge exhibition. In the fall of 1999,

the Dance Heritage Coalition had solicited nominations for a list titled "America's Irreplaceable Dance Treasures: The First 100." To commemorate the dance figures, works, organizations, and genres that were named among this list, the DHC planned a traveling exhibition with the same title, which would travel to four of the DHC member archives. Norton Owen, director of preservation at Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival, and dance historian Dr. Lynn Garafola served as co-curators.

Initially, because the materials were to be selected from among the holdings of the DHC member institutions, it had been assumed that permissions for exhibition would not be necessary; however, conservative in-house legal counsel required permissions to be sought for all materials. The Treasures exhibition predated the start of the DHC's "fair use" project. Had a statement of best practices of "fair use" been completed for the dance library community, it is likely that the preponderance of images selected for the exhibition, including most of the cases cited below, would have qualified under the "fair use" doctrine. Instead, valuable staff time and salary was expended in the effort to obtain permissions, and in some cases prohibitive licensing fees (which would not have been necessary if "fair use" were appropriately invoked), outright denial of permission, and/or obstacles to finding all the appropriate rightsholders meant that curatorial choices had to be modified. (Full identification of all of the images projected during this presentation is provided at the end of this report.)

The publicity poster of the 1978 musical *Dancin'* (Image 1) was chosen by the exhibition curators to represent the career of choreographer Bob Fosse (1927-1987). Copyrights for Broadway shows, especially those of Broadway shows that are typically financed by a partnership, present a challenge for tracking rights. It is difficult to determine the disposition of rights to the image (that is, whether the artist relinquished his or her rights in a work-for-hire contract, for example). If rights to the poster art had been acquired by the show producers or financial backers, often at the end of a Broadway run the production partnership is legally disbanded. This image, originally issued for the purposes of publicity and ticket sales, seems clearly repurposed as a historical artifact documenting the career and artistic contributions of Bob Fosse within the Treasures exhibition. In the absence of a statement of "fair use," significant time was committed in an attempt to identify the rightsholders, a search that was fruitless. The image was used in the exhibition, nonetheless, with no repercussions.

The rightsholder to photographer Thomas Bouchard's black-and-white photograph of Doris Humphrey with Jose Limon and Charles Weidman in her *Exhibition Piece* (1939) was easily identified through records kept at the Dance Division of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts (Image 2). Bouchard's sole heir, his daughter, did not, however, easily grant permission for use of the image in the exhibition. A first request to use the image, sent by mail in September 2003, was met with hand-written notes that expressed concerns about the aesthetic presentation of her father's work (quality of reproduction and proper attribution). Reponses involving long phone explanations and subsequent letters continued for almost a year without obtaining a signed permission form. A final letter from a co-curator that explained the image would have to be pulled from the show elicited a hand-written note that gave an okay.

An elegant photo of Ruth St. Denis performing *Tagore Poem* (1929), by photographer Soichi Sunami, also was included in the exhibition without a formal permission (Image 3). Again, the name and address of the heir was obtained from the New York Public Library Dance Division, but in this case repeated mailings to the address were never answered. In a final attempt, a certified return-receipt letter indicating that the image would be included in the exhibition unless the DHC was notified otherwise. The return-receipt, with a signature of a person other than the addressee, was received by the DHC, but no acknowledgment by the photographer's daughter, the heir, was ever received.

How to represent *The Nutcracker*, a classic ballet that has become a popular American Christmastime entertainment, among the exhibition of Treasures became a complex and time-consuming effort. Co-curators Garafola and Owen initially intended to include video clips from two versions of the ballet's party scene where Clara receives the Nutcracker from Drosselmeier. Neither selection ultimately was able to be included because of licensing issues. The party scene in Mark Morris's gender-bending parody (*The Hard Nut*) was set aside because of WNET's requirement that permission be sought from the program's entire cast, because it wasn't possible to identify all the dancers from the desired clip (Image 4). A different clip, one with only four dancers whose

identities could be traced successfully, was substituted: the French variation (Image 5). For different reasons, a clip of George Balanchine dancing the role of Drosselmeier in a public television version of his *Nutcracker* also was dropped from the exhibition plans (Image 6). This footage is readily available to the public by the 2004 reissue in DVD format of the documentary titled *Balanchine*; however, the Balanchine Foundation denied permission, ostensibly because it felt that Balanchine's *Nutcracker* could be better represented by a different selection. This is a case where a rightsholder attempted to dictate curatorial decisions. In its place, the co-curators chose a clip of Alexandra Danilova, also among the Treasures, dancing the Sugar Plum Fairy variation on a bare stage at Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival (Image 7). While the substituted clips in both cases may have had artistic merit, the original curatorial objectives for the exhibition were thwarted.

The curators chose a short clip from Lew Christensen's seminal ballet *Filling Station* that had been included in West Coast Arts Foundation's public television documentary titled *Encore for Ruby* (2000), specifically because of the added voiceover narrative. Where the major motion-picture studios had granted "favored-nation status" to the DHC exhibition, a category under which license fees were waived, the producer-director of *Encore for Ruby* requested an unusually steep fee. The curators thus included only the movement footage of the Ann Barzel filming in the video loop (Image 8). A photograph of Twyla Tharp by Annie Liebowitz similarly had to be excluded from the exhibition, because the fees set by the photographer were out of reach.

In cases where the performers' permission had to be secured as a contingency of a rightsfholders license, negotiating the bureaucracies surrounding prominent artists took a considerable amount of staff time. In the case of a clip from Balanchine's *Chaconne* (1978), both Suzanne Farrell and Peter Martins willingly gave their permission for the excerpt, but only after months of tracking paperwork by DHC staff (Image 9). In other cases, however, failure to obtain or afford permissions sometimes resulted in a void in the exhibition. To use a one-minute excerpt of Balanchine's *Tarantella* in the 1966 WNET program "New York City Ballet," WNET required written permission from Edward Villella and his partner Patricia McBride. Both Villella and McBride insisted on seeing the prospective clip before giving permission, an impossible situation as the co-curators were unable to obtain a copy of the clip from the archive without having the dancers' permission. Co-curator Garafola had used this very clip in a 1999 exhibition at the New York Historical Society, but by agreement the footage had been destroyed at the close of the show.

All of the images chosen by the co-curators, with the exception of the documentary voiceover that had been added to the *Filling Station* clip, should probably have been considered "fair use" for the purpose of the DHC Treasures exhibition. This case study is just one tangible example of the way in which strict assertion of copyright privilege may extend beyond the intended reach of Copyright Law, ultimately to the detriment of scholarly research, classroom teaching, and public programs in the dance field. The DHC project does not rewrite Copyright Law, but it will claim "fair use" for library and archive practices in acquiring, preserving and making available dance holdings and it should encourage better acquisition policies.

Images

The following two-dimensional images and video clips were displayed to accompany the presentation.

1. *Dancin'*, Broadhurst Theatre, 1970s. Poster designed by Bob Gill for the Broadway show directed and choreographed by Bob Fosse.

2. Doris Humphrey, Charles Weidman, and José Limón in Humphrey's *Exhibition Piece*, 1939. Photo by Thomas Bouchard. The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Dance Division.

3. Ruth St. Denis in her solo *Tagore Poem*, 1929. Photo by Soichi Sunami. The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Dance Division.

4. *The Hard Nut* (party scene excerpt), 1992, choreographed by Mark Morris and performed by the company. Dance in America, Thirteen/WNET New York.

5. *The Hard Nut* ("French" variation), 1992, choreographed by Mark Morris and performed by Alyce Bochette, Joe Bowie, William Wagner, and Megan Williams. Dance in America, Thirteen/WNET New York.

6. *The Nutcracker* (party scene excerpt), 1966, choreographed by George Balanchine, with Balanchine as Drosselmeier. Thirteen/WNET New York. Clip reissued in *Balanchine*, Kultur Video (1984, public television; 2004, DVD).

7. Alexandra Danilova in the Sugar Plum Fairy variation from *The Nutcracker*, Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo version after Lev Ivanov, filmed at Jacob's Pillow, 1952. Music added by John Sauer, 2003.

8. *Filling Station*, choreographed and performed by Lew Christensen, with Eugene Loring, Harold Christensen, Erick Hawkins, and members of Lincoln Kirstein's Ballet Caravan, 1938. Filmed by Ann Barzel. The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Dance Division.

9. *Chaconne*, 1978, choreographed by George Balanchine and performed by Suzanne Farrell and Peter Martins. Dance in America, Thirteen/WNET New York.

Acknowledgments

Thanks to Elizabeth Aldrich, dance curator at the Music Division of the Library of Congress and former executive director of the Dance Heritage Coalition, for introducing and moderating this forum.

Endnotes

1 The Dance Heritage Coalition was formed in 1992 through a joint initiative of The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the National Endowment for the Arts. Currently, members of the DHC are the American Dance Festival, the Dance Notation Bureau, the Harvard Theatre Collection of the Nathan Marsh Pusey Library at Harvard University, Jacob's Pillow Dance Festival, the Jerome Robbins Dance Division at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, the Lawrence and Lee Theatre Institute of Ohio State University, the Library of Congress, and the Museum of Performance and Design (formerly the San Francisco Performing Arts Library and Museum). The DHC board of directors is composed of a representative from each of the DHC members.

2 *Bill Graham Archives v. Dorling Kindersley Ltd., Dorling Kindersley Publishing Inc., and RR Donnelley and Sons Company* [2006], 448 F.3d 605 (2d Cir. 2006).

3 "Documentary Filmmakers' Statement of Best Practices in Fair Use." Released November 2005.

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Religion Impulses of Early American Modern Dance

Kimerer L. LaMothe

It is rarely discussed, but no less a fact for it. The body of work—danced and written—that Martha Graham left behind is saturated with religion. Of her over 180 dances, most feature religious themes, stories, symbols, characters, or ritual forms. In written and spoken accounts, she regularly uses religious language to describe her work. She describes dance as "movement made divinely significant"; she characterizes her work as a "practice" that generates "faith"; she calls dancers "athletes of god," and so on.[1]

In skipping over these *religious impulses* of her work, it might seem that scholars take their cue from Graham herself. For Graham refused to talk about sex, politics, and religion, except—as she would confirm with sly grin—in her dances.

Nevertheless, Graham's refusal to discuss doesn't stop scholars when it comes to sex or politics. The opposite is true.

When it comes to the religious impulses, however, scholars tend to shy away, explaining them, if at all, as examples of poetic flourish, dramatic flair, or Graham's tendency to mystify. These impulses are considered accidental to the meaning and significance of Graham's work. They represent the last vestiges of a pre-modern dance that later generations stripped away in order to liberate dance fully as an art in its own right from the tyranny of narrative drama, in short, from the *word*.

Here again, however, Graham herself was adamant: her dances were not literary works, nor attempts to "interpret life in a literary sense." Even those dances that consciously engaged known stories (such as *El Penitente, Errand into the Maze*, *Seraphic Dialogue, Deaths and Entrances*), or those that featured spoken or sung words (such as *American Document*, *Letter to the World*, *Clytemnestra*), she insisted, were in no way intended to imitate, replicate, dramatize or otherwise recreate what could be said and done in words. As she often quipped, if she could say it in words, she wouldn't need to dance it.

It is a paradox: Graham denies that dance is a literary art yet she constantly attends to texts, religious ones in particular, in making dance. Why? Why dance religion?

By doing so, at the very least, Graham is implying that there is something about religion, its values, beliefs, and practices, that can and must be *danced*. Her work suggests that the act of dancing enables some perspective on religion, some knowledge of it, that is otherwise not available through verbal means. What? What can dance illuminate? Conversely, what is it about dancing as an art that enables it to do so?

In the paper that follows, my thesis is this: in dancing religion, Graham was making the case that dance can serve alongside verbal forms as a source and measure of religious values, beliefs, and practices. Further, Graham implies that dance is qualified for this role because of the way in which the practice and performance of dancing challenge the mind-over-body logic that pervades western religion and its values—the mind-over-body logic that continues to marginalize dance as art, scholarship, and cultural event. By dancing religion, then, Graham sought to realize the capacity of dance to generate an alternative philosophy of human kind—what I call *a philosophy of bodily becoming.* In light of this philosophy, dancing religion is as necessary for the health of religious values as it is for the full unfolding of dance as art.

Religion: Yes or No?

Graham danced religion, yes. Nevertheless, she remained highly ambivalent about religion, its Christian forms in particular. From an early age, she had concrete personal experience of Christian-inspired hostility to dance—especially in the form of the Presbyterian Christianity she imbibed from her parents.

At same time, she did not simply reject Christian values, Protestant or otherwise. She remained deeply and persistently engaged with multiple religions, and not just as a source for choreographic material. She constantly talked about and taught her work in ways that aligned what she was doing in dance with what others did in the context of religion, Christianity included. In a letter to Ted Shawn, for example, she deems dance "her religion." In her autobiography she describes her first dance performance as occurring at age 3—when she stood up in the middle of a church service and danced down the aisle. Noting her decision

to break with the Follies and go her own way as a solo performer, she describes herself as doing her "Father's business."

I am not claiming that Graham was Christian or religious or that her accounts of what happened are necessarily true. What is interesting is that she *chose* to *represent* herself in these ways. It is that choice that I find significant.

Nietzsche's Dancer

In understanding Graham's ambivalence regarding Christian religion, a comparison with the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1840-1900) is helpful.

Graham first read Nietzsche in the 1920s, under the influence of Louis Horst, while both were touring with the Denishawn Company. Her reading of Nietzsche impacted her emerging sense of what dance is and can be. Early on in her solo career, she is reported to have said: "I owe all that I am to Nietzsche and Schopenhauer." Her early piece "Dance" was accompanied in program with epigraph from Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morals*: "strong, free, joyous action." His titles remained on the reading lists she recommended to dancers throughout career. Most notably, her signature line—"My dance is an affirmation of life in movement"—is vintage Nietzsche.

Nietzsche too, was highly ambivalent regarding Christianity. Born into a devout Lutheran family, he was expected to become a priest. Through his teens, however, Nietzsche's distrust of Christian values grew. It was then that he began to read the classics, and realized that there are alternative moral systems in human history. The Greek universe, as he explained in his first book, is characterized by an "affirmation of life." It was an affirmation he found enacted dramatically in the tragedies of fifth century Greece, Aeschylus in particular. In the staging of these tragedies, spectators were guided to greet the horror and suffering in life as a stimulus to love life even more. In contrast to the Greeks, Nietzsche perceived the Christian longing for escape to heaven and the afterlife, as well as a corresponding vilification of bodies and their desires, as hostile to life, life-denying. For him, the Christian world was a moral universe ruled by ascetic ideals: mind (or spirit) over body.

In wake of these insights, however, Nietzsche did not simply reject Christian values nor endorse Greek ones. Rather, he sought to learn from both Christian and Greek how to create values for his own time that would, in his words, "remain faithful to the earth." As he describes it, his project was one of *revaluing values*.

How did he approach this task? As Nietzsche claimed, what we learn from our study of alternative moralities is that humans are inherently creative. Humans are always creating value, and we are doing so because we are bodies who are constantly sensing, desiring, and acting in the world. With every move we make, we notice and move towards and honor one thing and not another. We create value.

Even in Christianity, Nietzsche admits, humans are exercising their bodily capacity to create values. However, the values they are creating are denying their own bodily capacity to create. Christian values are values created by weak bodies, sick bodies, bodies who long for escape from the struggle and suffering of life. Christian values, in Nietzsche's view, encourage us to sever from our sensory selves and deny our own role in creating ourselves and our worlds. They perpetuate a mind-over-body logic that is killing us.

Nietzsche's response, as noted, was to *revalue* ascetic ideals. Yet he realized, given the fact that we are creating bodies, that such revaluing is not and cannot be a purely intellectual task. We must first awaken our senses and remember how to think through them. We must energize our bodily selves, and stir in ourselves the strength we need to create values that support the health of our earthly bodies. Then we will be able to learn how to love.

Across his works, from beginning to end, "dance" is image Nietzsche uses to invoke this physio-spiritual practice. To dance is to bring our senses to life; to quicken our life energy; to hone and refine our instincts. And when we are strong, dancing is what we can and want to do. "Dance" for Nietzsche is thus the sign and fruit, the practice and effect, of affirming life. To dance is to affirm life—to *love* it, in all its bodily dimensions.

Graham's Religion

Turning back to Graham, this account sheds light on her engagement with religion. For there is evidence that she too, inspired by Nietzsche, intended to do what he describes: to make dances that revalue our ascetic ideals, our mind-over-body values.

Of many examples, let's take one: *Heretic*. While scholars usually discuss this piece in terms of social and political ferment of the time, the title is Heretic, not Rebel.

In the piece, moreover, true to history, the heretic is a dancer. She is dressed in white, an image of

innocence, arrayed against the menacing black of the chorus. The Heretic is a hero. Yet the hero falls, broken by the wall of bodies she cannot move. The dance seems to tell a story—and it predicts doom.

However, the comparison with Nietzsche suggests an alternative reading: what appears as a tragedy may catalyze an affirmation of life. How so? As in the ancient Greek tragedies, the dance draws the spectator to identify both with the individual—as woman in white—and with the forceful, rhythms of the moving group. We are her—one who loves dance. We are also them—one who sees her as "heretic" and thus a challenge to our highest (ascetic) ideals.

In stirring this double identification, then, the dancing calls us to take responsibility for our role in being the wall against which the dancer in each of us breaks. The dance asks us to take responsibility for participating in a culture that not only demands conformity to its notion of "individual," but denies dance a role in the religious landscape. She is a heretic. The dance thus primes us to experience the persecution of dance as a denial of our own kinesthetic selves.

Moreover, every dance makes a case for what dance is. *Heretic* is no exception. In offering this visceral, visual experience, the dance also presents "dance" as the medium in which religious, historical resistance to dance may be critically examined. In the context of this dance, such condemnation is no longer an obstacle to dance making. On the contrary. The historical condemnation of dance is here *revalued*—transformed by the dancing into a stimulus for making dances that catalyze in spectators an awareness of their own situation as dance lovers in a dance-hostile society.

The dance revalues hostility against dance. The meaning of that hostility changes, for it is now, in light of the dance, an occasion to explore and unfold the power of dancing in representing it.

Thus, in so far as the dance succeeds in moving spectators (with its "story" of demise), it paradoxically spurs them to resist the values, practices, and cultural mores that deny dance a constitutive role to play in human life. What might seem like a tragic tale catalyzes an affirmation of life in ways Nietzsche describes. What is affirmed is life—our inherent bodily creativity—our ability to welcome what resists life (or dance) as a stimulus to love it even more.

This kind of revaluation permeated many of Graham's works. Time and again Graham's dances present the act of dancing as capable of revaluing values—shifting our experience of what we have taken for granted about religion, including Christian antipathy towards dance.

From this perspective, Graham's decision to dance religion goes to the very heart of her project. To "free" dance from religion would be to deny dance a role to play in the ongoing life of the most influential cultural matrix. It would be to participate in limiting dance, by reserving the territory of our highest ideals for other practices. For Graham, dance must engage religious materials in order to realize fully its cultural significance as art.

A Philosophy of Bodily Becoming

As noted above, the religious impulses in Graham's work are not limited to dances themselves. Her use of the religious language to describe her practicing, dance making, and performing further illuminates what it is about dance that, at least for Graham, makes it such a valuable player in revaluing values. For Graham, the practice of dancing provides us with a knowledge that is uniquely qualified to displace the mind-over-body logic that permeates Christian religion and western culture more generally. That knowledge is a *sensory awareness of ourselves as bodies whose movement is making us*. It is a sensory awareness that forms the basis for a vision of life that I am calling a philosophy of bodily becoming.

Connecting the dots of Graham's religion language, we find three moments of this philosophy. We are bodies. Our bodies are movement. The movement that we are is making us.

1) First, we are bodies. Graham writes often about bodies. For her, bodies are holy. Bodies stand on sacred ground. Bodies are where the primaries of life are manifest. In dance we work our bodies, work with our bodies, and in this sense, we work with what is most basic in every moment of our lives—the thoughts, feelings, and memories traced in our bodies, in our blood. Working with our bodies, we are working with the media in and through which we sense and respond, grow and evolve.

2) At same time, Graham does not celebrate a "natural body" or body as object, per se. She reserves her religion language for describing a moving body. A body that moves. A body that is itself movement. If we follow her religion language, we notice that she uses it to call attention to the *changes* that happen to us as we practice dance. It is not only that our bodies change as we gain strength, agility, grace, but that our experience of ourselves as bodies shifts. We experience our

bodies as engaged in a process of becoming. It is because of our practice, she suggests, that we come to appreciate our bodies as animals, instruments, or divinities—as athletes of god.

3) Finally, in this shift of experience, we not only appreciate that the bodies we are are moving, we also come to appreciate how our bodily movement itself is driving this change. When we practice dance, we are creating kinetic images—patterns of sensation and response, coordination and intention—that become who we are in the world.

Every time we make a movement, we alter the medium in and through which we live our lives. We change. We become someone who made that movement, who can make that movement, who knows she can make that movement, who is more likely to make that movement as a source for other movements.

As we practice dance, then, we develop a sensory awareness of how we are constantly making the movements that are making us who we are. We gain a concrete experience of the creative power of our own bodily becoming.

The primary example of this dynamic is breathing—also the basis of Graham's technique. When we breathe, the movements we make are making us able to think and feel and act at all. As we know, Graham isolated and stylized the movements of breathing to create kinetic images of contraction and release. These patterns of sensation and response symbolize breathing, but they are also effective. As we practice these patterns of sensing and responding, they grow stronger in us. We are more able to mobilize them in support of more forceful, fluid, and nuanced movements.

In practicing Graham's technique we exercise the very dynamic by which we live—not the rhythm of breathing per se, but the rhythm of making the movement that makes us who we are, creating and becoming the patterns of sensation and response that guide us in the world. By isolating and stylizing the movements of breathing, Graham allows us to acknowledge and actively engage the fact that: *I am the movement that is making me*. Dancing we learn about our bodily becoming by consciously participating in it.

In this light, the significance of Graham's religion language appears. When she describes her practice as generating faith, the faith she invokes is not in "god" or a true belief. It is not a faith in some force outside the self, nor in a self itself at all. Rather, the faith is in a body's inherent value-making creativity—faith in our capacity for creating and becoming patterns of sensation and response. It is faith in the rhythms of bodily becoming. In the combination of her practice and her descriptions of it, Graham is thus revaluing the word "faith." Her lived experience of dancing—not an authoritative text—is what gives it meaning.

Likewise, when she refers to dancer as "athlete of god," she is describing this quality of dance practice—that we who do it are participating consciously in our own bodily becoming. Here again, dancing appears as the source and critic of religious values because of the way in which dancing dislodges our experience of ourselves as minds-over-bodies, helping us develop instead a sensory awareness of ourselves as the movement that is making us.

We see an example of how this philosophy of bodily becoming revalues Christian values in Graham's piece, *Acts of Light*.

While Graham relates how the title of the dance refers to a letter Emily Dickinson wrote to a friend thanking her for her "gifts of light," the references to Genesis as clear. In an introduction to a filmed version, Graham describes the most "terrifying and beautiful prayer in the Bible" as the words, "Let there be light."

The third section of the piece begins in darkness. As the lights come up, gold-unitarded dancers stream onto and around the stage, gathering in the center, and settling down to the ground for the basic movements of advanced Graham class, sitting, standing, and moving across the floor.

The multiple levels of significance in this piece map the moments of bodily becoming.

1) For one, we see bodies, highlighted. The gold skins they share call attention to the differences in shape and size. They are individuals, moving together. Bodies of light.

2) Yet they are not just bodies. They are revealed as bodies making movements—bodies making the very movements that have made them who they are as dancers and as humans. They are creating and becoming kinetic images of contraction and release—practicing the movements of their own life-enabling breathing.

3) So too, as seen in the context of the dance, these bodies are not just bodies moving. The dance frames this action of making the movements as inherently creative—as an act of creation. The act of making the movement is an act *of* light in two senses of that word: the action of moving is making light, and it is an action that the light itself is making. In this way, the

dance frames this movement practice as an act through which these dancers are creating themselves, becoming who they are, and in the process, bringing the world into being.

This claim, for any who study theology, is radical. It represents a thoroughgoing revaluation of the biblical words "Let there be light." The dance shifts our experience of these words, enabling us to see that they mean, "Let there be dance." These bodies, in exercising their self-creating potential of bodily movement, are the in-streaming of light, doing the work of creation.

They are creating themselves as instruments capable of revealing *the human* for what it is—a rhythm of bodily becoming.

Finally, the dance is not *saying* these things. The piece offers viewers a visceral and visual experience of what it is like to participate consciously in the process of bodily becoming. The dancing communicates the sensation of making the movements, such that the act of watching the dance serves to stir in us, as viewers, new experiences of ourselves as acts of light, creating and becoming the patterns of sensation and response that make us who we are. In this way, the dancing occasions an *affirmation of life through movement.*

Seen through the lens of this dance, dance appears as having a vital role to play vis-a-vis our religious lives. Dance provides us with a distinctive knowledge of what biblical words also teach, a perspective on origins, source, and telos. Dance offers a knowledge of our bodily participation in the ongoing creativity of the world. In so doing, the practice and performance of dance provides a critical purchase on the movements we are making in any dimension of our lives. What are we creating? Who are we creating ourselves to be?

Conclusion

I am not claiming that Graham's dance is religious or religion. Rather, I am claiming that Graham realized that the fate of dance in western culture hinges on ability of dancers and dances to displace the mind-over-body patterns of thinking, feeling, and acting that keep us privileging verbal forms as conduits of truth, knowledge, and authority. To do so effectively, dancer and dance makers have to engage religion critically and constructively.

The implication is clear. If we fail to engage religious values, themes, stories, we leave intact a primary cultural buttress that continues to marginalize dance and authorize its exclusion from universities, colleges, and cultural conversations about important things. In so far as we do, we who love dance will always fall on the horns of a dilemma: using verbal means to defend a "nonverbal" art.

To dance religion, in this regard, is to challenge the verbal/nonverbal dichotomy at its roots. It is to enact a philosophy of bodily becoming that brings with it the possibilities of thinking and feeling and acting in ways that honor that bodily becoming as source and measure of our lives.

Endnotes

[1] For sources for these and other quotations, please see *Nietzsche's Dancers* (LaMothe 2006). This paper highlights points that are further elaborated and developed in that book.

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"*If/Then Open Source* as Computational Performance and Interactive Archive"

Harmony Bench

In his 1995 text *Archive Fever*, Jacques Derrida interrupts his discussion of Freudian psychoanalysis and the archive to briefly imagine the effects, or shocks, late 20th century communications technologies would have introduced into the young discipline. Enjoying a speculative detour into the electronic terrain of email and word processing, Derrida concludes that a different set of technologies would have rewritten the history of psychoanalysis, which was predicated on analog models of inscription and archival memory. He states:

> "The archive, as printing, writing, prosthesis, or hypomnesic technique in general is not only the place for stocking and conserving an archivable content *of the past* which would exist in any case, such as, without the archive, one still believes it was or will have been. No, the technological structure of the *archiving* archive also determines the structure of the *archivable* content. […] The archivization produces as much as it records the event." (Derrida, 16-17. Emphasis in original.)

Technologies have a profound effect on what can be preserved, and therefore on what socio-historical understandings of documentation and memorialization emerge. If digital communications technologies would have disturbed the archival metaphors upon which psychoanalysis was constructed, then what are the consequences of the radically different structures and functions of the online and digital archives that define our era for the fields of dance and performance studies? YouTube and social networking sites are transforming archivization from the feverish collection, categorization, and preservation of objects into a frenzied creation of content to fill our bottomless caches of information—entities which no longer preserve the past for the future, but serve as repositories of the current historical moment for contemporary audiences.

In the quote above, Derrida suggests that archivization both produces and records events. He would seem to indicate that the process of preservation articulates events along the conceptual or ideological lines embedded within archives themselves, which reflexively legitimate their own contents. Unrecognizable formats are made invisible to the historical record. Archivization thus produces events by making them visible and their artifacts legible. In this essay, I pursue Derrida's remark along alternate lines. I argue that digital archives have the capacity to produce, that is, to generate the performances they are also employed to document and store. As a particularly rich example of this phenomenon within dance, I explore Richard Siegal's adaptation of the choreography *If/Then* for the Web in *If/Then Open Source*.

Historically, dance has summoned a range of documentary technologies to compensate for what Andre Lepecki describes as "dance's somewhat embarrassing predicament of always losing itself as it performs itself" (126). However, the past several years have seen many attempts to recuperate dance's ephemerality as a theoretical advantage. Marko Franko attributes this change of heart to Derridean deconstruction and particularly his notion of the "trace," the self-erasure and disappearance that the archival documentations of performance were employed to guard against. This position valued dance-as-disappearance and underwrote the theoretical primacy of performance as that which, Philip Auslander argues, is assumed to precede and authorize its documentation.[1] There may yet be value in strategically asserting performance as always-already past, or as inexhaustibly detailed and uncapturable by the archive's hopelessly impoverished documentary technologies. Nevertheless, popular culture is rapidly reformulating the archive as inexhaustible in the face of our ability to perform. While some digital archives, particularly collections sponsored by libraries, museums, and other institutions of memory perpetuate the conservationist impulse behind traditional analog archives,[2] others reposition the archive as a mechanism for modulating between performance and documentation within a shared electronic space. In such cases, I argue, documentation authorizes and produces performance.[3]

Among dance-related works that tap into the dual documentary and performance functions of digital archives, a few deserve mention: The OpenEnded Group's *Loops* uses computer intelligence to render ever-evolving animations built on motion capture data taken from Merce Cunningham's dancing hands; Katrina McPherson and Simon Fildes's whimsical *Move-Me* turns the conventional photo booth into a space of dance and posts the results to the Web; and Richard Siegal's Web-based *If/Then Open Source* combines documentary footage from a New York performance with user-generated content. Each of these pieces reconsiders the dualistic relationship that has been established between performance and documentation in both dance and performance studies. *If/Then Open Source* offers a particularly complex example of how a dance and an archive can play out as part of a single work. In it, we find documentation of a performance, performances that exist solely for their documentation, executions of a choreographic score by a computer-performer, and an auto-archiving archive.

If/Then Open Source is a Web-based adaptation of *If/Then*, a choreography that premiered at Danspace Project in 2005 with performers Janis Brenner and Jeanine Durning.[4] *If/Then* employs a series of rule-games built around conditional statements that govern the performers' execution of discrete gestures: Siegal explains, "If you do x, then I do y. If I do y, you can do z or n, etc." (59.) Each gesture thus demands one of a few possible responses that may either perpetuate or break a repetitive cycle of movements, a scenario Siegal compares to hyperlinks or the branching structure of non-linear narratives (59). For *If/Then Open Source*, Siegal and his collaborators Hillary Goidell and Florent Berenger migrated *If/Then*'s choreographic score, which already followed a computational logic, to a personal computing environment. The work is housed on the Internet, and users are invited to participate in the work by contributing their own content. Their performances add to a growing online archive.

On the computer display, images in a jumble hover against a white space. Arrows fly across the frame to connect them, organizing the images into possible sequences, but adding to their visual mess. The images and vectors between them form what Siegal calls a flowchart, a diagram that leads from one media event to another. Buttons and icons define the top and right side of this would-be sketchpad, while a black swath covering the bottom third of the screen provides play and restart controls, a viewing pane, instructions and users' comments, and buttons that allow users to save their flowcharts or to revert to others. Every flowchart, and thus every performance, begins with Brenner and Durning's duet: "Sitting neutral, no hands," a position, Siegal's comments read, "with great potential for movement" (http://www.thebakery.org/ifthen). Their documented gestural dialogue thus initiates all the performances that subsequently unfold, weaving through additional footage from the show, as well as material supplied by users.

Visitors to the site have the option to contribute drawing, sound files, still images, or video to *If/Then Open Source*, all of which is annotated and justified with comments such as "A wave to start the sequence"; "Flavor Flav is the one who makes the most $$$"; and "Violence is never justified." One user has posted a photo of a man standing in front of a bulletin board and comments, "[The] posture of a real person is highlighting the body in everyday life" (http://www.thebakery.org/ifthen). Placed in this context, the photo contradicts Brenner and Durning's theatricality, whose realness is put into question as a result.

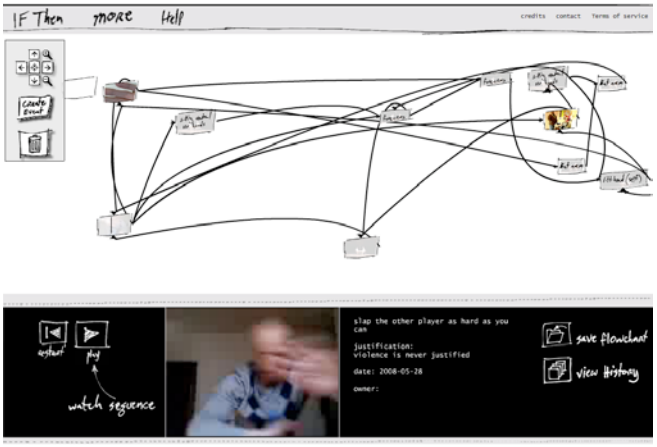

Fig. 1. Screenshot, *If/Then Open Source*. Used with permission.

Though nothing prohibits users from uploading performance documentations of the variety Siegal has posted from *If/Then*, at this point, users have not uploaded recordings of stand-alone works. Instead, using webcams, computer users record themselves performing in their living rooms, dance studios, and other semi-private spaces.[5] What better space to self-consciously bob and roll one's head than at one's workstation? Where else to provoke a one-sided slap fight that continues movement themes established in

Brenner and Durning's duet? Unlike the documentary video clips from *If/Then*, the video and still images that users upload are performances that do not exist apart from their documentation. Users are performing not for an audience, but for the archive. Their posts are thus similar to what Philip Auslander calls "performed photography."

Pointing to Cindy Sherman's film still photo series, Yves Klein's "Leap into the Void," and Matthew Barney's *Cremaster* films, Auslander explains that "these are cases in which performances were staged solely to be photographed or filmed and had no meaningful prior existence as autonomous events presented to audiences. The space of the document (whether visual or audiovisual) thus becomes the only space in which the performance occurs." ("Performativity," 2).[6] Likewise, *If/Then Open Source* is assembled out of performances for camera accessible only through their documentation; there is no performance prior to or independent of recording. The act of performance and the documentary record are thus collapsed onto each other, with the documentations becoming themselves the performances they depict.

Pressing play, the images are again made to perform in their changing juxtapositions with other components of the work. Unlike Auslander's performed photography, which is staged but static, *If/Then Open Source* absorbs users' modifications into its larger computational choreography. Siegal and his collaborators exploit the capacity of their digital adaptation to execute unique iterations of the choreography with each playback. Siegal's performance documentation and other users' performances for documentation provide content for the computer's own performance, in which it executes code to access and navigate the stored media events in real time.[7]

Theorizing performance in the context of electronic literature, Rita Raley suggests that each encounter with hypertext includes at least two performers: the user, who operates a digital document, and the computer system, which, Raley argues, "itself performs or is even performative" (Para. 10).[8] A computer's rendering of code, in other words, is very like the performative utterances theorized by J.L. Austin, which have the power to perform or bring about the situations they name. Similarly, when a computer executes a coded set of instructions, it actualizes the events indicated. Thus Raley argues, "the performance collapses processing and product, ends and means, input and output, within a system of 'making' that is both complex and emergent" (Para. 10). Like performance, the digital work exists in its being put into play, in its doing. In this scenario the computer, which chooses what item to display at each juncture, is one of *If/Then Open Source*'s several performers. Executing the code, the computer system follows a script that indicates the parameters of its performance. Whereas Brenner and Durning chose between possible gestures according to Siegal's choreography, the computer selects from among available media events: if y media event displays, then z or n will display next.

In their performance, Brenner and Durning's score is visible only in its effects, in the ability of audience members to recognize a pattern as movement information repeats itself. In *If/Then Open Source*, the score is visualized onscreen as directional arrows connecting blocs of information. These act as an aesthetic device, but also help to establish a pattern where users might expect a computer program to display events at random. The onscreen representation of the hidden code makes the script available for viewers to track as media events are sounded or screened. Whereas audiences had to deduce the logic behind *If/Then*, in *If/Then Open Source* the logic is prominently displayed. Missteps on the part of Brenner or Durning might appear as a hesitation, or may go unnoted. In *If/Then Open Source*, however, missteps of a computational nature are obvious. The computer system performs by executing code qua performative statements, but it also performs in its inability to do so. Failures, freezes, and glitches are very much a part of any computer's repertoire.[9]

Integrating user input into a constantly evolving work, the creators of *If/Then Open Source* have pushed the underlying Flash software to its limits. As new content is added or new connections are formed, the program must grapple with the changing conditions of its performance. Users witness the computer's efforts to make sense of its task as it encounters drawings and sounds, which are particularly difficult pieces of information that cause glitches in the system. Though the undertaking would seem simple enough—choose either this or that—the computer sometimes cannot decide upon an action. Sounds from one media event overlap with another or introduce an unintended and inescapable loop into the sequence. Drawings superimpose themselves on video images. Media objects disappear. Menus linger on the screen. The code would seem obfuscated even for the computer

reading it. The computer thus deviates from the score and launches into its own directionless performance of computational instability.

Luckily, there is an ever-growing archive that documents each phase of *If/Then Open Source*. Every change a user makes to a flowchart is met with an immediate demand to save it anew. This enables users to revert to prior incarnations of the work, which they can also modify, or to restore a previous flowchart if they are dissatisfied with other users' alterations. Hitting the save button, a user does not commit any one performance to the system's memory, he or she saves the flowchart, the visual representation of the coded choreography underlying each computational performance.

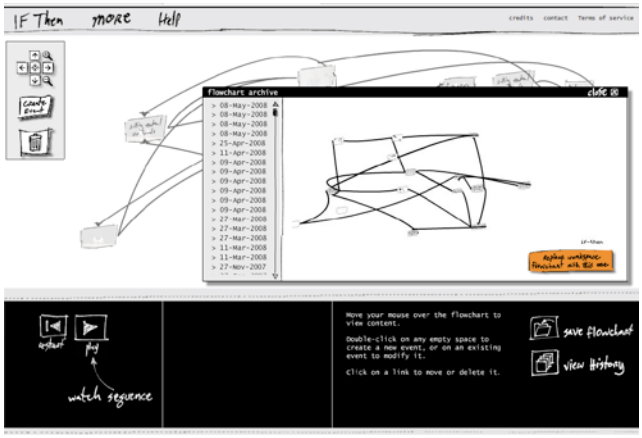

Fig. 2. Screenshot, *If/Then Open Source*. Used with permission.

Though the archive has generally been configured as a means of storing and preserving objects, as an interactive digital archive, *If/Then Open Source* occassions new performances at every turn. It redeploys clips of video documentation and solicits performances from users, whose presentations exist only as documentation. It performs the uploaded media events as it navigates and displays them in real time, performatively executing a choreographic score as it organizes the material into changing sequences. Additionally, it routinely saves the new choreographies that arise from users' manipulations of both content and connections as part of its performance-as-archive. *If/Then Open Source* intertwines dance and documentation, allowing the interactive archive to produce new user performances and computational choreographies.

Endnotes

1 In her book *The Archive and the Repertoire*, Diana Taylor notes parenthetically that "a video is part of the archive; what it represents is part of the repertoire" (21).

2 The Library of Congress, New York Public Library, and other institutions make many images and short video files available for general interest and also as research tools. Most museums now upload at least some images of the objects in their collections. Because the holdings of libraries and museums are so vast, uploaded materials often function as an advertisement for the physical archives they represent. However, there are online archives that make a lot of information available about a specialized topic. Examples include UbuWeb, which houses performance art, conceptual writing, music, and video material of avant-garde artists, and Clarisse Bardiot's Web publication of video documents and ephemera from *9 Evenings: Theatre and Engineering* through The Daniel Langlois Foundation. The primary difference between this type of digital archive and analog archives is that the digitization of the contents makes them more widely available to audiences unlikely or unable to travel to the site where the objects are housed. Digitization also enables researchers or the public to view duplications of objects too fragile to be handled.

3 Documentation and annotation, I would argue, jointly form a paradigmatic creative modality for this first decade of the 21st century.

4 The similarity of the titles prohibits the shortening of *If/Then Open Source*. The title *If/Then* will thus always refer to the Danspace Project performance and *If/Then Open Source* to the online work. *If/Then Open Source* was presented at the Monaco Dance Forum in Dec. 2006 and uploaded in its current form in mid-2007.

5 Video images tend to be of individuals rather than groups, perhaps as a result of the nature of "personal computing."

6 Auslander extends this logic to include musical recordings under the purview of performances as well. Since we encounter music primarily through its recordings, he argues, "the documents themselves effectively become the performances" ("Performativity," 10, fn 19). I would challenge the broader utility of Auslander's argument, which holds sweeping implications not only for musical recordings, but also for the entire field of cinema, which is constructed around performances of the sort Auslander describes. Even so, I find the notion of some performances existing only in and as documentation useful as I approach media-events through the lens of performance.

7 Philip Auslander makes a case for mediatized events unfolding in real time being "performance." He does this in part by linking the concept of liveness to real time, and thus by extension, to media. See especially *Liveness: Performance in a Mediatized Culture* and "Live from Cyberspace, or, I was sitting at my computer this guy appeared he thought I was a bot."

8 In "Reveal Codes: Hypertext and Performance," Raley further argues that "hypertext must be conceived in terms of

performance" (Para. 9.) Despite this claim and her reference to performance art "happenings" as a model, Raley nevertheless finds her primary artistic parallel not in the performing arts or in performance art, but in a painting: Jasper John's *Flags*. The piece requires a viewer to activate the work by shifting one's eyes from the orange, black, and green flag on top to the empty space below where a second, red, white, and blue flag emerges. The initial absence of the second flag, and its transience once it appears, allows Raley to focus on the self-erasure of the first flag, which enables the emergence of the second as trace. Like her contemporaries in dance and performance studies, Raley thus brings performance under the sign of disappearance.

9 Glitches of this sort fall under what Alexander Galloway terms the "disabling acts" of computation that interfere with user manipulation and intention, but remain part of one's experience of the work.

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Looking Back at Martha Graham's Letter to the World: Its Genesis, Its Reception, Its Legacy

Rosella Simonari

One of the most represented photographs of Martha Graham features her in a back kick, torso placed in horizontal position, her hand on her forehead. It is by Barbara Morgan and it comes from the final solo of Letter to the World (1940), a piece she created on the poetry and figure of Emily Dickinson. The protagonist is represented by two main characters, the One Who Dances, who performs the most challenging dancing role, and the One Who Speaks, who is her calmer alter ego and who speaks lines from Dickinson's poetry and letters. Graham had personally selected these lines so as to actively and directly interact with Dickinson's words on stage. The other characters represent different aspects of the poet's personality and they include the Ancestress, who embodies the poet's Puritan heritage and death; the Lover, who is a man she loved and her love for life and March, her childish side. The climax of the performance occurs during the fight between the One Who Dances and the Ancestress, a fight which represents the poet's need to affirm her own creativity through her poetry.

The above mentioned photograph is taken from Barbara Morgan's book, Martha Graham: Sixteen Dances in Photographs, first published in 1941 and then re-edited in 1980. Letter, in the 1940s, was already an important work within Graham's creative universe, but thanks to Morgan's pictures, it has become a symbol for her aesthetics. So much so that in 1986 it inspired one of Graham's fans, Andy Warhol, to produce several screenprints based on Morgan's kick photo. The same photo also recurs on the front page of two biographies on Graham, that by Agnes De Mille published in 1991 and the one by Trudy Garfunkel, published in 1995. Letter, in this way, has become a constant visual reference with regards to Graham and this reference has trapped the piece in beautiful images which have emptied it of its complexity. As Elizabeth McCausland has noted 'they are not abstractions from the whole, but parts which represent the whole' (1941: 120). They are part of the piece, they are fundamental documents for its reconstruction but they seem to have become the piece itself. Few scholars have, in fact, analysed Letter in detail and the Martha Graham Dance Company has not performed it since 1988. Part of its neglect lies in its layered structure, and also in the difficulty to approach a literary figure such as Emily Dickinson, whose reception history is very articulated.[1] However, Letter to the World is a fundamental piece in Graham's production and it deserves more attention. Together with pieces such as American Document and Every Soul is a Circus, it represents an important shift in her work, a shift that marks a change in her technique and in her approach to subject matter. Thanks to Letter she received her 'first substantial financial gift…from a private source…an anonymous check of $ 1,000' (McDonagh, 1973: 150). During the first European tours of the Company in 1950 and 1954, Graham insisted on including Letter in the programmes to be presented, against the will and advice of Erick Hawkins, her then partner on stage and husband (McDonagh, 1973: 216).

In this study I intend to look back at Letter to the World following three main aspects which are to be seen in relation to each other and which can be defined as follows: genesis, reception and legacy. First of all, working at this piece was a complex question, and it involved the look for the right person to perform the speaking Emily and a series of revisions. Second of all, the piece was not well received at the beginning but this did not discourage Graham. Last but not least, Letter needs to be seen according to a wider perspective, along with other works which do not necessarily belong to the so called 'American period' to which it is usually associated with.

Genesis

Letter to the World is based on a historical figure, Emily Dickinson. According to dance critic Walter Terry, Graham read a lot of material on the New England poet (Terry, 1975: 91). She probably read Martha Dickinson Bianchi's biography, Life and Letters of Emily Dickinson (1924), as it was quite popular at the time. In her autobiography she mentions meeting Bianchi after the first performance of Letter in New York in 1941:

> I had no idea that you had to have permission in order to use Emily Dickinson's poetry, from her literary executor, Martha Dickinson Bianchi, a woman with a fierce reputation, fully capable of standing up during the performance and stopping it. She was there that night. When I learned she was coming backstage, I dropped my dressing table mirror. Not a good sign. She swept in all in black with black jet beads and an almost dead-white face, looked at me, and said, "Young lady, I have no criticism, and from me that is high praise". And left. (Graham, 1991: 163-164)

Bianchi is portrayed as a kind of ancestress who gives her benediction to her heir. She looks severe and fascinating as the character Graham had created for Letter. According to Angelica Ribbs (1947: 35), Graham also read another biography, George Frisbie Whicher's This was a Poet (1938), and, in fact, some of the quoted lines are the same he uses in his work. In the first version of Letter, the fifth section was called 'This was a Poet' clearly inspired by Whicher's book title and taken from Dickinson's poem 'This was a Poet – It is That' (448).[2] The title of part one of the book is called 'The Little Tippler', an expression which comes from poem 'I taste a liquor never brewed' (214) and which Graham uses for the third section of her dance. Part four has as its third chapter the following line: 'The Leaf at Love Turned Back' which is used by Graham to designate the fourth section and which comes from poem 344.

Furthermore, Letter was not the only theatre adaptation on Dickinson in that period. In the 1930s two other theatrical productions had been staged, Alison's House (1930) by Susan Glaspell which won the Pulitzer Prize and Brittle Heaven (1935) by Vincent York and Frederick Pohl. Graham probably knew about them. However, these pieces were narrative dramas with a realist structure. They had a beginning, development and end, all set in a chronological order. In Glaspell's piece none of Dickinson's poems was uttered and in York and Pohl's play some lines were inserted within the dialogue between the characters, but the story was so melodramatic that they lost their elliptic quality. As I have specified elsewhere (Simonari, 2008), Graham's Letter, instead, was not a narrative piece and the poems were the only words spoken during the performance. This allowed a more powerful impact on the audience and the creation of a more surreal atmosphere.

The genesis of Letter was quite troubled and Graham had to work through different versions before arriving at a 'definite'[3] one. Letter to the World was first performed on August 11th, 1940 at Bennington College Theatre in Bennington, Vermont and then, after some changes, on January 20th, 1941 at the Guild Theatre in New York. It gained its 'definite' form with the performance presented on April 7th, 1941. In spite of the initial negative response, Graham insisted on re-working it until it became what she had in mind.

Comparing the programmes of the first and last versions we can have an idea of what Graham changed. In the first version the piece is divided into five sections, each underlined by one of Dickinson's lines: 'Because I see New Englandly', 'The Postponeless Creature', 'The Little Tippler', 'Leaf at love turned back', 'This was a Poet'. The characters are presented as belonging to two different worlds, the One in White, who impersonated the speaking Emily and Two Children, belonged to the Real World, while the other characters, including the One in Red, the Lover, the Ancestress and the Boy with the Birds, belonged to the World of the Imagination (Graham, 1940).

The speaking figure, the One in White, was initially played by actress Margaret Meredith. Graham was not new to the use of spoken passages in her dance. In 1938 she had created American Document, a kind of dance documentary on American history where the Interlocutor, played by an actor as well, spoke lines from the Declaration of Independence, the Sermons of Jonathan Edwards and the Song of Songs. In that instance the figure of the Interlocutor did not take part to the dancing, he was a character who stood aside. In this instance, instead, the speaking actress was supposed to be an integral part of the performance. She was placed centre-stage and, because she could not dance (De Mille 1991: 243), she did not move during the performance. In her stillness she attracted much more attention than the dancing characters. According to Jean Erdman, who was part of the dancing group in the first version, Meredith's stillness created a 'different dynamics' (Erdman quoted in Kriegsman, 1981: 211) that made the other main figure, performed by Graham, look inappropriate. With regards to the dancing Emily, Walter Terry recalled a conversation he had with Graham months after the first performance. He said that Graham had been working all the time on the group pieces without focusing on her solo parts. In a way 'she had done it backwards' (Terry quoted in Kriegsman, 1981: 210) and the figure of Emily Dickinson, which should have been the centre of the work, lacked the intensity she had devised for it.

The programme for the later version presented some significant changes. The outline of action remained the same except for a change in a couple of Dickinson's lines. For example the line marking the last section, 'This was a Poet' was replaced by the single word 'Letter' (Graham, 1941). The names of the two main characters became the One Who Speaks for the speaking Emily and the One Who Dances for the dancing Emily (Graham, 1941). Jean Erdman was chosen for the former, Graham remained for the latter. Erdman made a great difference as, being a dancer of the Company, she was able to move and speak so as to create the dynamics without interfering with the dancing itself. Some characters were erased like the Boy with the Birds and others were inserted like the Fairy Queen. Unlike the first version the two protagonists were not divided by the dimension they lived in as they were listed in the programme together. Rather, their difference was underlined through their names which reflected the characteristic of each of them, speaking and dancing respectively.

Reception

The reception of the work in the early 1940s contributed to the changes of the different versions. The first version was seen as 'transitional both in form and in ideas' (McClausand, 1940: 97) and the spoken lines were seen as breaking the cohesion in the piece with respect to the solo and group pieces. Dance critic John Martin, who was a great supporter of Graham's work, thought that it lacked 'unity of form' (Martin, 1940) and he affirmed that: 'If Graham is well advised, she will leave Letter to the World to slumber in the Vermont foothills' (Martin 1940). Graham was particularly affected by Martin's criticism and decades later in her autobiography she still remembered the episode: 'I could not blame his harsh criticism; it did have some elements that bordered on kitsch or perhaps went beyond it. One was the Fairy Queen I devised, who entered on point carrying a bird cage with a little stuffed bird in it. The others I shudder to mention, so I won't' (Graham, 1991:164-165).[4]

The second version, performed in New York, received a much better response. Martin noted that a lot of the material used in the first version had been abandoned and, even though he did not consider this version 'a finished job' (Martin, 1941), he potentially saw it as one of Graham's 'major achievements' (Martin, 1941). He compared it to Every Soul is a Circus and, among the faults he pointed out, he underlined the length of the piece and the consequent need for some group pieces to be cut. In the third version it seems that Graham had listened to Martin's advice because some of the group pieces were cut as Grant Code underlined: 'Cuts in the Party scene removed some very delightful but perhaps unnecessary elaboration.' (Code, 1941: 67).[5]

Edwin Denby, with regards to the second version, pointed out that the work was not too clear to him, but he praised Graham's solo dances, they 'are extraordinary for their devious grace, their unpredictable and fascinating current' (Denby, 1941: 196). He mentioned the legend surrounding Dickinson's life at the time, she 'fell in love with a married minister, whom she saw once or twice and might have run away with' (Denby, 1941: 196), but he did not really relate it to the piece, for example he did not speak of the Lover in this sense. He also underlined new developments in Graham's compositional approach and praised the contribution given by her dancers.

Letter also caused dance critics to investigate the relationship between dance and literature. One example is Mary Phelps's feature article published in the Dance Observer in 1941, 'Poetry and Dance (Thoughts after "Letter to the World")'. Phelps speaks of choreography titling, as choosing a title for one's own piece is not an easy matter and it reflects the choreographer's approach to dance: 'choreographers are constantly called upon to become poets, it being customary that dances have names' (1941: 52). The title for Letter to the World comes from a famous line from Dickinson's poem no. 441 and, as I stated in another study, it indicates the openness of the work (Simonari, 2008). Phelps focuses on Letter to the World, but she does not really develop the subject of her article. She quotes the programme note and basically lists some of the lines spoken during the performance.

The critics in the early 1940s barely talked about Emily Dickinson and did not analyse the characters in relation to the spoken lines, a crucial aspect to understand the work. Possibly this is due to the fact that the spoken lines were not available to them in the programme and it was not easy to remember them. Furthermore, critical material on Dickinson was not very developed in that period.[6] Most of them still seemed to have mainly focused on the dance. This approach helped to shape the future reception and, maybe, it contributed to its persistent neglect. One of the most detailed analysis of the piece is the one by Marcia Siegel in her The Shape of Change, published in 1979.

She opens her discussion with a pertinent reflection on Graham and Dickinson's shared Puritan heritage and continues by underlining their differences: 'By keeping her nonconformity to herself, Dickinson seems to have become free to express whatever she felt, but Graham seems never to

have rid herself of the old reservations.' (Siegel, 1979: 177). In presenting the characters, Siegel affirms that the dancing figure, the One Who Dances, actually interprets the spoken lines and, in doing so, she establishes a kind of dependence of one art on the other, falling into a dichotomous approach. In spite of this, she makes apt comments on the two main characters. She then describes each section in detail, but she does not analyse the spoken lines in relation to the dance. However, she does relate the characters' movements to one another and this gives an organic picture of the dynamics of the work. For example, in the love duet between the Lover and the One Who Dances, she notes that the Lover's embracing gesture echoes the 'Ancestress' clenching grip' (Siegel, 1979: 182), but she does not expand this intuition which is also sustained by the lines spoken in that moment: 'I'm wife…/I've finished that,/that other state…', taken from poem no. 199.

Legacy

Letter to the World is not a narrative piece, in the sense that it does not speak about the life and work of Emily Dickinson. There is no beginning or end and for this reason I have termed it an open work. Rather than following a linear structure, the piece is the representation of what I called the love (for life), death and rebirth cycle.[7] This cycle reflects Graham's dance technique too, where the process of contraction-and-release constantly alternate:

> For the deep release, there is a deep breathing in of air, and then expelling it out in a deep contraction. For the contraction I see the heavens; for the deepening over I see the earth. (…) There are also deep contractions, forward and backward. It is almost a rocking movement to the front and back, an unwinding. (…) Every study involves continuity. Pull, pull on the contraction. Do not cave in. And the contraction is not a position. It is a movement into something. (Graham, 1991: 250-251).

In Letter, this cycle emerges through the protagonist's 'inner landscape' (Graham, 1991: 163). The One Who Dances expresses her love for life in her solo pieces and in her duets with the Lover, she faces death when encountering the Ancestress who also separates her from the Lover. And she finally has her rebirth through the force of her poetry, represented by Graham in her final beautiful solo. In Letter Graham was attempting to express the inner aspect of the characters' personality, an approach to dance which she developed in subsequent pieces like Errand into the Maze (1947).

Based on the myth of Theseus and Ariadne, this was a journey into a woman's fear of her own sexual power. Theseus was absorbed by the female heroine who had to fight against the Minotaur, called the "Creature of Fear" (Graham, 1948). Like Letter this was not the story of Ariadne, but rather the exploration of her inner psyche. She did not fight against the Minotaur but against her own anxieties and she finally won. Graham affirmed that she mentally went through the steps in Errand when she needed the energy to overcome a difficult moment on a small plane that was 'travelling through snowstorm' (Graham, 1991: 267) directed to Teheran. 'I sat there and did Errand three times in my mind before we landed. It meant to me the passage through the unknown into life' (Graham, 1991: 267). After all, as Don McDonagh has hilghlighted with reference to Heretic, 'the theme of the outsider and the rebel was to be a source of many dances' (McDonagh 1973, 66). Marcia Siegel inserts her detailed analysis of Letter in a chapter called 'The Epic Graham' (Siegel 1979), thus underlining the legacy between this work and the Greek cycle.

Another fundamental element in Letter to the World, is the use of time. According to Don McDonagh 'time was broken sequentially, so that the "Now" and the "Then" became present in a new combination that inhabited the same space' (McDonagh, 1973: 149). Time is not organised chronologically, but through the use of flash-backs. For example, the love duet takes place in the fourth section and the poet's childish self is presented in the third section.[8] Graham is considered, in fact, to be the first choreographer to have introduced this technique in dance and Letter is one of her best examples, anticipating by years the way she uses time in later pieces such as Night Journey (1947). As with Errand, this piece takes its inspiration from Greek mythology and, in particular, from the Oedipus myth. With respect to the myth, the protagonist is not Oedipus, but Jocasta who recalls her illicit act in a flash-back before killing herself. As Graham did with Letter, so with this dance she explored the protagonist's consciousness, a process she called Jocasta's 'instant of agony' (Graham 1948).

Conclusion

In this study I have taken a meta-narrative approach to look back at Letter to the World, one quite neglected piece within Graham's creative universe. I began with the difficult genesis of the work which underwent several changes. I then moved on to analyse the reception of the piece in the early

1940s, a reception which helped to transform it in spite of its mainly descriptive approach. I finally focused on the legacy of the work which thanks to its cyclical structure and its modernist approach to time, can be seen as anticipating by years Graham's shift towards a deep psychological study of her characters.

As has been underlined, Letter is mentioned by scholars but not analysed in detail. In Anna Kisselgoff's words, 'as always Letter to the World remains a challenge to the audience, never as direct as it promises and more like a poem in its flight of imagery.' (1988) It is the hope of the speaker that Letter will begin to be taken into more consideration by critics and scholars so that its importance and relevance within Graham's work will be finally unveiled.

Endnotes

[1] For an overview on Dickinson's reception see Klaus Lubbers (1968), Emily Dickinson: The Critical Revolution, Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press.

[2] The poem numbers make reference to Emily Dickinson (1960), The Complete Poems, ed. Thomas H. Johnson, Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

[3] It is not entirely appropriate to employ the term 'definite' for a dance piece as dance in itself is a transitory medium which, by definition, does not include finite art works. However, it is useful to underline the final phase of the genesis of this work. For this reason I am using it between inverted commas.

[4] Even though Graham makes reference to Martin's 1940 criticism, she mentions the Fairy Queen character who does not appear in the programme of the first version. It might be that Graham got confused or maybe she also refers to other criticism that Martin possibly wrote or told her during the subsequent revisions when the Fairy Queen was part of the dance.

[5] The Party scene was one of the subsections in the piece.

[6] Dickinson's poems were initially published in an abridged form and those were the poems Graham read and chose for her choreography. The poems were published in an unabridged form only in 1955 with the Johnson Edition. Only after that date did a fully articulated critical body of work begin to develop on her.

[7] There are other pieces which echo this structure, i.e. Primitive Mysteries (1931) and Acts of Light (1981). For a more accurate analysis on this, see Simonari 2008.

[8] For a more specific discussion of this aspect see Simonari 2008.

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the Group, Bennington: Vermont State Armory, 6 August.

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Every Soul is a Circus (1939), chor. Martha Graham, set Philip Stapp, music Paul Nordoff, costumes Edythe Gilfond, feat. Martha Graham and the Group, New York: St. James Theatre, 27 December.

Letter to the World (1940), chor. Martha Graham, text Emily Dickinson, set Arch Laureter, music Hunter Johnson, costumes Edythe Gilfond, feat. Martha Graham, Margaret Meredith, Jane Dudley, Erick Awkins, Merce Cunningham, Benninton: Bennington College Theatre, 11 August.

Letter to the World (1941), chor. Martha Graham, text Emily Dickinson, set Arch Lauterer, music Hunter Johnson, costumes Edythe Gilfond, feat. Martha Graham, Jean Erdman, Jane Dudley, Erick Awkins, Merce Cunningham, New York: Guild Theatre, 7 April.

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Videography

Letter to the World (1973), black and white, dir. ?, chor. Martha Graham, set Arch Laureter, music Hunter Johnson, costumes after designs by Edythe Gilfond, feat. Pearl Lang, Jean Erdman, Armgard von Bardeleben, William Carter, David Hatch Walker, New York: New York Public Library – Jerome Robbins Film Archive –, Compton-Ardolino Films, inc, with the assistance of a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts, 5 December.

Looking at Loïe, Missing Modernity: A Metahistory of the Argument about the Great American Pioneers of Modern Dance

Hanna Järvinen

In my abstract, I proposed to compare some recent academic works on Loïe Fuller (Albright 2007, Garelick 2007) with early twentieth-century (circa 1906 to 1923) books on dance in order to discuss how, when and by whom our canonised view of the three great American pioneers of modern dance – Loïe Fuller, Isadora Duncan and Ruth St. Denis – was actually formulated and how. In writing, however, I drifted towards a more general view of the historical circumstances that have led to the kinds of views represented by the recent work on Fuller. In other words, this paper is a metahistory, to borrow Hayden White's (1975) term: it is not a biography of Loïe Fuller nor will it include one, it does not speak of audience responses to her work, or attempt reconstructions or analyses of such experiences. Rather, it talks about the context of how we came to hold Loïe Fuller in such high esteem, and a little bit about what is left out of our grand narrative.

The first two decades of the twentieth century saw the publication of numerous books on dance. As in the nineteenth century, there were still dance instruction manuals and books on social dance. Additionally, there were accounts by and of individual stars performers, for example Maud Allan's *My Life and Dancing* [1908] or Geoffrey Whitworth's *The Art of Nijinsky* (1913); and of troupes, such as A.E. Johnson's *The Russian Ballet* (1913). But from the 1890s onwards, one genre begins to dominate: general accounts on dance that attempt to place contemporary dance practice into the larger context of the history of dancing – or at least contemporary theatrical dance into the context of the history of art dance.[1] Indeed, it could be said that many of these new authors attempted to define what counted as 'art dance' prior to the First World War. J.E. Crawford Flitch's *Modern Dancing and Dancers*; Ethel L. Urlin's *Dancing Ancient and Modern*; Valerian Svetlov's *Le Ballet contemporain*, and *Dancing and Dancers of Today: The Modern Revival of Dancing as an Art* by Caroline and Charles H. Caffin all were published in 1912 alone; and *The Dance: Its Place in art and Life* by Troy and Margaret West Kinney, one of the seminal American texts that ran through several editions, was first published in 1914.

Although their style of writing is sometimes difficult to understand, ubiquitous and long-winded, and although descriptions of choreographic structures or analyses of movement qualities seem to be exasperatingly rare no matter what kind of dancing is being discussed, the books indicate the immense importance of dance as a cultural practice. Social dancing, ballroom dancing, danced entertainments in pleasure gardens, fairs and variety theatres were a major form of entertainment. Consequently, 'dance' in the contemporary press is a heterodox notion: dancing is talked about on society columns, in performance notes, reviews, articles on dance, interviews of, publicity pieces for and by star performers and their impresarios, in letters to the editor that are expressions of more or (usually) less spontaneous differences in opinion amongst aficionados, and so on (not to even mention ephemera like sheet music, programmes or private manuscripts, letters, diaries, notations, etc.). The dance books narrow down and simplify this complexity of what was meant by 'dancing' at the time.

Dance books contain stories of origin, attempts at building canons of dance. Even when they are not histories that would place dance in the context of preceding and subsequent events, or research in the sense of relating art dance to social or ethnic forms through structural analyses of choreography or the evolution of step sequences, the dance books all try to create myths in Barthesian sense: stories that simplify historical contingencies and change, that relate the present to the eternal and the universally true (Barthes 1972, 11-12, 109-159). In reality, of course, what is told in these books is always-already conditioned by the cultural specificity of the historical circumstances at the time of writing. Consequently, these books can reveal much about how dance was ontologically

conceptualised, then and now – what we have and have not retained from the ontological assumptions of these earlier authors. In Michel Foucault's terms, our genealogical formation as dance scholars owes surprisingly much to these early twentieth-century books, but not all of them, and not everything in them. Notably, the views of the pre-War authors on what was 'modern' about the dancers they discussed were rather different from those of later scholars of the interwar years, let alone scholars today.

For example, in 1912 André Suarès (1912, 328, 334) argued:

> La danse est une révélation de la joie. [- -] On ne peut concevoir la belle danse sans la gloire joyeuse des corps; et sans le don de la jeunesse, on ne l'imagine pas. Des êtres laids qui dansent, sont un affreux blasphème. La beauté fait la joie.

In these kinds of definitions of dance, aesthetic qualities such as grace and harmony are regarded as ontological, as inseparable from the being of the art form; rather than as aesthetic, that is, as mutable, historically changing preferences (see e.g. Fuller 1913, esp. 67-72). Thus, anything that is not graceful, harmonious, joyful or young is not dance but, as Suarès puts it, blasphemy. Frankly, this choice of words does not seem coincidental: the American 'pioneers' of free-form art dance all justified their art as 'spiritual' (even as 'religious') in a manner that derived from their cultural background in evangelical Christianity and temperance movements. They also all strove to separate their art from virtuosity (technical 'tricks' of ballet in particular) and from popular culture (the variety stage where most of them performed). Notably, they and their audiences had a vested interest in elevating the status of what they performed into something artistic. To do this, they took recourse to existing forms of rhetoric from other art forms, where the differentiation between 'highbrow' art and 'lowbrow' entertainment was more established (see Levine 1988; McConachie 1988).

Just as most of the people attacking corsets were conservative medical men concerned over the lower birth rates of upper class women and threatened by women's growing power outside the home (Steele 2001, 59-85, also 137-158), this new art dance, in its historical context, becomes conspicuously anti-'modern'. Contemporary quotidian movement, as J.E. Crawford Flitch (1912, 103-104) stressed, was harmful, urban, angular and jerky:

> the modern world has lost the old graceful motions natural to man in a less artificial state. The characteristic of natural movement is undulation. Waters, winds, trees, all living forms, obey a sovereign law of rhythm. Nature moves in curves and graduations rather than by leaps and bounds. [- -] The dependence upon easy means of locomotion, the resort to labour-saving appliances, the endless dull circulation through the rigid streets, the long periods of inaction interrupted by sudden spells of haste, have quenched the old buoyant and even rhythms. Human motion nowadays tends to be not flowing but angular, jerky, abrupt, disjointed, full of gestures not flowing imperceptibly one into another, but broken off midway.

Here, as in many of these early books on dance, the movement of the 'modern' dancers is explicitly contrasted to the ugly, urban present. Art dancing is graceful, fitting the aesthetic of Art Nouveau, all smooth curves and gentle waves; it is 'eurhythmic'[2] – that is, based on relatively simplistic notions about even rhythm, melody and harmony; and it is 'spiritual' and healthy so as to separate this art from the 'lewd' dances of popular culture: the high-kickers, the cake-walkers, the women who sold their bodies on stage. This dance was an idealised 'nature' in the eighteenth-century philosophical tradition – 'free' dance in an Arcadian idyll, everything 'healthy' that was missing from the urban environments in which these dancers actually toiled and sold their art. Despite her innovative use of modern stage technology, Loïe Fuller's art is full of flowers, fire, waves and curves in contemporary texts as well as in later research.[3]

However, Fuller is, in an interesting manner, a transitional figure. Many of the tropes of her autobiography *Fifteen Years of a Dancer's Life* (originally published in French in 1908, then first as excerpts in the English-speaking press (e.g. *The New York Times* 8 November 1908), and then in translation as Fuller 1913), can be found in other books by and of contemporary dancers (such as Ted Shawn's 1920 two-volume work on his partner, Ruth St. Denis). Yet, Fuller's story is still the autobiography of a variety theatre performer: the book is filled with stories of financial distress – broken contracts, professional

competitors, the hard work needed to stay in the limelight (or, in Fuller's case, the coloured electrical light). In other words, the autobiography is both a testimony of a publicity campaign and a part of that publicity campaign, and far more honestly so than some of the texts by and on her contemporaries.

The tropes Fuller uses were reproduced in other works, and are easier to notice if read side-by-side with similar star narratives. Let me give two excerpts of what can be called "foundation narratives", stories that establish the significance of a particular dancer. In both Fuller's autobiography and in Shawn's book on Ruth St. Denis, the American dancer arrives in Paris only to find, to her great distress, that someone else has already stolen their art:

> Imagine my astonishment when, in getting out of the carriage in front of the Folies, I found myself face to face with a "serpentine dancer" reproduced in violent tones on some huge placards. This dancer was not Loie Fuller.
> Here was the cataclysm, my utter annihilation.
> Nevertheless I went into the theatre. [--] It would be hard to describe what I saw that evening. I awaited the "serpentine dancer," my rival, my robber - for she was a robber, was she not, she who was stealing not only my dances but all my beautiful dreams?
> Finally she came out. [--] I saw there on the stage one of my contemporaries who, some time before, in the United States, having borrowed money from me had neglected to repay it. [--] My imitator was so ordinary that, sure of my superiority, I no longer dreaded her. In fact I could gladly have kissed her for the pleasure that her revelation of inefficiency gave me. (Fuller 1913, 53-54.)

Now, compare this with Shawn (1920, 12):

> Posted all over Paris were bills announcing that "Madame Radha, the original Hindu Temple Dancer," would open at the Olympia Theatre on the following night. This was a terrible blow! Some one in London, having seen Ruth St. Denis in *Radha* there, had duplicated the dances, costumes, and scenery as nearly as possible and through some malign influence had opened in Paris first.
> On the night of the opening they went to the Olympia to see the counterfeit Radha - a coarse woman who, copying the externals of the art of Ruth St.Denis, was incapable of expressing its purity and beauty even if she could have perceived it. It was a disgusting performance.

In both instances, the unnamed imitator is punished by being a failure, and the original American dancer triumphs:

> But my agent urged me so strongly to show the manager what my dances were like, especially as compared with those of my imitator, that I decided to do so. [--] The next day he paid my imitator and she left the theatre. That same evening I took her place and I was obliged to repeat her dance four or five times. (Fuller 1913, 56-57.)

> The real Radha created a furore which should have satisfied anybody. Mobs waited outside the theatre to see St. Denis come out. The press eulogized. Artists wanted to paint her; Rodin came to sketch her arms. The Baron and Baroness Rothschild came to her dressing-room and invited her to their home. And the engagement, instead of closing at the end of four weeks, was extended to six, keeping the Marigny Theatre open two weeks after the date of its regular closing for the first time in history! [--] But in the meantime the imitator of *Radha* had been repeatedly hissed off the stage, and at the end of four days her engagement was closed. (Shawn 1920, 13.)

Similarly, in both books, only the arrival of the Americans awaken European audiences to the fact that dance could be an art – Shawn (1920, 11) wrote that when St. Denis first performed in London in 1906 "London had not yet waked up to the dance, and her greatest London successes came later on her return." Shawn offers this as an explanation to the apparent lack of interest by St. Denis's contemporaries on her original and innovative modern dance. Thus, the lack of interest had nothing to do with the institutionalised form of art dance, ballet, or the numerous other theatrical forms regularly performed on contemporary stages; exotic troupes from the Far East such as the dancers of the King of Siam had been seen all over Europe; and even other Americans like Fuller or Isadora Duncan had preceded St. Denis. Similarly,

when Loïe Fuller first came to perform in London in 1889, she did so to replace the act of the skirt dancer Letty Lind (Letitia Elizabeth Rudge, 1861-1923). Indeed, Fuller's later "Serpentine Dance" is first discussed as a special form of skirt dancing (e.g. St.-Johnston 1906, 130-131; Urlin 1912, 154-155). In our canon, the foundation narratives have clearly taken the place of historical precedents.

These early (auto)biographies share numerous other tropes from the "I danced before I could even properly walk" (particularly prominent with ballet artists) or "the dance is my destiny" narrative (apparent, in terms of 'theatre as destiny' in Fuller 1913, 15-24) to more complex rhetorical modes regarding separation of art and popular culture, but I will focus on the foundation narrative because it is so blatantly fictional. After all, why would these Americans go to Europe to dance in the first place if no-one there would understand what they did was art? Moreover, why do we still only hear of the Americans? What happened to Letty Lind or Kate Vaughan and the Gaiety Girls? What of the Wiesenthal Sisters or the – quite literally – untold others the audiences came to see both before, during and after the Americans came over? And why exactly is it, that 'modern' dance, in the decades preceding the First World War, seems plagued with imitators? Originality is the keyword in the work of people like Helen Moller (Dunham 1918), but how many today know who she was?

Last autumn, Theresa Buckland explained to me about European society in the last decades of the nineteenth century – the following is an extremely simplified paraphrased version, and I hope that in her forthcoming book she will elaborate on this. In short, the biggest social invention of the late nineteenth century was the bachelor: young men of the ruling classes no longer wanted to get married and settle down. This deprived society matrons of their political power in defining who married whom, broke the system of arranging partnerships in the ballroom. When men left the ballroom – and they did so in droves – they also left the daughters of these society matrons without the power to choose their dancing partners and define, in their turn, who was 'society'. These abandoned daughters had learned from their mothers that dancing was a means to power, so they turned to performing it (some of them also turned to women's rights movements and became militant suffragettes, but let's stick to dancing).

Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century society columns are crowded with society ladies performing amateur theatrical dances. However, unlike Fuller, Duncan, St. Denis or their ilk, however, the women who performed in the ballrooms usually did not need to become professionals: they performed to their peers and any box office they collected was in the name of charity (e.g. Garvey 1913 parodied the society lady's difficulty of finding a charity for which to perform her dances). Just as the ideal of bachelorhood was most influential amongst the middle classes who had the money for the lifestyle, the professionalization of dance happened amongst women who had the will, the guts and/or the desperation to risk the financial insecurity and social stigma of theatrical life.

This is why I said the stories of financial distress in Loïe Fuller's autobiography are 'honest' – they are strikingly different from later accounts of 'art' dance, where such distress is edited out as unseemly or unimportant. For us, they also point out how the people who have acquired a place in our histories of dance were willing to fight, in court if necessary, for the right to be 'the original' that others copied (Shawn 1920, 16; e.g. Albright 2007, 61, 185-188). In the cultural market place, the original was worth more than the copy, and we should not forget these people were out to make a living. From a genealogical perspective, what matters is not who was really the first or the original. What matters is who won.

I am not out to dispute the artistry of our canonised figures but rather, to trace the horizon of expectations that contemporary aficionados of dance had of what was and was not dancing, how these expectations were formed in the salons as well as theatres, played out in the process of canonisation, and what got left out and why.

The pre-war books on dance rely upon a rhetoric that became increasingly difficult to uphold after the massacre of the First World War, particularly in Europe, where landscapes were literally obliterated in the shelling and machine gun fire. As the Swedish historian Peter Englund (2003) points out, it is difficult for us to imagine the world before the first total war: in England, Germany and France, not a single family did not lose someone dear to them in the war.

Americans, by contrast, did not experience this devastation as directly: civilians did not live in the landscape where even today, you will come across the shells of the war, the bones of the dead. In Somme, Verdun or Marne, a century is a short time.

The First World War had a profound influence upon how people experienced modernity, what they saw as important and lasting. Post-war modern dance, particularly dance in the expressionist German tradition, tried to come to terms with negative affects that had not really been considered possible for the art form prior to the cataclysm of the War – feelings such as fear, rage, terror and anxiety. But this kind of dance was not very pleasant, too similar to life in the city, and what 'won' (in e.g. Ellis 1923) was the familiar, conservative pre-war rhetoric of dance as healthy young bodies on Arcadian fields where no blood-coloured poppies grew.

Ironically, this dance that was still all about grace, harmony and nature became the favoured art of the National Socialists. Once again, the fields of Europe were transformed, and the collaboration – real or fictional – of modern dancers with the Third Reich led to a division in European dance history between the modern dance that preceded the Second World War and the contemporary dance that followed. In American dance history, no such division exists: the rhetoric of dance as spiritual, as graceful, as natural was most successfully sustained or reproduced in American texts that have, for institutional and political reasons, gone to form the hegemonic narrative of what the 'modern' signifies in 'modern dance' (Burt 1998).

This narrative is hegemonic in the Foucauldian sense of absorbing as well as silencing alternative narratives. We are well aware that the general narratives told of the history of dance are always simplifications – yet, because we cannot be experts on all periods, we tend to fall back on the hegemonic account whenever we teach our students about How We Got Here beyond the periods and areas in which we specialise. Even in Europe, we teach American dance history where Europe beyond ballet is an artistic void prior to the arrival of Loïe Fuller, Duncan and St. Denis.

To conclude, what the pre-war views on contemporary dance have to offer for us is more than data on dancers who never 'made it' into the canon. As narratives, they speak of a possibility to change our history, i.e. what we consider relevant *as* and *in* dance. The purpose of history is not to 'do justice' to the dead – the dead do not care, they are dead and won't be reading what we think. We write our narratives with our own political agendas in mind, our ideas about why the past matters and what in the past matters. If we are ever to come to terms with our genealogical formation as dance scholars, we should be more frank about why we construct the particular kinds of narratives of the past that we do, and pay attention to lacunae in the grand narratives of dance, past and present.

Endnotes

[1] Both nineteenth- and twentieth-century works borrow heavily from previous publications. Later publications focus more fully on staged dance, even when discussing folk or ballroom dances such as the minuette: see e.g. Kinney and Kinney 1936, cf. *The Dance Ancient and Modern* 1899.

[2] As a term, 'eurhythmics' is widely used of all kinds of dance in contemporary press, not just movement according to the system of Emile Jaques-Dalcroze.

[3] Since 'nature' is the product of urban, industrialised capitalism (its desirable excess), a 'return' to nature is a Romantic fiction fundamentally justifying the capitalist system of exploitation. Even if contemporary photographic techniques required natural light, 'free-form' dancers chose not to perform in front of a canvas out of doors, as seen in contemporary chronophotography (see Frizot 1998) because their art enacted this idealised 'nature'.

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Illuminating the Past: Recreating the lighting designs of Loïe Fuller

Megan Slayter

"You know that there is a projection lantern behind your head, solid hangings at the far end of the stage, supple materials on the body of the dancer… You know everything, and you know nothing." - Arséne Alexandre[1]

As the dance world explores the application of technology to the modern stage it is important to recognize the past and consider the first explorations in the use of technology and the first technology to share the stage with movement – lighting. The potential of lighting design as a significant component of the theatrical presentation of dance was not fully realized until one American woman, inspired by sun-light through the colored glass windows of Notre Dame, introduced the fundamentals of lighting design to dance. That woman was Loïe Fuller.

If dance is inherently ephemeral, lighting design is even more so. Is it possible then to present historically accurate lighting designs? Can reconstructed dances be performed on the contemporary stage with the same attention paid to the authenticity of lighting as to the authenticity of movement, scenery and costumes? This paper will demonstrate not only the possibility of doing so, but also propose a process for recreating historically accurate lighting designs.

Loïe Fuller was a pioneer of modern dance. An American, her creative displays of light, movement, and music were the toast of Paris at the turn of the 20th Century and an inspiration to symbolist movements like Art Nouveau. Artists such as Toulouse Lautrec, Pierre Roché, and Jules Chéret captured her image in paint and sculpture, while Stéphen Mallarmé wrote of her dances and artistry. Her acclaim as a dancer lay not in her physicality, indeed she was often described as plump and unattractive, but in her innovative use of theatrical lighting combined with yards upon yards of moving silk. Much of modern lighting design for dance can draw its origins from her innovative lighting techniques.

My fascination with Loïe Fuller began in 2003 as a graduate student at The Ohio State University where a fellow student, Jessica Lindberg, was working on a reconstruction of Fuller's famous *Fire Dance* as part of her MFA thesis project. I was familiar with Fuller's work through various classes in dance history, and was intrigued by the vague descriptions of colored, electric lights projected on enormous white silk costumes that are often summarized in books on modern dance history. As a lighting designer for dance I was interested to see if it was possible to create a design that would accurately reflect the compiled research. Now, five years later, I find I have discovered, in my own research of the lighting designs of Loïe Fuller and the reconstruction of those designs, a topic that continues to entice and intrigue me. To date, Lindberg and I have collaborated to reconstruct three of Fuller's signature solos, *Fire Dance*, *Night*, and most recently, *The Lily*. Archival explorations of Fuller's work reveal clues to capture the ephemeral, the very color and shadow of dance history, and invite us to enlighten the audience of today with the works of past.

To fully investigate Fuller's work with light we must first understand the controllable properties of light as they are manipulated in traditional theatre – intensity, color, angle, shape/texture and movement. These five properties are the vocabulary of the lighting designer and can be dynamically manipulated similarly to elements of time, space, and energy in choreography. Intensity describes the overall brightness of the light source, from very dim to blinding. Color defines both the hue and saturation of the light's color. The location of the light source in relation to the object it is lighting and the viewer defines the angle; front light, back light, and side light for example. Shape and texture typically require the manipulation of the light beam by metal shutters or a patterned template. And finally, movement describes the element of time as the properties above shift or change to create various lighting looks or cues.

Source documents such as newspaper reviews of performances and other first hand accounts reveal tantalizing descriptions of these properties. Still photographs, lithographs, posters, and other art work, when viewed with an understanding of theatrical lighting, can also be used to inform design choices and ultimately create a lighting design based on historical record. These documents, when collected and studied en masse, give detailed insight into how Fuller used the properties of light, just as the details of a movement technique utilized by a choreographer can give insight into their choreography. An article by

Jean Lorrain published circa 1900 is an excellent example of this type of source material. "She sprang out of the darkness, like a flash of lightning, so sudden and so unexpected that people instinctively closed their eyes."[2] This describes both the intensity, very bright like lightning, and the movement of the cue, sudden; what we might call a bump cue today. Lorrain continues, "The colors and the shades brightened up and went out in turns."[3] This suggests that the shifts between colors include changes in intensity and slower timings. Other smaller phrases such as "under a jet of molten glass,"[4] "standing in a blaze,"[5] or "surrounded by a halo of fire"[6] give evidence of the use of angles from below, above and behind the dancer. Shape is often described as projections of moons, stars and other images, while texture may be expressed more subtly as follows: "Some dark black rain comes to mix with the red and dark green colors, and it looks like this rain of shadow is furiously jealous of the light."[7] The most vivid passages often describe Fuller's use of color, which I will discuss at length in a moment.

Fuller's experiments with the properties of light began as intuitive escapades. It is clear even in these first attempts at using light and color, that Fuller had a natural affinity for manipulating the properties of light to create affects that would enhance her newly developed dance.

> I studied each of my characteristic motions, and at last had twelve of them. I classed them as Dances No. 1, No. 2, and so on. The first was to be given under a blue light, the second under a red light, the third under a yellow light. For illumination of my dances I intended to have a lantern with coloured class in front of the lens. I wanted to dance the last one in total darkness with a single ray of yellow light crossing the stage. [8]

Fuller's experiments expanded considerably as she further developed her dances. "She has an artistic ardor, and a sort of scientific instinct which makes her look for, in the positive domain of mechanism and optics, new interpretations, movements of her essentially mobile soul"[9]. She draped the stage in black velour and covered the floor with a black drop cloth; the effect of which made the dancer stand out against the darkness, like a jewel in a black velvet box. "Suddenly, after the strains of a short prelude, the apparition escapes from the darkness; she is born to life under the projection of the electric light; she stands out against the mourning background, abandons the crystalline whiteness of the diamond to cover the range of colors and to borrow the dazzling sparkle of precious stones"[10]. Abandoning the use of traditional footlights, she placed spotlights (carbon arc, limelight, or new electric lights depending on what was available) above, behind and to either side of the dancer, manipulating light and shadow through the use of differing angles. She was later to incorporate and patent the use of up light, placing an instrument and electrician beneath the stage while she danced on a pane of glass above.

> At the Folies Bergère, which was a typical production, Loïe Fuller performed in a six-rayed pool of light emanating from spotlights; two came from the back of the stage, two from the sides and finally two were located right and left in the first balcony. The color of the lights did not remain the same. In the front of each instrument, a revolving glass disc was mounted on an axel set to one side and parallel to the beam of light. The surface of the disc was divided into parts which were tinted different colors, one after another. The disc was turned more or less rapidly, changing the colors in infinite varieties and creating a kaleidoscopic effect. The rays of color fell upon the dancer where the billows of the costume picked them up as they passed through them.[11]

Fuller brought her dances and her lighting effects to Paris in the fall of 1892 and became an instant sensation – *La Loïe Fuller, La Belle Americaine, La Fée Lumineuse.*

Shortly after her debut at the Folies-Bergère, Fuller sought introduction to many of the city's more famous artists, writers and scientists, such as art critic and essayist Claude Roger Marx, author Alexandre Dumas and the well known astronomer Camille Flammarion, among others. Many of these introductions resulted in long standing friendships discussed at length in Fuller's autobiography. Her friendship with the astronomer Flammarion is of particular interest when discussing Fuller's experimentation with the controllable properties of light, astronomy being primarily a study of light. It is possible that she sought his company specifically to discuss his ideas on the nature of light and of color. As she states in her autobiography, "Few people

understand that Flammarion is not content with being an eminent astronomer. He counts among his assets some discoveries of the greatest interest […]. How greatly such studies interest me is easily appreciated, since I am rabid on the subject of colour."[12]

Indeed, Fuller's own description of the nature of color closely echoes Flammarion's writings on the subject. Fuller states, "Colour is disintegrated light. The rays of light, disintegrated by vibrations, touch one object and another, and this disintegration, photographed in the retina, is always chemically the result of changes in matter and in beams of light. Each one of the effects is designated under the name of colour."[13] While Flammarion notes in his book Popular Astronomy, "It is the molecular arrangement of reflecting or transparent substances which gives rise to the different reflections of light – that is to say the colours. […] [M]olecular reflection produces all the difference; and we might even say, without metaphor, that objects are of all colours *except that which they appear*." [14] Fuller's attempt to describe color as "disintegrated" and changing depending on the object viewed by the retina thus clearly reflects Flammarion's statement that the molecular, or chemical, arrangement of any material is what controls the color as seen by to the observer. In short, both are stating that the inherent color of any object is defined by its chemical makeup, and it is that chemistry which affects the light rays reflected back to the observer.

Further comparisons between the works of these two minds reveal that their conversations must have been mutually engaging and delightful. Fuller's induction into the Astronomical Society of France, which was founded by Flammarion in 1887, is another indication of their mutual interests. It is clear in Flammarion's writing that he is a natural teacher, one whom, with an infectious kind of amazement, captures the imagination of his pupil. There is a romantic twist to his language and way of explaining rather complicated concepts of light, color, and the patterns of the stars that would make amateur astronomers out of the most indifferent of people; and Fuller was by no means indifferent. Flammarion states in his writing that:

> What comes from the sun and from all sources of light and heat is not, then, to speak accurately, either light or heat (for these are merely impressions) but motion – motion extremely rapid. It is not heat which is scattered through space, for the temperature of space is, and remains everywhere, glacial. It is not light, for space has constantly the darkness seen at midnight. It is motion, a rapid vibration of either which is transmitted to infinity, and does not produce a perceptible effect until it meets with an obstacle which transforms it. […] [*I*]*t is the motion of the molecules in rapid vibration which is felt as heat*. Light is likewise but a vibration.[15]

This connection between light and motion is almost irresistible in its application, and its inspiration for Fuller is not difficult to imagine.

As stated previously, Fuller was already experimenting with light prior to her arrival in Paris, primarily angle and color. I argue that her conversations with Flammarion prompted a more scientific approach to her experiments. "I began in utter ignorance of the effect of one color on another, and had to learn as a painter does what colors gained by union, and what colors were ruined by the other. The effect that you saw last evening represents years of patient study, endless experimenting and hard work."[16] It is likely that Fuller learned much of the physical properties of light from her discussions with the astronomer, which could have included the following information as depicted in his writings at the time.

> I have noticed in my course of lectures a rather singular fact. A white ray which passes through a plate of yellow glass is projected in yellow, and a ray which traverses a plate of blue glass is projected in blue; projecting these two colours on each other on a screen we obtain pure *white*, because these two colours are complementary. But if we place the *same* plates of yellow and blue glass in a single apparatus we obtain green.[17]

Here Flammarion is explaining the concepts of additive color mixing, using two or more separate light sources to create a color, and subtractive color mixing, literally subtracting colors from the spectrum through the use of a filter. These two methods are fundamental techniques taught to lighting designers today.

With some investigation it is evident that Fuller utilized these techniques and that she was adept at manipulating the three primary colors of light (red, blue, and green); utilizing both additive and subtractive color mixing to achieve the secondary colors of magenta, cyan, and amber (or yellow).

> I would say, "tell No. 1 to put on blue: now tell No. 3 to put on red, No. 6 yellow" and so on. My eyes would recognize a false combination at once, and alter it until I got what was right. Then my stage manager noted it down. I arranged the rhythmic fall of colors one after the other in the same way.[18]

As Fuller's popularity grew, more and more descriptions of her dances made their way into newspapers and other publications, and thus into the archives of today. The following is a description of one of Fuller's early solos, most likely *Fire Dance*, by essayist Claude Roger Marx:

> As the rhythm accelerates, as the cadence speeds up, and as the cute creature disappears among the whirls that surround her, the tones alternate and cross faster and faster, they are tones of vermillion and foliage, of azure and blood; they shade off, mix and blend faster and faster: from the topaz to the lapis-lazuli, from the emerald to the amethyst, from the ruby to the sapphire, from the moonstone to the aquamarine. The whirling material takes up all the iridescences, becomes like the rainbow by taking up all the shades of the broken down prism, and the vision is never as sparkling, as magical, as raging as at the moment it is about to vanish, to be lost in nothingness and make room again for darkness.[19]

At first glance this passage seems impressionistic, merely poetic, but closer examination reveals what is possibly the most complete description of a series of at least six light cues used by Fuller. I want to draw attention to the specific combinations of color and their order as described by Marx; vermillion and foliage, azure and blood, topaz and lapis-lazuli, emerald and amethyst, ruby and sapphire, moonstone and aquamarine. I sat down and thought of how, as a lighting designer, I might recreate these colors in this order utilizing Fuller's techniques. What I discovered was a simple and ingenious design.

With this particular series of cues Fuller began with the three primary colors of light and a minimum of four light sources, most probably the two front angles and two to the side, though any combination would create variants of the following. We will call the front instrument from stage right Instrument #1, the side light from stage right Instrument #2, the side light from stage left Instrument #3 and the front instrument stage left Instrument #4. Instrument #1 is colored red and will only turn on and off; Instrument #4 is colored blue and similarly will only turn on or off. Instruments #2 and #3 are equipped with color wheels which include the primary colors of red, blue and green. The two instruments equipped with the color wheels are placed behind the stage curtains; though there is also evidence which suggests that the two primary positions were interchangeable.

We begin with Instrument #1 on in red and Instrument #2 in blue combining through additive color mixing to create magenta or "vermillion" on one side of the dancer; Instrument #3 is green and Instrument #4, while colored blue, is off thus making the other side of the dancer green or "foliage". To create the next combination the primary color of blue is systematically removed from one side of the stage and added to the other. Instrument #1 remains on and red, while Instrument #2 turns off removing the color blue; Instrument #3 is still green, while Instrument #4 turns on in blue combining to create the secondary color of cyan. The result is the combination of red and cyan on the dancer, or as Marx states "blood and azure". While Instrument #2 is off the electrician moves the wheel to green allowing the next cue to be created by again the simple addition and removal of that primary color. Instrument #1 is still on and red when Instrument #2 adds its green light. Red and green combine to create the secondary color amber or "topaz". On stage left, Instrument #3 will turn off, removing the green, leaving only Instrument #4 projecting blue or "lapis lazuli". While Instrument #3 is off the electrician moves the color wheel to red in preparation for the next look. To create "emerald and amethyst" the primary color of red is systematically added and removed from the cue. Instrument #1 turns off, removing red and leaving only the green of Instrument #2 – "emerald" – Instrument #3 turns on in red which when combined with the blue of Instrument #4 results in a lavender or "amethyst" color, emerald and amethyst.

The next combination is as tricky as it is vibrant and would require all four electricians to work their instruments in precise coordination. Of achieving this sort of synchronization Fuller states, "I leave nothing to chance. I drill my light men, drill them into doing just what I want. I tell them to throw the light so, or so, and they have to do their business with the

exactitude of clockwork."[20] To create the final combination of "ruby and sapphire" Instrument #1 turns back on in red; Instrument #2 changes its color wheel from green to red while on. Simultaneously, Instrument #3 must change from red to blue, while Instrument #4 stays blue. The resulting red and blue combination is twice as vibrant as each color comes from two sources.

Finally, as the dance moves from this climactic moment, Instrument #2 changes from red to green; Instrument #3 turns off leaving only blue from stage left. Amber and blue are complimentary colors which, as Flammarion states, will mix towards white. Pure white would not be possible because of the various angles, but Marx' description of the pale, opalescent colors "moonstone and aquamarine" is not accidental and is a striking difference to the bright hues he saw previously. His description clearly demonstrates that the final combination of light in this dynamic series is the result of the mixture of these two complimentary colors.

The systematic progression of these cues through the primary colors of light provide the contemporary lighting designer a glimpse into the scientific approach Fuller used in her lighting designs, designs whose brilliance secured Fuller's place in the pages of dance history. Other archival explorations offer similar evidence of specific cues or techniques that were utilized by Fuller to create dances that inspired a generation of artists. By piecing together Fuller's manipulation of the controllable properties of light, this paper has demonstrated that it is possible to translate archival materials into actualized lighting design; that exploration of historical documents can result in modern designs that are historically accurate. By reconstructing the designs of the past in contemporary theatres we enhance not only our knowledge of the lighting technology of that time, but of the choreographer, their dances and the audience itself. The dances of Loïe Fuller, in all their color and spectacle, are no longer confined to the shadows of the past.

Endnotes

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2 Lorrain, Jean, "La Loïe" excerpt Journal circa 1900. Trans. Violene Cuvillier. [Bibliothèque Nationale, Loïe Fuller Dossier].

3 Lorrain.

4 Lorrain.

5 Lorrain.

6 "Loïe Fuller and the Poetry of Color" The Critic 20:25 (28 Mar 1896) 217.

7 Alexandre, Arséne, "Le Théâtre de la Loïe Fuller" Le Theâtre – Numéo Spécial: La Danse a l'exposition. 40 (2 Aug. 1900): 23-24. Trans. Violene Cuvillier. [Bibliothèque Opera, Loïe Fuller Dossier].

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9 Alexandre, continued.

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When Mexicans Were Welcomed Here: Revisiting Carlos Chavez's 1932 Ballet *H.P.*

Sharon Skeel

Mexican composer Carlos Chavez's ballet *H.P.* (or *Horsepower)* premiered at Philadelphia's Metropolitan Opera House on March 31, 1932.[1] The 4000-seat theater was sold out, and among those attending were Mexico's most recent Minister of Finance–Luis Montes de Oca–and Frances Flynn Paine, a Texas-born impresario who served as an agent for both Chavez and the ballet's designer, Diego Rivera.[2] John Martin, dance critic for *The New York Times*, marveled at the level of coverage this world premier generated. Not even a specially commissioned ballet by Stravinsky performed in the Library of Congress, he pointed out, had sparked such interest.[3]

Certainly de Oca and Paine relished this response. Both were deeply invested in Mexico's reputation. De Oca believed that American tourists were key to invigorating his country's revolution-rattled economy.[4] Paine's concerns were more personal–her fortunes hinged on the success of her Mexican clients.

In the late 1920s, Mexican officials initiated plans to develop tourism and transform the image of their country from an unsanitary land of bandits to an Eden-like retreat from urban ills, replete with ancient monuments, Indian villages, an unspoiled landscape and lively fiestas.[5] Travelogs appeared in English-language publications, such as one in the March 19, 1932 *New Yorker* proclaiming that Mexican hotels featured indoor plumbing and that beyond an occasional snake, dangers there were rare: "Either the famous bandits and desperadoes have died of old age and inactivity, or they are too discouraged to continue trying to rival our gangsters."[6]

Mexican culture was exported as well, via extended American sojourns by artists such as Rivera and Chavez, and exhibitions of native arts and crafts, one of which toured to14 different U.S. cities. Writers extolled the Mexican-Indian in particular for his communal lifestyle, connection to the earth, and intuitive artistic sense. "...Mexicans make beautiful things as a matter of course," declared Susan Smith. "They don't know how to make anything ugly."[7]

Leopold Stokowski evidently agreed. The maverick conductor of the Philadelphia Orchestra traveled to Mexico in successive years (1931-32), where he swam, sunbathed and slept in thatched huts with Indian chiefs. "[The Indians] are a strong, clean people, and they have found or achieved a beautiful simplicity in their lives," he gushed. "We of the North have not found simplicity yet....Perhaps our recent crisis is a part of the plan of destiny to free us from the complexities and the bonds of our inherited civilization."[8] From Merida, Stokowski sent Chavez the following cable: "I am in Yucatan. I am on my way to Mexico. Would you like me to conduct your orchestra?" Chavez answered yes, and also invited Stokowski to his studio, where he played *H.P.* for him on the piano. "I want to do that in Philadelphia," Stokowski announced.[9]

It was just what Paine wanted to hear. She had recently secured for Rivera a solo exhibition of his work at New York's Museum of Modern Art, founded by Abby Rockefeller and several friends a few years earlier. Paine hoped to schedule a performance of *H.P.* to coincide with this exhibition.[10]

Rockefeller was one of several influential figures affiliated with Paine's Mexican Art Association, formed to foster cultural exchange and an American market for Mexican goods. Rockefeller funds supported the group, and Rivera's show was its first major project.[11]

It proved to be a timely choice. The artist's frescoes in Mexico earned accolades from critics worldwide. His talent was unmistakable, his charm irresistible, and his Communist politics, at least then, posed little problem. To gather information for his upcoming show, Paine joined the muralist on his scaffold at the National Palace in Mexico City: "Imagine us-," she wrote to Rockefeller, "(he weighs some three hundred pounds, is huge in every way and very tall) [so imagine us] on a scaffold right under the ceiling, eighty feet from the stone court below-..."[12] Paine confided that they discussed capitalism and Communism from "many angles." No doubt they also discussed *H.P.* Rivera completed some costume

sketches for the ballet in1927, after Chavez first recruited him for the project.[13] Since Stokowski declared his intention to premier the work, additional designs were needed, and soon.

By then *H.P.* had been evolving for nearly a decade. Chavez originally considered composing a piece about machines, but after discussions with painter Agustin Lazo, writer Octavio Barreda, and Rivera, he decided to explore a broader theme-- the relationship between the industrial North–meaning the U.S.–and the resource-rich South, meaning Mexico.[14] He finished a fragment of the music in1926, which Eugene Goossens premiered in New York.[15] The following year, Lazo attended Diaghilev's production of *Le Pas d'Acier* in Paris. "...I wanted to let you know about this ballet because it seems to me to have come out of an idea very similar to one you had for 'H.P.,'" Lazo warned Chavez.[16]

Indeed, though both ballets would employ contrasting sets of imagery (indigenous/folk vs. machine-age), *Le Pas d'Acier* focused specifically on Soviet-Russia's industrialization, while *H.P.* unfolded as a narrative of Pan-American interdependence and cooperation, that is, how the South supplied raw materials, which the North then manufactured into useful goods for the benefit of all.[17]

Stokowski, who incidentally gave the staged version of *Le Pas d'Acier* its American premier, by late 1931 had turned his attention to *H.P.* He decided that the Philadelphia Grand Opera Company–well-funded despite the Depression-- was best suited to produce it.[18] The company's general manager, Kathryn Hammer, acquiesced, though she confided about the ballet decades later, "...I couldn't stand it."[19] Her last collaboration with Stokowski had resulted in a powerful *Wozzeck*, and Hammer no doubt hoped that a trendy Mexican ballet could replicate that success.

Hammer delegated *H.P.*'s dance-making to Catherine Littlefield, since 1927 the company's lead ballerina and de facto choreographer. Although Littlefield's mother--a veteran dance teacher and arranger–was the company's official ballet director, Littlefield handled all the choreography, including dance sequences for operas and several stand-alone ballets. Born in Philadelphia in1905, Littlefield trained locally with her mother and third-generation dance master C. Ellwood Carpenter until age 15, when she left for New York and Ziegfeld, who cast her in *Sally*, *Louie the 14th*, *Annie Dear* and the *Follies*. While in New York she studied with Albertieri and beginning in 1925, in Paris with the Russian expatriates, primarily Egorova, during summer trips.[20]

Littlefield's early ballets for the Philadelphia Grand Opera Company ranged from the conventional, such as a Petrouchka-like *L'Hiver*, to a peppy *Jazz Age*, to the haunting, opium-themed *La Danseuse Au Masque Jaune*. Hammer and her colleagues respected Littlefield's professionalism and never meddled. "[Her] work was superb. Always complete in every respect," Hammer stated.[21] Writing about the Philadelphia Grand Opera Company in *The Nation*, Winthrop Sergeant commended the "progressive and up-to-date attitude of its management" while praising the organization generally for its enlightened programming.[22]

Nevertheless, Frances Flynn Paine seemed to question Littlefield's suitability for *H.P.* Paine grew up on a hacienda in Mexico speaking Spanish and traveling to remote areas of the country with her father, J.P. Flynn, an American railroad superintendent and consular agent.[23] Presumably, the authenticity of an *H.P.* production was paramount for her and she no doubt wondered how a blonde, blue-eyed ballerina could contrive a credible zandunga, huapango or tango, three folk dances the work required. Paine considered asking Spanish dancer Vicente Escudero, recently arrived for an American tour, to take over. She also arranged for Stokowski to search for Indian dancers to hire during his second Mexican trip.[24] Both efforts apparently failed; neither an Escudero nor any Indian danced in *H.P.*

Whether or not Littlefield knew of Paine's reservations, she characteristically forged ahead with her responsibilities, inviting Alexis Dolinoff, whom she first met in Paris, to dance the ballet's lead role--the man H.P. Born in 1900, Dolinoff spent his childhood in St. Petersburg and Minsk and eventually settled in England. Tall, muscular with thick eyebrows and an expressive face, Dolinoff took lessons with Cecchetti, paying for them by ironing suits in a clothes shop. He later performed with the Pavlova and Ida Rubinstein companies. By December 1931, Dolinoff had moved into the Littlefield home and began teaching and managing affairs at their studio.[25]

That same month, Rivera's retrospective at the

Museum of Modern Art opened with great fanfare. Accompanied by his wife, Frida Kahlo, the artist attended galas, gave talks and socialized with the Rockefellers during his stay in Manhattan. He also completed *H.P.*'s remaining costume and set designs. Young Lincoln Kirstein saw these sketches first-hand: "They are very nice, heavy but humerous [sic]," Kirstein recorded in his diary. "...Over to the Hotel Buckingham," Kirstein continued, "...Frances Flynn Paine and I worked for 3 hours over a scenario for the Rivera-Chavez ballet until some fairly decent choreographer would know what was meant."[26]

The pair presumably produced an approximation of the synopses that appeared in *H.P.*'s printed programs.[27] To summarize, the ballet would consist of four scenes: Scene 1, the man H.P., at the height of his physical and mental powers, expresses his energy in a solo dance and confronts intangible forces around him; Scene 2, a ship travels from North to South. Sailors bustle about with chores. Mermaids, trailing a train of fish, emerge from the sea, come onto the deck and dally with the sailors; Scene 3, the ship is docked in a tropical port, where gaily adorned villagers peddle their wares. A breeze stirs the trees, causing fruits and minerals to spring to life. The villagers perform folks dances and the sailors load the natural resources onto the ship; Scene 4, in the City of Industry, sullen workers toil near a stock-ticker. An American flapper performs an automobile dance. The workers revolt and open a safe to free the resources harvested from the tropics. A sun descends, and all characters join together in a joyous celebration.

January had been a busy month for Paine. She not only completed *H.P.*'s libretto and fretted over its dancing, she also exhorted Chavez–known for his procrastination–to finish and air-mail missing parts of the ballet's score so Stokowski could begin rehearsals.[28] Chavez complied, and soon after Kathryn Hammer announced to the press when and where *H.P.* would be given its world premier.[29]

Rivera's exhibition closed in New York but it re-opened in--of all places--Philadelphia. This turn of events was orchestrated, not by Paine, but by a dogged curator at the Pennsylvania Museum of Art named PhilipYoutz, who pursued the show, even though the Museum of Modern Art did not typically circulate its exhibitions.[30] After closing the deal, Youtz sent his boss the following triumphant telegram: "Have Diego Ribera [sic] show for February and possibly Diego himself. Will be sober enough to write in full by morning."[31]

On Feb. 25, then, Rivera, along with his sidekick Kahlo, came to Philadelphia for the dual purpose of visiting the galleries and conferring with Hammer and Littlefield about his *H.P.* designs, which were added to the exhibition briefly at the Philadelphia venue.[32] Hammer presented the sketches, and the Mexican couple, to a dozen reporters at a press conference. The journalists variously took note of Rivera's "Buddha-like bulk" and Kahlo's exotic Tehuana costume and likened his *H.P.* designs to the work of early cavemen.[33]

A week later it was Chavez in the city for discussions about *H.P.* The composer joined Stokowski for another press conference, where they displayed Rivera's sketch of the costume for the man H.P. It consisted of teal boxing trunks topped by a black belt, red coils around the arms and legs, goggles and a cap with large ear coverings. "If that's all they wear in the Northern costume could we see a Southern one?" someone gibed. Northerners wear too many clothes anyway, Stokowski replied. It was announced, perhaps on the orders of Frances Flynn Paine, that Chavez, working in tandem with Stokowski, would create the dances for *H.P.* Chavez was said to be of Indian descent, a qualification that--in Paine's mind certainly--Littlefield could not match.[34]

It seems that they reached a compromise, for Chavez later revealed that he and Rivera taught Littlefield the folk dances, using drawings by Rivera as visual aids.[35] The Mexicans made only a few appearances in her studio, however, according to witnesses. Chavez played his music there on one occasion; Rivera came, "leaned against the wall and he watched everything and he smoked."[36] Dolinoff, too, claimed credit for some of the choreography, stating that he crafted his own solo in the opening scene and helped with the folk dances, having learned them while on tour to Mexico with Pavlova.[37]

Rehearsals were not without their tense moments. At one point, Littlefield was said to have banged her head against a drum in frustration.[38] "The three of them [Stokowski, Rivera and Chavez] decided they couldn't get on together," Hammer recalled. "They all walked out at once. Somebody wasn't pleased. I think it was probably Rivera."[39] Kirstein evidently heard from Paine that Rivera was "behaving like a spoiled child."[40] Stokowski's wife, Evangeline,

remembered how the artist rejected the sets and costumes when he first saw them at the theater under artificial lights: "Oh, but that isn't what I painted at all," he complained. "Those are not the colors." Evangeline thought the props were completely done over.[41] They ended up costing $50,000, were never used again and sat in storage for some time.[42]

Nevertheless, both Stokowski and Littlefield were pleased by *H.P.*'s first dress rehearsal at the Met on March 26. Littlefield, in fact, "ran up and down the aisle pronouncing it good."[43] Socialites prepared for suppers and receptions, with the Mexicans as their honored guests.[44] And despite turbulent rain, on March 31, a glittering group, including Aaron Copland, Doris Humphrey, Alfred Knopf, Archibald MacLeish, Nelson Rockefeller, George Gershwin and Kirstein, made their way to the Met for the highly anticipated main event.[45]

A rush of music commenced, and the man H.P. seized the stage, executing a series of air turns, leaps and "eccentric" movements, which one critic dismissed as "Frankenstein-like."[46] The man H.P. vanished and the orchestra played on. The audience was then swept on the boat, as it were, for the ballet's second scene. Sailors engaged in gymnastic maneuvers until a tango signified the ship's entry into warmer waters and Dorothie Littlefield, Catherine's sister, playing a guitar-strumming siren, came aboard to seduce them. The third scene revealed animated tropical fruits and villagers dancing the zandunga and huapango. This was Mexico as the Philadelphians imagined it to be, and they heartily applauded.[47] Less effective was the fourth and final scene, set in the City of Industry. A dreary tone and confusing action prevailed. After a gas tank the color of vermillion chased a flapper around the stage, the ballet ended as a sun, resembling Diego Rivera himself, eclipsed the stock-ticker, an apparent symbol of American greed.[48] Was this a sign that the South's values were superior to the North's? One critic seemed to think so, calling the entire ballet "very pointed propaganda."[49] Another simply concluded that "all [ended] on the best of terms."[50]

Indeed, reviews of *H.P.* were decidedly mixed. Writers disagreed on the specifics of what worked well and what did not, but they agreed that all the parts did not work well together. Frances Flynn Paine's worries about authenticity were borne out, at least in the opinions of Chavez, who offered muted criticism of the choreography, and Kahlo, who mocked the "insipid blondes pretending they were Indians..."[51] John Martin published two separate analyses. He first placed *H.P.* in context, calling it "'pas d'acier' from another angle" and insisted that machine themes had run their course, thereby softening his contention that Littlefield "found nothing to add to the subject." He cited interest in Mexico and, to a greater extent, in Stokowski, as reasons why the ballet generated such excitement. It was more a music event than a dance event, he posited, and the stage action was for all intents superfluous. About the third scene specifically, he asserted, "A more experienced choreographer than Miss Littlefield might have done a little better, but not much."[52]

H.P. did make Littlefield a more experienced choreographer. It also made her a better-known choreographer. Three years later, when she founded her Philadelphia Ballet Company, Martin, for one, knew who she was. As for *H.P.* itself, the Philadelphia version was never seen again. Plans for a second performance in November 1932 collapsed when the Philadelphia Grand Opera Company disbanded.[53] *H.P.* has survived mainly as a piece of music, not as a ballet. There was, however, at least one other staged version, undertaken by the Compania Nacional de Danza in 1996 in Mexico City, with entirely new choreography by Argentinian Mauricio Wainrot.[54]

Acknowledgements
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1 *Philadelphia Grand Opera Company World Premiere HP*. (souvenir program).
2 Glazer; "Tour is Planned"; *Philadelphia Orchestra Program Book*; Jennings, "Prominent Guests" and "Society Out in Force."
3 John Martin, "The Dance: A Handicap Event."
4 Berger, pp. 14, 33, 48-50, 120.
5 Berger, pp. 6-7, 13; Delpar, pp. 57-58, 90, 92, 195; Pells, pp. 98-99, 101, 105.
6 Berger, pp. 28, 31, 37; Oles, p. 3; L.,P. "Out

of Town."

7 Delpar, pp. 28, 41, 68, 90-91, 129, 134, 144, 152-53.

8 Hewes, "Stokowski Returns."

9 Chavez, Daniel interview, pp. 1-2.

10 Paine, 3/22/31 letter to Chavez.

11 The Mexican Arts Association was originally formed as the Paine Mexican Arts Corporation. It was reorganized for funding purposes. Material relating to Paine and this enterprise can be found in: Thomas B. Appleget to John D. Rockefeller Jr., June 1, 1928; memo re: Paine, May 31, 1928; Charles R. Richards to Thomas B. Appleget, May 23, 1928; memo, Thomas B. Appleget to John D. Rockefeller Jr., July 16, 1929; Thomas B. Appleget to Enos S. Booth, Aug. 7, 1929; Enos S. Booth to Thomas B. Appleget, Aug. 21, 1929; Frances Flynn Paine to Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, Aug. 13, 1930. All of the preceding documents are located in Rockefeller Family Archives, Cultural Interests Series, Record Group 2, Box 107, Folder 961, Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller, Rockefeller Family Archives, Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York. Also, see "Organize to Foster" and "Rockefeller Gift" and Wolfe, p. 336.

12 Paine, 8/1/31 letter to Rockefeller, p. 2.

13 Rivera's 24 original *H.P.* set and costume sketches are in the Museum of Modern Art's collection. Eleven sketches (all for costumes) are dated 1927; one sketch is dated 1930/32; four are dated 1931; the remaining eight are undated.

14 Morillo, pp. 46-47; Chavez, 8/19/1926 letter to Barreda.

15 Parker, pp. 181-82.

16 Lazo, 6/10/1927 letter to Chavez.

17 For a thorough explication of *Le Pas d'Acier*'s complicated history, see "Prokofiev's *Le Pas d'Acier* (1925): How the Steel was Tempered" by Lesley-Anne Sayers and Simon Morrison in *Soviet Music and Society under Lenin and Stalin: The Baton and Sickle*, edited by Neil Edmunds. I read this essay in manuscript form.

18 Hammer, Daniel interview, p. 4, Delano interview, pp. 14, 29.

19 Hammer, Daniel interview, pp. 7-8.

20 Hammer, Delano interview, p. 30; Elkan, pp. 7-8; Barzel, p. 24; Ware, p. 17.

21 Hammer, Delano interview, p. 25.

22 Sergeant, p. 390. Sergeant did, however, single out the ballet as one of the company's "shortcomings."

23 Paine, 8/1/31 letter to Rockefeller; Richards, 5/23/28 letter to Appleget; genealogical information obtained from various U.S. censuses.

24 Kirstein, 1/16/1932, 2/5/1932 entries; "Stokowski Going on Trip."

25 Dolinoff, author interviews; Smith interview, pp. 1-2, 5, 18, 27, 70, 112-14.

26 Kirstein, 1/19/1932 entry.

27 There were actually two printed programs for *H.P.*: a souvenir program and a less-lavish program, each containing a different synopsis of the ballet. The synopsis in the souvenir program lists no author, while the synopsis in the second program was written by Philip L. Leidy, who would become Catherine Littlefield's first husband.

28 Paine, Western Union telegrams to Chavez, 1/2/1932, 1/9/1932; Shirley, p. 74.

29 "To Give Mexican Ballet"; *Philadelphia Grand Opera Association Presents the Philadelphia Grand Opera Company*, p. 3.

30 The Pennsylvania Museum's name was later changed to the Philadelphia Museum of Art; Kimball.

31 Youtz.

32 *Philadelphia Grand Opera Association Presents the Philadelphia Grand Opera Company*, p. 3.

33 "Gargantuan Diego Rivera"; Grafly; "Mexican Maestro Explains 'H.P.'"

34 "Stokowski Opens 'Parley' on Ballet."

35 Belnap, p. 90.

36 Goldsmith, p. 14.

37 Dolinoff, author interviews.

38 Barzel, p. 26.

39 Hammer, Delano interview, pp. 30-31.

40 Kirstein, 2/16/1932 entry.

41 Merrill, p. 2.

42 Rosenbaum, pp. 3-4.

43 "Stokowski Directs 'H.P.' in First Dress Rehearsal."
44 "Numerous Parties Are Arranged."
45 Jennings, "Prominent Guests," "Society Out in Force"; Parker, p. 207; Kirstein, 3/31/1932 entry.
46 Dolinoff, author interview, 3/11/1994; Beck.
47 Hewes, "Brilliant Throng."
48 Grafly; "Ballet 'H.P.' An Artless Spectacle."
49 Liebling, p. 21.
50 Thompson, n.p.
51 Belnap, p. 90; Herrera, p. 132.
52 John Martin, "The Dance: A Handicap Event," "Mexican Ballet in World Premiere."
53 "Tour is Planned"; Linton Martin.
54 Brennan.

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Shades of Diversity: Richard Alexander Long—Pioneer of African American and Dance Studies

Tamara L. Brown

In his work on implementing black studies, Walter Fisher in *Ideas for Black Studies: The Morgan State College Program* writes:

> Over the years several distinguished scholars in black studies have served on the Morgan faculty and participated in developing the style and position of the college in developing these enterprises. Darwin Turner, who specializes in the history and criticism of black literature . . . taught here. Richard A. Long, the director of the Center for African and African-American Studies at Atlanta University, and a specialist in African art and literature as well as the *belles lettres* in America, was also a member for several years of the English-Humanities faculty.[1]

He goes on to mention other significant Morgan College personalities and academic luminaries such as David Levering Lewis and August Meier.

Richard A. Long's eclectic early life includes attending school in both Philadelphia, the city of his birth, and Columbia, South Carolina. Even as a young child, he was drawn to artistic and cultural undertakings, which would influence his later career. Pursuing an interest in language and literature, he graduated from Temple University with a bachelor's and master's degree. His first teaching assignment was at West Virginia State College before leaving to take a brief job with the federal government and then onto Morgan State College, where he taught English and speech. Off and on he was associated with Morgan State from 1951 thru 1966—rising from assistant to associate professor. During this tenure, Long was a Fulbright scholar and completed his doctoral degree in linguistics in Paris (University of Poitiers). Hampton Institute (University) afforded Professor Long the opportunity to teach English and French and direct the museum. Soon, however, Atlanta University called and lured him away.[2]

In his move from Hampton to Atlanta University, Long became head the African American studies program, while simultaneously (from 1969 – 1971) going back and forth to Cambridge as a guest lecturer at Harvard University, which had also recruited him. His year-end report, *Black Studies Year One* (from Report, Atlanta University Center for African and African-American Studies) not only detailed his efforts to structure a first-rate academic program, but further became a blueprint for others to follow.

Background of Black Studies

The academic discipline of black studies is linked to the black power movement and often viewed as the intellectual component and lasting legacy of the movement. It traditionally has had two main purposes: that of a serious scholarly field and promoting activism. The initial emphasis on activism often drew criticism that it was not a viable academic discipline. Black studies, however, was born out of activism. San Francisco State University became the first institution of higher learning to initiate a black studies program. Students closed down the school in order to force the university administration to acquiesce to their demands. This example fostered similar protests on other campuses as student's fought for black studies departments and programs. The "struggle for Black Studies was 'seen as a necessary component of Black liberation' and white resistance seen 'as an attempt to preserve (Black) subordinate status in society.'"[3] In the beginning, Nathan Hare, the director of the San Francisco program, advocated for an African American education which would aid in eradicating "the problems of the race" through educating "persons capable of solving problems of a contagious American society." He continued that a "Black education which is not revolutionary in the current day is both irrelevant and useless,"[4] thus promoting the black studies relevance on sound academics and social service. Some of the basic objectives of the discipline included:

- teaching the historical and current contexts and relevance of the black experience;

- generating a body of knowledge to foster a paradigm for "intellectual and political emancipation" (had to break out of a Eurocentric thought pattern); and

- producing scholar-activists invested in promoting scholarship and community activism.[5]

Long and Black Studies

Dr. Long arrived at Atlanta University from Hampton Institute as a result of such student-led protests demanding this relevant course of study. As president of the College Language Association and director of a nascent black studies program, Dr. Long discussed the goals and focus of Africana studies programs as he viewed them in 1971, then in their infancy.

> In the midst of this crisis the complex phenomenon called black studies has arrived and attempted to take a place at the very moment when everything called education in this country is in question. What is the place of black studies in this maelstrom? Black studies is at once a part of the question and part of the answer . . . in respect to the crisis of American education. . . .
>
> . . . . Black educators have a major and inescapable role to play in the analysis and the restructuring of both American society and American education. To hesitate in this matter is to permit the crises to deepen, the inevitable dynamic tendency of any crises; to hesitate is to acquiesce in the passive structure now undergoing convulsion and to share its fate, which is unlikely to be survival in good health. . . .
>
> The question posed in American education is what do we learn, why, and for what? . . . Black studies asks the question, what are the claims of education and what do they mean to black people who seem to be absent from any of the thinking and planning which supposedly underlie educational activity? . . . American education must not be permitted to relapse, after a superficial upheaval, into the role of idealizing a system calculated for our exclusion. Black studies is a part of the question and our interest in the answer to that part of the question must not flag.
>
> . . . . The future of black studies lies in its contribution to the wholeness and sanity of the new view. For outside of the central direction of American education, black studies will slowly assume the status of a digression and a backwater. This must not be permitted to happen. It will not happen if we accept fully the responsibility we have in this matter of our common survival.[6]

In this address, Long called for an intellectual grounding for the foundation of black/Africana studies, so that it would reflect more than a political undertaking in its call for a redress of the educational offerings and system, but become an agent for change in that system as well as become part of the canon of the system.

Temple University used to offer the performing arts, in the form of cultural aesthetics, as an integral part of its African American studies academic schema (innovative programming), though many individual professors at other institutions of higher education make the obvious connection and teach classes in both disciplines or have dual appointments. As a pioneer in such efforts Richard Long integrated the documentation and dissemination of the black experience and its cultural foundations into the larger rubric. Again, the intellectual grounding and framework would serve to solidify the discipline and broaden the perspective. While at Atlanta University, Long inaugurated the annual Conference of African and African-American Studies (CAAS), an early component of what became Africana studies and/or the African diaspora as well as the New World Festivals of the African Diaspora.

After working as an adjunct for thirteen years in the Graduate Institute of Liberal Arts (ILA) at Emory University, Richard Long accepted an appointment as the Atticus Haygood Professor of Interdisciplinary Studies in 1988. The following year one of the seminal works on African American dance history, *The Black Tradition in American Dance*, replete with fantastic photographs from dance archivist Joe Nash's collection, was published.

Richard Long promotes dance as part of a people's cultural and political outlook, heritage and history. "I am interested in all manifestations of dance including

concert and theatrical dance performances that involve distinctive traditional choreography."[7] As Katherine Dunham stated, "[there is] a strong connection between the dance, music, and archaic ceremonies of a people and that people's social and economic history." Moreover, one "can learn more about people from their dances than form almost anything else about them."[8] Long reasons, "As the world begins to take dance more seriously as an art form, it is fascinating to see how the medium has become a question of social concern. Recognized as high art, dance represents a nation's culture. I explore the politics of culture: how cultural forms operate as part of cultural and political encounters."[9]

In my work, as influenced by Dr. Long, I focus on dance as history, or how this cultural and art form is itself a record of the society from which it emanates. Long created a course entitled, "World Dance and the Politics of Culture" once Emory University initiated a dance major in 1998. The course focused on the postmodern world and how certain dance traditions had become commodified due to politics, international affairs and economics. Throughout the course, students examined the history of dances around the globe and questions of national identity, cultural hegemony and international rivalry. "World dance is part of a cultural trend that recognizes the diversity and variety of the world's arts and seeks to appreciate them without the pretension of universality, but with considerations for both their distinctions and interrelations."[10] This statement is particularly important when one is considering certain aesthetic criteria, where ranking and classification under the guise of universality but with the reality of discounting a people's history and culture from which such artistic interpretation and representation resonates.

As Africana studies started as inter and multidisciplinary, many came to its shores grounded in other disciplines. As the field continues to expand and mature, this at times happens less as scholars specifically target studies as the discipline of choice for their training. After the fourth decade of its birth, a focus is on specific standards and criteria in order to solidify the field as a discipline with its own methodology rather than utilizing those of various branches of knowledge (intradisciplinary versus multi or inter). Several things have occurred. Often African American faculty find refuge in African American/Africana studies departments or programs on mainstream campuses when their primary departments or disciplines of choice are unwelcoming for whatever reason. Moreover, in some cases scholars trained in other fields cannot get appointments to those departments and are relegated to black studies.[11] That being said, and as Dr. Long stated during the infancy of the academic field of study, the multidisciplinary nature lends itself to the endless possibilities of the field as dance is concerned if grounded in sound scholarship. Coming from an English, philology, and linguistic background, I would offer that when looking at dance as an important political, socioeconomic and cultural component, Dr. Long views it as a language and narrative unto itself: Dance as nonverbal communication.

Like *The Black Tradition in American Dance*, Long's edited work with Eugenia Collier, *Afro-American Writing: An Anthology of Prose and Poetry* is a seminal work in the field, first published when such a text did not exist and was in dire need for literature- focused black studies courses. In this, he included literature and figures out of the black experience that mainstream scholars did not recognize as impacting upon the canon, maintaining that this tradition utilizes "the simplistic and the oracular" whether emanating from a slave narrative to a spiritual, the blues or sermons and addresses, and further coming from a tradition of "scrutiny and redress."[12] Similarly, there is a passage from *Black Tradition* that I generally use when attempting to explain what I generally do with documenting dance as history (and at times mixing genres when documenting black dance) whether the focus is on concert-theatrical, social-vernacular, or other forms. "The chief difference between concert-theatrical dance and show dancing is a functional one. For the former the dance work, composition, piece or 'ballet' . . . is autonomous (self-contained), while the latter is linked to a larger work in any number of possible ways."[13] This definition is more inclusive than the more traditional dance delineations when considering and documenting black dance. While I have, to this point in my career, focused particularly on documenting the dance of African America and the African diaspora, Dr. Long has further focused on the dance of Southeast Asia, again demonstrating the linkages between art, politics and culture.

Upon his retirement from Emory, a former colleague, Robert Byrd proclaimed, "The national reputation Emory enjoys as a premier place for the study of African American literature and culture is due to Richard Long." Moreover, Walter Reed recalled his initial introduction to Dr. Long. "I've spent the last 18

years finding out who Richard Long is. And the more I find out, my jaw just drops. It's just incredible."[14]

Yes, what an incredible man! I am so honored to have been part of the proceedings today. Alice Walker in her book *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens* speaks of the need of role models in an artist's life. Without such models, one cannot be validated and further finds difficulty in even seeing the relevance in her work without at least a semblance of the knowledge of those who have come before. THANK YOU Dr. Richard Alexander Long for existing, and finding a passion that you have passed along to countless others, including me. When I was figuring out a way to marry my passion for scholarship with the arts, I came across *The Black Tradition in American Dance*, presenting a stunning, visual representation along with a well-written and researched narrative. This tome has carried me from undergraduate to graduate studies and beyond. You have experienced a remarkable life and career. If I could achieve a modicum of your success in making such an impact in the field of black studies and dance, I will have really accomplished something! THANK YOU for being!

Endnotes

1 Walter Fisher, *Ideas for Black Studies: The Morgan State College Program* (Baltimore: Morgan State College Press, 1971), 19-20.

2 For general biographical information see, "Richard Alexander Long," *Biography Research Center*, http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/BioRC (accessed June 10, 2008).

3 Quoted in Maulana Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies*, 3d ed. (Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press, 2002), 15.

4 Quoted in Ibid, 17.

5 Ibid, 18-19.

6 Richard A. Long, "The Future of Black Studies," *CLA Journal: A Quarterly Official Publications of The College Language Association* 15, no. 1 (September 1971): 2-6.

7 Cathy Byrd, "Richard Long Studies the World of Dance since WWII," *Emory Report*, September 27, 1999, http://www.emory.edu/EMORY_REPORT/erarchive/1999/September/erseptember.27/9_2... (accessed June 11, 2008).

8 Joyce Aschenbrenner, *Katherine Dunham: Reflections on the Social and Political Contexts of Afro-American Dance*, with a foreword by St. Clair Drake (New York: CORD, Inc., 1981), 62.

9 Byrd, "Richard Long Studies the World of dance since WWII).

10 Ibid.

11 See Robert S. Boynton, "Out of Africa and Back," *New York Times Education Life*, April 14, 2002; Gerald Early, "A Place of Our Own," *New York Times Education Life*, April 14, 2002; Felecia R. Lee, "New Topic in Black Studies Debate: Latinos," *New York Times*, February 1, 2003; and Robert L. Harris, Darlene Clark-Hine and Nellie McKay, *Three Essays: Black Studies in the United States* (New York: The Ford Foundation, 1990).

12 John White, "Book Reviews," *Journal of American Studies* 21, no. 1 (April 1987): 153.

13 Richard A. Long, *The Black Tradition in American Dance* (New York: Rizzoli, 1989), 15.

14 Eric Rangus, "Celebration Honor's Long's Distinguished Career," *Emory Report*, November 1, 2004, http://www.emory.edu/EMORY_REPORT/erarchive/2004/November/er%20november%2. . . (accessed June 11, 2008).

Celebrating the Black Tradition in American Dance:

The Works of Professor Richard Long

Melanye White Dixon

I am honored to be a part of this distinguished SDHS (Society of Dance History Scholars) roundtable that lifts up the contributions of the esteemed and venerable Dr. Richard A. Long, scholar, cultural historian, and poet. While gathering information for my remarks I discovered some new biographical data that documents his work: Long began high school at age 11; entered Temple University at age 15; He has published eight books, 51 articles, and 15 book reviews; traveled to over 40 countries; advised over 13 dissertations; and the Richard A. Long African and African American Culture Collection is housed at the Auburn Avenue Research Library on African American Culture and History of the Atlanta-Fulton County Library.

When Dr. Tommy (DeFrantz) invited me to be a part of this celebration, I began reflecting on the circumstances under which Dr. Long and I met. It was about 28 years ago (1980), during my first year of teaching in the dance program at Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia. A dear friend and research librarian Janice White Sikes, invited me to accompany her to Long's exquisite home for a gathering of community arts enthusiasts. A vivid recollection was meeting Shirley Franklin, who at that time was the director of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs and is now the Mayor of Atlanta, Georgia.[1].

My most cherished memory of that evening was being invited by Long to peruse his extensive arts library. I mentioned to him the challenges encountered in 1974 locating dance literature to support my masters thesis at Teachers College, Columbia University: "The Development of African American Concert Dance."[2] One of the "gems" that he shared was *Katherine Dunham: Her Dancers, Singers, Musicians, by Richard Buckle.* Long graciously invited me to return to visit his collection as needed. Little did I realize that we would cross paths at four significant turning points on my journey as dance historian and educator.

Turning Point One: In July1988, while on a research trip documenting the first bi-annual National Black Arts Festival in Atlanta, Georgia, my first order of business was visiting the First World Book Store for a book signing reception. As we entered the building Long sat at a center table with copies of his new book, *The Black Tradition in American Dance*.[3] Our dear friend and colleague, Joe Nash, held great expectations for this groundbreaking and accessible publication that traced the development of dance forms, genres, communities, and innovators of the Black continuum in American Dance. As a third year assistant professor in the department of dance at The Ohio State University, Long's publication would serve me well as a resource for newly created courses aimed at addressing cross-cultural literacy in dance.

Turning Point Two: In 1996 while attending a rehearsal for Ronald K. Brown's dance work, "Ebony Magazine: to a Village" at the Philadelphia Dance Company (Philadanco) headquarters, Long was in an adjoining studio making a presentation for a High Tea celebrating the newly established Marion D. Cuyjet Scholarship Program. He spoke of his friendship and artistic alliance with Cuyjet and the remarks rendered new research data for my ongoing research on her legacy.

Turning Point Three: In 1997 I attended my first international dance festival, "Dance On '97" (The International Festival Of Dance Academies) in Wan Chai, Hong, Kong.[4] On the first day of the festival Long greeted me at the opening session. It was quite a surprise and delight to see him. He invited me to dinner the last day of the festival and assumed the persona of a wise sage as he talked about his work at Emory University, and shared his insights on Caribbean and Asian visual and performing arts. It was a fascinating "dinner lecture."

Turning Point Four: In 2008, as an associate professor entering my 22nd year of teaching in the department of dance department at the Ohio state University, I continue to be nourished by Long's publications for my research and teaching. Specific texts that guide my work include American Dance Festival articles "The Mission of Black Modern

Dance," and "The Triple Heritage of Black Modern Dance."

Dr. Long, thank you for being present for my turning points and for your intellectual inspiration, cross-disciplinary scholarship, and your tenacious and passionate commitment to illuminating the Africanist presence in American dance.

Endnotes

1 While gathering data for my dissertation on visionary ballet educator Marion D. Cuyjet, I discovered that Mayor Franklin studied with her in the mid-1950s at Cuyjet's Judimar School of Dance in Philadelphia, Pa.

2 While writing my masters thesis, historian Joe Nash, who was director of Multicultural education at the National Council of Churches in New York City, was a great resource and allowed me access to his Black Dance Archive. This was a period when there was a dearth of literature documenting dance in African American Culture although the Black Arts Movement was flourishing. Lynne Emery's seminal book *Black Dance in America* had yet to be published.

3 The book also showcases selected photographs from Nash's Black Dance Archive housed at the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library.

4 In order to celebrate Hong Kong's return to China from the British, Dance on '97 was produced and hosted by the Hong Kong Academy of Performing Arts.

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Dr. Richard Long: A Tribute

Takiyah Nur Amin

I "met" Richard Long when I was 14 years old in Buffalo, New York. I was an awkward high school freshman who loved "all things dance." Everyday, I rushed from class to a local dance studio for classes. It never really mattered what the technique was—tap, jazz, ballet—if there was a dance class happening, I was taking it. Little did I know, that things were about to change.

During the fall of my 14th year, I suffered a painful and devastating injury to my left knee. The incident left the future of my life in performance in question; even when my crutches were gone and the brace was off, I was still very tentative about movement. I wasn't sure if I would ever dance again.

During the holidays that year, my aunt sought to encourage me toward my original passion for dancing. She'd found a dusty copy of Richard Long's *The Black Tradition in American Dance* and wisely gave it to me as a gift for Kwanzaa that year. This book, which had been purchased at a thrift store, inspired me to dance again. Dr. Long's book changed my life and continues to do so to this very day.

Admittedly, when I first received the book, I was taken in by the photos of African-American dancers from the celebrated Joe Nash collection. These pictures of Black dancers made me feel like I was a part of something bigger than myself. The photos connected me to a lineage of creativity, vision, excellence and virtuosity that I couldn't imagine. The book *compelled* me to dance—after all, I *had* to continue in order to be a part of the legacy of excellence that my forbears had left me. It wasn't until I actually began to read Dr. Long's words however that I began developing an *understanding* of that legacy.

The Black Tradition in American Dance was a constant companion during my years as an undergraduate student. I loved my dance history courses and excelled in them, but I was always concerned when the contributions of my predecessors were overlooked in those classes. Dr. Long's book acted as my "proof" of the ways in which African Americans in particular had shaped concert dance and performance traditions. When, for example, it was suggested that the first black person to be active in ballet was Arthur Mitchell, I was able to use Dr. Long's text to substantiate my contrary point of view. More than that, the book helped deepen my knowledge of individual Black dancers; I'd known the names of Alvin Ailey, Pearl Primus and Katherine Dunham, but who were Edna Guy, Helmsley Winfield and Talley Beatty? The book opened a new world for me and gave me access to the creative histories of these dance giants. I was beginning to understand the ways in which Black dancers sacrificed and persevered in order to make a life for themselves in the art form; I had come to understand the depth of the ways in which *my people* had shaped *our art form*.

As a current Ph.D student in dance, I still reference Dr. Long's important work. When the old debate about the legitimacy of continuing to discuss "black dance" have surfaced in recent months, I immediately reached for the book that had encouraged me as a dancer and that planted the seeds of my interest in dance scholarship. When Dr. Long expertly defines "Black dance," I feel immediately justified in my perspective that the discussion of it as a subject are necessary and important:

> "The mere physical presence of Black dancers in a modern dance work or in a classical ballet clearly should not invoke the use of the term "Black dance…; Clearly dance that arises in a culture or a cultural milieu which-for whatever reason- is called Black may be called Black dance (in the same way in which music so circumstanced is called Black music). Such cultures include those of sub-Saharan Africa, and the Africanized components of Western hemisphere cultures such as the Afro-American, the Afro-Brazilian, and the Afro-Cuban. *In other words, Black dance, Black stance and Black gesture are non-verbal patterns of body gestures and expressions which are distinctively Black African or originate from their descendants elsewhere* [emphasis added.]" (Long, 1989: 7-8.)

Importantly, Professor Long's definition suggests a unified aesthetic that links Black non-verbal

expression from people of African descent throughout the Diaspora. It is significant to note that Long's exploration of "Black Dance" above includes references that would extend not only to concert dance, social dance or theatrical performance, but that encompass movement more generally that have their genesis in Black African culture(s). This perspective suggests that "Black dance" is layered, complex and dynamic enough to justify continued engagement with it, even if the terminology is imprecise or vague.

I look at myself today and not much has changed. I am still somewhat awkward and passionate about dance. What is different is my respect for the field, my deep curiosity about the potential impact of dance in society and my commitment to the ongoing study of "Black dance." None of this would have been possible without the supreme scholarship of Professor Long and his phenomenal book that opened a window on dance for me that I'd never known. I am compelled again—to bring the stories of Black dancers forward and to remind others of their diverse lineage. I stand in gratitude to Professor Long for his hard work…and I am grateful to my aunt Wendy, too.

(Me and Professor Long as he autographs my book at the SDHS conference in June.)

Acknowledgements

Special thanks to Thomas DeFrantz for inviting me to participate in the roundtable tribute to Professor Long.

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South African ballets based on indigenous themes: a cultural historic perspective

1832-2007

Astrid Schwenke

Orientation

The purpose of this article is two-fold: first it will provide an overview of South African ballets based on indigenous themes, choreographed mainly by South African choreographers and secondly it evaluates these ballets' contribution to cultural life in South Africa.

Historiographical overview

This study initially focused on sourcing references and general information in the key literature about ballets with indigenous content. However, a chronological overview of literature pertaining to the history of ballet in South Africa revealed that very little has been published.

Theoretical positioning

First this study was undertaken to provide a cultural-historic overview of original choreographed ballets based on indigenous South African themes, aspects of life or circumstances. This will show that local choreographers (Frank Staff, Veronica Paeper, David Poole, Gary Burne, Teda De Moor, Elizabeth Triegaardt, Sally Friedland) absorbed and transformed indigenous cultural material over decades, showing certain statements to the contrary to be unfounded. One such statement, for example, claims: "...that no attempt (has been made) to create ballets by absorbing and transforming both indigenous material and dance forms";[1]

Secondly the ballets are evaluated in relation to their contribution to ballet and/or the cultural life in South Africa. This contribution is set against various discourses on indigenous content, and especially against the Euro-/Afro-centric debate which marked the transitional period between 1990 and 1994. This will show that the performing arts were unjustly singled out in this discourse on the place of so-called Euro-centric arts in a post-apartheid and democratic South Africa.[2]

Finally the focus is on works with indigenous content, *choreographed and produced as ballets*, whether or not it has absorbed "modern dance, Afro- or *avant garde* movements". The hypothesis of this research is as follows:

> Ballet as cultural phenomenon in South Africa has, despite its Euro- centric origins, absorbed and transformed indigenous themes and material, sociological aspects as well as dance forms, and has thus contributed to and become part of the unique South African cultural fabric.

Methodological approaches

To fulfill the aim of discussing the ballets within a particular framework, it is imperative that an overview of the history of South Africa be given first.

Communities in southern Africa lived by hunting, fishing and gathering edible plants for thousands of years. These were the ancestors of the hunter-gatherers, the San, formerly referred to as the Bushmen who lived in the arid parts of southern Africa and the pastoralists, the Khoekhoen, formerly referred to as the Hottentots. After colonisation the Khoekhoen traded their cattle for the Dutch Company's tobacco, and even began to act as brokers in the developing trade between the Europeans and the Africans to the east.

By the sixteenth century Bantu-speaking African farmers occupied semi-permanent villages in the eastern parts of South Africa and as far north as the equator. Four main groups settled in southern Africa over a very long period. These were the Venda, the Sotho-Tswana, the Nguni (consisting of the Zulu and the Xhosa) and the Tsonga.

During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the Europeans, in particular the Portugese, sailed around the Cape *en route* to India. Settlement at the Cape took place when the Dutch arrived at the Cape in 1652 under the auspices of the Dutch East India Company to provide a post for fresh produce and water for passing ships. Soon this Dutch outpost grew into a new colony

of the Netherlands and it was a Netherlands colony until 1795. As a result of the wars between Britain and the Netherlands, the British occupied the Cape in 1795. By 1806 the Cape was under British rule.

As in the rest of the western world, slaves were imported to South Africa during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; they came from four main geographic areas - Africa, Madagascar, Indonesia as well as Malaysia. Soon the children of slaves born at the Cape were of mixed heritage; they had different countries of origin and different legal status. Racial mixing at the Cape started very early and this produced the population group known as the "coloured" or Brown people.

From the late 18th century conflict on the eastern border of the Cape Colony between the whites and the indigenous Xhosas (a black group) was extreme as both were cattle farmers and both were seeking new pastures.

It was under these circumstances that the Dutch speaking farmers on the eastern border of the Cape Colony (Eastern Cape today) defied British rule to gain their independence in the interior. This exodus of 15 000 people was later on referred to as the "Great Trek" ("Big Move"). After fighting the British, the Voortrekkers were finally granted their independence. In 1852 the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republic (ZAR) was established and in 1854 the Republic of the Orange Free State. By 1854 South Africa had two British colonies (Cape and Natal) and two Voortrekker Republics.

While the Cape Colony and Natal were British colonies, British imperialism continued its advances.

After the discovery of gold in 1886 in the ZAR, the British set out the take over the Voortrekker Republics; Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), today also referred to as the South African War.

After the Anglo-Boer war South Africa was completely under British rule. South Africa became the Union of South Africa 1910.

The tensions between black and white people were exacerbated in 1948 when the Afrikaner National Party took over the government and apartheid was developed as political policy.

From 1912 black nationalism began to rise with the formation of the African National Congress (ANC) and the formulation of the Freedom Charter in 1955.

A turning point against the apartheid policy came with the Soweto Uprising of 1976.

From 1976 onwards South Africa reeled under revolt and boycotts. A State of Emergency signaled an extremely violent time. The realisation that the ANC would not stop committing acts of violence until its leader, Nelson Mandela, was released, as well as the demise of communism in Eastern Europe, led to the famous speech by President FW de Klerk on 2 February 1990.

After four years of negotiations the ANC won the first democratic election and in 1994 Nelson Mandela was elected as the first black president of South Africa.[3]

Categorisation of indigenous ballets

The ballets that are discussed are dances, one-act and full-length ballets and reflect, or are based on, the following:[4]

- South African daily life, cultural circumstances and sociological problems
- The political situation in South Africa
- South African historical events
- Historical facts or events combined with legends or beliefs
- South African legends or myths
- South African religious or traditional beliefs
- South African literature (poetry or stories by South African writers)
- The natural environment (physiography, landscape, natural disasters, floods, plant life, mineral wealth e.g. diamonds and gold)

Ballets or dances reflecting South African daily life, cultural circumstances and sociological problems

The following ballets fall in this category; *Jack at the Cape, or All alive amongst the Hottentots!* and *Jack returns*; these ballets portray cultural life in Cape Town in the early nineteenth century. *Pink Lemonade* and *The Square*, both reflecting cultural life in Cape Town in the 1950s and 1960s, can also be placed in this category.The ballet dance *Jack at the Cape, or All alive amongst the Hottentots!* was performed on 7 January 1832.[5] A newspaper advertisement announced this performance as follows:

> a new Ballet Dance entitled Jack at the Cape, or All alive among the Hottentots! With a new dropscene (sic) displaying a full view of Table Mountain and Bay, painted especially for this occasion.[6]

This ballet dance is regarded as the first to reflect a South African atmosphere and that is based on an indigenous theme.

More than a hundred and fifty years later South Africa is a very different place - as is the cultural life in Cape Town.

Two ballets choreographed in the 1950s and 1960s by David Poole, *Pink Lemonade* and *The Square*, reflect this period and are concerned with the coloured people of Cape Town. Johar Mosaval, a coloured person himself, returned from the Royal Ballet in London as guest artist for this performance. *Pink Lemonade* (music by Délibes) tells the story of Mosaval, who from humble beginnings in District Six, an area in the heart of Cape Town, became a star in a famous international company. Poole set this story against a group of wandering circus artists who find themselves in competition with a large circus. The son in the story is drawn to the bigger circus, leaves his family and returns as a star.[7] District Six came to symbolise the Afrikaner rejection of the coloured community, who are also Afrikaans language speakers. In the wake of the Group Areas Act of 1950 different urban living spaces for whites, blacks, coloured people and Indians were established.[8]

It is against this background that the second ballet, choreographed by David Poole for the EOAN group, *The Square* (with commissioned music by Stanley Glasser) must be viewed. This full-length ballet was performed in 1962 when Mosaval returned again from the Royal Ballet to dance guest artist in the principle role of the gang leader. The story is set in a village square and portrays the struggle between good and evil; as the programme notes state:

> The first carefree games of childhood are followed by the threat of violence and passion of youth, culminating in the tragedy of killing. In the dream sequence, the gang leader realises his guilt and pleads forgiveness, but the crowd, mistaking the pleadings for a new threat, turn on him and kill him.[9]

This ballet successfully reproduced the feel and atmosphere of the Cape, and the style of the ballet suited these dancers as it provided scope for their acting skills.[10]

Ballets based on, or reflecting, the political situation in South Africa

The next ballet choreographed by Poole can be placed in the category "ballets based on, or reflecting, the political situation in South Africa - life under apartheid." It must be noted, though, that Poole never indicated his adherence to this interpretation.

Le Cirque (with music by Bach, *Suite in D*) was choreographed by David Poole for the University of Cape Town's (UCT) Ballet School. The school, which was multiracial. participated in August of 1972 in the International Festival of Youth Orchestras in Lausanne, Switzerland. Stephen de Villiers was responsible for the decor and costumes.[11]

In this ballet Poole relates the story of the dictatorial ringmaster in a circus that rules his performers. He rules lives, separating lovers and sparing no thought for their personal tragedy, and divides the company into groups based on the colour of their clothes, thwarting attempts of the members to transfer from one group to another.[12]

By 1972 the world was beginning to turn against South Africa; it was also only one year before the United Nations General Assembly declared apartheid a crime against humanity. In terms of one of the myriad of apartheid acts, the Population Registration Act of 1950 classified every citizen in each identified community: whites, coloureds and Africans. The Immorality Amendment Act of 1950 outlawed any relationship between a white and a non-white person; this act was repealed in 1985.[13]

In an interview Poole noted that *Le Cirque* represented the hopes, longings and dilemmas of a modern society. However, one critic wrote:

> Poole draws his portraits with a fine pen and inflicts his wounds with a rapier;...

Another referred to this ballet as "a savage attack on South African life".[14] According to Grut *Le Cirque* was a dramatic comment on social pressures and repression, and at the time suited the multiracial performing company, the UCT Ballet Company. A commotion was created as a result of the political interpretation by critics. Moreover, it was interpreted as South Africa's first political ballet.[15]

Ballets based on South African historical events

A dance that is based on true historical events is *'n Vrou* ("A Woman") by Teda De Moor, a pioneer of modern dance in South Africa. This dance tells of a Voortrekker woman as she settles into her new home.[16] Two ballets based on the suicide of the Xhosa

people in 1857, *Amangomso* (choreographed by Elizabeth Triegaardt to traditional music for CAPAB Ballet in 1973)[17] and *Nongause* (choreographed by Gary Burne in 1972/3),[18] also fall into this category.

The ballet *Nongause* is of great importance; it was performed for the first time on 5 September 1972 by the Bulawayo Theatre Club, in present-day Zimbabwe. It was produced in Cape Town by Pact Ballet in 1973. Burne's ballet had an indigenous theme and was based on an event considered by foremost South African historians as a "millenarian movement of genuine and passionate intensity."[19] Visually the ballet was magnificent; costumes included beadwork skirts and tops and starkly patterned mantles, and the work was performed to rock and electronic music.[20]

In 1857 tribal territory on the troublesome eastern border between the British -owned Cape Colony and the Xhosa was penetrated by establishing white-owned farms and military roads. The Xhosas harboured a strong resistance to European domination. The Xhosa chiefs decided to exploit the deep-seated African belief in supernatural powers in an attempt to mobilise the entire Xhosa tribe against the white people.

A rumour that spirits had spoken to Nongqawuse (historical spelling) and her witchdoctor uncle Umhlakaza, was spread. She claimed to have seen the spirits of former Xhosa chiefs who had expressed a wish to return to Earth to help the Xhosa people. Nongqawuse's uncle used her visions and became convinced that the spirits wanted to return and the Xhosa people should prepare to drive the whites into the sea. He believed that they should demonstrate their faith in the spirits by destroying all their cattle and food supplies. Umhlakaze announced that the spirits would rise from the dead on 18 February of this year.

Cattle were slaughtered and crops burnt, with the result that about one third of the Xhosa population died of starvation. Nongqawuse fled, was caught and banished to Robben Island - which at that time was already a prison. She was released once the hatred towards her had subsided. She married, had children and died in 1898.[21]

Nongause was described as an Afro- Rock ballet, whilst Burne called *Nongause* an African dance drama in ten scenes.[22] It was not a ballet for the squeamish with its "gruesome theme", but abounded in inventive choreography.[23]

Ballets based on historical facts or events combined with legends or beliefs

In this category ballets which were created based on historical fact, combined with legends or beliefs, are explored.

The ballet *Waratha* (choreographed by Audrey King with commissioned music by the South African composer Stephaans Grove) is an example of this genre. In 1977 King was invited to attend the International Festival of Youth Orchestras and Performing Arts in Aberdeen and London with members her ballet school. She felt that her ballet school would not be truly representative of youth ballet in South Africa and formed the Johannesburg Youth Ballet (JYB); it was made up of dancers from all cultural groups, nationalities and races in South Africa. Despite the political unrest of the time, King met with no resistance forming the JYB, and even received a national education grant.[24]

The passenger ship the *Waratha*, floundered along the eastern coast of South Africa in 1909. Historical fact show that no-one survived this wreck,[25] but legend has it that a young girl was shipwrecked and brought up by the local Xhosa people. In this ballet she is shown to be torn between the customs and rituals of the tribe who fostered her and the culture of her forebears to whom she is returned, finding it difficult to reconcile these differences.[26]

The ballet, *Rain Queen*, focuses on the cultural heritage of a northern Sotho- speaking group, the Lobedu;[27]three different versions of this ballet were choreographed.[28] It tells the story of the Lobedu people who beseech their leader the *Rain Queen*, to bring rain. Four ancestors appear to the Queen in her trance and they tell her to collect charms for cunning, fertility, strength and life. Unbeknownst to her, the fourth charm is the life of her lover, *Thana.* He brings her the first three charms and then dies, and, as her tears fall on his body, it begins to rain.[29]

The Lobedu tribe have their own kingdom in the northern parts of South Africa. The Modjadji or Rain Queen is the only traditional ruling queen in Southern Africa and historically she was known as an extremely powerful magician, able to bring rain to her friends and drought to her enemies. When she is near death, she appoints her eldest daughter as successor and ingests poison. Since 1800 there have been six Modjadji Rain Queens.

The sixth Rain Queen Makobo Constance Modadji VI reigned from 2003 - 2005 and was the youngest Queen in the history of the Lobedu tribe to become Queen. She was the only Rain Queen to be formally educated and it is believed that Makobo only

reluctantly accepted the crown. In 2005 Makobo died of chronic meningitis. There has not been a new Rain Queen since and it could be that the 200 year old Rain Queen dynasty may have come to an end.[30]

Frank Staff started choreographing the ballet for the Republic Festival in 1971. In an interview Staff said that the idea for the ballet had been simmering for many months and that the initial rehearsals were always filled with trial and error. He added that finding a style is really a rather frightening experience; this also applies to the ballets he particularly wanted to do, and *Rain Queen* is one of them. He also said that the moment of truth may contain a few surprises and that the biggest one of them was the fact that the Queen goes *en point*, and not as he had originally intended, on the flat. The second surprise was that the style of the principle dancers was more classical than he had intended, and that the rest of the cast would be the reverse of classical.[31]

The music for *Rain Queen* was commissioned from Graham Newcater, who was hospitalised before completing the score and, faced with a deadline, Staff approached Peter Klatzow from the UCT College of Music to help him out of this dilemma. Because the music was then different, the ballet had to be re-choreographed by Staff who declared that he was grateful for this time, and subsequently had this to say:

> If it didn't happen I doubt very much whether I would write anything at all, apart from lighthearted jokes which are easy and don't require what Ashton used to call depth charges in preparation.[32]

Tragedy struck; Staff became seriously ill and his wife, Veronica Paeper, had to rehearse the company and create the style required by this work with only one week left before the show opened. The ballet company had hoped that Staff's absence would only temporary; unfortunately he died of cancer aged 52.[33] As a result the Staff versions were destined never to be performed the way he had envisaged. However, Poole produced this work with new choreography in memory of Staff in 1973. New costumes had to be designed because Poole was now not only working with a larger company, but also visualised the ballet in his own way; *Rain Queen* was staged in its third metamorphosis.[34] Poole divided the ballet in eight scenes and in the programme notes says the following:

> While the legend of the Rain Queen is very beautiful and richly evocative, I would have found it distasteful to write an 'African' ballet for a white South African company. I have therefore placed the action in a primitive society - anywhere - and the classically-orientated movements incorporate elements inspired by Isadora Duncan, Martha Graham, Kurt Jooss and Luigi.[35]

According to the critics, *Rain Queen* made an impact and was the highlight of Poole's career - a *tour de force* -although some criticised several things; the music was banal at times and not reflect the simplicity and earthiness, or even the ominous art of magic; there was no fusion between the costumes and décor, but the overall effect created by the principal dancers was excellent.[36]

The ballet *Kami*, a dramatic work created accompanied by Bizet's music, was choreographed by Poole for the Cape Performing Arts Board (CAPAB) in 1976.[37]

It was based on a legend about the death of a former Dutch governor at the Cape, Pieter Gysbert Noodt[38] who was appointed Governor of the Cape, arriving form Batavia accompanied by his wife and two children. On the morning of 23 April 1727 four soldiers, who were sentenced to death based on the procedures of the Judicial Council, were executed. The Governor's only interference was to have the bodies removed and buried immediately to avoid them hanging in public view for too long. This explains the legend that was created around his sudden death from a heart attack the same evening.

A play, *Die laaste aand* ("The last evening") based on these events, was written by the South African writer C. Louis Leipoldt.[39] The story on which this ballet is based is as follows; the Governor had a tempestuous affair with a Malayan princess, *Kami,* in Java. He deserts her and years later she arrives in Cape Town with their son; *Kami* had changed her name to *Martha*. Unbeknownst to *Grysbreg van Noot* [variation of his name for the ballet], the rebel he condemns to death is his own son.[40] Poole's choreography made it possible to execute the type of movements typical to the style of dance of one of the characters, a young coloured boy.[41]

Ballets based on South African legends

In this category the ballet *Vlei Legend*, (*vlei* translates as a shallow lake or marsh) choreographed

by Dulcie Howes and performed by UCT Ballet School and Company for the 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival, is of importance. This was hailed as the first all-South African ballet; choreographer (Howes), composer (John Joubert) and designer (Leng Dixon).

Vlei Legend is based on the legend of a young Khoenkhoen princess who is pursued across the Cape Flats by a group of sailors. She sinks to the ground weeping, her tears forming a marsh around her in which her pursuers drown. According to an old Cape belief, a victim is claimed each year by Princess Vlei.[42]

Ballets based on South African religious or traditional beliefs

The rich cultural heritage of the San was invoked to create a ballet in 1970; *Mantis Moon* was produced by the then Performing Arts Council of the Orange Free State (PACOFS). Choreography was by Frank Staff and music by Hans Maske was commissioned.

The programme note stated that "the basic thought is the transmutability of animals and heavenly bodies; death and rebirth; and of the Mantis as god".[43]

Ballets based on South African literature (poetry or stories of South African writers)

South African writers' literature has provided extensive inspiration for choreographers; the ballets *Raka* choreographed by Staff in 1967, [44] and *Drie Diere* ("Three animals") choreographed by Paeper in 1982 [45] were based on the work of N.P. van Wyk Louw;[46] *Herrie-hulle* ("Herrie and them") choreographed by Paeper in 1973, was based on the writings of CJ Langenhoven [47] and *Yakhal Inkomo* (with experimental choreography by Sally Friedland in 1973) was based on the work of the writer and poet Wally Serote.[48]

In this category *Raka*, ranks as the most important; this dramatic ballet was choreographed by Staff, and music commissioned by Graham Newcater and designs by Raimond Schoop.[49] The programme notes explained this work:

> In the poem Raka, the story is told of the undoing of a noble race by elementary passion. Raka himself is portrayed as a shameless, instinctive creature who slithers into the life of the community. Opposed to him is Koki, the clean one, the sole fighter for the traditional morals of his people. The clash is a struggle which can only end in death - and Raka is the victor. When the morals of a race are allowed to deteriorate, Raka is permitted to enter, and the night of life is born.[50]

Staff's treatment of his dancers in *Raka*, where the tribe was merely primitive and anonymous, was considered a more successful approach to the subject than *Nongause* where the white dancers were painted brown to resemble an African tribe.[51]

Ballet or dances based on the natural environment (physiography, landscape, natural disasters, floods, plant life, mineral wealth e.g. diamonds, gold)

In this category three ballets deserve mention as the choreographers have drawn on the natural environment for inspiration and content. They are *The Jacaranda tree looks on* (Marjorie Sturman,1939)[52], *Diamonds in the sands* (Boris Igneff, produced for the Van Riebeeck Festival in 1952 with *Vlei Legend* [53]and *City of Gold* (Gary Burne, 1966 a dance tribute for the 80th anniversary of the city of Johannesburg).[54]

Conclusion

Between 1990 and 1994 the cultural struggle reached fever pitch. At arts festivals and at a variety of cultural and political forums, the debate over so-called apartheid-structures raged.

After the ANC became the ruling party in 1994 the former professional ballet companies that formed the four Performing Arts Councils were mothballed as the ANC ceased to subsidise any Euro-centric art forms as the National Party government had done. What remained were the Performing Arts Boards' theatre complexes, renamed and leased to any group or company wishing to make use of it as venues for their productions.[55]

It is imperative to start recognising the contributions of all cultural groups in a holistic manner, especially in a currently severely troubled South Africa which desperately needs finally lay to rest the Euro-/Afro-centric debate which has gone on too long; this needs to be done to move ahead - it is time for closure.

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1 F.Hagemann, Searching for unity under the surface of dance,*The Dance Journal* 1(1),March,1990, p.3.

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[3] A. Schwenke,*'n Beeld van die gedifferensieerde kultuurbelewing en -problematiek in Suid-Afrika,1983-1994:'n Bronne-evaluasie*, Unpublished M.A.dissertation,UP ., 2002 pp.7-23; K. Shillington,*History of Africa*,p.10; T.R.H.Davenport,*South Africa:A modern history*, pp.7-12; R.E.van der Ross, *Up from slavery.Slaves at the Cape,their origins,treatment and contribution*, pp.16,7,33,34.

[4] Original categorisation by A. Schwenke.

[5] F.C.L. Bosman,*Drama en toneel in Suid-Afrika,Deel I: 1652 - 1855*, pp.208,209,219,222,224,374,380,381,383; M.Grut,*The history of ballet in South Africa*, pp.14,426; L.W.B..Binge,*Ontwikkeling van die Afrikaanse toneel (1832 tot 1950)*, pp.1,2; J.Fletcher, *The story of South African theatre 1780 - 1930*,the title page reads:*The story of theatre in South Africa.A guide to its history from 1780 - 1930*,pp.62,63,64.

[6] F.C.L.Bosman,*Drama en toneel in Suid-Afrika,Deel I:1652 - 1855*,p.219.

[7] M.Grut, *The history of ballet in South Africa*, pp.34,35,342,396; R.E.van der Ross, *Up from slavery.Slaves at the Cape,their origins, treatment and contribution*,pp.150,151.

[8] H. Giliomee,*The Afrikaners. Biography of a people*, pp.505,506,587.

[9] M. Grut, *The history of ballet in South Africa*, p.3

[10] A.Botha, David Poole.Hy bou aan 'n Suid-Afrikaanse ballettradisie, *Lantern* 33(4), Junie 1974, p.15; M. Grut, *The history of ballet in South Africa*, p. 35.

[11] M. Grut, *The history of ballet in South Africa*, 113.

[12] NASA, Brochure,South African Centre for Information on the Atrs (SACIA), Centre for Threatre Reseach (CESAT) programme 261/1138 CAPAB/PACOFS-KRUIK/SUKOVS in association with PACT- in oorleg met TRUK presents/bied aan *Rain Queen* and/en *Le Cirque*, Johannesburg 1973; A.Botha, David Poole.Hy bou aan 'n Suid-Afrikaanse ballettradisie, *Lantern* 33(4), Junie 1974, pp.10,15; Liliana Cosi, *Ballet vir die jong danser*, In Afrikaans verwerk deur Eduard Greyling en Melvyn Minnaar met 'n afdeling "Ballet in Suid-Afrika" deur Dulcie Howes, p.59; M.Grut, *The history of ballet in South Africa*, pp.114,237,238.

[13] H.Giliomee, *The Afrikaners. Biography of a people*, pp. 500-505.

[14] M.Grut, *The history of ballet in South Africa*, p.238.

[15] M.Grut, *The history of ballet in South Africa*, p.238; Liliana Cosi, *Ballet vir die jong danser*, In Afrikaans verwerk deur Eduard Greyling en Melvyn Minnaar met 'n afdeling "Ballet in Suid-Afrika" deur Dulcie Howes, p. 59.

[16] SACIA CESAT programme 555/514 Programme Little Theatre, *'n Vrou* [a woman], pp.1,2; M.Grut, *The history of ballet in South Africa*, p.46.

[17] M. Grut, *The history of ballet in South Africa*, p. 237.

[18] SACIA CESAT programme 97/1557 *Nongause* and *La Fille Mal Gardée*, PACT Ballet in collaboration with CAPAB/TRUK-Ballet,31.8.1973 - 15.9.1973.

[19] T.R.H.Davenport,*South Africa:A modern history*,p.122.

[20] SACIA CESAT programme 97/1557 *Nongause* and *La Fille Mal Gardée*, PACT Ballet in collaboration with CAPAB/TRUK-Ballet,31.8.1973 - 15.9.1973; M.Grut,*The history of ballet in South Africa*,p.289.

[21] T.R.H.Davenport,*South Africa:A modern history*,pp.121,122; W.J.de Kock (ed.), *Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek/South African Biographical Dictionary* I, pp.619,620; H.Giliomee en/and B.Mbenga, *Nuwe Geskiedenis van Suid-Afrika/New history of South Africa*,pp.175-177.

[22] SACIA CESAT programme 97/1557 *Nongause* and *La Fille Mal Gardée*, PACT Ballet in collaboration with CAPAB/TRUK-Ballet,31.8.1973 - 15.9.1973.

[23] M.Grut,*The history of ballet in South Africa*,p.288.

[24] M.Rudram,Johannesburg Youth Ballet,*Scenaria Theatre,Opera,Ballet,Music,Film*, Issue no.4,28 July 1979, p.30.

[25] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waratha,2008/04/23,. pp.1-13.

[26] M. Rudram, Johannesburg Youth Ballet, *Scenaria Theatre, Opera, Ballet, Music, Film*, Issue no.14, 28 July 1979, p. 30; M. Grut, *The history of ballet in South Africa*, pp. 185,186.

[27] E.J.Krige and J.D.Krige,*The realm of a Rain-Queen.A study of the pattern of Lovedu society*, pp.1-15; http://www.ezakwantu.com, The Lobedu, "Balobedu - Ba Lobedu -Lovedu - Balovedu", A North Sotho Tribe, 2008/04/28,pp.1-32.

[28] M.Grut,*The history of ballet in South Africa*,p.330.

[29] SACIA,CESAT) programme 261/1138 CAPAB/PACOFS-KRUIK/SUKOVS in association with PACT- in oorleg met TRUK presents/bied aan *Rain Queen* and/en *Le Cirque*, Johannesburg 1973.

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[31] G.Rosen, *Frank Staff and his role in South African ballet and musical theatre from 1955 to 1959,including a pre-1955 biography*,Unpublished .Phil.,UCT.,1998,p.334; M.Grut,*The history of ballet in South Africa*,pp.329,330.

[32] M.Grut,*The history of ballet in South Africa*,pp.329,330.

[33] G.Rosen, *Frank Staff and his role in South African ballet and musical theatre from 1955 to 1959,including a pre-1955 biography*,Unpublished D.Phil.,UCT.,1998,p.335.

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[35] SACIA,CESAT) programme 261/1138 CAPAB/PACOFS-KRUIK/SUKOVS in association with PACT- in oorleg met TRUK presents/bied aan *Rain Queen* and/en *Le Cirque*, Johannesburg 1973.

[36] M.Grut,*The history of ballet in South Africa*,p.238.

[37] M.Grut,*The history of ballet in South Africa*,pp.194,242,252-253,256,437,438.

[38] Also Peter Gisbert Noot, Netherlands *25.4.1681 - Cape Town+ 23.4.1729.

[39] D.W.Krüger,*Suid-Afrikaanse Biografiese Woordeboek/South African Biographical Dictionary* II,pp.531,532.

[40] J.Allyn and M.Cooper,*Ballet in South Africa.Dance for life*,pp.105-108.

[41] M.Grut, *The history of ballet in South Africa*, p.253.

[42] R.Glasstone, *Dulcie Howes. Pioneer of ballet in South Africa*,pp.52,53,86; M.Grut, *The history of ballet in South Africa*,pp.92,135,136,429;

[43] SACIA,CESAT programme 6/223, SUKOVS/PACOFS Ballet, *Comment?/Kommentaar*,*Mantis moon*,*The Séance/Die Séance*, 1970.

[44] SACIA,CESAT programme (no number) TRUK-Ballet/PACTBallet, *Swan Lake*,*Act 2, Raka, Festival in Zaragoza*, Pretoria,Johannesburg, August/September, 1967.

[45] SACAI,CESAT programme (no mumber) The Friends of the ballet present *The Gala The ballet Bursary Gala*, CAPAB Ballet and Pact Ballet, Pretoria 21 November 1982.

[46] J.C. Steyn, *Van Wyk Louw. 'n Lewensverhaal Deel I en II*, p. 1079.

[47] M.Grut,*The history of ballet in South Africa*,pp.240,243,331,439.

[48] M.Grut,*The history of ballet in South Africa*,p.237.

[49] Performing Arts Council Transvaal PACT Archives, File: Raka, letters, documents, planning.

[50] SACIA, CESAT programme (no number) TRUK-Ballet/PACTBallet, *Swan Lake*,*Act 2, Raka*,*Festival in Zaragoza*, Pretoria,Johannesburg,August/September,1967.

[51] M. Grut, *The history of ballet in South Africa*, p.290.

[52] SACIA,CESAT programme 127/18,Marjorie Sturman presents *Ballet and Divertissement*,City Hall, Wednesday October 18,1939;Saturday October 21,1939 pp.3,5.

[53] Voortrekker Monument and Nature Reserve Archives: Official Programme of the Van Riebeeck Festival (1952),1st February - 6th April, 1952 Cape Town, no.6.Additional attractions, p.43.

[54] SACIA,CESAT programme 555/510,The Johannesburg Civic Theatre Association, *Nuit De Ballet*,8-13 August 1966.

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Shoyo's Nihon Buyo

Takashi Izuha, Keiichiro Uetsuki & Mieko Marumo

0. Introduction

This paper investigates the first definition of Nihon Buyo [日本舞踊] coined by Shoyo Tsubouchi as a genre of Japanese dance and confirms the gap between his definition and today's definition. The focus of this paper is to analyze the term Nihon Buyo, whereas previous studies (see bibliography at the end of this paper) deal with the historical or stylistic development of the dance itself.

1. What is Nihon Buyo? – Today's definition

In the literal sense, 'Nihon' means Japanese and 'Buyo' means dance. But the term is not used to indicate Japanese dance in general. Nihon Buyo is a technical term to indicate several styles of Japanese dance including two important traditional dance styles, Kabuki Buyo and Kamigatamai.

Eastern Kabuki Buyo [歌舞伎舞踊] means the dance performance generated as independent repertoire derived from the dance parts of Kabuki plays. Kabuki Buyo plays important roles in Nihon Buyo and all of the five most important and influential Nihon Buyo schools—Nishikawa, Hanayagi, Wakayagi, Fujima, Bando—have their stylistic origins in Kabuki Buyo. Kabuki Buyo first appeared in the seventeenth century at the start of the 260-year-old Tokugawa shogunate. As to its style, one of the significant characters of Kabuki Buyo is that it has story lines just as Kabuki plays do, which means every movement of Kabuki Buyo reflects meaning from the stories. In addition, Goshugimono [御祝儀物], whose style is related to Kabuki Buyo, is also generally categorized as Nihon Buyo.

On the other hand, Western Kamigatamai [上方舞] has developed as a dance for private parties or dinners as patrons' entertainment in the Kyoto and Osaka area. Like Kabuki Buyo, Kamigatamai can be traced back to the Tokugawa period. Kamigatamai took its original style from dances performed in the Imperial court and among aristocracy in Kyoto as well as from Noh and Kabuki Buyo. In contrast to the male-dominated Kabuki Buyo, Kamigatamai is mainly danced by women and its choreographic style is more static and symbolic than Kabuki Buyo. Kamigatamai is also performed on stage today and had developed not only as a traditional private dance but as a public art form.

Kabuki Buyo and Kamigatamai dancers today not only preserve their traditions but create new choreography with Kabuki Buyo and Kamigatamai as their bases. The new dances are called Sosaku Buyo [創作舞踊 i.e. creative dance] and this style of dance is categorized in Nihon Buyo as well. Though term Nihon Buyo is so ambiguous that it is often used to refer to other dance styles as well, the significant styles of Nihon Buyo today are Kabuki Buyo, Goshugimono, Kamigatamai, and Sosaku Buyo. However, the original definition of the term Nihon Buyo coined by Shoyo Tsubouchi differed from today's definition.

2. Shoyo's definition of Nihon Buyo

Shoyo Tsubouchi [坪内逍遥] was a playwright and a dance critic born in 1859. He is known as one of the most influential intelligentsia in the Meiji Era. This is the era after the Tokugawa shogunate ended. Also, Japan opened its borders to foreign trade in 1858. Shoyo was first influenced by English writers like Shakespeare and introduced western ideas into Japan. Shoyo is known for translating the complete works of Shakespeare into Japanese, but he also studied European performing arts, from which he constructed his own ideas for improving Japanese performing arts, including dance.

In his first work on dance—*Shin Gakugeki Ron* published in 1904 (see Source 1. in the bibliography)—Shoyo argued that Japan should improve the declining condition of its performing arts. He compared Japanese performing arts with flourishing western opera and pointed out that 'every civilized country in history has had its specific music or drama'[1] (*Works*, III, p.505). He asserted the grandeur of Japanese culture and the necessity to make it accepted worldwide. His fundamental motivation for improving Japanese performing arts came from his disappointment in the declining condition of traditional performing arts which had fallen into mannerism. However, his ideas also reflected the nationalist zeal of his time, inspired in part by the Russo Japanese War from 1904 to 1905.

To set alongside western performing arts, Shoyo introduced three traditional performing arts as the pride of Japan: Noh, Kabuki and Furigoto. He noted that all of them had fallen into mannerism and were too old-fashioned for the twentieth century. To improve their declining condition, he insisted on the necessity of creating an alternative Japanese performing art. However, Shoyo thought it would be

too difficult to create a new performing art out of nothing. He claimed 'it should be better among others to be based on indigenous elements of this country which has matured for thousands of years and to refine essential qualities of those elements' (*Works*, III, p.523) in order to create a new performing art. Of the three traditional arts, Shoyo paid most attention to Furigoto. He considered Kabuki too theatrical with its vulgar story lines, and thought Noh more suitable as a historical treasure whose primary legacy was its original style and spirit.

Furigoto [振事], with which Shosagoto [所作事] is also used synonymously, is dance drama set in Kabuki plays. Shoyo insisted that the story lines of Furigoto were too confused and mundane to be understood as they were based on outdated Kabuki epics. But Shoyo recognized Furigoto as a composition with simple and pure artistic elements of music and dance which he thought could evolve into a Japanese performing art. Taking Furigoto as a base, Shoyo used the term Furigoto Geki [振事劇 i.e. Furigoto drama] for this future performing art.

However, Shoyo admitted in an article published in 1908 (Source 2.) that the term Furigoto Geki had not been accepted and seemed too long for general use. Shoyo coined the term Nihon Buyo to be synonymous with Furigoto Geki, retaining the idea that Furigoto would serve as a base for his new dance-based performing art. He also introduced other terms like 'Buyo Geki' [舞踊劇 i.e. Dance drama], or 'Hyojo Buyo' [表情舞踊 Expressional dance] in place of Furigoto Geki (*Works*, III, p.656). The notion that he exaggerated the importance of Furigoto is discussed in other articles (Source 3., Source 4.).

To understand what Shoyo intended to create as a new performing art under the name of Nihon Buyo, we should note that he used the term Hyojo Buyo as well. As the literal sense of Hyojo Buyo suggests, Shoyo considered it necessary to add expression to Furigoto in place of its outdated story lines. He noted in *Shin Gakugeki Ron*, 'it seems better to add expression to movements in order to make their [Furigoto's] taste and appearance more beautiful' (*Works*, III, p.544). Shoyo also noted in another article (Source 5.), '[…] expression as represented in silent drama […] would also be fundamental […] to movements of Furigoto' (*Works*, III, p.801). Shoyo indicated that the superficial implications of Furigoto detracted the grandeur of the dance and they should be improved by artless movements which represented natural human expressions. He considered, as written in another article (Source 6.), that expressional movements would add grandeur or sublimity to the dance and would help realize a new unified dance-based performing arts: 'I believe that the principal aim of art is unity' (*Works*, III, p.696).

The idea of expression might have come to him with western ideas introduced in the late nineteenth century. However, the more important point is that Shoyo discarded the term Furigoto Geki. This shows he did not want to make the new performing art limited to the field of Kabuki, nor did he intend Kabuki-originated art by the term Nihon Buyo. The term Nihon Buyo today covers Kabuki Buyo, but in Shoyo's time it did not.

3. Historical development of the term Nihon Buyo

Why do the two definitions differ? In order to answer this question, we have to investigate the conditions of dance world in the age of Shoyo.

Though Shoyo defended his idea of Nihon Buyo as a Japanese performing art in several articles, the contemporary situation of dance was far from his ideal. For instance, almost all dance plays in Tokyo were performed by Kabuki actors who recognized dance as peripheral to the Kabuki play. Because of this, Kabuki actors did not at first attempt to lead Furigoto to the next stage. Shoyo admitted his disappointment in an article published in 1909 (Source 5.). His idea of creating a new, unified Japanese performing art had not been realized and there were few dancers who could improve the superficial story lines of Furigoto.

Because of this disappointment, for six years, from 1912 to 1918, Shoyo did not publish works on dance. In 1918, in his first article after this six-year silence on dance (Source 6.), Shoyo admitted the difficulty of realizing his first ideal of Nihon Buyo. He stated, 'I had no other choice to interrupt my efforts to improve dance after all sorts of troubles and difficulties' (*Works*, III, p.797). He was by then reconciled to going no further than trying to find artistic elements in existing Kabuki Buyo and Kamigatamai. At this stage, he came to use the term Nihon Buyo also for these existing Kabuki Buyo and Kamigatamai. Shoyo adapted the term Nihon Buyo after the failure to create a new dance-based performing art to be named Nihon Buyo. The double meaning of the term reflects his compromise with failure.

Shoyo published an article in 1920 (Source 7.) which he intended as his last article on dance. He entitled it 'The Last Plan'. In the first half of the article, Shoyo admitted his previous theory was 'makeshift' (*Works*, III, p.826) and could not have fundamentally improved the dances of Japan. His compromise is reflected in the way he used the term

Nihon Buyo ambiguously to indicate both a future dance and existing dances. He again emphasized dance for the improvement of Japanese performing arts but this time he focused on nature:

> The last plan which comes to my mind to improve our dance is 'to return to nature', as people who made efforts to improve any kinds of art have very often accepted that way. There seems to be nothing like this plan. In other words, all movements and techniques of Noh and Kabuki which are dusted with traditions should be put away. We should focus mainly on our natural excitement to make a new start.
>
> (*Works*, III, pp.828-9)[23]

Whereas the term Nihon Buyo was ambiguous at the time he published 'The Last Plan', another word reflecting Shoyo's idea of creating a new dance-based performing art was becoming well accepted: Shin Buyo [新舞踊 i.e. New dance]. The use of the term Shin Buyo arose with a movement of Japanese dance in the 1920s. Around the time Shoyo published 'The Last Plan', his argument set out fifteen years earlier—in the first *Shin Gakugeki Ron* in 1904—was at last bearing fruit. By 1920 there were increasing numbers of professional dancers who were not Kabuki actors. These dancers were free from the traditional restrictions of the Kabuki world and were trying to create their own styles. They were under the influence of Shoyo's theory in large part and called their movement the Shin Buyo movement. Shin Buyo was one of the terms which Shoyo had introduced synonymously with Nihon Buyo. The term Shin Buyo came to define what Shoyo had once meant by Nihon Buyo, as seen in a volume of a theatre magazine published in 1922 as a special issue featuring articles on Shin Buyo entitled 'Shin Buyo must become vigorous this year!' (*Engei Gahou* [演芸画報], vol.9, no.2, 1922, p.2).

Through the Shin Buyo movement, the right of women to perform dance was asserted. This movement broke the male monopoly of Kabuki Buyo and helped increase female dancers in the field of Japanese dance. Some of the female dancers of the Shin Buyo movement were originally geishas who learned dance to perform at private parties. Their main goal was to evolve their dance into an art form suitable for the twentieth century. One of the first important female dancers was Shizue Fujikage, who was influenced by Shoyo's ideas. Her significant achievement was to found a dance company called Toin-Kai in 1917. Toin-kai was a pioneer dance company in Japan. It had a great influence on other dance companies established later and represented a departure from dance in conventional Kabuki drama to dance as an independent art form.

That these dancers called their new movement Shin Buyo—not Nihon Buyo—shows that Shoyo's original definition of Nihon Buyo as a new performing art was not often used by the 1920s. Instead, the term Nihon Buyo came to indicate existing dance styles which were suitable as the basis for Shin Buyo. For instance, in 1922, only three years after the publication of Shoyo's 'Last Plan', Shoyo's nephew Shiko Tsubouchi used the term Nihon Buyo to indicate traditional dances:

> Almost all dances which are recently called Shin Buyo use western music without lyrics as their accompaniment. This is obviously a temporary movement which has appeared as a resistance to existing Nihon Buyo.
>
> (Tsubouchi, Shiko (1923) p.242)

Furthermore, Rikuhei Umemoto, a significant dancer of Shin Buyo in the 1920s, noted after WWII that he had made 'efforts to create new dance performance out of Nihon Buyo' (Umemoto, Rikuhei (1958) p.60). Here Umemoto clarified the difference between Nihon Buyo and Shin Buyo and recognized Nihon Buyo as existing dances. Even though Umemoto and Shoyo were on friendly terms, the fact that Umemoto did not acknowledge Shoyo's first definition of Nihon Buyo shows that Shoyo's first intention for that term had been forgotten.

The use of the term Nihon Buyo changed in accordance with the Shin Buyo movement. And today, as mentioned in the beginning of this paper, the use of the term Nihon Buyo is a bit different from that in the age of the Shin Buyo movement. We now use the term to indicate not only traditional dances but also Sosaku Buyo which has modern choreography. Though Shoyo's idea to create an alternative dance-based performing art was carried out by dancers of the Shin Buyo movement mainly after he stopped writing on dance in 1920s, his definition of the term Nihon Buyo as a new dance-based performing art failed to last.

4. Conclusion: Nihon Buyo as a future dance

Today, Nihon Buyo is considered one of the Japanese traditional performing arts along with Kabuki and Noh. The origins of Nihon Buyo stylistic elements can be traced back to court dances described in *Kojiki*. *Kojiki*—known in English as

Records of Ancient Matters—was written in the eighth century and is the oldest surviving book in Japan. It is no wonder that this longtime stylistic development of Nihon Buyo makes us consider Nihon Buyo a traditional art form. However, what Shoyo Tsubouchi intended when he first coined the term Nihon Buyo was not a traditional performing art at all, but an alternative composite performing art with dance and music invented by a modern sensibility. The fact that he used the word Buyo for Nihon Buyo also indicates that Shoyo took modernity into consideration, because the word Buyo was also a new word emerging as a translation of dance in the late nineteenth century.

What is important to note is that Nihon Buyo itself and the term Nihon Buyo have different histories. We can observe here that Nihon Buyo, for Shoyo, was a dance-based performing art of the future:

> existing ones [i.e. dances] are like masterpieces of Ukiyoe portraits of beautiful women. I mean they should be conserved if possible, but they are only antique treasures to which we can take some sorts of reference.
>
> (*Works*, III, p.834)

Endnotes

[1] All Shoyo's writings will henceforth be quoted from complete works of Shoyo; Tsubouchi, Shoyo (1927) *Shoyo Senshû* [『逍遥選集』], Tokyo: Shunyoudou, 12vols. I will henceforth abbreviate this book to *Works*.

[2] Shoyo closed the article noting 'this is my last and farewell study of dance' (*Works*, III, p.834). He, however, published two more articles after the farewell in which his notion written in 'The last Plan' was repeated in the same tension.

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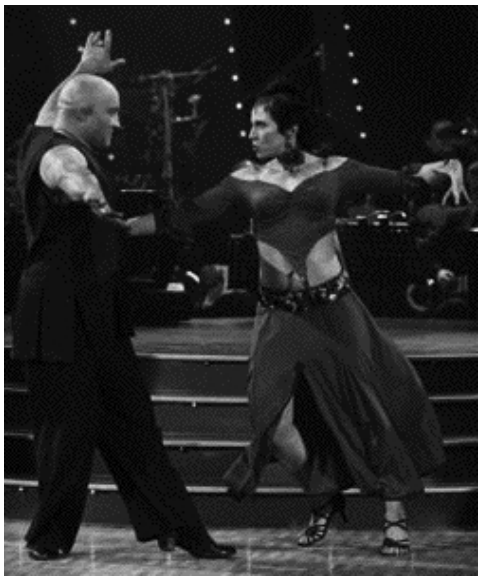
From the haka to *Dancing with the Stars*: New Zealand men dancing, 1905-2005

Marianne Schultz

Before their Dunedin test match against the South African Springboks in August 2005, the New Zealand rugby team the All Blacks performed a new haka, *Kapa O Pango*. Comments about the new haka led the television news bulletins and made newspaper headlines: 'All Blacks dance to a different tune', 'Haka hoo-hah', 'New haka evokes pride and history' and 'All Blacks unleash dramatic new haka'. [1] The controversy over the decision to replace *Ka mate* with *Kapa O Pango* continued into 2006 when the Australian rugby union coach voiced concern over the meaning conveyed by the new haka. [2] The public debate revolved around two issues. The first was whether or not *Ka mate*, the haka that had been synonymous with the All Blacks since the early twentieth century, should be replaced by *Kapa O Pango*. Second was the question of whether the final gesture of this new especially composed haka – a drawing of a thumb across the throat – was too violent. Another event in 2005 that captured the nation's attention also involved rugby and dance. Former All Black Norm Hewitt, whose rugby career was often overshadowed by off-field controversy, highlighted by a public apology in Queenstown in 1999 'for a drinking problem', [3] became a national celebrity when he won the first, local series of the popular television competition, *Dancing with the Stars.* For eight weeks Hewitt and his dance partner Carol-Ann Hickmore captivated viewers, culminating with the final episode in this series being watched by one million viewers.[4] Hewitt 'showed he had the kind of dancing in him we'd never have guessed he had'. [5] As an All Black, Hewitt was, to borrow historian's Jock Phillips' phrase, the quintessential 'hard man' of New Zealand society. In 2005 Hewitt became another type of role model for New Zealand men, a man who expressed his emotional self through dance. Speaking on Radio New Zealand after his win, he explained that 'the dancing was a way for New Zealand to see, to be a part of, the real Norm Hewitt. Through dance I was able to break a stereotype. Dancing is another part of me saying, "good men do dance". It is only through dance that I was able to be Norm Hewitt 100% for the first time in my life without saying that I had to be strong or brutal – what people see as a rugby player. I am Norm Hewitt the father, the husband, the dancer, the rugby player'. [6]



Norm Hewitt and Carol-Ann Hickmore, *Dancing With the Stars*, Television New Zealand, 2005.

As the legend of the All Blacks was born in 1905 so too, according to Phillips, was the 'core of male stereotype in New Zealand for the next seventy years'. [7] The influence and pervasiveness of rugby in general and the All Blacks in particular continued on into the twentieth century, so much so that, according to Phillips, the All Blacks 'provided by far the most significant role model for males in twentieth century New Zealand; and they came to be accepted throughout the society (by some women as well as men), as the purest manifestation of what a New Zealander was.' [8] If, as Phillips states, the establishment of the 1905 All Blacks and with them the acceptance and expectation of an associated haka is at 'the core of male stereotype in New Zealand', then one can say that men dancing in public has been at the core of New Zealand masculinity for over one hundred years. [9]

The history of New Zealand performing arts is often told as parable of escape in which the talented have to depart the colonial isolation of New Zealand and sojourn in the cultural richness of civilisation. Jonet Wilkie, writing about ballet in a 1948 issue of *Here and Now*, commented wryly that if one judged a nation's character from its dance New Zealand might be said to have no character: 'For we certainly have no dance. Anyone who shows exceptional talent for dancing as a theatrical art packs his bags and escapes as quickly as he can to the fastnesses of civilisation.'[10] W.H. Oliver, writing in the *Oxford History of New Zealand* in 1981, mentions the 'bareness' that preceded the founding of the New Zealand symphony orchestra and the literary magazine *Landfall* in 1947.[11] Keith Sinclair's 1959 *History of New Zealand* presented the attempts to produce art in the late nineteenth century as failures of judgement, which subsequent editions of his work, revised and reprinted for four decades, did nothing to dispel: 'New Zealand was not yet able to make her artists or poets feel at home. The most eminent New Zealanders of their day in the world of art, literature, or intellect, had to leave in order to achieve their maturity.' [12] In 2001 in *Paradise Reforged,* James Belich argued that during the so-called 'recolonial' period, (1880s-1960s) New Zealand produced 'talent that was surplus to local requirements' leading to the situation where 'the culturally talented were often physical expatriates'. [13] All three historians write of literary, musical and dramatic contributions from New Zealanders both home and abroad, with Belich underlining that 'those who remained in New Zealand felt a strong sense of internal expatriation.' [14] Yet, while there may not have always been symphonies or literary journals in New Zealand there has always been dance.

The haka, (meaning dance in the Maori language), prominent in Maori mythology and performed continuously for hundreds of years, predates European colonization and has become an integral part of national mythmaking. Regardless that the first group haka is acknowledged in Maori mythology to have been performed by women, [15] from the time of first European accounts with the Maori culture, the haka has been generally regarded as a male spectacle. Anne Salmond surmises that the 'rough, loud calling' described in Henrik Haelbos account of Tasman's landing in 1642 was a haka.[16] In 1769 when Captain Cook's *Endeavour* came to New Zealand shores, Maori dance has been illustrated in diaries, journals and in drawings, frequently with an emphasis on the martial, and by implication, masculine qualities of the performance. Accounts of the landing in October 1769 describe 'a dancing war song': 'They seemed formed in ranks, each man jump'd with a swinging motion at the same instant of time to the right and left alternately accommodating a war song in very just time to each motion'.[17] In 1827 Louis Auguste de Sainson, an artist on the French ship *Astrolabe* described in his diary, that Maori 'ran up taking their place in a single line …stamping their feet one after the other in perfect time and at the same time striking the top of their thighs'. [18] The first European colonizers did not understand and could not know what the haka was and what purpose it served, but as contact and colonization progressed the haka was observed as protocol and communication. Prior to 1840, settlers and explorers had seen haka only in impromptu and ceremonial circumstances. However, as has been noted by anthropologist Suzanne Youngerman, 'the Europeans were restricted in the degree to which they could observe and participate in native life owing to intertribal wars and their effect upon the reception of the Europeans. Thus, these early reports tend to give a distorted picture of Maori dancing, emphasizing the so-called war dances and rarely mentioning all other types of dances the Maoris (sic) engaged in'.[19] But Pakeha (non-Maori) came to the realisation that haka could be welcoming as well as aggressive; haka were the 'rituals of encounter' between tribes. [20]

Like other dance forms that are associated with what dance ethnographer Theresa Jill Buckland calls 'cultural memory as embodied practice', [21] the haka displays features that designate it a 'ritual' dance. Referring to Cecil Sharp's definition, Buckland lists criteria that are essential to ritual dance, such as it being 'spectacular in the sense of being performed for an audience, performed usually by men and enacted by specifically selected performers'.[22] According to Youngerman, in 1840 a request by 'Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition' to see a 'war dance' was refused by 'the chief Pomare' until 'every spectator had given him a shilling'.[23] This transfer from ritual to performance marks the beginning of the haka as a cultural commodity. The Maori, as Youngerman explains, were no longer 'willing to dance at the whim of a European for his own amusement and their own humiliation'. [24] The shift in place and purpose of haka is also connected to an evolving but

fluctuating masculinity and highlights the role that dance played in forming masculine identity in twentieth century New Zealand.

The sharing (willingly or not) of haka between Maori and non-Maori men is mentioned by accounts of 'Pakeha Maori', the nineteenth century settlers who lived as Maori and who were accepted into some tribes. Frederick Edward Maning, writing in 1863, relates the experience of 'his tribe': 'the newcomers perform another demon dance; they my tribe give another'. [25] As more Pakeha men engaged in haka, the occasion and intent of haka altered, so much so that a predominately Pakeha team of rugby players could perform haka in England in 1905.

Beyond the boundaries of ritual dance, haka has mutated and evolved, becoming attached to sport, competition, advertising, entertainment, and nationalism. As Wira Gardiner has argued: 'The nature of the haka has altered over time to reflect the changing nature of Maori society and its interactions with European society over a period of some 230 years'. [26] Haka is also revered and embraced by both Maori and Pakeha. Though women perform some haka only men perform the most well-known and popular haka, *Ka mate*. Therefore, learning and performing haka has become a symbol of both Maori and Pakeha masculinity. Acknowledging the centrality of haka to New Zealand masculinity enables us to look at other types of dance that New Zealand men have engaged in throughout the twentieth century and allows us to examine how dance, with its inherent qualities of symbolism, communication, expression and entertainment, reflects the status of New Zealand masculinities.

New Zealand masculinity and the New Zealand male have been subjected to scrutiny since at least the 1970s when the so-called 'second wave' feminist movement arrived in full force. The proliferation of feminist-centred approaches to analysing societies, cultural practice and history, begun in the second half of the twentieth century, and spearheaded by women, had grown, by the 1980s, to focus on not just women but men as well. Researchers and theorists became interested in masculinity as an area of study. Stephen Whitehead has written that 'prior to the 1950s little had been written about men and masculinity, at least in a questioning or critical sense. This started to change as first feminist thinking developed. What had hitherto been understood as positive, fixed and concrete – masculinity – quickly took on the appearance of being a problem.' [27]

While the feminist movement gained momentum with (limited) acceptance worldwide, men could not ignore the implications of the social changes being presented to them. The term masculinity has been used as a label of the public and private persona of men since the mid-eighteenth century, [28] but it was within the twentieth century discourse on the development and fluctuation of masculinity in relation to feminism that expanded its terms of reference. Modern research on the notions of masculinity and femininity started to emerge in the 1940s and 1950s when sociologists and psychologists developed 'sex-role' theory to explain social organization and the roles that men and women needed to adopt in order for society to function normally. As feminist academics (both female and male) began to alter the way New Zealand history and society was reflected, so too the historiography of the New Zealand male began to change. [29]

Jock Phillips notes that the feminist movement of the early 1970s influenced his own research on the history of the New Zealand Pakeha male.[30] Stuart Young also points to literary representation of masculinity, specifically in New Zealand drama, to gauge the state of New Zealand manhood: '[t]he theatre must …be acknowledged as [an] ...exemplary site for exploring issues of male identity and masculinity'. [31] Others who have approached the subject of masculinity in twentieth century New Zealand have had to present their work in broader contexts than perhaps colleagues elsewhere. The editors of *Masculinities in Aotearoa/New Zealand* explain that 'work on masculinity in New Zealand is a curious combination of texts which cross and combine genres, refer to popular culture and actively encourage readers to draw connections by implicitly or explicitly referring to other texts'.[32] It is this diversity that has produced a multitude of works encompassing history, fiction, film, comedy, and, relevant to this study, dancers and choreographers.

Despite Bill Pearson's words, written for *Landfall* in 1952: 'There is no place in normal New Zealand society for the man who is different,' [33] since the early twentieth century, alongside the presence of the real and mythological rugby-playing New Zealand male, there have been men who have chosen to be dancers and who have had

successful careers as dancers. Among them; Jan Caryll, who left New Zealand in 1920 and was one of Ninette de Valois's first male partners in England, Bryan Ashbridge and Alexander Grant, star *danseurs* of the Royal Ballet in the 1950s, who enjoyed long careers in ballet, Mark Baldwin, current artistic director of Rambert Dance Company, Douglas Wright, a featured dancer in the Paul Taylor company in the 1980s and an Arts Laureate of New Zealand, and finally the all male company, Black Grace, who have recently been celebrated at Jacob's Pillow.

A male dancer can be seen as 'different' and yet as has been pointed out, men dancing in public has been an accepted behaviour for New Zealand men for over a century. The distinction between a pre-match haka and a perfectly executed grande plié a la seconde may seen great, but given the acceptance, indeed expectation, of dancing All Blacks, why have other male dancers not been included in the New Zealand legend of masculinity?

2007 Adidas advertisement featuring an All Black in new Adidas uniform.

Kai Jensen noted that some male writers in mid twentieth century New Zealand presented themselves as 'men just like any other, whose job happened to be writing' in order to counter attacks of anti-masculine behaviour [34], the group of writers that Belich refers to as the 'blokerati'. [35] A common stance taken when discussing male dancers is to highlight their athleticism. The image of the sporty, strong New Zealand male can be transferred to dance as long as the man in question does not display other overt feminine behaviour. 'Constructing the male dancer as a top athlete can be seen, by boys and men in dance as a means to fight the stereotypical image of the male dancer as gay.' [36] Indeed a 1949 newspaper article on New Zealand dancer Bryan Ashbridge, was headlined; 'Soccer Boots and Ballet Shoes – Both Fit Ashbridge'.[37] However, when men and boys perform the haka their manliness and sexuality are not in question.

The intersection and the evolution of ritual, performance, entertainment and expression of dance done by men is the narrative of the history of New Zealand men dancing. The juxtaposition of Maori and European culture in dance is what makes this narrative of New Zealand men dancing unique in dance history. There have been New Zealand men who can haka as well as pirouette, who have danced in Opera Houses and community halls. All of these public displays contribute to the multiple representations of New Zealand masculinities. Quoting Jane Desmond: 'How one moves and how one moves in relation to others, constitutes a public enactment of sexuality and gender. Dancing, perhaps the most highly complex and codified of kinaesthetic practices, is one of the most important arenas of public physical enactment.' [38] For one million television viewers in 2005, former All Black Norm Hewitt became a potent symbol of New Zealand masculinity in the twenty-first century. Hewitt's very 'public enactment' ensured that dance moved into the spotlight of New Zealanders consciousness and situated the male body as a site of communication by saying 'good men do dance'.

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[2] John Connolly, 'I'd hate to think it led to a tragic consequence down the road', *Dominion Post*, 29 July 2006, p.4.

[3] Lindsay Knight, http:// stats.allblacks.com/Profile, accessed 19 April 2007.

[4] *NZH*, 20 June 2005, p.1.

[5] Ali Mau, 'Is it Cool for Guys to Dance?' New Zealand Dancer Magazine, 1, April 2006, p 4.

[6] Norm Hewitt, 'Nine to Noon', Radio New Zealand, 23 December 2005.
[7] Jock Phillips, A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male, a History, Auckland, 1987, p.111. For a different interpretation of the beginning of the All Blacks legend see Caroline Daley, 'The Invention of 1905', in Greg Ryan, ed. Tackling Rugby's Myths, Rugby and New Zealand Society 1854-2004, Dunedin, 2005, pp.69-87.
[8] Phillips, A Man's Country*?*, p.109.
[9] Phillips, p.111.
[10] Jonet Wilkie, Here and Now, November1949, p. 28.
[11] W.H.Oliver, 'The Awakening Imagination', in W.H Oliver and B.R. Williams, (eds), The Oxford History of New Zealand, Oxford, 1981,p.432.
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[13] James Belich, Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000, Auckland, 2001, pp. 326& 343.
[14] Belich, p.326.
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[17] Ibid, p.126.
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[19] Suzanne Youngerman, 'Maori Dancing since the Eighteenth Century', Ethnomusicology, 18,1, 1974, p.76.
[20] Gardiner, p.47.
[21] Theresa Jill Buckland, 'Dance, Authenticity and Cultural Memory: The Politics of Embodiment', Yearbook for Traditional Music, 33, 2001,p.1.
[22] Cecil Sharp cited in Theresa Jill Buckland, 'Dance, Authenticity and Cultural Memory: The Politics of Embodiment', Yearbook for Traditional Music, 33, 2001, p.2.
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[24] ibid.
[25] Frederick Edward Maning, Old Time New Zealand: Being Incidents of Native Customs and Character in the Old Times by a Pakeha Maori, 1863, http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-ManPake, accessed 8 June, 2007.
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[27] Stephen M.Whitehead, Men and Masculinities, Key Themes and New Directions, Cambridge, 2002, p.20.
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[29] Nicola Armstrong and Rosemary DuPlessis, 'Shifting Certanties,Complex Practices: Reflections on Feminist Research' in Rosemary Du Plessis and Lynne Alice, eds, Feminist Thought in Aotearoa New Zealand, Oxford, 1998, p.14
[30] Ruth Schick and John Dolan, 'Masculinity and A Man's Country in 1998: An interview with Jock Phillips', in Robin Law, Hugh Campbell and John Dolan, eds, Masculinities in Aotearoa /New Zealand, Wellington, 1999, p.50. In this interview Phillips states that he used an article by Caroll Smith Rosenberg on a 'subcuture' of American women as a model 'to apply to male culture'. Phillips also credits his relationship with prominent New Zealand feminist Phillida Bunkle as an influence on his own work, since he 'was reading Broadsheet and other feminist journalism' at the time of researching A Man's Country?.
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[33] Bill Pearson, 'Fretful Sleepers, A Sketch of New Zealand Behaviour and Its Implications for The Artist, Landfall, 23 September 1952, p.206.
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[35] James Belich, Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from 1880s to the year 2000, Auckland, 2001, p. 337.
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[37] *Auckland Star (AS)*, 9 April 1949, p.5.
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The influence of Antony Tudor on a dance artist

Bonnie Mathis

I met Antony Tudor at the Juilliard School where I was a student in 1960. He became my teacher, my most important teacher.

That year he staged Sleeping Beauty which we performed in Philadelphia with the Philadelphia Orchestra, conducted by Eugene Ormandy. He also taught me his ballet "Little Improvisations" and some of "A Choreographer Comments". In addition to ballet classes, he conducted a production class consisting of exercises to develop our performing ability. It had much to do with imagining a character and putting that into our movement. We never took a step without knowing who we were depicting.

The next year I studied with him at the Old Met. A few years later, when I was dancing with the First Chamber Dance Company, He staged "Judgment of Paris". That was with Lise Bradley, Marjorie Mussman , Charles Bennett , Michael Uttoff, and myself.

After that we worked together at American Ballet Theatre. I performed in "Pillar of Fire" "Undertow", "Jardin aus Lilas", "Romeo and Juliet", and "Dark Elegies".

I felt much honored to have his friendship as well during and after I retired from dancing. The ballet classes were fascinating and complicated, always challenging physically and mentally. He would present a concept and build upon it throughout the class.

One of the important ideas was the use of epaulement to motivate movement into space by thinking of moving the back, rather than the front of the body. Often very difficult weight shifts emphasized this concept. Of course the timing of the plie, leading up to the following movement was important. He always asked, "Is the plie the beginning or the ending of the movement?" Of course the answer was…both. I felt that his interaction with his pianist, Betty Sawyer, was integral to our understanding of his phrasing. He often asked for specific pieces of music, or unusual meters for a ballet class. He would ask us to define the top of the phrase, or to sustain certain poses before going into the plie, and to help us to think about how one movement would join to another musically.

Film…of class exercises to illustrate the movement of the back and musicality

Production Class….Tudor often asked his dancers about their lineage. He was interested in how people acted out of their history, and wanted them to be aware of their tendency

to react in a predictable manner. A simple walk across the studio exposed us all.

One day, when my mother was observing class, he asked me to have a conversation with her while I was doing a devilishly difficult tendu combination. I supposed that was to enliven the face, but it probably was very informative to him on another level.

We all felt he knew us better than we did. Probably true.

Surely these classes helped to develop the imagination and to learn how the body needs to be specific in articulating movement to express the person in the ballet.

He was committed to self awareness or conscious behavior in his life, in his ballets, and in his dancer's lives and performances.

Film……Production class exercises

This was all preparation for tacking the roles in his ballets

I suspect that he started with the character and developed the inner dialogue, along with the historical period in history, which determined the movement. The steps also came out of the inner musicality of the character, which could float over the pulse of the music. Gesture, carriage of the body, quality of movement, and rhythm conveyed the character. .

Each role that I learned was taught in a completely different manner, all perfectly demonstrated by him. For instance he taught " Dark Elegies" through the form , the steps and music first. In teaching" Judgment of Paris", he sat in a chair and said what was in the mind of the character, to the music. Rosaline in "Romeo came all aspects together.

He would sing the steps , so we attached them to the melody line. No counts, unless it was a counterpoint to the phrase.

Feedback on performance I would equate to reading a Haiku poem- elusive and poetic comments conveying his impression of the performance. The life

coaching he offered was supportive, non-manipulative, often an unclouded mirror to our lives. There was great humor, many questions, and great curiosity about people.

Dancers in film were Boston Ballet II Dancers Presented by Bonnie Mathis.

Antony Tudor and Zen Buddhism

Yasuko Tokunaga

Let me begin by saying that one should not talk about Zen Buddhism, one should just practice it. With that said, I would like to point out what I feel are some salient aspects of Zen Buddhism that have a direct correlation to dance.

In Philip Kapleau's Three Pillars of Zen we learn that Zen originated in China as Ch'an, a hybrid of Indian Buddhism and beliefs of Taoism and Confucianism. It became known as Son in Korea and Zen in Japan.

Meditation vs. Zazen:

Meditation is putting something into the mind. It is visualization or a concept that is thought or reflected upon.

Zazen is when the mind is freed from all thought, visions, objects and imaginings. Zazen is an absolute state of emptiness.

The three aims of zazen are the same aims in dance:

1. Joriki – the development of the power of concentration. This is where the mind is unified and brought to one-pointedness.
2. Kensho-gogo – satori (awakening or enlightenment). The ability to see into the ultimate nature of the universe.
3. Mujodo no taigen – the actualization of the Supreme Way in our daily lives. Without this, the first two are useless.

There are three essentials of Zen practice that are also essential in dance:

1. Daishinkon – Strong faith
2. Daigidan – Strong doubt
3. Dai-funshi – Strong determination

At the same time there are five hindrances to the practice of Zen and these can also be detrimental to the dancer.

1. Desire
2. Aversion
3. Restlessness
4. Boredom
5. Doubt

What Zen values are expressive gestures, movements and phrases which spontaneously issue from the deepest level of the total being. Is this not what we want from our dancing? It realigns the physical, mental and psychic energies creating a new body-mind equilibrium with its center of gravity in the hara. It is the actualization of True nature. Kinhin is walking meditaion performed mindfully with total involvement. Dancing is moving zazen.

Kyosaku (hitting with a stick during zazen) is practiced when you have reached a decisive stage in meditation. A hard whack can sometimes precipitate your mind into an awareness of its true nature. Tudor's kyosaku may not have been a literal hit with the stick, but he would often ask for the impossible in his ballet classes.

Koans are questions in baffling language that point to ultimate truth. They cannot be solved by logical reasoning - only by awakening a deeper level of the mind beyond the intellect. Typical koans are:

1. What is Mu (the expression of living, functioning dynamic Buddha-nature)?
2. Who am I?
3. What is the sound of one hand?
4. What was your face before your parents were born?

Dancing koans were a teaching method that Tudor used frequently to get his students to approach dancing on another level. He would ask his students baffling questions in order to get their minds (and bodies) to a certain level of consciousness.

Jennifer Dunning in The New York Times, April 21, 1987 writes:

> "Mr. Tudor worked with his dancers on the motivational aspects of their characters and not on isolated individual steps, and sometimes got his ideas across in highly unorthodox and brutal ways. He abhorred the idea of dancers' counting musical time, but wanted them to understand the logical development of the phrases of movement and the forces driving the character. It was a Stanislavskian approach designed to immerse the dancer in every aspect of the role…"

I remember learning the fourth song in ***Dark Elegies***. Mr. Tudor taught the dance, then sat us down and asked:

> "Who are you? Are you young? Are you old? Are you rich? Are you poor? What do you do for a living? What did you have for dinner last night? That is how much you need to know before you can dance my ballet."

He then got up and left the studio.

Other dancers have had similar experiences with Tudor:

Trinette Singleton on "Offenbach in the Underworld":

> "We started the run-through, and he right away clapped his hands and loudly said, 'Stop,' and then looked at me and said, 'Who are you?'
>
> Luckily, I answered, 'Madame la Patronne,'" Singleton continues of the role in "Offenbach" she was playing then. "I passed my first hurdle. 'How old are you?' 'Do you have a daughter?' he wanted to know of my character. Then he talked to everyone and said how important it is to really know the character you're playing."

Jonas Käge:

> "Dancers were always on edge when working with him. He had an eye for an individual's weaknesses and he would needle them constantly once he'd found them. He pushed dancers hard because his work is technically demanding."

Sallie Wilson:

> "He tinkered with people. He liked to get into their hearts and break them, thinking that's how to make a better person or a better dancer. With some people it doesn't work [but] he could have told me to jump off a cliff and I would have done it."

Donald Mahler:

> "To penetrate those characters, you have to get rid of yourself."

In his book Zen and Japanese Culture, Daisetz T. Suzuki states:

> "Zen is our daily experience and it is not something put in from the outside. The artist's world is one of free creation, and this can come only from intuitions directly and immediately rising from the isness of things, unhampered by senses and intellect. "

Tudor transformed his own life into works of creation. Greatly inspired by the East, he created many works with Eastern influence. Below are some examples in chronological order:

- ***Atalanta of the East (1933)***
  - Constant Lambert based on Javanese tunes, Debussy's ***Pagodes*** arranged by Theordore Szanto and Paul Seelig
- ***Dark Elegies (1937)***
  - Gustav Mahler's ***Kindertotenlieder;*** Poems by Friedrich Rückert.
- ***Shadow of the Wind (1948)***
  - Gustav Mahler's ***Das Lied von der Erde (Song of the Earth);*** Poems by Li-Tai Po
- ***The Dear Departed (1949)***
  - Maurice Ravel
- ***Dance Studies (Less Orthdox) (1961)***
  - Elliot Carter
- ***Shadowplay (1967)***
  - Charles Koechlin ("Les Bandar-Log" and "La Course du Printemps) based on Rudyard Kipling's ***The Jungle Book***
- ***Continuo (1971)***
  - Johann Pachelbel "Canon in D"
- ***Leaves are Fading (1978)***

- Antonin Dvorak "Cypresses" and other chamber music for strings

Tudor often created small sketches of his larger dances in smaller earlier works. For example, his ***Dance Studies (Less Orthdox)*** created in 1961 used dancers in birdlike movements with several dancers suspended from hanging ropes. A gorilla enters unexpectedly during an adagio and then reappears as the last dancer bows. ***Shadowplay*** created in 1967 was ambiguous and often referred to as Tudor's Zen ballet. Arboreals (monkeys), aerials (birdlike dancers), a Terrestrial (powerful figure wanting to possess the boy) and the Celestial (seductive goddess) are symbolic figures in this perhaps staged koan. This may be a portrayal of man's struggles toward maturity as he travels the difficult path toward enlightenment. According to Elizabeth Sawyer, Tudor's longtime musician and friend, this dance "mirrors Tudor's persistent struggles toward enlightenment, artistic truth, and positive action. It is the maturing of a boy within one lifetime."

Leaves are Fading created in 1978 is based on movement from ***Sunflowers*** and ***Continuo*** created in 1971. The pieces are cyclical and timeless piece perhaps spanning the seasons of life. The choreography has no plot but, like Zen, the dances exist in a "state of emptiness".

I would like to focus on just two of Tudor's ballets, ***Dark Elegies*** and ***Continuo*** that The Boston Conservatory Dance Theater performed in February 2008 in honor of Tudor's centennial. ***Elegies*** was created at the beginning of his career and ***Continuo*** near the end.

Tudor's ***Dark Elegies*** created in 1937 is a masterpiece about a community's expression of the universal nature of grieving. It does not tell a story. It is a mood ballet filled with nuance and gestures. Much has been written about Tudor's use of European folk dance steps and patterns and his use of tap and step dancing. There has been little discussion of the influence of Zen Buddhism and particularly Japanese dance in this work. Tudor studied Japanese dance when he was 17 years old and many of the steps he used in ***Elegies*** came directly from this study.

In the first song, the entrance of the soloist uses the sliding of the foot prevalent in Noh dancing. The arm gestures used by the women in the circle are gestures used in Japanese dance depicting waves. The side to side gestures of the arms with one arm up and the other by the elbow is a gesture used frequently in Japanese folk dances. The women sit Japanese style sometimes facing in and sometimes facing out – a sitting practice in Zen mediation. In the second song, the internal/external rotation of the feet is typiceal in Japanese dance. ***Resignation*** begins again with the women sitting on their knees. They slide their fingers around to the front and back up onto their laps – first with one hand, then the other, then with both – gestures found in Japanese dance and in formal bowing. The walks at the end are kinhin – walking meditaion.

The dance evolves around a center, a still point that symbolizes Buddhism and all forms of movement in the universe. The use of geometric shapes (circles, spirals, straight lines) could loosely translate into a Mandala with the spiritual center, the still point, where movement and stillness become one. It is the integration of spirit and body. According to Elizabeth Sawyer, "for what Tudor called a truthful performance of ***Elegies*** there must be 'a time-paradox'; although on one level there is an evolution from despair to acceptance, the span between the opening and closing moments should somehow seem suspended and time-less."

Continuo choreographed to Pachelbel's ***Canon in D***. ***Continuo*** is a celebration of classical dance, spontaneity, continuity and it is "time-less". In its simplicity, it has the serene sense of time conveyed through pure joyful dancing. It is the Buddhist consciousness of time that transcends our Western sense fixed in linear and real time. The dance perhaps represent the past, present, and future. There are three couples with one couple flowing in and out perhaps of times past and present. According to Elizabeth Sawyer, Tudor thought that this would be his last farewell ballet. Deborah Weaver, who was in the original cast at Juilliard writes:

> "***Continuo*** demonstrates how far away Tudor had moved (in his life and in his creativity) from Zen Buddhist 'emptiness' towards the fulfillment of mainstream Mahayana Buddhism [wich stresses the] principle of being happy and at ease just as we are, in this lifetime. In ***Continuo*** he was able to perfectly demonstrate many Buddhist principles within one dance, as if it were to be his final teaching, his final masterpiece."

Murial Topaz in her book, **Undimmed Lustre: The Life of Antony Tudor** writes:

> "Tudor's enigmatic personality, his English propriety mixed with his rapier-sharp, often vulgar wit, his overwhelming need for personal privacy, his insecurities, his total inability to compromise artistically, and his Zen Buddhism all made him a lonesome figure in the very communal dance world,"

To quote Tudor's lifelong companion, Hugh Laing at Tudor's memorial:

> "He asked for very little. Just perfection. He was a very simple person. A very complicated simple person."

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Thoughts on Tudor

Kirk Peterson

The idea that one should think of dancers as people rather than "objects" when conceiving a ballet;

So many choreographers today use dancers as extensions of the music (or at least they attempt to) in the Balanchinian mode and so few think about them as human beings reacting to each other in "real" situations as a playwright would. Of course structure and music are an obvious part of the creative impulse and guide a choreographer, but most today use dancers as sculptural objects, void of humanity. Even with Jiri Killian, who's work I greatly admire, the dancers rarely actually look at each other, into each other's eyes. It's a very curious way to use, or rather not use, human interaction and emotional involvement. Today one sees bodies used as sculptural objects, moving trough time and space, inspired by musical structure, but rarely people moving through each other's lives and having an interchange of experience. Tudor was a master at this. Theatre as a human emotional experience is greatly lacking today in ballet choreography. The alternative one tends to see is a reaction against abstraction in a kind of over the top, melodramatic, hyper emotional, mega physical response, which is as far removed from Tudor's ideas and approach as one can get.

A very interesting aspect of teaching Tudor today is the fact that so few dancers have an understanding of how weight and gravity are used in his ballets and a free, somewhat relaxed use of port de bras that uses gravity as an impetus rather than using obvious muscular involvement and unnecessary tension. This comes partly from Tudor's idiosyncratic non-use of large gestures as port de bras for dramatic effect. His spare use of port de bras comes from his emphasis on dramatic truth and narrative appropriateness. If a port de bras is extraneous or merely decorative, it is usually wrong for Tudor's works. But in a larger training and academic sense, much of what Tudor asked for was essentially part of traitional pre-Balanchine, pre-Vaganova classical ballet technique, the danse d'ecole. Although most dancers today adapt to Tudor's choreography quite well, some aspects of traditional ballet technique have to be taught to them as choreography. It can not be assumed that a dancer today has an understanding of many of these basic principles. Certain aspects of training have simply disappeared.

For example;

Tombé from the top of the body:

The weight from the top of the head moving first as the emphasis (as if a tree had just been cut and is now falling) and informing the movement of the rest of the body rather than extending the foot and leaving the body weight behind, which is extensively taught in schools where the curriculum is Vaganova based. In the Vaganova method, it is actually the exact opposite of how tombé and chassé were taught in traditional classical ballet schools. One can see it used with particular effect in *Lilac Garden*. This is often a very foreign principle today in ballet dancers, whereas it used to be commonplace and did not require extensive explanations and much repetition.

Using demi-plié as a rhythmic and textural element of steps and

enchaînments:

The use of demi-plié is quickly disappearing. One sees it most obviously in piqué turns en dehors (tour piqué en dehors or rather, as is commonly used in the U.S., "lame duck" turns) where dancers are now "climbing" up to pointe through demi-pointe without the use of a proper plie. This was a particular pet peeve of Tudor. Not using plié in general is anathema to Tudor's work as it eliminates levels of visual choreographic texture and avoids the use of gravity in the execution of his choreography. Tudor's interest in the Cecchetti method and the understanding of its principles can be seen throughout his ballets. This is something he shared with Ashton, Nijinska and Massine. But beyond Cecchetti, it was simply commonplace in most schools in the West.

The use of glisser or rather traditional chassé. That is, gliding from 5th position to 4th position in demi-plié with the weight of the torso going toward the leading foot:

This movement does not exist in the Vaganova method as it is taught today, and I have had the unfortunate experience of Soviet trained dancers refusing to do this step claiming that it does not exist in classical ballet (Although one can plainly see Natalia Dudinskaya executing a proper chasse into

relevé arabesque on her entrance as Nikia in the Kirov Ballet's early film of *La Bayadère*.), yet it used to be an integral part of training in all schools internationally, including the Russian Imperial Ballet Schools and was taught by some of its most illustrious stars such as Olga Preobrajenska, Mathilde Kshessinska and Bronislava Nijinska. Doing this transition step properly is an essential part of executing Tudor's choreography. Having said this however, I find that most dancers I work with are very interested in Tudor, and in executing the choreography properly. It just takes a bit more effort on their part and more time to adapt.

These are training and technical aspects which add to the unique look and feel of a Tudor ballet and understanding at least some of these basic principles opened the door for dancers working with Tudor to understand what he was going for in his movement vocabulary.

The gradual change in stylistic emphasis in ballet around the world is having a rather negative impact on many ballets by choreographers who worked in the Western, pre-Soviet training tradition. The juggernaut that was released when the Soviet Iron Curtain disappeared has been pervasive and I fear for the integrity of so many seminal works in the ballet canon because of a lack of understanding of what has gradually changed as a result of so many Vaganova influenced teachers and also the very large impact of so many ex-Balanchine dancers spreading his ideas about technique and training. I am constantly dealing with it in other ballets, but for Tudor it is quite a challenge sometimes.

Tudor's influence on other choreographers;

Of course Tudor was a tremendous influence on me as a choreographer, but it is well known and documented how much he influenced and inspired Jerome Robbins particularly, but also Herbert Ross and Elliot Feld. All three choreographers created ballets of detailed theatrical complexity and originality, exploring unique concepts and approaches and it was obvious for a time that they were the heirs apparent. But Tudor also influenced an unlikely choreographer, Michael Smuin! I remember Michael telling me that he did not particularly like Tudor's work, which I found somewhat shocking. But then after joining San Francisco Ballet, I began dancing some of Michael's ballets and to my great surprise, found that he had been tremendously influenced by Mr. Tudor and in fact had pinched a few rather signature moments from some of his ballets. I think that Michael was simply annoyed that Tudor was not particularly interested in him as a dancer. Anyway, I found that revelation somewhat amusing. Imitation is the greatest form of flattery and certainly young choreographers are influenced by their predecessors, but Michael not wanting to admit Tudor's influence was fascinating. I never said anything to him. Michael lived in his very own subjective world anyway, but while I was with San Francisco Ballet, I never really left Tudor far behind while there because of Michael. Later, he went off on a very peculiar choreographic tangent and was much more pop and Broadway oriented, much more commercial. But some of Michael's earlier works, ballets rarely, some never seen on the East Coast, were definitely influenced by Tudor. Michael was a very unlikely (although closeted) fan.

I only bring this up, because many choreographers were influenced by Tudor when he was alive and working. The problem today is that we don't see his work regularly. Young choreographers are only rarely exposed to his ouevre and a number of his most important ballets like *Shadow of the Wind* and *La Gloire* are lost forever. I had the great fortune and pleasure to learn many of his works, perform in them and to work directly with him. I studied his ballets constantly. I studied how he worked, how he used music, how he structured passages and how he wove sections of his ballets together. I studied the structure of his ballets as a whole and the extraordinary logic behind them and how he knew how and when to direct the eye of the observer from one scene on stage to another. I have often said that my university training in choreography was with Mr. Tudor. I couldn't have had a better teacher. Yes, I studied other choreographer's works as well, particularly Ashton, Balanchine, Limon, Humphrey and Graham, but my experience with Tudor was direct and first hand. I consider myself to have been very lucky indeed.

There is amongst some ballet professionals the idea that Tudor's work is so specialized and specific in its demands, that the ballets can rarely be performed well and by very few people. In spite of my criticisms and observations of how dancers are trained today, I am of the opposite view. I feel that that position is somewhat of an urban myth, a stance taken to put Tudor on an unreachable pedestal, or at least, very rarely reachable. I think that idea is hogwash! I have seen so many diverse dancers perform Tudor's ballets while he was alive, all cast by him, that the myth can be easily debunked by his own actions. It’s a way of

carving out an exclusive niche in an ivory tower that becomes inaccessible to almost everyone. I could give so many examples, but one alone can suffice; Anthony Dowell and Michael Baryshnikov both danced the lead in *Shadowplay* successfully. They could not have been more different as dancers and artists, in their training or their approach, even in their size. The same could be said for Caroline in *Lilac Garden*, from Carla Fracci to Cynthia Gregory.

I share this view with Sally Bliss and Donald Mahler. Dancing his ballets is like an actor performing great work. All types of actors have performed *Hamlet*. The text stands on its own and can not be ruined simply because there are different interpretations and different artists performing it. Of course one has to be trained, which brings me back to my previous thoughts on style and technique. But that should be a given in acting as in dancing. Poorly trained and untalented actors should not be attempting *Hamlet*, but there are many well trained and talented actors as there are many well trained and talented dancers. This brings me to choreographer's dancers, another subject altogether.

For me as a choreographer, there are for the most part two types of dancers; Dancers who look to fame and recognition and dancers who wish to dance every and anything, but particularly to work with a choreographer and to be a part of the creative process. Usually the latter are the ones who take to Tudor's work with ease. Choreographer's dancers are in the studio for the right reason. They are true creative artists who revel in the creative process and find great satisfaction in the challenge of embracing truly great work. These dancers become a blank slate at the beginning of the rehearsal process and completely give themselves over to the work, to the choreographer and the choreography. In assuming this mental stance, which is somewhat Zen like, they become a sponge, an empty vessel in order to absorb and receive the information that is offered. They put their ego aside in order to take in the information unencumbered. This is the kind of dancer that Tudor responded to, this is the kind of dancer that all choreographers respond to. When setting Tudor's ballets, this is the kind of dancer one hopes to work with. There are many around and many who would love to dance Tudor. And they would dance his ballets well because of this approach, this attitude. And this is why I feel that his ballets should be danced by many companies and by many dancers. Dancing Tudor should be a positive experience and is always an amazing developmental experience for a serious artist. Dancing Tudor enlarges and enriches a dancer like few other ballets are capable. That fact alone is reason enough for companies to bring his ballets into their repertoires. The thought process in essaying a Tudor ballet changes one. And the change becomes apparent when the dancer takes on other challenges in the repertoire. The artistic and spiritual benefits of bringing Tudor into a repertoire are incalculable.

Between the Devil and the Deep (Blue) Queen: Historicizing Brazilian Identity through the Queer Black Dancing Body of Madame Satã

Cristina F. Rosa

This paper investigates the allegorical life of João Francisco dos Santos (1900-1976), a.k.a. *Madame Satã*,[i] an Afro-Brazilian's subculture icon known both as a deadly capoeira fighter and one of Brazil's first transvestites. This choreographed study departures from Karim Ainouz's dark and erotic film entitled "Madame Satã" (2002), which accounts for the "devil's" youth in the first part of the XX century. From this simulacrum, I will trace a sinuous path back to Satã's future, informed by the different ways in which his life has been archived in newspaper articles, police reports, carnaval songs, an autobiography, staged performances and countless anecdotes. All of which have produced a multi-layered body, larger than life. Although born after abolition, as a child, João Francisco dos Santos was treated primarily as a slave. During most of his adult life, the State framed Santos as a delinquent and a pervert criminal. But on the streets of Rio, he was perceived as a savvy rogue and a macho man. Later in the 1970's, after several imprisonments and violations, the radical left resurrected Sata as a key-figure of Brazilian mythic past. In the XXI century, his image is further deconstructed and projected internationally as an uncanny individual of dis-orienting complexity.

My desire to excavate the different narrations and personas layered over Satã's corporeality references recent scholarship on Dance History. My analyses of the multiple meanings, functions and effects his bodily actions have acquired at different contexts resembles, I will argue, the ever changing processes through which different dancing bodies preserve and transform any given dance form, as they move in time and space. The overall goal of my discussion here is to consider a case in which (individual) subversive actions have exposed the artificiality of Western hegemonic discourses on race and sexual politics. Initially, I will argue, Santos's queer behavior, violent actions and derisive passion subvert the configuration of the Brazilian post-colonial *standard body*,[ii] confronting racism and homophobia. Eventually, traces of Sata's performances are recuperated-cum-invented within the discourse of Brazilian national identity.

Joao Francisco dos Santos was an Afro-Brazilian homosexual who lived in Rio most the twenty century. In the film, the actor Lázaro Ramos embodies the life of Santos. The film starts with an actual police report, voiced over Santos beaten face. This initial mug shot scene, references the State medicalization of Santos' social, racial and sexual acts as dangerous and delinquent. Through a clinical description of his crimes, and actions, these police reports archive collectively a pathological and deviant image of Santos that violates his pathway towards civil rights. This is the main narrative the film will try to deconstruct. What makes the trajectory of his life so interesting to be relived/witnessed in the XXI century, I will argue, is Santos' conscious effort to overcome/reject the epistemic violence (Spivak) with which his black human flesh had been written in history as an objectified commodity; to challenge post-colonial stigmas, homophobias and racism through action; and to construct an individualized existence beyond/parallel to the margins of Brazilian society. The film ends with Santos' symbolic metamorphosis from a street rogue (*malandro*) into the androgynous Madam Evil, at a drag-queen contest in the carnaval of 42.

Embedded in the 1930's bohemian "veil" of glitter, crime, drugs and overt sexuality, the director situates the 2003 film in the geography of Sata's body, on the topology of Santos exposed black skin and *her* ability to figurate *his* own body beyond phenotype markers. The close-up shots of his body parts projected on the screen, for instance, never stops at the fragmentation or objectification of his reality. Ramos' choreographed actions - whether a carefully constructed femininity or visceral hyper masculinity - produces a complex and indeterminate character. They gesture towards a metonymic understanding of his physicality. In the director's own words,

> "His body is his strength; objectively, it is his sole possession. That's why everything he

> creates is from his body, from his voice, how he dresses, how he moves – it is how he exhibits and hides his body. For a long time, due to social exclusion, cultural manifestations of black people could be only through the body, used in music, dance, clothing, sexual pleasure. This is why the most objective form of resistance of the character is through his body"[iii]

On the screen, Lazaro Ramos signifies and avoid signification. Madame Satã's transforming/ transgressive essence emerges through Ramos' corporeal speech, epidermal texture, active masculine muscles, breast-less feminine gestures, pleasurable aggression, and other bodily traceable acts. His identity *moves*. Or better, He performs *movement-as-identity*. At the end of the day, His bodily actions produce new modes of identification.

There is a difference between seeing and understand what one sees, which becomes evident on the screen. Aimouz's desire to represent Sata beyond the stereotype of "the perverse hustlers" or "the marginalized dreamer," offers the viewer the option of felling the character and not being clinical about it; to move beyond sight. Through cinematographic tactics such as out of focus shots, game of mirrors, reflections, dream states, and over-exposed shots, bodies negotiate power with the outside gaze in the film, in a similar way that Santos has negotiated a seductively ambiguous identity in real life. This movement displaces the surveillance of his exotic-otherness into an indeterminate *other-worldness*. The Film also unpacks tender and vulnerable episodes when his deep needs and desires are exposed like open wounds. But not everything is vague in the film. Sata/Ramos body becomes uncomfortably in focus, for example, during the six minutes sex scene.

Fighting against written racist police reports and newspaper's grotesque representations of his corporeality, Satã has been pointed out as the first and foremost contributed to his "infamous" trajectory of resistance and multiple allegories. The director of "Madame Satã" comments, that "after a long research, I realized that João Francisco was a mythomaniac, and the myth about him was built out of his inventing and re-inventing himself." Tales and reports of Satã's trans-national, multi-ethnic, and para-religious choreographies lean towards that which is queer and derisional. Santos finds salvation in his ability to fictionalize his own existence through choreographed performances, on stage and in his everyday life. Satã's cross-gender stage performances, for example, incorporated freely a wide range of elements from religious practices to mass-mediated representations of otherness. In his memoirs, Satã references female deities from Candomblé as well as cinematographic projections of Josephine Baker's moving hips. Above all, her stage fame came largely from his drag queen impersonations of the "bombshell" Carmen Miranda.

The 20's and 30's, was Rio's "Golden Age" when casinos, cabarets and cocaine were flourishing among white *bon vivants*. Conversely, for blacks (estimated 40% of its population), it was a boiling moment of tension and adaptation. In practical terms, the (late) abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888 meant that African descents and their families were largely excluded from the job market. With freedom, Blackness becomes unbearably visible and stigmatized as a social disease, which the new Republican State tries first to ignore, and later to eradicate. Out of work and with no place to live, blacks and mulattos migrate to ghetto-esque neighborhoods such as Lapa. It is within this harsh environment that these marginalized bodies rehearse new everyday life performances, such as the post-colonial cunningness (*malandragem)* with its romanticized figure of the "*malandro*".

Born in the turn of the century, the story of Joao Francisco dos Santos parallels the life of many black males growing up in Brazilian urban centers. Before he stepped on stage as Madame Satã at he age of 38, his repertoire gravitated around the concept of malandragem. Malandro is, by definition, a street-smart virile man who lives a life of feared fame and desirable grace, and whose body is his greatest asset. The auto-exotic beauty, corporeal expertise and agile mobility of the malandro type, also makes him a skilful (capoeira) fighter, a musician, a dancer, and a lover. During the first part of the XX century, *malandros* such as Santos living in the slums of Rio de Janeiro functioned as "protectors" (a type of paralegal body-guard with unlimited powers) in establishments of questionable reputation, such as nightclubs and brothels. They performed theatrical tactics of resistance against the social body of the State (or the police). In practical terms, however, these men had a hard and poor life and many died young, or were caught up between fights, imprisonment and indigence. One of the greatest achievements in the uncanny life of someone such as Santos was to have simply survived to re-tell his legendary life story in his

own terms, while many others died young, and unnoticed.

It is important to situate Madame Satã within and beyond Brazilian standard body or *hegemonic discourse of gender roles*. Beyond heteronormal male and female categories, the term "bofe" refers to homosexual males, who assume the active role in the sexual act (top). conversely, the terms "bicha" and "viado" refer to homosexual males who assume the passive role (i.e. are penetrated) during the sexual act (bottom). While the sexually active role of *bofes* grant homosexuals the (superior) social role similar to males, *bichas* or effeminate men are stigmatized as passive and inferior (like women). Heterosexual males of questionable courage or command may be vulgarly called *bicha* or *viado* as well. Within this specific situation, *bicha* is a cursing word, meaning "impotent". Conversely, among homosexual women, bunches and bottoms are equally stigmatized. Further more, "travestis" or transgender women (M to F), whose (chirurgical or cosmetic) transformations emulate mimetically the ideal of Brazilian femininity may be treated as "real" *women*, not as queer. Drag-queens and other (stage) female impersonators are more likely to be, nevertheless, perceived as *bichas* or *viados* (in woman's clothes).

Joao Francisco dos Santos' identities contradicted, or better superseded, the social and gender codes of his times. His androgynous choreography delineated, almost a century ago, what one might consider today to be a butch bottom (*bicha viril*). Santos considered himself a bottom/passive (*bicha*) by choice. But that did not interfere, with his performance of masculinity or his (active) role in society. His fighting skills granted Santos the social status as an active male. But his feminine performances as "Madame Satã" dismantled Santos's fixed identity as a hyper-masculine thug. Satã was particularly aware of the prejudices that came along with the fixed identity of a *bicha*. Her arched eyebrows and long straightened hair (on the shoulders) were his only bodily modifications. Although he was known for wearing flashy bright clothes, Satã never wore make-up like most of the *homosexuals in vaudeville*. From his memoirs, we also learn that he would easily hit anyone that publicly called him a *veado* or *bicha*.

Santos had an esteemed place within Lapa's claimed territories, which granted him an unparallel statue. At the same time that his choreographed acts as a deadly fighter, or the *King of Lapa*, challenged the normative representations of submissive Blackness in Brazil (especially with the local authorities), his publicly stated homosexuality and his transvestite performances projected him with a queer fatal attraction, or the Queen of Lapa. Satã's physical ability to fight like a man and to dance like a woman, I will argue, granted *her* notorious cross-over re-cognition in the written pages of Rio's newspapers, beyond the subculture scene of street crime, drugs and prostitution. Nevertheless, the hype newspapers constructed around his figure as the "faggot who could fight," was also one of his greatest curses. Satã (a black homosexual who was often on probation) was a preferred target to many of the so called "macho-men" of his time. Eager to prove their prowess (or in hopes to have their names also printed on newspapers), local thugs would often harass Santos on the streets and challenge him to fight.

Santos spent most of his life in and out of jail, largely for his violent acts.[iv] In prison, nevertheless, he acted as a well-behaved inmate, often released earlier for good behavior. His multiple identities get further complicated as we learn that, between his street-fights, acts of roguery, female stage impersonations and back and forth "trips" to jail, Santos got married to one of the prostitutes he protected and adopted a total of 12 children.

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Truth here is besides the point. In this case, what matters most are the effects Satã's choreographies have produced and the traces they have left behind. The *true-real* in the allegorical life of Satã becomes that which is constructed between his essential needs and desires, between the State attempt to erase his existence and her ability to actualize his dreams through actionable utterances.

When Santos completed his last jail sentence in 1965, Brazil had entered a new Military dictatorship. On the streets of Rio, his legends had taken a disproportional size, somewhere between a celebrated criminal and an urban legend. Sick and poor, Santos secluded to an abandoned existence at the age of 65. In 1971, *O Pasquim* - a counterculture newspaper militant against the Brazilian Military Regime and US imperialism - featured an exclusive interview with Madame Sata, where he is resurrected as a mythic figure of the Brazilian national past. Forbidden by State censorship from writing about present acts of political resistance, such as the kidnapping of foreign authorities in exchange for political prisoners, the

radical left of *O Pasquim*, amused themselves in re-membering Satã's acts of violence and revelry against the status quo. Scholar James Green comments that, "The nostalgia of *O Pasquim* facing the courage and the bravery of Madame Satã and for his sometimes violent acts against the police must have touched those who sympathized or identified themselves with acts against the authoritarian government"(Green, 212). Through the newspaper, Rio's mainstream youth, caught in the middle of a (national) identity-crisis, sought to trace and acknowledge their cultural roots embodied by living rebels of Rio's past, or related to Afro-Brazilian practices such as *samba, feijoada, Candomblé*. Through the written discourse of Brazil's radical left, Satã is redressed as an emblematic figure, precursor of a sexual revolution. For the bohemian intellectuals in search for their "true" Brazilian essence, controversial characters such as Madame Satã, evoked an unique voice which reflected at the same time national authenticity, struggle and innovation.

On the occasion of his death at the age of 76, *O Pasquim* published yet a second article, where his criminal record (from the Felix Pacheco Institute) is listed, not without humor, with the solemnity of a great man life's achievement.

> "27 years and 8 months in prison; 13 accounts of assault (Penal Code, article 129); 4 accounts of obstruction to justice (resistance to prison) (article 329); 2 accounts of attempt to robbery (article 180); 2 accounts of robbery (article 155); 1 act of public indecency (article 223); 1 (unauthorized) use of weapon (article 19)."[v]

With this second article, the image of Satã crosses boundaries one more time, and his marginality acquires the center stage in the discussions of national identity. Although Sata was not a political figure, her body and her everyday life movements, "emphasized flexible individual identifications (…) in response to state domination"(Giersdorf, 181). Satã's subversive gestures in life had functioned as a conscious "performance of resistance to the demand for established group identifications"(Giersdorf, 181). The collective imagination of Madame Satã's exotic and metaphoric existence is incorporated into the body of this counter-culture newspaper, and into the social body of the revolutionary middle-class youth, as both a wiser mentor and a carnavalesque punk.

In conclusion, hegemonic regimes have cultivated and negotiated power through it's the desire to know (or surveillance) and the ability to ascribe subaltern bodies with disciplined codification. Agency in the case of someone like Satã has emerged, even if ephemerally, from his recognition that individual bodies may produce destabilizing new meanings through motion, and his skilful ability to play and expose the artificiality of fixed hegemonic codes ascribed to him. Satã's political economy of *indefiniteness* has functioned as an act of transfer, resisting not only sexual and social norms, but contesting the racial and gendered division of labor. His ephemeral performances have produced tangible effects, which have ultimately altered they way Brazilians think of themselves.

Notes

[i] The Portuguese term "Satã" means Satan.

[ii] The concept of the "standard body" deployed here follows the discussions presented by J. R. Giersdorf in the article entitled "Why does Charlotte Von Mahlsdorf Curtsy?" Sata's daily actions, the fictional character he creates for himself, challenges the standard body promoted by the Brazilian State and for that he (his acting body) is condemned. In his article, Giersdorf comments that, "[T]his standardization allows the state to assemble its citizens into the mass body that constitute the foundation for any public discourse. This standard body is figured by the state as a male white heterosexual middle-class body. Thus, not all citizens can abstract their own corporeality to constitute this mass body. Citizens who differ from the standard body never completely disembody themselves and as a result never participate in the mass body to the same degree as their more standard fellow citizens"(2006, 178).

[iii] *Madame Sata official website.* "Interview with Karim Aimouz". Available from http://www.wellspring.com/movies/text.html?page=interviews&movie_id=7 (web page accessed on 12/07/07)

[iv] From 1928 to 1965, Santos spent (all together) twenty seven years in jail and ten on the streets.

[v] Machado, Elmar. "*Madame Sata para O Pasquim:'Enquanto Eu viver, a Lapa Vivera'*." *O Pasquim*, n. 357, 30 de Abril de 1976. p. 6. (translated by the author)

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"Consuming Dance: A brief history of the dance-commercial"

Colleen T. Dunagan

What I would like to highlight here is how the medium of film and the practice of advertising each came into their own, so to speak, in the 20th century and how, in doing so, they both reveal an investment in movement and dance on some level. Film's interest in movement is clearly evident prior to the 20th century and, perhaps, it is fairer to say that movement was the inspiration for film, as Etienne-Jules Marey (France) and Eadweard James Muybridge (Britain) began by seeking a way to study animal movement through sequential photography in the 1880s. With the contribution of H.W. Goodwin's celluloid film and Louis Lumiere's patented cinematograph (a machine that combines functions of camera and projector) these early efforts to capture motion become possible, though limited. On the one hand, the relationship between film and movement speaks to a desire to accurately represent "reality" (which seems also to be a desire to contain it); however, movement and dance in the European and U.S. context long ago established themselves (implicitly) as signifiers of social distinctions and cultural values.

Thus, I would like to suggest that advertising, as a component of capitalism/consumerism, and film, as a medium, have deep and long-standing reasons for incorporating dance, despite dance's inability to gain a dominant place within the American cultural context. So, today, I propose to take you on a rapid journey through the history of dance in commercials in an effort to reveal how intricately the histories of dance, film, television, and advertising are wedded. For the sake of time and the joy of viewing, from this point on I will paint this history in broad brushstrokes, rather than intricate detail.

As I am sure many of you are aware, some of the earliest experimental films were of dance (for example, Thomas A. Edison's 1894 film of Ruth Dennis, aka Ruth St. Denis, doing a skirt dance outdoors; or his 1st public presentation using his version of the kinteoscope (Vitascope), which showed the Leigh sisters doing their umbrella dance in New York City. While dance did not remain the central focus of film, its presence in film continued at a steady pace until the birth of the movie musical in 1927 with the release of the *Jazz Singer*.

More importantly though, early films reveal an overwhelming interest in movement as content and new developments made in editing and filming during this period are, on one level, a means of creating and crafting motion within the medium. The highpoint of the silent comedy speaks to this tendency through the bodies of Charlie Chaplin and Buster Keaton. Admittedly, this fascination with movement arises partially out of a need for spectacle in order to create an audience for this medium. But I would like to entertain the idea that these choices also speak to the centrality of choreographed human movement within the American cultural imagination.

Shortly after film musicals make their appearance, the first appearances of television broadcasts begin – a necessary step on the road to commercials – so that as we enter the 1930s we see dance in early television broadcasts, as well as in a steady stream of Hollywood musicals, including the well-known work of Busby Berkeley and the ever popular films of Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers. In addition, however, film found subjects in ballet (Pavlova's *Dying Swan*) and modern dance (Humphrey's *Air for the G String*, Wigman's *Hexentanz*, Agnes de Mille's choreography for *Romeo and Juliet*).

However, the advertising of the 1930s responded to the Great Depression through a kind of panic and has been described as the era of the "hard-sell," meaning that print ads involved bold text, little to no pictures or color, and gross exaggerations of the products attributes that relied on pseudo-scientific claims that were also designed to trigger emotional responses (or reciprocal needs).[i] Both advertisers and Hollywood musicals sought to offer audiences/consumers access (at least temporarily) to the American dream.

As advertising moved into the 1940s and America was weathering WWII, rationing restricted consumption during the first half of the decade and middle-class women took a more prominent role as laborers outside of the home. By the mid-1940s televisions were much coveted and purchased despite costs, allowing advertisers to fully embrace this move into a new medium and offer consumers access to the security of excess (or at least the appearance of security). One of the essential differences between

television and film is television's use of live broadcast, though films were also aired. However, this association with live broadcasts encouraged or reinforced the use of performance and direct address within the medium.

During this period there was a steady stream of traffic between Broadway (popular) and the concert stage (elite), an important link considering television and Hollywood's tendency to borrow from Broadway. Dance continued to be a presence with concert dancers/choreographers such as Pauline Koner, George Balanchine, and Valerie Bettis appearing in television series. At the same time, Hollywood musicals used a wide variety of dance genres (including social forms like the Lindy Hop), importing specialty acts from nightclubs and opening the door (somewhat) to African-American dancers and choreographers (Whitey's Lindy Hoppers, Bill Bojangles Robinson, Katherine Dunham). Musicals were so popular that studios employed dance directors and studio dancers full-time.

In conjunction with these shifts in film and on the concert stage, by 1948 dance and choreographed movement are a clear presence in television commercials. Television spots were in black-n-white, often consisting of a mix of animation and live action. In this early period of the genre, the hard sell of the thirties is still visible in the use of documentary style ads; however, the musicals establishment of music and dance as an integral part of the pathway to the American dream offsets the tactic of the hard sell. In addition, this early period reflects the lack of government control, as demonstrated by the proliferation of ads for cigarettes.

As America entered the 1950s, television and consumerism were well-established and growing, while the film industry took a turn for the worst. The instability of the movie industry reflected not only the popularity of television, but also the economic backlash of the cinema's excess during earlier decades[ii]. As a result, musicals continued but at a much lesser rate and other genres usurped their place. Larry Billman (1997) attributes this decline to two major causes: the cost of maintaining dance directors and the rise of rock-n-roll with its new "solo" style of social dance. On the other hand, this period sees the strengthening of theatrical/concert jazz dance as a genre, as well as Bob Fosse's rise to fame.

While dance is not prominent in commercials during the fifties, it does continue to play a role. Television spots can be seen now in both color and black-n-white, using dance to reference the musicals and live performance, as well as social dance. So far the ads that I have found and identified as being produced during this period either have the look of film and documentaries, or live television broadcasts and the stage. Advertisers shift their focus from the "science" of the product to its "personality" or "image." Ads begin to concentrate on encouraging consumerism as the pathway to individuality and style. While the ads clearly maintain their connection to film musicals and live performance, they do not reflect the shifts taking place in concert dance, specifically that of modern dance, as evident in the work of choreographers such as Merce Cunningham, Alwin Nikolais, and Anna Halprin.

The rise of the baby boomers as consumers in the 1960s has been cited as the beginning of a creative revolution in advertising. This shift includes a focus on selling to youth, 18 to 29, the growth of visual culture, and a counter-culture movement of anti-war, civil rights, and feminism. Consumerism continues; advertising simply adjusts its tactics to take into account these new perspectives. It's the beginning of wit. However, the presence of dance in ads does seem to have dipped dramatically during this era, which could be in part the result of the musical's drop in popularity as older representations of expressive transcendence (the reality vs. fantasy dynamic of the outburst into song and dance) were rejected by a younger, hipper generation. While musicals continued, they did not regain the prominence that they had in the thirties and forties; instead, the use of music and dance within film and television was undergoing important changes.

Rock music and its developments were a huge part of the music industry and a focus for advertisers and the entertainment industry. Thus, we have the rise of "vocal choreography," a key contribution (along with musicals) to the creation of the music video[iii]. While rock music was taking hold of the American cultural imagination, concert dance had joined forces with visual arts and theatre to challenge the boundaries of high art, while essentially remaining high art. Dance moved beyond the concert stage and embraced the pedestrian. The essential development in technology during this period is the addition to the consumer market of the in-home videocassettes, players, and cameras. The moment in which dance for camera as a genre moves onto the horizon.

As the decade of the 1970s come on stage, dance and music begin to move back into the forefront of

visual culture, though dance's position remains subordinate to music and other cultural forms. Musicals come back, if not in quantity, then in popularity (for those that are successful), and they come back transformed by the realities of the sixties with new connections to social meaning and nostalgia, as well as new social dance forms and the changing cultural milieu. Simultaneously, ongoing developments in film and video are stimulating new kinds of collaborations between dance and media technologies. The Dance in America series brought dance back into mass media, while the film work of choreographers such as Merce Cunningham, Twyla Tharp, and Meredith Monk both created dance for television and made early headway into dance for camera. Corresponding to these shifts, dance and the musical aesthetic make a return to commercials with the most prominent example being that of Dr. Pepper's "Be a Pepper" campaign.[iv]

Thus the stage is set as we move into the 1980s for a revival of dance within popular media. The birth of MTV in 1981 helps kick start the process. In addition, music videos reinforce the use of the film technique of montage and the role of editing in relationship to dance and choreography. With the help of MTV, dance regains some prominence in television and film, though it is often embedded within the social reality of films, rather than as framed as a performance. Experiments with film/video and dance, as well as television broadcasts of dance events/series, are steadily evident in this period. As a result, commercials undergo their own transformation, finding in dance a new vehicle for personality, style, and image. There is a proliferation of dance-commercials during this period. While I have not yet acquired copies of many of these ads, I have two examples with me here today that reflect (to varying degrees) the influence of theatrical dance, and there are several examples of the 1980s dance-commercial housed in the Jerome Robbins' Dance Collection of the New York Public Library.

As we near the end of this journey, I find that I need to draw to a close quickly in order to stay within my time slot. You all may have noticed that initially the nineties did not seem to be a big period for dance in advertising or on television – even MTV became a little confused about it's agenda. However, dance remained present and in 1998 with the onset of the Gap campaigns it reentered the workforce. Interestingly enough, this is the decade in which musicals were, once again, submerged, hiding the dancing within the social realities of films. Meanwhile, the dance for camera genre came into its own – though some of the most significant examples of this birth occurred in England.

However, as the 1990s rolled over into the 2000s, America has seen a renewal of the musical, a continued presence of dance within the social realities of films, the growth of dance for camera as a genre both in the U.S. and abroad, and an influx, though it has dwindled some at this point, in the use of dance in television commercials. In addition, the presence of dance on television has grown through new genres such as reality tv shows and what, to me, feels like a renewed interest in dance as a social practice. So, I leave you with some contemporary examples of dance-commercials (The Gap, Dr. Pepper, ipod, Budweiser) and, hopefully, a slightly deeper appreciation for dance's ongoing sordid relationship with consumer culture.

Endnotes

1 Print advertising appeared in columns often, like news stories, and tended to include black-n-white pictures of everyday people. Playing off of the public's familiarities with the news story format, advertisers would often create true stories in order to sell products. These true stories were often designed to create a need where none previously existed: "Some techniques were clearly in place well before the stock market crash of 1929. The emergence of highly imaginative diseases, invented by the ad agencies, and treatable only by buying a certain product, was hardly new. The symptoms, treatments, and the diseases themselves were often quite original and made use of new technology" (Cross, Century of Amer. Icons, 72).

2 I can't get into this issue in detail here, but as movies developed and producers and distributors competed for audiences they were sometimes rash (w/money), building extravagant movie houses in which to show feature films, which were costly to run and, as now, difficult to keep in the black.

3 In addition to vocal choreography, the creation of "soundies," short film musicals shown on early television during the 1940s, was an important stepping-stone on the path to music videos.

4 During the 1970s the 30-second commercial replaces the standard 1-2 minute spot of the 60s. Cigarette ads are banned in 1971. Also, the ban on comparative advertising is dropped. Advertisers find consumers to be increasingly skeptical, so the ad agencies were looking for new ideas – novelty with which to woo shoppers. According to media studies scholar John Thorton Caldwell, this is the beginning of a shift in television and mass culture toward style (signs) as the dominant meaning-maker.

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A Conversation with Dance History: Beyond Disarticulated Bodies

Seónagh Odhiambo

A. Introduction: "The Scrapbook approach to Dance History" or Viewing Luo Dance from inside the Hermeneutic Circle

The purpose of this essay is both to suggest how history as a discourse affects discursive practices in dance, and to explain a method of expanding the body of knowledge that is "dance history" by looking through a scrapbook of archived photographs of Kenya Luo women dancers in the 1930s. I approach the problem by looking at *the body of knowledge* and *the body of the knower* through a complexivist framework of "simultaneity" (Davis and Sumara, 2006). I rely on complexity theory's compatibility with hermeneutics, an approach useful for the study of evolving human consciousness. In this way, I seek to further the project of what Fraleigh (1999) termed a "concrete aesthetics" where she questions, through non-dualism, several limitations imposed on patterns of philosophical and aesthetic inquiry about dance in the West.

My research into 1930s Luo women's dance is framed through a question, how can I illuminate a view of women's dance that is transhistorical and transnational? This question points to unstated hierarchies in how dance audiences look at differences between traditions. For example, binary oppositions like those between "the West" and "Africa" are encoded with values and concepts of power, superiority, and worth. Such oppositions are connected to the way history is interpreted in theoretical discourse. Binaries situate us in a historical discourse and can affect the way we interpret dancing bodies (Manning, 2004/2006). Clearly such notions do indicate important information about history and power, but a view of race as representative of "communities of meaning" (Esonwanne, 1992) points to the need to negotiate more complex understandings and move away from binaries.

The binary between the West and Africa is an *idée fixe*, an idea so embedded within current discourses that it can dominate other possibilities inherent in our language, thoughts and processes. As with any dominating focus, a fixed idea alienates a person from an experience because it is a limited interpretation of experience. To extend this definition, language and thought provide a means into an experience, but are not the experience itself. Likewise, the description of a codified dance technique is a way to identify a dance, but does not describe the experience of the dance. I look at how the idée fixe of a binary between the West and Africa shapes thinking in dance history.

Can I break open the naturalization of this split between African/Western historical narratives and explore areas of meaning about Luo dance in the context of dance discursive practices? In dance scholarship frequently we use the term "world dance" when referring to non-European dance, but this terminology prompts questions: Which dance history counts? How is dance defined? A basic problem with such a general descriptor is that dynamic histories and figures of non-European dance history are flattened—the interesting stories of non-European history are usurped by the idée fixe. An opposition is thus established between "world dance" (that has no history) and "concert dance" (where one can uncover the history of specific dances). This opposition raises questions about how contemporary African concert dance is viewed, prompting the question, who counts as a dancer?

Instead, I suggest a "radically international" [1] dance history that references numerous traditions—including European and non-European ones side-by-side. But to write such a history dance scholars have to seriously question the way our discursive practices developed over time and forge new ways of seeing that do not reorder more of "the same" and re-impose an idée fixe. One way of doing this is to consider the histories of non-European people, in this case African (Luo) people, in contemplative ways.

This introduction points to the reality that my focus on "Kenya Luo women's dance history" can only ever present a partial story because in the 1930s the major issue Luo people faced was colonisation, and their traditional culture was under extreme pressure to adapt and assimilate. As a result of this and the fact it is an oral culture, most writing about Luo dance is from a perspective that translates or imposes distortions and ambiguities of meanings that are culturally embedded. Mudimbe (1988) referred to the early scholarship about Africa as the "Order of the Same" because in years past African people were reduced to "non-western otherness" as a trope of difference from "western sameness" (72). In summary,

it is difficult to write African dance history because three main factors contribute to the difficulties of finding historical "facts": a) Africans were under extreme social and violent political pressure to assimilate and reject their traditions; b) even though some early scholars wrote about Africans, it was during an era when European conceptual frames defined African/Western in binary terms; and c) African oral histories were not written. Therefore, it is difficult to conceptualise "Luo women's dance history" in a way that does not reinforce an idée fixe or to tell more than a partial story of this dance history.

Given the limitations of representation, my knowledge of Luo women in the 1930s can likely only be partial, so rather than closing the terms of Luo dance history in a narrative, I create "a scrapbook of history." This approach suggests that even if Luo women's voices in the past may be known only in fragments, I can still transform the flattened image of "African dance" I see in dance discursive practices. In other words, I seek to know 1930s Luo women dancers more intimately, much like I know my own grandmother through a scrapbook of photographs. Recognising the lessons of post-structuralism, in particular Jacques Derrida's (1980) notion of deconstruction whereby one attempts to flag diverse and often conflicting "voices" in a text, I listen for multiple views in 1930s Kenya. Poetic metaphors are sometimes more helpful than scientific ones, so I use writing as a method of hermeneutic inquiry while I reach past binaries of "western sameness" and "non-western otherness" and "present" vs. "past." I situate the subject inside a hermeneutic circle that connects past and present discourses (Gadamer, 1990), and in so doing, place myself in the circle and include my interpretations as part of the data. According to Gadamer's framework, as a researcher in a hermeneutic circle and a dance professor in North America I am entangled in how cultural difference and Africa are discussed and perceived.

It is helpful to recognise that the scrapbook approach to history suggests that the goal of the writer is to arrive at meaning through analogical rather than linear terms, to hold up a metaphor and derive meaning, in the way one might look at the meaning of a work of art. In Gadamer's (1990) discussion of the hermeneutic circle he actually likens the goal of the hermeneut to that of a painter. He says one value of art is that it can avoid reductivist tendencies in expository writing and its associations with conclusive certainty (often the goal of essay writing). Unlike expository writing, art not only *represents*, but also opens new possibilities of perception through its *presentation*. For example, after contemplating a basket of fruit that was painted by Cézanne, a person might notice light refracting through an open window in a way that was previously imperceptible. In this case a new *sensation* was opened through an experience of art and that changes a person's way of seeing[2]. Therefore, I have a similar goal to the artist or creative writer as I forge a path for another interpretive possibility in dance history[3]. That is, the way that I present Luo women's dance is important because my goal is not to represent but is to see differently. Therefore, I do not aim to arrive at a conclusive certainty about "Luo women's dance history" in the 1930s through representation or narrative enclosure of "facts," but aim to open up another perception of history by refusing the discursive practices handed to me.

B. Simultaneity as Conversation: 1930s Luo Women in the Context of Dance History

The research question points to the way validation accrues to certain dance traditions that are historicized in written texts and interpreted as part of "dance history." Dempster (1998) discusses a narrative of origin that developed in dance studies, referring to how choreographers like Doris Humphrey and Martha Graham are historicized as "pioneers of modern dance" in the 1930s. Dils and Cooper Albright (2001) express concern that the emphasis upon a few great artists who are responsible for innovative developments in modern dance gives an "odd shape" to dance history in that its origins are seen as belonging to "an all white big four" (xiv). Dance artists like Humphrey and Graham are important and need to be historicized, so I do not negate their importance. Rather, my concerns are related to those of Adshead-Lansdale (1996), Dempster (1998), Dils and Cooper Albright (2001), Dixon-Gottschild (1996), Manning (2004/2006), Welsh (1990/2001) and others who seek to widen the scope of dance studies and challenge narratives that keep the histories and practices of so called "world" dances separate. My work is closely related to these scholars, but is also significantly different because I not only re-figure the canon that excluded bodies (for there will always be an omission of some *body*), but I also look at the potential for a two-way "conversation" between my own embodiment of the research process and the idea of "dance history." In this way, my work disrupts what is conventionally portrayed as a dualism between

dancer/researcher as "knower" and dance studies as a "body of knowledge."

The complexivist framework of "simultaneity" is helpful to understand my approach to raising questions about how ideology functions in relation to accruing historical meaning. Simultaneity is discussed by complexity thinkers Brent Davis and Dennis Sumara (2006) who disturb the way dyads like knowledge and knowing "tend to be understood as necessarily distinct, opposed, and unconnected, even though they always seem to occur at the same time. In other words, such simultaneities tend to be seen as coincidental, not co-implicated. Complexity thinking troubles such an interpretation…." (153). This way of thinking about knowledge and knowing provides a means to separate out three levels at which I pursue research questions. The first two levels are connected and may be thought of as quite standard, an extension of much work being done in dance studies: I review and discuss a "body of knowledge" as in (a) Western history discursive practices and (b) dance history discursive practices. These two levels are about the critical analysis of "knowledge produced," a body of knowledge that can be understood as a system, "stabilized but mutable patterns of acting that are manifest by a knower" (Davis and Sumara, 2006, 155). However, the third level at which I pursue research questions is not considered as often in conjunction with the first two, and that forms the basis of some data that I used to formulate the story told here. At this third level I am concerned with what Davis and Sumara discuss as "the knower." In this case the knower refers to me, the dancer and choreographer/researcher who, by virtue of being situated in a "body of knowledge" that is dance studies, uses tools and symbols of knowing and interacting familiar to dancers. This includes the embodiment of ideas, creative writing about history and sensual-physical responses to information. I recorded such data in my dissertation journal over the course of a four year research process into Luo women's dance history in the 1930s.

The purpose of separating out these streams into the realms of "knowledge produced" and "knower" in the above description is not to suggest a dichotomy between the two, for I have clearly gestured toward their inseparability. Instead, "a complexivist reading" indicates the importance of remembering what is presented through the wisdom of many indigenous traditions (like the Luo) that suggest the unity of body/mind and knowledge/knowing. What complexivists say is that "knowers and knowledges can be considered separately, even if they cannot be considered separate. One cannot exist without the other; they are enfolded in and unfold from one another" (ibid., 155). That is, even though these two aspects of "knowers" (dancers, choreographers, researcher) and "knowledges" (dance history) are often considered separately, it is possible to look at how one informs the other and vice versa: in a complexivist reading the two are considered separately, but at the same time are connected through an intimate exchange. In this case, the experience of the "knower" provides a seed of what will return to inform and challenge the problem situated in a "body of knowledge" that is dance history. As "knower" I am informed and challenged by the research I do in historical archives, so I place my hand in the "old pond"[4] and contribute a reflection that ripples a "new" meaning.

The first level at which I pursue questions about how ideology functions in relation to accruing historical meaning relates to the idea of "humanity" that developed in Western discursive practices, seen in the alienation created by fixed ideas about the separation of "African history" from "history." In history's narrative the African woman is presented without a claim to "humanity" and is silenced: her experiences and world view were disarticulated through written discourses and meanings transmitted through her body were disfigured by fetishes attached to her exposed body parts[5]. She is a disarticulated "Other," a naturalised one who "stands on the other side of the hill, naked and speechless, barely present in its absence" (Trinh, 1989, 67). Just at the moment where that narrative of History configured under Enlightenment developed, the idea of whom was considered part of humanity was "disfigured," so neither women nor people of colour figured as fully human within the narrative (see Haraway, 2004). The disfiguration of African women's humanity occurred in part through colonial discourses like those preached by missionaries, government agents and researchers from the 1930s whose words and photographs I reference as some of my primary archived sources.

This short examination of discursive practices that influence perceptions of African people—the analysis of which is woven into the remainder of the essay—leads me to the second level at which I examine how ideology functions in relation to accruing historical meaning, the level of Western dance history discursive practices. As I discussed in the first paragraph of this section, some dance scholars expressed concern that a

narrative of dance history developed as a reflection that could reinforce binary thinking about non-Europeans because as we remembered back to a few great choreographers of the 1930s this pointed to a race binary. Several scholars whom I noted above discuss the need to expand the narrative or challenge the terms of dance history discourse. The concern in terms of the African/Western split is that dance audiences who do not have enough contextual information may believe unconsciously or consciously that African dances are defined primarily by narratives of empire and expansion (e.g., "the other"), narratives of race (e.g., social Darwinist theories of evolution), and narratives of sex (e.g., African women as the eroticised "other"). This problem could be reinforced in dance studies if dance history points back through a history of origins to a few important North American choreographers (especially if these are mainly people of European descent) and create a view that African dances are inferior. In addition, the symbols or metaphors used in traditional or contemporary African dances may be largely misunderstood.

The problem of how African dances are viewed is discussed in Kariamu Welsh's (1998) article about how, when Western audiences are alienated from meaning in African dances, they carry the idea of an African woman who is sexualised and eroticised through a colonial gaze. Welsh points out the possibility that scholars may find ways to interrupt the way African women dancers are eroticised and sexualised through a colonial gaze by looking at specific cultural meanings in dances through intertextual studies. Here I do just that: by linking primary and secondary textual sources, photographs, and elder interviews (and their intertextuality) I not only interrogate the colonial narrative about Luo women's dance, but also present a picture of Luo women who lived in Kisumu region of Kenya in the 1930s.

However, throughout the research process the hermeneutic circle always brought me back to the "knower." I present myself, an Irish Canadian researcher/dancer as "knower," and describe my responses to research data. In this way I provide another "text" that continues a discussion about how ideology informs dance history. I contemplate the problem, which is the reality that I have to look directly at the idée fixe—the extremely painful colonial discourse and violence that permeates a view of the context—when doing this research into Luo women dancers' experiences and symbolic interactions. As I have noted, this way of looking at the research problem challenges Western habits of thinking in dichotomies about research and practice, knowledge and knowing, present and past, mind and body. However, given that dance scholars often train their bodies over years to transform such dichotomies, dance may be the most likely academic field to contribute an understanding that a "body of knowledge" is alive and changing, so the body of the "knower" can and does respond in a sort of "conversation."

C. Feminist Premises: The "Monster" beneath the "Old Pond"

Donna Haraway (2004), whose perspective on writing women's history I reference as a premise of the scrapbook approach to history, also works with analogy in her discussion of how "the subject of woman" is written from inside "the ripped-open belly of the monster called history" (49). She asks: how can such a figure speak from outside of the narratives of history? At the first level of discourse, Haraway's metaphor of a "monster called history" assists me to imagine some "disarticulated bodies of history" (47) in Kenya, and at the second level, I point out that such a "monster" still lurks beneath the "old pond" that Sondra Fraleigh (1999) writes of—that "old pond" of Western philosophical discourse that clouds a view of dance aesthetics. Fraleigh (1999) says we need "new streams of thought" for the "growing field of dance aesthetics" (207) and she describes contributing "new streams" as feminism, existentialism and phenomenology (205-208). Tracing some ways that phenomenology has influenced many American philosophers, Fraleigh says there is still work to be done because "[p]henomenology's nondualist project as originally set out by Merleau-Ponty is still unrealised in philosophy" even while his ideas have been subsumed by cognitive science and hermeneutics (ibid., 208). Similar to me, Fraleigh suggests dance as a field that would be a natural leader in this non-dualist project since there is a direct relationship between feminist philosophers' respect for the body as a mediator of culture and dance aesthetics which "is either explicitly or implicitly an aesthetics of the body….[and can be read] as a discourse and history of the body" (ibid., 208).

Fraleigh believes the "new streams" of feminism, existentialism and phenomenology can assist a contemplative dance philosophy, and she describes the philosopher as a creative questioner who seeks

understanding beyond her or his habitual perceptions. Her point is that from a phenomenological perspective an observer (as in one who observes and experiences a work of art like a dance) is not an objective witness, but "part of what we behold and attest" (ibid., 211). This suggests that we are intermingled with what we are observing (like dance history or specific dances), and this is what makes a philosopher a questioner who both seeks understanding beyond habitual patterns of thought and senses "insight that will move her understanding beyond mental habits and assumed authority" in the same way as a creative artist (ibid., 211-212). In agreement with Fraleigh about philosophers' purposes and the need to explore meaning in dance through non-dualism, I contemplate the disfiguration of Luo women's dance history—a separation between non-Europeans and non-Europeans that lurks beneath the surface of the "old pond" and also emphasise the physical, emotional and intellectual process of releasing "what her understanding holds in its limitlessness but hides from her in the moment of her grasp" (ibid., 212). In re-framing dance history, as "a creative artist within this process" (ibid., 212) I explore tensions between a predominant view of the past as something that is framed through an idea of origins and what happens when I ask what stories emerge, what new meanings, what new ways of thinking about dance history[6].

D. Memory versus Surfaces, History versus Natural History

Knowledge changes how we see and experience the world, so discursive practices have changed over time. Since the 1930s, the inadequacy of Enlightenment theories has been discussed by numerous major theorists[7]. Historian Michel Duchet (1985) likewise interrogated the manner in which the discourse of history was impacted by Enlightenment thinkers Joseph François Lafitau, Comte Buffon, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who helped establish a way of perceiving indigenous people in Africa and elsewhere as not having had a history. Instead of "history", which included an interpretive way of discussing biographical information about historical figures and telling stories about nation-building, these thinkers relegated the study of non-Europeans to a sub-field of "Natural History." Duchet explains how the rhetoric about non-Europeans was henceforth cast with a narrator who focused his (not her) objective, descriptive scientific lens. Of course Irish and Scottish "tribespeople" also interrupted how Europeans were cast within this narrative, but in most cases, as Duchet writes, Western European countries were thought to be "*historifiable"* and non-European indigenous societies were seen as "*ethnographiable"* in the 19th Century and in to the early 20th Century (Duchet, 1985, 19).

This separation of human beings as "those with history" and "those without history" created a categorical definition between the discourses about Europeans and non-Europeans. The former were written about in terms of history, with its emphasis on the construction of nations, wars, and biographical details of individual heroes (not heroines). The latter were written about, in European languages at least, in terms of "natural science," and were catalogued through early ethnography, which emphasised the description of communities—how people eat, worship, marry, and so forth. On the other hand, philosophical, aesthetic and historical discourses in Africa had existed over many centuries in oral traditions but this was unknown by most non-Africans who saw instead a people without history[8]. The lack of knowledge about Africa's unique cultural and aesthetic discourses, along with the perpetuation of an ideology about European superiority, led many Europeans to believe they were superior to Africans.

The purposes of ethnography have changed since the early 20th Century and there are by now several important ethnographies of African dance that could be incorporated into the body of dance knowledge to increase understanding about African dance traditions[9]. Since the 19th Century many African people also pursued education in European institutions of higher learning and sought to write down African oral traditions that include philosophy and aesthetics (e.g., Ochalla-Ayayo, 1980) as well as history (e.g., Ogot, 1967). Perhaps in direct relationship to such changes in academia, the field of anthropology became self-critical. In particular since the 1950s the field underwent radical transformations as the result of attendant discussions in postcolonialism and postmodernism. Said (1989) put it this way: "representation" can no longer be carried out with "the same ease as in former times" (204), and words like difference and otherness "have by now acquired talismanic properties" (213). Landmark anthropological works of the 1980s like Geertz (1983), who wrote about the necessity of providing more nuanced descriptions that trace out the "local knowledge" underlying members' terminology or Clifford and Marcus (1986) who discussed the need for "polyvocality" (15) also established possibilities

for a more in-depth approach to contemporary field research. As a result of these changes, more self-conscious approaches now characterise much work in anthropology since the 1990s (e.g., Appadurai, 1996).

Despite these important changes, the "monster of history" still lurks beneath the "old pond" of academic scholarship because dance history inherited the disfiguration discussed by Duchet—the separation of the historifiable from the ethnographiable. As I discussed, several scholars address these issues in the dance field either by drawing attention to how historical methods and practices need to be changed to rectify mistakes of the past (e.g., Buckland, 2006) or by drawing critical attention to the way non-African audiences may see African dance practices (e.g., Welsh, 1990/2001, 1998). Now I approach this problem of disfiguration through the phenomenon of how dancers and scholars come to know and perceive. As a questioner I am look for "insight that will move [my] understanding beyond mental habits and assumed authority" (Fraleigh, 1999, 211) about how African dance is perceived.

E. Method: Texture in Memory

Over the last few years I carefully constructed a view of what Luo women experience in Kenya in the 1930s through a literature review. I then used both a working definition of Luo dance as an embodied discourse and semiotic codes I adapted from Ajayi (1998) to decipher the presence of and meaning expressed by particular Luo women dancing in the 1930s. In this way, through semiotic codes, I could interpret meaning of dances derived from the biased secondary sources like the archived photographs.

Ajayi's (1998) semiotic categories for Yoruba dance present a compatible framework through which to view Luo women's dance history in the 1930s. Ajayi presents four categories: presence, visual cues, proxemics, and kinesics, that are useful for my discussion about Luo dance. These categories add depth to Thompson's (1974) categories of body presence and stance, Welsh's (1990/2001) and Stoller's (1995) emphases upon the details of sensual bodily experience, and DeFrantz's (2005) focus upon dance as an active process of identity construction. The *presence* category refers to the way in which a person presents herself or himself through body, attitude and personality. These things are revealed in a person's appearance through her or his stance and posture, and show an individual's attitude and personality. The category of *visual cue* refers to facial expressions, gaze (i.e., looking down or looking directly at someone), and other visual cues which are used to transmit emotional information. This could mean relatively permanent categories such as skin colour and sex, which can only be changed through surgery or medication, and more impermanent categories which are based in individual choice such as clothing and hairstyle. Posture is also in the category, and is something which, depending on one's cultural orientation, can be seen somewhere along the continuum between permanent or impermanent. The category of *proxemics* refers to characterisations of space such as "informal," "private" and the relationship of space between individuals. The final category, *kinesics*, can be related to Welsh's (1990/2001, 1998) points about sensuality in African dance and refers to the whole body as a communication medium. This may involve gestures, smell, sensation, and "various body expressions and their interrelatedness" (Ajayi, 1998, 17).

F. Warrior Women: While I Remember through Textures, my Hands Dig the Earth

I reach out for the pile of books the archivist is handing me, smiling broadly like a Canadian. She returns me a kind partial smile with thin English lips. Underneath my smile, I vow silently to "disturb the surface reflected in the photographs and missionary writings" (*Dissertation Journal*, November 6, 2005). I listen for stories to be revealed in women's appearances, stances, postures, and faces. Perhaps I can hear Luo women's voices through a conversation with a missionary or observe a culturally relevant characterisation of space.

Left alone with the scrapbooks of photographs I am equally reverent and surprised. I lift the first one carefully, recognising that this particular view of women's past has been seen by few. But I am surprised the photographs are contained in the kind of scrapbook my Irish Canadian family had lying around while I was growing up. I run my fingers across the textured surface its marble green cover. "*Photographs"* is embossed in gold italics across the front. I think about how I used to sit on a chair and look at my grandmother's similar scrapbook over tea and digestive cookies. The two worlds intersect. In the past my feet did not touch the ground. I spoke with my grandmother about stories, who she knew, why she left home, how she felt saying good-bye.

Inside, on the first page are carefully pasted four somewhat faded black and white photographs. I am here to look at the images of Luo women, but I am also interested in whose scrapbook this is. "**Miss P. Lethbridge, Ng'iya, 1927"** is handwritten on the inside left cover. The first few photographs are uneventful. I glance at a one room white cottage with a short dirt walk and three steps going up to the door. "**Ng'iya; Christian Compound."** On the next page I see a woman who may be in her early twenties standing awkwardly in front of the house. She is dressed in a pale grey cotton dress, simply cut. "**Elizabeth"** is printed below her photograph. This is the type of missionary dress worn by church women, what Miss P. Lethbridge called "the converted." Elizabeth might have sewn it up herself since and this was one of the activities of the Women's League, later headed by Archdeacon Owen's wife during the 1930s[10]. The same colour of grey material wraps Elizabeth's hair, covering it conservatively.

When I look at this photograph of "**Elizabeth"** taken by Miss P. Lethbridge it is with great care that I find Elizabeth's personality and I mainly think of questions I would have for her. Like my grandmother, she also stands in front of a camera; a distance between observer and observed. Elizabeth was recorded for documentation purposes, so I expect her image was mailed to Christian Missionary Services headquarters in England along with an annual report. I wonder if Elizabeth ever received a copy of the photograph. Does it sit on the wall of her granddaughter's home in Nairobi? I wonder if her granddaughter misses her. What would Miss P. Lethbridge have thought as she snapped the photograph? Did they ever laugh together at the Women's League? Was Elizabeth a friend, or was Miss Lethbridge proudly thinking about her accomplishments at Ng'iya? There are no photographs of them together.

Sitting in these archives I long for the story of Loye Elizabeth that I read about in Hay's (1976, 1996) and Onyango's (2003) work about Luo women in this era. I imagine her to be the woman of this picture. Loye Elizabeth was *mikayi* (senior wife) of Ondango. She was known throughout the region for her abilities as a dancer and as a cultivator of *sorghum.* Each person in the village had a small granary for *sorghum,* a common grain that was ground and made into *ugali,* a staple food normally eaten with stew or fish soup and *sukumoweke,* which is a deliciously prepared green vegetable dish.

Loye Elizabeth was well known for her generosity and by the fact that her granary was always full. Both generosity and a full granary were valued as signs of wealth and status in traditional Luo society. This cultural perspective of wealth is understandable since when someone found her or his granary empty, she or he would go to another person in the village and ask for assistance. An individual's status also increased if she or he could give to others in this way. Luo people believed that abundant granaries were blessed with the spirit of *juogi,* a term for spiritual "power" related to meaning and religious experience. *Juogi* is both a term for the reverence of *Jok* or "God" and the term used to describe an expression of faith through dancing.

When Loye Elizabeth converted to Anglicanism in the early 1930s it was extremely shocking to her contemporaries. When she became a Christian she defiantly burnt her *chieno,* a decorated skirt worn daily to signify her status as *mikayi* of Ogumbo, and began to wear European clothing like the dress worn by Elizabeth who stands in the picture. In the 1930s these actions were interpreted as a betrayal of her ancestors. As a result, Ogumbo drove her from their home, and others thought she would lose her *juogi* for harvest. However, Loye Elizabeth was a fierce woman, and as a skilful cultivator she continued to bear harvest.

The survival of her crops was considered so remarkable to other Luo people that after Ogumbo's death she was not only welcomed back into the compound where her children lived with the other wives, but also she was chosen to replace Ogumbo as *Jagolpur,* the one who begins cultivation for the family (Hay, 1975, 101). *Jagolpur* was an honorific title and this ceremonial role, generally reserved for men, was only occasionally given to widows past childbearing age. Such women were classified as "Warrior Women."

"**Elizabeth"** of the photograph is probably not Loye Elizabeth, but she may be. I can wonder for a moment; I can sit and listen quietly as if she were my own grandmother. After all, Loye Elizabeth was known for how she skilfully balanced and negotiated the seemingly opposing worlds of the Anglican missionaries with traditional Luo ways. Onyango (2003) and Hoehler-Fatton (1996) both speculate that Luo women may have responded positively to Christianity in part because they saw European women as having a relative degree of autonomy within the European social order. They each suggest this may even have been grounds for some women to choose to

become Christian, thus explaining why Luo women were predisposed to convert more quickly than men.

I also think of what Loye Elizabeth might have hidden when she was on the compound, what she hid here from the camera. She was a powerful dancer, and embodied expression does not disappear overnight, particularly when connected to the transmission of oral history in a culture. In stark contrast to the missionary society, in traditional society women's skills as dancers were of central importance. Traditional education for girls was conducted through both "games and instructions from her mother or grandmother" which a young girl "mobilized and applied [as] abilities for her own life" (Ocholla-Ayayo, 1980, 42). The centrality of dance to Luo society can also be seen in Luo language. That is, as I noted above, the spirit of *juogi* or the spirit of *Jok* that entered a granary was also used to describe spiritual expression through dance. In Luo ceremony, dance performance and ceremonial dress were thus described as expressing or embodying *juogi,* which is like a sensation of spiritual power (Ocholla-Ayayo, 1980, 89).

Dance was thus central to Luo women's expression of their spiritual understanding in the traditional culture. However, this was contrary to the English Anglican faith that was predominant in the region. There bodily expressions of spirituality were looked upon by Anglicans with disgust, causing some Luo women to look back at this Christian religion with disdain. In *song of lawino* okot p'bitek (1972) explains how a Luo woman, Lawino, may have felt about her husband who converted to Christianity: She said he "lost his head/ In the forest of books (113), and she does not want to leave her body and her ancestors behind as he has. Lawino even says "the reading/ Has killed my man,/ in the ways of his people/ He has become/ A stump" (113). Luo spiritual approaches that included dance practices thus challenged the foundations of Western approaches to spirituality, which valued intellectual understandings over bodily processes. Anglicans in particular valued the importance of understanding one's faith and history through written texts, and Lawino refers to this "shyness" that her husband "ate in the church" (okot p'bitek, 1972, 118).

In contrast to Anglican conceptions of the human body, as Stoller (1995), Thompson (1974), and Welsh (1990) each discussed, a primary locus of understanding and interpretation in African traditions was located in the body, which is the primary instrument of the sensual language of dance. In the missionary writing I thus observed an attitude of disappointment with the performative capacities of the African female body. This connects to what I discussed about dance discursive practices, and was referred to by Manning (2004) as the way that African bodies throughout the diaspora were seen as "a site of aesthetic failure" during the 1930s (84). Archdeacon Wilfred Owen's (1934) disappointment is evident in the missionary correspondence when he describes a Luo woman who he saw dancing after he walked in on a prayer meeting:

> A woman who had been trembling and shaking and elaculating, put her baby on the floor and executed a mad hysterical dance done in front of me raising her hands to heaven and behaving in a most disappointing way (Owen, 1934. c.f. Hoehler-Fatton, 1996, 9).

However strongly Owen's opinions were shaped by predominant 1930s discourses, the moment can also be understood in the way I describe it, as a moment of cultural interchange. This cultural interchange shows a Luo woman who spoke out by dancing in the missionary compound, expressing *juogi*. In other words, since dance and music were a central means of communicating important messages in Luo culture, the performance of a dance in this context meant something very different to the woman who Owen describes. I find myself asking more questions, imagining Warrior Woman Loye Elizabeth speaking up to Owen with a dance and singing on the compound and thinking what a radical and brave statement her dance was in this context. What did Loye Elizabeth want to express to Archdeacon Owen as her world underwent catastrophic changes? Did she want to correct Owen with a *hwege* song[11]. What did **"Elizabeth"** of the photograph want to say? Was she worried for her daughter's future?

Traditional uses of dance slowly began to disappear during this era due to Christian influences, but that does not mean that the culture disappeared. In traditional Luo society, "music, song and dance are used in minute and applied ways" (Darkwa, 1985, 646), so dancing continued despite colonisation. Dance was tied in complex ways to daily activities in the traditional economy, so at the same time it follows that as the society underwent major changes in the 1930s toward becoming dependent on the production

of cash crops to pay colonial taxes the role and purposes for dance would adapt, even as dance would still be a central communication medium for Luo people. For these reasons, the study of Luo dance during the 1930s involves a study of how colonisation affected a change in the priority of agricultural skills over dance as the most necessary skill for marriage (Ocholla-Ayayo, 1980, 42).

Despite the facts of these changes, dancing would be important as long as people continued to live in the community because there would still be a need to tell the stories of the people or correct individuals' behaviour through dance, song and story. Many lessons were traditionally passed down by women through dance and song. For example, the correction of behaviour was sometimes administered like in the "huwege" song, which would expose a violation of the laws of the community and was regularly sung in the fields while cultivating, looking after cattle, and when going to fetch water from the river (Darkwa, 1984, 648).

Traditional Luo dance informs the interconnection between ancestors and the self, community and identity, self expression, dance, and culture because it is connected the memories of specific people and to the epic memory of the society. Therefore, Lawino of okot p'bitek's (1972) epic wants to speak back to her husband with dance, bringing him back to his "house":

> When you took the axe/ And threatened to cut the Okango/ That grows on the ancestral shrine/ You were threatening/ To cut yourself loose,/ To be tossed by the winds/ This way and that way…/Let me dance before you/ My love,/ Let me show you/ The wealth in your house….
> (okot p'bitek, 1972, 119-120).

Lawino's song is written from the view of a woman dancer in the 1930s who carried in-depth understandings about localised culture in her dances—knowledge that was fundamental to the continuation of Luo society and oral history. The relationship between dance expression and cultural practices also tells me how some women from the culture looked back at Europeans. Perhaps they saw a "girl whose waist is stiff…[as a] lazy girl/ Who fears grinding the *kabir* millet" (ibid., 43). In contrast, they saw Luo women with a supple waist and thought those women's eyes "sparkle like the fireflies" as they swing "bead-skirts or string skirts" off their hips (43). Lawino refers to the type of traditional dress burned by Loye Elizabeth when she left Ogumbo's compound: Married women wore "a tiny piece of cloth/ And a ten-stringed bead" (43), the *chieno*, that signified their modesty and married status. Not only traditional dress but also "The tattoos on her back" (ibid., 43) tell stories about dancers' *juogi*. If I listen quietly I can know where she is from.

Luo women's dances, songs, and bodies speak back in these ways through the crevices of these historical documents. Now I look back at the introduction to this essay where I discussed how the idée fixe, a binary between Africa/the West, shapes thinking in dance. I recognise that language and thought can only provide a means into an experience, but are not the experience itself. I also know that the description of a dance tradition is a way to identify a dance, but does not describe the experience of the dance. However, I believe that the stories told to me by Loye Elizabeth and Lawino provide a different way of "looking back." In considering how the idée fixe of a binary between the West and Africa may have shaped thinking in history I can thus "move forward" as a knower and refuse the discursive practices handed to me through history's narrative.

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[1] I borrow the phrase, "radically international" from Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2003). *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practising Solidarity.* Durham and London: Duke University Press. Mohanty upholds the vision of international feminism, wherein discursive practices that were inherited (such that Duchet (1985) writes of) are acknowledged in terms of their impact while at the same time distinct experiences, discourses and histories of women are considered. A *radically international* feminism suggests borders drawn between cultural knowledges, particularly those "drawn to mark legitimate and illegitimate knowledges, are often porous" (Mohanty, 2003, 189). If one reconsiders the way ideological, economic and historical relations created the need to "establish relations of rule that consolidate and naturalize the dominant values of a globalised capitalist consumer culture" (ibid., 189), then a view of borders as flexible and permeable not only enables a clearer sense of various women's distinct cultural identities, histories and "knowledges," but also enables an intercultural communication and flow of culture, history, ideas, or information that is respectfully located outside the idea of which cultures produce canonical or non-canonical discourses. Mohanty seeks to move past political in-fighting and the reification of binary thinking that was predominant, for example, in 1990s feminist political communities.

[2] Brent Davis and Dennis Sumara (2006) in their joint book, *Complexity in Education*, also discuss Gadamer's hermeneutic circle and this idea of a distinction between "presentation" and "representation" as a basis of complexity theory. In fact, Gadamer's ideas were first introduced to me by Brent Davis in 1995 when he was my professor at the University of British Columbia.

[3] Corrine Glesne (1997) writes of poetry in a way that is similar to how Gadamer discusses art. She refers to it as a means to "present" research where the goal is to change the way we perceive rather than to reach reductivist conclusions.

[4] This is a reference to Fraleigh's discussion of "concrete aesthetics" which I explain shortly in the body of the essay.

[5] See, for example, http://www.english.emory.edu/Bahri/Exhibition.html for a critical view of Saartje Bartman or the so-called "Hottentot Venus," a young Xhosa woman who was forced to put her body parts on display and who was exhibited across Europe in the 1600s.

[6] Limitations of space and time do not allow me to discuss the numerous intellectual influences that undergird this approach to history. However, I must trace back for a moment to say that such an approach to history would not even be possible without Foucault's (1971) genealogy. I remain gratefully indebted to his work and the ways he influenced many subsequent dance and feminist scholars I am referencing.

[7] See, for example, Fanon, 1967; Foucault, 1971; Derrida, 1980; Lyotard, 1978; Said, 1978.

[8] Robert Farris Thompson (1974) brought this to the attention of Western dance scholars in a study of numerous West African dance traditions wherein he considers the central importance of dance and the body in African philosophy and aesthetics.

[9] There are numerous studies of African dance in the field of Anthropology. Some examples are Boddy (1989); Erlman (1996); Stoller (1995).

[10] Archdeacon Owen is a well known missionary to Luo people in this area of Kenya during the 1920s and 1930s and I heard several stories about him since the father of one of the elders I interviewed worked for Owen as his guide and cook.

[11] Asante Darkwa (1985) writes of the *hwege* song, sung in traditional Luo society together with dance movement or while working. *Hwege* songs were used to shame others into correcting their behaviour. One person started the song and others could join in to comment on an individual's incorrect behaviour. Once the behaviour was corrected, the song would be stopped. However, if the behaviour was not corrected, more would join in singing the *hwege* song until in some cases this could isolate the person from society even keep her or him from finding a mate.

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Ralph Lemon and the Buck Dance

Katherine Profeta

This is a paper about history and memory -- about how a dance might possibly conjure ghosts.[1] In it I trace Ralph Lemon's fascination with the fraught historical style of African-American dancing known broadly as the "Buck Dance," from his first investigations in 1991, through his work in the second and third sections of *The Geography Trilogy* which premiered in 2000 and 2004.[2] My emphasis is on how Lemon's Buck Dance moved from a largely schematic step to a more eloquent stylistic re-invention, which he used to underline how (to quote Joe Roach) "like performance, memory operates as both quotation and invention, an improvisation on borrowed themes, with claims on the future as well as the past."[3] That pairing – quotation *and* invention – is particularly relevant to Lemon's experiments. Let me begin by all-too-briefly sketching the history behind the quoted step, and then turn to its incarnations and reincarnations in Lemon's work.

The Buck Dance is most often discussed today in terms of what it symbolizes culturally, as a key ingredient in the painful tradition of minstrelsy, or what it later became physically, as one of the ancestors of modern-day Tap Dance. It is more difficult to locate any description of the earliest historical step, which began as one of many syncretic innovations in the plantation environment before it was adapted for the 19th century minstrel stage. We do know it was a dance with an emphasis on rhythmic foot patterns that bears some relationship to Tap's standard Time Step. There is also a present-day tradition of Buck Dancing, found primarily in the rural Appalachian South, which doubtless has a strong relationship to the historical step.[4]

The source of the Buck name is unclear, but if it wasn't the racial epithet at the start, it was certainly open to that resonance subsequently. Contextually, the Buck Dance has been associated with enslaved workers dancing for their own pleasure, but also with those same workers forced to dance to prove their fitness on the auction block, or to entertain plantation owners. The celebrated 19th century African-American performer Master Juba danced some version of the Buck with great finesse, but other versions served as a convenient tool for blackface minstrels counterfeiting "blackness" for white audiences. One of the earliest moving images of the Buck Dance is an 1897 Edison film of a black child dancing on an outdoor platform with an all- or mostly-white audience of men clustered about, clapping. *[clip 1]* This film exemplifies another loaded context – in which Buck Dance was used as a piece of entertainment 'currency' to be exchanged for money or favor, on street corners and similar locations, between black performers and white audiences within an unequal power dynamic.

Perhaps the rawest and most direct incarnation of the Buck Dance in Lemon's work is also the first one. It is found in a 1991 piece titled, simply, *Solo*.[5] The piece begins with Lemon lying in a pool of light, wearing a racist rubber novelty mask popularly known as a "Ubangi mask." After a long stillness, this caricature rises and walks into a spot stage left. *[clip 2]* The accompaniment you hear for this simple, stomping Buck dance is a portion of the Last Poets' track, "Niggers are Scared of Revolution."[6] The mask and the musical choice clearly indict the Buck as a reactionary dance form. Note the gesture of arms extended with open palms, those "jazz hands" that signify dance-as-entertainment.

The audio then shifts to an interview Lemon conducted with LaVaughn Robinson, a Tap dancer in his seventies at the time. Robinson began his career as a child dancing on street corners (rather like the child in Edison's film). Lemon asks him: "So what is the Buck Dance?" and Robinson explains the Buck's roots on the plantation, where, to quote him: "[the dancers] were doing it for their own pleasure, [but] the ones that were <u>good</u> were doing it for the slave masters…"[7] As the interview continues, the rubber mask falls away, and the unmasked Lemon juxtaposes the discussion of the Buck with his own brand of fluid postmodern movement. *[clip 3]* The upshot of the interview is that though Robinson considers Buck Dancing an important ingredient in Tap history, he looks down on it as a lesser art form.

There is one more Buck Dance coming in this solo. At the end of the piece Lemon removes his shirt and walks into a central pool of light, begins with a

few slow, hunched stomps, and builds it up from there. *[clip 4]* It is a simple, loping version, mostly concerned with the sound of bare feet against the floor. As he works it up to a frantic fever pitch, Lemon jams a harmonica between his lips, where it plays discordantly with his in-and-out breaths, and claps his hands.

I'd like to speak about the shift between the first and second Buck Dances. The first one clearly refers to the demeaning minstrel stereotype. The second Buck makes the same allusion, but now the ugly mask is off, revealing a human face. The slavery connotations of bare torso come across loud and clear, but beyond that, the exposed skin underlines the difference between rubber-masked caricature and real flesh. Meanwhile the harmonica renders audible the gasping breaths that keep that flesh alive. Thus with the second Buck Dance, the emphasis shifts from the stereotype to the man behind it, forced frantically to fulfill it – dancing, perhaps, for his life.

Lemon put the Buck Dance aside for almost a decade before taking it up again in the year 2000 with *Tree*, the second part of the *Geography Trilogy*. Here he began where he left off in 1991: playing with a minstrel stereotype, but starting to bring life to the individual trapped behind that mask. This particular Buck Dance began as a brazen cultural pun. Here Lemon staged his Buck solo to a Chinese folk musician's playing of the *san xian*, a three-stringed instrument that sounds like a banjo to Western ears, and had that Chinese musician wear blackface. But the staging and enactment of this pun also drew him into a deeper investigation of the physical step. Years later he joked, "That's when I started thinking I was dancing in the body of an old black man."[8]

In this *Tree* solo you'll see the movement is more complex than the schematic Buck Dancing of the decade previous. This dance is a little off center, a little wobbly, almost drunken. He was still making a pointed reference to the minstrel past, but he was also breathing new life into the physical step so that the movement began to speak as well as refer. In his rehearsal journal Lemon wrote down his intentions for the solo, declaring, "I'll dance a modern dance, that attempts to be a Buck Dance. I will wear no make-up. And I'll think about my grandfathers while dancing."[9] Thus with this solo Lemon begins what will later become a regular practice: exploring the activity of memory as refracted through his Buck-dancing body. *[clip 5]*

For *Come home Charley Patton*, the final section of the Trilogy, Lemon subjected his Buck Dance to the most concentrated experimentation. The first incarnation was at a March 2001 Danspace benefit, where he danced it to Bob Dylan's *Don't Think Twice It's All Right.* In this version he took the vernacular gestures one might associate with a hunched old man Buck Dancing, and married them to the longer, swinging limbs and loose head of his more familiar postmodern style. *[clip 6]* Here Lemon's reference to the historical dance style and his own postmodern movement, two elements that had been juxtaposed but kept largely separate in 1991, are beginning to collide creatively.

Two months later Lemon left on a research trip across the American South. He wanted to mark the route of the Freedom Bus riders by performing a private, ritual action in each of the bus stations along the Civil Rights protesters' path. In most locations his actions were more minimal than the one I'm about to show you, as he wasn't interested in drawing a live audience. But in the almost-empty Birmingham station he broke out his Buck Dance as meditation on the ghostly audience that might, or might not, be lurking there. *[clip 7]* Lemon's use of the Buck as a reference to a demeaning history was starting to join forces with another, possibly contradictory, spirit of historical tribute. And his imaginatively re-constituted Buck step was beginning to operate as a metaphor for the process of memory -- now not just the direct memory of people Lemon had known, like his grandfathers, but also the larger sweep of historical, or collective, memory.

Later that same year he visited more sites of past racial violence -- such as the murders of Emmett Till and Medgar Evers – again marking them with private movement rituals. On the same trip he undertook a series of research solos dubbed the Living Room Dances. He began by locating the closest living relative of a deceased blues musician – men like Frank Stokes and Mississippi Fred McDowell. He would then pay the relative a visit, engaging them in conversation about the late musician. If all went well, the visit would culminate in Lemon's dancing a solo in the relative's living room, to a track by the artist in question. The documentary videos of these events reflect a shift in priority: framed to capture the audience reaction, they allow only glimpses of Lemon's dancing. In the clip I am about to show you, Lemon dances in front of Mrs. Mitchell, whose cousin was married to Mississippi Fred McDowell, and a friend. *[clip 8]* Of these dances Lemon has said "I've

never felt such a union of performer and audience. For the three minutes of the song there was a perfect collusion of why I was there dancing and why they were there looking at me."[10] Here it was the shared project of remembering that fueled that connection between dancer and audience, thus allowing the past to animate the present.

When, in March 2002 at UCLA, Lemon performed another Buck solo to Dylan's *Don't Think Twice*, the influence of the previous year's research was apparent. *[clip 9]* This Dylan solo has less broad, loose release than the earlier one, takes up less floor space, and develops a stronger rhythmic component in the feet. After all, too much wandering focus in those southern living rooms would have disrupted the intimate connection, not to mention increased the chance of a nasty coffee-table injury. Even though this step looks "older," I would say we're watching Lemon reach forward in time, to a new way of moving for him, and a new relationship to the past.

As Lemon moved towards the development of a *Charley Patton* stage work with a full cast, he needed to translate his research to other performers. The cast did watch a video of contemporary Buck Dancers, but they took Lemon's lead and relied on their gut reactions to what they saw, instead of copying steps verbatim. For Lemon had purposefully defined the point of departure as a received notion of the Buck. After all, it was within that received notion that the past collided with the present, and it was that collision that interested him most. He asked the dancers to "find their own Buck." Only by creating something fully alive in the present would they open up the possibility of conjuring, or reanimating, the past.

In one experiment Lemon asked the cast to dance their own Bucks to the song "Let Us Make a Record For My Lord" by the New Orleans religious singer, Sister Gertrude Morgan. Then he changed the musical accompaniment, but asked them to dance not to the music they were hearing. Instead they were to dance to their *memory* of the first, more spiritual tune – a fruitfully impossible task. And at the same time, he asked them to contract the Buck step so it was as small as it could get without disappearing. Executed on such a miniscule scale, the step emphasized the inward process of memory over the outward process of performance. *[clip 10]*

The cast began using the term "muscle memory," but not in the conventional sense. In the *Charley Patton* rehearsal room "muscle memory" operated on a collective level – whereby the body holds onto not just the steps taught to it in its lifetime, but traces of the experiences that fed those steps in generations past. There was no way to objectively verify the residue of the past left in the present day step, but the cast could be confident that it was in there, somewhere. And this is where the supernatural act of 'conjuring' entered in. The quotations and inventions of memory became conjuring in the moment that the imagined past was *felt* by the dancers as real – even if only for an elusive moment.

By choosing this particular historical dance to explore, Lemon offered his Buck-Dancing body as a present-day surrogate for the bodies of many past generations of black men who danced for manifold reasons -- some by choice, some because they were forced, and some under circumstances of oblique persuasion that rendered their choices not entirely their own. Thus this thoroughly American step begs the question of whether the performer owns himself, or is owned by his audience. And yet Lemon took no single position on black cultural ownership of the Buck. In his mind it was always both a means of confinement and a means of liberation, and he pursued that ambivalence.

At the end of *Charley Patton*, both the process and the stage piece, the Buck Dance broke down. Lemon exposed it to the blast of a fire hose, like the ones used against Civil Rights protesters in Kelly Ingram Park in 1963. Here Lemon begins dancing in a showman's red velvet jacket, to Reverend Gary Davis' *I Am The Light*. *[clip 11]* As dancer Djédjé Djédjé Gervais enters and turns the hose on Lemon, Davis' optimistic tune begins to warp, morphing into an angry punk rock version. Lemon tries doggedly to continue, but the stream knocks him flat on his ass, and the slippery floor makes it tricky to stand back up. Still, he never gives up. The Buck Dance becomes Lemon's single-minded task, in the face of adversity.

Soon Gesel Mason and Darrell Jones enter downstage, Mason performing a frantic version of her own Buck. Every time Lemon falls upstage, Mason trips and falls too, and Jones follows her cue by hurling his body into the air and crashing down. Here the project of trying to interpret Mason and Jones' movement in relation to Lemon's becomes interesting. Perhaps, like Lemon, Mason and Jones are being interrupted by violent outside forces – and in their case the perpetrators of the violence are even more pernicious for being invisible. Or perhaps, instead, they are making themselves fall. If so, the violence of their actions seems to extend from their own

empathetic anger. So are they depicting the violence inflicted on a group of people, or are they reacting with violent anger to that infliction? Are they conjuring the victims of generations of violence, or speaking out in their defense? Ultimately there is no need to choose; the staging supports both options.

After years of using the Buck Dance step to creatively remember the past, Lemon was ready to treat it less reverently at the end of *Charley Patton*. As he summarized it:

> The fire hose destroyed the buck. And I think that's beautiful – to destroy what it is you have found, and to find a new thing from it, after years and years of work.[11]

This "destroyed" Buck was not any less about history, memory or conjuring. If anything, it raised the stakes. As Lemon explained to Christopher Reardon:

> [With the fire hose Buck] I found a balance between this violent outside force and my body trying to maintain equilibrium. For me, the elegance of that struggle – the determination to keep going without losing dignity, to transcend the horror – really sums up the black American experience.[12]

By using a step long associated with a loss of dignity as a means of recovering dignity, and by transforming it into an act of memory that imaginatively reanimated the past within the present, Lemon found a way to conjure not just ghosts, but the full fraught complexity of the Buck Dance.

Endnotes

1 A slightly longer version of this paper is forthcoming in *Movement Research Performance Journal*, #33.

2 The *Trilogy*, if it can be summarized succinctly, was an interrogation of Lemon's complex global influences as an African-American, a Buddhist, and a performer, playing out through collaboration with performers from West Africa in the first part, Asia in the second part, and returning home to engage the U.S., particularly the South, in the third part.

3 Roach, Joseph. *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996, 33.

4 For more on the present-day tradition, see the documentary film *Talking Feet: Solo Southern Dance; Buck, Flatfoot and Tap* by Mike Seeger. 87 minutes, Smithsonian Folkways, 1987.

5 *Solo* was commissioned by Marda Kirn for the Colorado Dance Festival. She challenged Lemon to make a piece about race, a subject he says he "would never have touched otherwise at that time in my dancing." (Lemon, Ralph. Email to author, 28 March 2008)

6 The Last Poets were a revolutionary proto-rap group, most active in the early 1970's, that performed spoken-word poetry with musical accompaniment, treating the political themes of the Black Power movement.

7 Robinson, LaVaughn. Interview with Ralph Lemon. Transcribed from the videotape of the 1991 PS122 Benefit performance, a work-in-progress version then titled *Folk Dance*, 1 February 1991.

8 Lemon, Ralph. Email to author, 28 March 2008.

9 Lemon, Ralph. Material written in March 2000, during the *Tree* rehearsal process, and subsequently published in *Tree: Belief/Culture/Balance*, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2004, 206.

10 "Southern Exposure," *Time Out* Fall Preview, 9-16 September 2004.

11 Lemon, Ralph. Conversation with author, 17 March 2006.

12 Lemon, Ralph. As quoted in Reardon, Christopher. "Dances With Ghosts (The Spirits Move Ralph Lemon)", *New York Times*, 24 October 2004.

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DANCE HISTORY AS AN IMAGINED SPACE: THE DANCE SCHOOL AT DARTINGTON HALL, ITS MUTABLE PAST AND UNCERTAIN FUTURE

Larraine Nicholas

Although I am working with a specific, historical case study, the deeper purpose of this paper is to ask about the historical imagination and its conditions of existence. As dance historians we work imaginatively to bring the past into thoughtful contemplation but we seldom interrogate the pathways of our insights and intuitions. One route to this might be to engage more thoroughly with our built environments. Events in dance and in other areas of life take place within particularised three-dimensional spaces. Palace, tenement, theatre or studio: how do these surfaces and these volumes, these qualities of light and shadow, inform and mould the meanings and movements of the people within? These questions are most pressing for the majority of our pasts that leave no movement documentation as moving images or notation.

A purpose-built Dance School was opened in 1932 on the Devon, England, estate at Dartington Hall. It still stands within a few minute's walk of the medieval range of courtyard buildings and on the edge of 38 acres of landscaped garden. Then, its other near neighbours were dairy farm, sawmill and market garden—examples of the rural industries around which the founders of Dartington, Dorothy and Leonard Elmhirst, wove an artistic and educational community.[1] It went through various stages of habitation, including Ballets Jooss in the 1930s and Dartington College of Arts from the 1960s onwards. Now its future is in the balance since Dartington College of Arts is soon to leave its home for a new location. Over the years, the Dance School has been substantially converted, clustered around and hemmed in by other College buildings and yet there remain parts of it that still speak of the values with which it was encoded at its origins. I will focus in particular on the main studio, still a place for dance and performance (named Studio 6 in the current complex).

The first real institution of dance at Dartington was the School of Dance-Mime (1930–34), directed by Margaret Barr, an Anglo-American who had studied with Martha Graham in c.1927–28. She defined the building she wanted: a large and a small studio on slightly rising ground, the floor space of the upper, main studio to be 30 ft. x100 ft. or even longer, as it turned out to be (120 ft. x 32 ft.), to enable seating an audience; a springy pliable floor; French doors and windows on the South East side only; artificial and stage lighting; bathrooms, showers, dressing rooms; dyeing, sewing, wardrobe and store rooms.[2] The architect was Oswald Milne, an assistant to Sir Edwin Lutyens and in favour with the Elmhirsts at that time.

Whether Barr got all that she wanted is difficult to say since the original plans are missing. However, the building was documented photographically and in some detail during construction.[3] It is very unlike the neo-Georgian junior school building Milne was currently putting up on the estate. The Dance School is a simple, L-shaped building with a pitched, tiled roof. On the lower levels of the exterior walls there is rubble facing with elm boarding covering the upper levels and on the inside of the main studio, as originally opened, the metal roof girders were exposed. Perhaps this barn-like simplicity is a reflection of money constraints but the effect is that the building still sits happily within its rural environment. In its construction it actively opens out towards the countryside on the South East with French doors and windows. The roof of the lower, small studio is also an outdoor terrace reached from the ground or through the windows of the main studio. Both those original studios, and most specifically the main studio, are aligned to offer morning light and a close visual and experiential contact with the 'outdoors'. The notion of the upper floor terrace also has resonances with the high modernist, Bauhaus influenced house that was at the same time being erected on the estate, designed by William Lescaze for the headmaster of the children's boarding school.

The Dance School, opened in 1932, was not just a conception of Barr and Milne but already held within it a memory and a history. It referenced that icon of pre-World War I modernism, the Festspielhaus at

Hellerau, the centre of the Jaques-Dalcroze Institute, in its brief time there before the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. Hellerau's large, rectangular central space was conceived by the stage designer Adolphe Appia.[4] There, Mary Wigman, Suzanne Perrotet, Marie Rambert and Michio Ito, amongst others, exercised and visualised music. When I suggest that the main studio of the Dance School in the early 1930s referenced the Festspielhaus of twenty years previously, I am aware that Appia's ideas had spread very far amongst theatre reformers in the first decades of the century so the precise route of its influence on the Dance School is difficult to confirm.[5] However, influence *was* noticed in writing by two well-informed dance writers of the 1930s—John Martin and Beryl de Zoete (herself a Dalcrozian).[6] Out of all Appia's prodigious theories on theatrical space and design, put forward in his writings between 1895 and 1926, I suggest that the following resonate in the Dance School: the moving body is the basis of theatre art; lighting and three-dimensional spatial structures must get to the expressive heart of the production, not vainly attempt a replication of reality; the performance space should be a neutral environment, into which the demands of each production can be constructed and it should integrate performing and audience areas to secure the imaginative cooperation of the audience and a democratisation of the theatre experience.

In the 1912 Hellerau Summer Festival, students performed the Descent into the Underworld from Gluck's *Orpheus and Eurydice* and in the following year the full opera, set by Appia on one of his multi-level constructions with staircases. These eloquent staircase structures became quite typical of interwar era staging in theatre and modern dance. In particular, as used by the theatre director Leopold Jessner, stepped staging became known as *Jessnertreppen* (Jessner Stairs), expressionistically presenting power relations and both real and metaphorical ascent and descent.[7]

In the first two years of its life, the main studio of the Dartington Dance School doubled as a teaching and performance space and as such had things in common with the great hall at Hellerau: its flexibility; its relative neutrality; its democratisation of viewing, with no division by a proscenium arch; and experiments in three dimensional staging. In the summer 1932 performance at Dartington, the one witnessed by John Martin, the production took place on stepped staging and included a dance drama by Margaret Barr, *The People*, dealing with a revolt against capitalist exploitation and religion led by a Visionary. Another example of multi-level staging was in 1934, *Epithalamium*, Barr's dance concerning social disapproval of a love match.

I have sketched out the birth and genealogy of the Dance School but where to go from here? I could give its chronological history and some suggestions, as far as I know it, about its future, in the spirit of 'Looking Back, Moving Forward'. But this is not what I am pursuing here. It is rather that I want to explore the notion of this space as an imaginary museum and make that a proposal for dance history. My investigation has ranged over the nature of imagination in the historical process; the nature of the museum as site, and meanings that connote within buildings. I will put forward a triangulation of three thinkers who together may form a basis for further work in this area.

In my first corner is the English historian philosopher RG (Robin George) Collingwood who emphasised the constructive nature of the historical imagination. For him, it is only the historical imagination, initially navigating between fixed points of evidence, that enables the past to become "an object of our thought" which of itself requires a cycle of critical re-engagement with the original evidence.[8] The historical imagination starts from fixed points of reference and then engages in multiple possibilities that require a return to what can or cannot be implied from the always inherently ambiguous evidence.

But to attempt an understanding of imagination as an intellectual force I need something else. The French philosopher, Gaston Bachelard, presents a challenging and often obscure phenomenology of imagination and yet his writing illuminates it as a faculty that is not only essential to artistic creativity but defines humanity. It is "a major power of human nature."[9] I suggest that, in Bachelard's thesis that imagination is the faculty that takes us all beyond the immediate experience of our environment into created images and extended forms of the perceived world, there is a connection with the creativity of the historical imagination. Particularly relating to this case study, I am interested in his conception of the 'material imagination' that looks into the objects of the real world, deeply penetrating the values that reveal the human existence within. It is demonstrated in his *Poetics of Space*, as he muses upon the psychological meanings in the areas of a house. I am inspired by him to trust my imaginative faculty and allow the material environment of the Dance School to generate ideas about its past.

In my third corner is the question: but can a museum be imaginary? In part my proposal of the imaginary museum is inspired by Lydia Goehr's notion of the *'Imaginary Museum of Musical Works'*. She argued that nineteenth century musical practice and criticism rescued music from the consequences of its temporality by constructing, in respectful concert-going behaviour and a musical canon of masters, a metaphorical museum or gallery, "display[ing] the temporal art of music in the plastic terms of works of fine art."[10] We could argue that there is a difference in that, in my case, the outward shell of the building is at least real if the collection is missing, while for her the collection of musical works lives in a metaphorical storeroom (the repertoire of musical scores) from which they can be redisplayed at any time in concert performances. The similarity is in the perceived problem with the history of music and dance as arts in temporal flux. How can they be fixed in time, to allow them to become objects of historical thought? The idea of the museum has also acquired new dimensions in recent years. No longer a cabinet of curiosities, or a place of bombastic display, the museum (literally a place for the Muses), addresses significant themes, evokes memories, challenges its visitors to use material imagination to penetrate the human experience within its objects.[11]

These three theoretical strands together offer some basis of security for an historical methodology that advances the constructive nature of imagination in history. Engaging imaginatively with the built environment of the Dance School (a source of evidence, according to Collingwood; or the material world, according to Bachelard) brings the human experience of its past into view while opening up the possibilities of its future. The image of the museum provides a notional shelter for past dances while adding value to the real space with all the products of its past as well as its future potential.

The material and historical imaginations are at work not only in the real space of the main studio of the Dance School as it still exists but in preserved images and documents. Through them I have attempted to uncover the lived experience of this particular space. I am arrested by the room's volume, length and light. It is a spatial environment that has lent itself to different space /dance ideologies down the years.

From 1934 to 1940, for the Jooss-Leeder School and Ballets Jooss, the little Barn Theatre was the preferred performance venue at Dartington, so the Dance School main studio was a teaching and rehearsal space that may have given a particularly expansive manner to the daily work embodying Rudolf Laban's notions of the body in space. Those long windows on the South East bringing morning light with strong diagonals striking across the floor, at the same time seem to expand the volume. They also allow for the conversation between inside and outside: outside terraces expand the inside environment and pay homage also to Ausdruckstanz's fascination with outdoors while opening the dancers to the Devon countryside. The light striking across the floor brings the outside into the studio: light, warmth and colour.

The windows are liminal spaces in other ways: there is a fascinating ledge where one can be outside of the dance, a watcher. I have noticed it used by teachers in different eras and by dancers waiting their turn to join in. To occupy the window ledge is to place oneself outside the dance as observer, critical or otherwise.

The volume of the studio, its breadth and length, have offered a flexibility of approach to spatial organisation that speaks of changing historical contexts. In the early contemporary dance work of the College of Arts from 1965, there were regular class lines. In the 1970s, with the arrival of Mary O'Donnell Fulkerson's Release and Steve Paxton with contact improvisation, the space became an informal workshop for an exploration of body and space as individuals and in groups. The size of the studio also allowed a cycle back to what was encoded at its beginning, an inclusive space for the democratic experience between performer and viewer. In the practice of the end of the twentieth century, this became a horizontal relationship, audience and performer on the same level; audience often sitting around on the floor, being witness to experiment, improvisation and open forms.

The volume of the studio has changed over the years. Those open girders were covered by acoustic baffles and in the 1960s the main studio seemed altogether too big for teaching comfortably and was shortened but it still feels expansive. Its space calls for action.

The essence of my suggestion is that cherishing our dance spaces and our dance history can be one and the same. The historical imagination is comfortable in curating a material environment, to people it with its past dancers and re-experience them through their experience of the space. The material imagination takes pleasure in the past, present and future potential

deeply embedded in the building. Past, present and future blend in the spatial environments of our dance practices because those spaces carry within them the potential conditions of their use.[12]

As for the Dance School itself, the policy, as articulated by the Dartington Hall Trust so far, is that when the College of Arts moves in 2010, the performance spaces will be sites for new ventures in production and artist development. So, the Dance School, it seems, will move on into its ninth decade.

Acknowledgements

This presentation was illustrated with still and moving images provided by the following: Arts and Humanities Data Service, Dartington Hall Trust Archive, National Resource Centre for Dance, Warwick University.

Endnotes

1 For the history of the Elmhirsts at Dartington, see: Michael Young (1996) *The Elmhirsts of Dartington*

2 Dartington Hall Trust Archive: T Arts Dance 2, Folder A, School of Dance Mime 1, Letter from Margaret Barr, 9 Oct 1930.

3 Photographs are preserved in the Dartington Hall Trust Archive, 'Progress' series.

4 Overall architect was Heinrich Tessenow but it was necessary to meet the requirements of both Dalcroze and Appia. See: Marco De Michelis and Vicki Bilenker (1990) 'Modernity and Reform: Heinrich Tessenow and the Institut Dalcroze at Hellerau', *Perspecta*, v.26, 143–170

5 For example: Max Reinhardt, Vsevolod Meyerhold, Leopold Jessner, Terence Gray and Edward Gordon Craig, all of whom were spontaneously making their own discoveries.

6 John Martin,'The Dance: In England: The Dance Mime Project at Dartington Hall is a Model of United Effort', *New York Times*, 14 August 1932, p.X5; Beryl de Zoete, 'Dartington Hall', *[?Monthy] Musical Record*, ?1933, transcript in Dartington Hall Trust Archive: T Arts Dance 2, Folder B1.

7 Jessner's most celebrated staging was Shakespeare's *Richard III* (1920) in Berlin. Margarethe Wallmann used stepped staging for her dance production of *Orpheus Dionysos*, with Ted Shawn (Munich, 1930) and also for her productions of *The Last Judgement* in Saltzburg and Berlin (1931, 1932). In Britain there is the example of Ninette de Valois' *Job* (1931).

8 RG Collingwood (1994)'The Historical Imagination', in *The Idea of History*, p.242.

9 Gaston Bachelard (1964) *The Poetics of Space*, p.xxxiv.

10 Goehr, Lydia (1992) *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, p.286

11 See for example: Abigail Gillman (2004) 'Cultural Awakenings and Historical Forgetting: The Architecture of Memory in the Jewish Museum of Vienna and in Rachel Whiteread's "Nameless Library"', *New German Critique*, no. 93, Autumn, 145–173

12 Following the presentation of this paper, I witnessed a dance event choreographed by Rosemary Lee in the space to which I refer here (currently named Studio 6 at Dartington College of Arts). Her concept foregrounded the physical attributes of the space. Dancers surged from one end of the studio to the other, made linear friezes against the long wall, indicated and particularised points on the expanse of the floor. The dance also dealt movingly with the space as a site of memory, of dancing in time past and in time to come. Creation of the dance was part of the celebration, *Laban: Then and Now*, at Dartington, 6th – 10th July 2008.

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Reflecting on 25 years of dance history research in Cenidi-Danza

How we have tried to make the past come alive and relevant for today's dance practices in Mexico

Anadel Lynton

The 25th anniversary of the Mexico's *Centro Nacional de Investigación Documentación e Información de la Danza José Limón* (José Limón National Center for Dance Research, Documentation and Information), of which I am a founding researcher, coincides with the birth centennial of José Limón and also with the 25th anniversary of the incorporation of SDHS. Cenidi-Danza (our acronym) was founded by professional dancers of contemporary, classical and Mexican traditional dance (transformed and institutionalized into "folkloric" dance). We succeeded previously aborted efforts such as the research component of the Academia de la Danza Mexicana (founded in 1947 as part of the new National Institute of Fine Arts (1946) directed by composer Carlos Chávez), and the Mexican Dance Archives (founded in the early 90s as part of the short lived Consejo Mexicano de la Danza, a failed effort to decentralize government support for the arts). Patricia Aulestia, founder of these Archives, convinced the choreographer and arts administrator Guillermo Arriaga, then National Dance Coordinator of the National Institute of Fine Arts, to offer us a room and some book shelves near his office where we could recuperate the Archives's file cabinets and what was left of their contents from the hallways. Our intention from the start was to try to serve the needs of the field of dance by promoting the integration of theory and practice in academic education and professional and non-professional performance. Since then, we have grown from three people (Patricia, I and a secretary) to 24 researchers and documentalists and around seven administrative employees. Over the years, we have organized numerous events, encounters, discussions, conferences, colloquiums, performances, workshops, Diploma courses, awards ceremonies, and presentations of our extensive publications. All of these actions sought to interact with and serve dance practices through offering innovative activities to those interested. Participants came from the many conservatory style professional dance schools, both public and private, affiliated with federal and state institutions, independent dance companies, and under private auspices, as well as from dance companies. Diploma courses in dance history, movement notation and analysis, research, education for creativity and choreography for alternative sites, manage to detour around complicated accreditation procedures for educational institutions and make it easier for us to combine theory and practice in areas not yet well represented in the usual professional curriculum.

A dance history course I recently taught for dancers, choreographers and teachers from the central states of Mexico, can serve as an example. Students combined documentary research with oral history by interviewing each other about their personal histories in dance as well as the regional history of dance in their localities. The students made a final presentation which combined written, oral and visual presentations and participatory movement experiences that reflected characteristics of the individuals or companies studied (local, national and international).

The first presentation of our Center and its projects outside the US was at the 1984 SDHS conference at Goucher College in Maryland. When we found out about this meeting, we ingenuously thought that it might be a good place to debut our center internationally and make contacts for future collaborations. To support our presence in this conference, I submitted a proposal on 20th century Mexican dance history and Cenidi founders Patricia Aulestia and Guillermo Arriaga, accompanied me. Also present was prolific dance writer Alberto Dallal from the National University. I don't know if anyone still recalls the exhibit on Mexican dance we organized with photos, programs and posters. We also edited a special book on the history of Mexican dance written by one of Mexico's most revered playwrights, Emilio Carballido (recently deceased), with versions in English, French and Spanish and many illustrations. We planned to sell it very inexpensively, to try to recuperate some of the cost. We hoped to stimulate

international interest about the long and varied history of Mexican traditional, popular, classical and modern dance. Maybe, we thought, if dance historians and other academics knew more, they might be interested in Mexico's modern dance movement dating from the twenties, or the touring theatrical and dance companies that visited Mexico (and sometimes stayed or left teachers and choreographers behind) from the 18th century on. However, we knew little about the academic field of dance studies in the US. People at the conference told us that libraries might order the book if dance teachers recommended it for student reading (which has never happened). We lacked the commercial structure for a long term ordering process. Disappointed, we took most of our books back to Mexico. We initially concluded that SDHS scholars had little interest in historical and contemporary Mexican theatrical dance. To this day, university dance professors who sometimes visit Mexico to teach continue to be surprised to "discover" our over 90 some years of history in local versions of modern dance (pre and post the 1939 debuts of companies directed by our "mothers of modern dance" Anna Sokolow and Waldeen). It is often assumed that most Latino dance is or should be traditional and popular or derivative of recent dance trends from Europe and the US. On the other hand, Iro Tenbeck discovered that Mexican dancer Hugo Romero was an important pioneer in introducing modern dance to Montreal.

Fortunately, over these 25 years we have made more contacts and, perhaps Mexican dance has begun to be slightly better known in the rest of the world. Some people told us that as dance academics we needed to create "images" to place Mexican dance in a certain context that might help produce a "market" for our dance. But so far, in spite of some opportunities over the years, "branding" has only been achieved for stereotypical folklore ballets.

Two days ago (June 12th, 2008) the NY Times lead article in the Arts section was about the economics and demographics of artists. According to the census data they cited, dancers had the youngest median age (26), the lowest median income (20,000), the highest proportion of minorities, -soon to be majorities-(40%) and the highest proportion of women. Mexican census data does not include dancers as such. Many may have been included in the census as teachers.

Dancers in Mexico too are concerned about their status, in prestige and in income, particularly when compared with other artists such as writers, actors, visual artists, and musicians. This is definitely correlated with gender and age, and above all, with associations about the body as primitive, non cognitive, and requiring censorship. Our professional schools have been among the last of the art institutions to offer academic degrees, we still have no graduate studies in dance, and graduates of our professional dance schools have very limited employment possibilities. In spite of all this, there seems to be more and more dancers out there in large and middle sized cities. More people, of all ages and conditions, can be seen dancing everywhere, in all styles: danzón, swing, Aztec and Mexica dance, hip hop capoeira, surf and slam, African and Arabic, classical Indian, tantric and Tibetan, in wheel chairs, blind and deaf, third age, everyone appears to be dancing. How to keep up with it, how to understand it and how to help keep spaces open for it, is challenging

To what degree have we been able propitiate a fruitful interaction between research and the activities of both the professional arena and dance as a vital life activity?

We have been trying to do research in the service of those being researched and particularly self research (that carried out by those interested in conserving their memories and improving their practices, often classified as action research, reflective ethnography or emic research, from the inside. Traditionally however, visual arts investigation, which has served as a model for the research carried out in the National Institute of Fine Arts to which we belong, is carried out by art historians who have never touched a paint brush or a spray can. When Cenidi-Danza was founded the people from the other research centers thought we were strange because we were dancers. When we moved to the National Center for the Arts, they couldn't understand why we wanted a room where people could dance as part of our space. They didn't comprehend that studying movement in the present, in space and time by live bodies, would be one of our activities. Bodies? ¿Cómo? (What?). It sounded a little dangerous, or even subversive or sensual.

When the Academy of Mexican Dance was founded (1947), it was assumed that the dancers, composers and stage designers would do field work in order to base their contemporary productions on the multiple rural and urban cultures of the country. Some tried but they didn't have enough preparation in methodology nor the skills to report and analyze their findings. Their perceptions of reality were more intuitive and personal. Miguel Covarrubias during his

period at National Dance Director in the early 50s tried again to have research as part of the artistic process, this time by having choreographers work closely with outstanding writers, composers and visual artists as well as with dance informants from indigenous communities. Since the Mexican Revolution (1910-21), dance, along with the other arts, was very concerned with identity and historical and political themes. Artists sought to bring their arts to "the people" by dancing in plazas and streets, and by bringing union workers to the Palace of Fine Arts as audiences. Free classes were offered "to the people" on the weekends in all sorts of smaller towns.

By the 1970s this "populist" impulse had been largely replaced by more sophisticated and abstract performances in tights and leotards, with electroacustic music, or by ballet and academic folklore productions appreciated by everyone. The audiences for many new contemporary dance companies became smaller and sometimes reduced to friends and family. Could this be explained by the vanguardist intentions or the lack of concern for communication with "ordinary" people?

By the time Cenidi-Danza was founded, in 1983, professional dance had less government support, at the same time as a new generation of choreographers and dancers were founding myriad independent companies and looking for work. Some felt attracted again to local or Latin American dance vocabularies and themes, and to performing in alternative spaces, especially since access to theaters was limited. The major earthquake of 1985 give further impetu to this tendency (a theme which I addressed at a Minneapolis SDHS conference where, paired with Iro Tenbeck, at the one of the opening sessions, we spoke to an audience of only each other, the moderator and the technician. The paper was published in the Proceedings as *Aftershocks of an earthquake: Mexican dance takes to the streets*. Iro explained the lack of audience to the fact that we were both from countries other than the US. Perhaps it could also be due to the fact that our panel was programmed at 8:30 in the morning on the first day of the conference).

As Cenidi-dancers, we knew we had little experience in scientific research and in writing about dance, but we earnestly believed that seeking information would help us understand and then improve dance's status and service to the world. We wanted to enrich our multiple practices by forming an archive that could make the "facts" available (programs, manifestos, photos, newspaper clippings, surveys, interviews, oral histories) and contacts (who was doing what, where and when). We began with an empirical diagnosis of what was needed and worked to create lines of research on the topics we believed to be most urgent. Soon, other colleagues who had worked for the Institute of Fine Arts as company and school directors and teachers, joined us. Our first action was to organize events to address these "important" subjects and gather information and ideas, see who else was interested and try to get together. Our first colloquium was on dance and medicine, followed by twice a year encounters all over the country on dance research, and several international encounters (the first in the spectacular National Anthropology Museum just a few weeks after the big quake. We organized courses on themes not covered in the professional school's curricula and special vacation period intensives in body consciousness, movement analysis, improvisation, research methods for different dance styles, and many other topics. We published a *Buletín Informativo* and a long series of 34 *Cuadernos*. Unfortunately, these publications and other programs were suspended after a number of years, due to lack of funds. One of the problems with working within a government institution is that the people with power change with every presidential period. They usually try to distinguish themselves by **not** continuing the work of their predecessors as they invent new programs for smaller budgets. Years later, we reinitiated many of our programs with other names: Diploma courses, banquets with the schools where they chose a researcher to dialogue with, Dialogues of Perceptions which I do using a variation of Liz Lerman's critical response method (performers present work and then dialogue with the public following a specific series of procedures), free ranging conversations among specialists, seminars, and conferences, encounters and expositions, among others. Most of these activities and our many publications are listed on the web sites of Cenidi-Danza (*Centro Nacional de Investigación, Documentación e Información de la Danza José Limón* of the *Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes* (gob.mx) and the *Centro Nacional de las Artes* (conaculta.gob.mx) web sites, as well as the special site for our Centenial and 25th Anniversary celebration.

We now have a younger generation of dancers many of whom have studied university careers and are interested in promoting intellectual discussion on theory and practice in dance. In 2007 they organized as *Danzateórica,* and got support from the *Programa de Fomento a Proyectos y Coinversiones Culturales* of

the *Fondo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes* and from the *Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Ciencias y Humanidades* of the National University to organize an important academic encounter they called “To gaze from within and from without, contemporary approximations to dance”.

I feel that we have accomplished a great deal although it is not always readily acknowledged and few of our publications have become part of the curriculum at professional schools. However, we have not changed the world, not even the dance world and not really even the professional schools in our institution, at least not very much. The fine arts conservatory model prevails. Dancers are mostly educated orally, read little, write less, and critical analysis, historical contextualization and the applications of theory are not emphasized in their training. Many dancers even ignore the role their teachers have played in the profession, or the repertories of the previous years’ performances. This, in spite of the fact that many of our dancers, choreographers, and teachers have worked or still do, with important companies all over the world, from Australia and Hong Kong, to Germany, New York and Canada. Mexico exports dancers, along with many other kinds of intellectual and manual workers.

So sometimes it seems that our research and actions haven’t had the effect on the field that we had hoped for.

The advantage of belonging to a research center that is independent from the professional

schools and companies it that it gives us greater

freedom. This is very important to us as it permits us to address innovative, even controversial themes in our writings, courses and seminars. Cenidi researchers have been preparing ourselves with studies in other fields, as have many young dancers, and history, anthropology, sociology, political science, literature, philosophy, psychology, biology, physical education, pedagogy, and other disciplines have been stud ied by our researchers and students. We, along with the researchers in other arts with whom we share an eleven story purple tower in the National Center for the Arts, are very committed to inter, and transdisciplinarity.

Feminist, revolutionary and decolonized thinking have shown us the importance of the situated gaze. Who looks and from where do they look to see (or to not see), and to do research and emit opinions on the dances and actions of “others”? We have tried to embody those “others” by looking at our own practices, to perceive our own needs and interests, not just those of the politicians, administrators, producers and academics. I believe that we need to apply this perception to the presentation itself of our research conclusions in the sense of finding a variety of ways to communicate with our perceived audiences of dancers, dance teachers and dance students, aspiring dancers among the general population and possible reflective audiences for dance. To my way of thinking this could involve programs similar to those my dance history students presented that included oral history, images and analysis of dance works and teaching methods, and participation in movement experiences. Another possibility is to reevaluate and reinitiate the program I proposed in our early years, *Una vida en la danza* (A life in dance) where the contributions of individuals and groups were documented, published and presented at an awards ceremony. This program covered generations of people now in their late fifties, sixties and older. The generations of younger dance specialists have not been interviewed for the audio Archives of the Word at Cenidi nor documented. Another possibility I see is that protagonists of significant dance experiences present their view points in live presentations where images of performances and daily life in the studios can also be shared. Many of these people are excellent communicators and an inspiration to the other dancers and audiences, particularly of the

younger generations. This idea is similar to the most agreeable and stimulating talk that often became a dialogue with her husband as well, that Betty Jones gave at the National Center for the Arts where she spoke spontaneously as she projected images of her work with José Limón. Another important program we have been beginning to implement is the showing of videos of Mexican choreographers of the post video generations (the works of older choreographers have rarely been filmed) to analyze and discuss them with the participation of the choreographer or some of his or her dancers, when possible, at the dance schools and in our center.

Another project which is currently being put into practice involves contacts with the dance communities of other Latin American countries (*Nuestra América* as José Martí named this region). We included a special encounter of Latin American performers, researchers and critics at our 25th anniversary celebration. Unfortunately, due to communications, grants and costs, it has usually been easier to travel to the US, Canada and Europe to perform or study, than to

another Latina American country, thus producing the typical center-periphery situation where we are more familiar with what is going on in dance in the metropolitan countries than with our peers in Latin America. As part of an initiative of the Latin American Dance Network and to meet the needs of present day dance in Mexico, we are also preparing a proposal for postgraduate studies that combine online study with two week annual reunions with flexible programs to meet the needs of dance professionals in Mexico and other Latin American counties and to emphasize research on education, choreography, reception and criticism, and dance and the sciences and humanities.

At the 2008 SDHS conference the dichotomies in the approaches to the study of dance as art and dance as culture were pointed out, as each have their disciplinary backgrounds in different histories, methods and kind of publications. It would seem that Western dance or perhaps more accurately, the dance produced in major metropolitan countries, has been studied as art, where as dance is studied as culture in non Western countries, among non dominant groups. I believe that in Cenidi-Danza we are firmly committed to studying dance as both art and culture. In fact, dance is always both, as esthetic and symbolic meanings are embedded in the social practices of dance by professionals and ordinary

people like those with whom I have often worked in projects and workshops relating to creating their own dances as well as with dancers interested in working with the creativity of ordinary people. At the end of this paper, I have included a list of some texts on Mexican dance, mostly published by Cenidi-Danza.

And so, with many other projects being carried out in the present or still as plans for the future, we continue to work toward increasing the interaction between theory and practice, engaging our own practices with action research and weaving together research, creation, and critical thinking.

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Throwing Myself Back to That Time: Dancing in the Archive

Tresa Randall

This paper is located in a rather obscure corner in the academy, where practice-based dance curriculum meets the "archival turn" in humanities scholarship. Specifically, I explore how young dancers experience dance history through immersion in an archive, and question what their observations, recorded in their own words, might reveal about the construction and embodiment of knowledge in dance history. Is dance only the subject of dance history, or can it inform our methods?

When I brought a group of undergraduate dance students to the Special Collections room recently, the librarian quipped, "I love it when the dancers come because they all sit on the floor."[1] She appreciates their committed, sensory engagement with the materials. Historians and archivists might consider my pedagogical approach a bit subversive, since I essentially advocate setting young dance students loose in the archive with very little preparation in historical research methods. As I describe, though, this approach yields satisfying results. Further, I propose that dancers' sensory, intuitive, and creative reactions to archival material reveal parallels between the dance studio and the archive. Both, I argue, are potential spaces where dance can be imagined and enacted. In the archive, we can find not only dance; we also find dancing.

I am fortunate that my institution, Ohio University, houses the Alwin Nikolais/Murray Louis Dance Collection, an extensive repository of archival materials on these two artists. This manuscript collection, which measures over 400 cubic feet, includes films, videos, programs, photographs, posters, reviews, administrative records, notated scores, costume designs, sound recordings, professional notebooks, and unpublished manuscripts, spanning eight decades.[2] I make use of this resource in several courses I teach to undergraduate BFA students in Ohio University's School of Dance.

Many of our students are intent on professional careers as performers and choreographers, so although our pre-professional program is located within a liberal arts environment, most of them do not have a strong educational background in, or interest in, the humanities. As a result, one of my challenges in teaching dance history has been to inspire them to connect their physical and creative dance practices in the studio and on stage to larger historical and cultural discourses. My students often come into dance history courses with a very static, old-fashioned notion of what history is: timelines, names, and dates that they must memorize and then forget as soon as the term ends. In an attempt to overturn their assumptions, I have experimented with a number of active learning projects, including research projects that use the archive.

These projects include two very different kinds of assignments. The first, for first-year dance majors, is exploratory. Each student chooses one year in the history of the Nikolais Dance Theatre or the Murray Louis Dance Company, and investigates the remaining traces available in the archive. As they explore the materials, I ask them to imagine what it would have been like to be a dancer in the company at that time. From that imaginative exercise, they write a fictional account of a day in the life of a dancer in that company.[3] The other assignment, for upper-class dance majors, is a more traditional research project, in which they select a research question and write a historical narrative on their selected topic. I direct them toward research topics that are relevant to the Nikolais/Louis archive, and give them assistance in delimiting their scope, but ultimately they choose their own topics and questions.

As I observed my students' responses to these projects, I noticed distinct connections among their dance training and the kinds of questions and analytical skills they brought to the archive. Out of curiosity, I asked them to reflect on and write about their experience at the end of the term. These texts have provided raw material for this study. The first part of my title—"throwing myself back to that time"—comes from one of these phenomenological texts.[4]

I believe that the themes that emerged through these texts not only illuminate young dance students' perspectives, but also reveal some particularities about a dance-based approach to the archive. In order to clearly position the following discussion, I'd like to clarify that I am describing undergraduate students trained primarily in modern dance, doing historical research in an archive that holds the papers of two

modern dance choreographer-educators. I recognize that this creates a bias towards mid- to late-20th century modern dance concepts, which may limit the relevance of my analysis to larger discourses in dance history.

Several themes in my students' responses speak to the unique nature of archival research, and a young person's first experience of it. My students expressed a sense of amazement at the volume of materials in the collection, and confusion about the unfamiliar ways in which they were organized. They felt overwhelmed by the materials, and spoke the potential of "losing themselves" in them. The tasks of sorting through various documents, selecting sources, and making sense of them were challenging.

Despite these challenges, though, they liked the immediacy of this experience. One said, "I was able to get a better grasp on dance history because I wasn't just reading out of [a] book, I was sorting through real history." Another noted, "I definitely prefer the archive research over a textbook, it's like taking out the middle man." They felt more directly in touch with the past.

My students commented on the special nature of the experience. They enjoyed being able to see something unique, something that not everyone could see. In their eyes, this gave it value. They also enjoyed taking on a historian's persona. One remarked, "My favorite part of the experience was putting on the white gloves and thumbing through all of the photos." This was a specialized, and therefore a special, activity.

Other themes in my students' responses were, I believe, more specific to their training, interests, and self-identities as dancers. Young dancers come from what I'd like to call a *place of embodied actuality*. They are highly invested in their own physicality as dancers, which can dominate their self-identity, time, and attention. They are also concerned about the realities of life as a dancer, worried about their futures, and enthralled by stories of the professional dance world. I propose that this orients their work in the archive in particular ways. They crave and seek evidence of tangible realities. My students wanted to investigate the material conditions of past dancers' experiences; they were interested in where the Nikolais and Louis companies went at a particular time, how much dancers were paid, exactly which dances they performed, what costumes they wore, and so on. Knowing how much any performance is collaborative, they were frustrated by the difficulty of tracking down the voices of Nikolais' and Louis' dancers. They wondered what effect the dancers may have had on the creation of work.

My students' embodied actuality also enabled them to imaginatively project themselves into the past. They spoke of putting themselves in someone else's place in time, of being thrown back to another time and space, and of being pushed to trust their creative inferences. They displayed empathic responses to the historical information before them. One student remarked, "It was mind boggling to me how these dancers kept healthy and well throughout the entire year, without wearing their bodies out." They entered into a direct engagement with an imagined other, perceivable to them through traces from the past.

I suggest that this is what young dancers already know how to do from their dance training. They have learned how to negotiate time, space, bodies, self, others, intention, action, and media—and to engage with these concepts on abstract, physical, and inter-personal levels. They have learned how to pay attention to body language. They have sensory responses to design and composition. While the process of physically touching sources, and of accessing unmediated sources, gives any researcher in the archive a sense of proximity and intimacy to a real past, dancers are well-trained to do something tangible with those sensory experiences.

A number of my students made comparisons between choreography and research. One student noted, "I think my training in dance helped my ability to sift through the 'evidence' of my project. Editing in choreography is like editing in research- discovering what the most important elements or themes of the project to build upon and keep in the project." Similarly, dance scholars Sue Stinson, Penelope Hanstein, Alexandra Carter, and others have articulated analogies between writing and dance-making, or what Stinson calls "research as choreography."[5]

Both dance-making and historical inquiry make the invisible visible. Dance-making creates movement out of stillness. Historical inquiry conjures up the past after its disappearance. Performance theorist Peggy Phelan proposes that in writing history, one engages in a restaging of the disappeared.[6] Both processes speak for those who are unable to speak for themselves (dancing bodies or historical documents). Just as choreographers *realize* dances, historians *realize* history. They put it into form, em-body it.

It might seem counter-intuitive to go to the heart of professional historical practice—in other words, to the archive—in an attempt to engage young dancers who are aching to get back into the studio. But I believe it works because it gives them an opportunity to apply knowledge they already have. Rather than exploring, analyzing, and selecting movement material, they explore, analyze and select primary source material. Both activities require active participation, creativity, and critical thinking; both place a premium on practice.

Further, this approach yields distinct pedagogical benefits. By interacting directly with primary sources, students discover that history is not fixed. With guidance, they realize that they must question their sources, read one source with or against another, select which sources to use, consider how to use them, and so on. I teach them fundamental source criticism skills, and encourage a healthy skepticism about facts. I emphasize that primary sources are traces of the past, created for a specific purpose (often for a purpose quite different from the historian's), and I demonstrate how to analyze sources' perspective, audience, content, reliability, and testimony. Through this process, students learn to think historically: the unmediated nature of archival material requires them to think critically to make some kind of sense of the disparate traces of the past.

In some ways, working in the archive is diametrically opposed to dancing. Susan Foster reflects on archival research as a physical endeavor: "It requires a high tolerance for sitting and for reading, for moving slowly and quietly among other bodies who likewise sit patiently, staring alternately at the archival evidence and the fantasies it generates. This physical practice cramps fingers, spawns sneezes and squinting."[7] Similarly, cultural historian Carolyn Steedman muses on the real physical effects of working in the archive, sitting "hunched over a list of names . . . in pursuit of one of the lost ones."[8] She considers the potential actual effects of "dust," including the danger of anthrax carried in the dust of those bundles in the archive, thereby offering a very different reading of Derrida's phrase "archive fever."[9] According to these descriptions, archives are hard on the body.

The physical experience of the archive is clearly not conducive to dancing. But historians must imagine how the dead (or absent) bodies of the historical actors under examination may have moved, felt, and acted. Foster describes the kinds of questions of embodiment historians must ask in the archive:

> What must it have felt like to move among those things, in those patterns, desiring those proficiencies, being beheld from those vantage points? Moving or being moved by those other bodies? A historian's body wants to inhabit these vanished bodies for specific reasons. It wants to know where it stands, how it came to stand there, what its options for moving might be. It wants those dead bodies to lend a hand in deciphering its own present predicaments and in staging some future possibilities.[10]

My students intuitively knew how to inhabit those vanished bodies; it was almost like learning someone else's dance. They paid attention to materiality, to the parameters that shaped the potential dancing—to what those bodies wore, where they went, which movements they performed. And they enjoyed this process, being "thrown back to that time."

This paper is only a preliminary, and admittedly anecdotal, exploration of dancing in the archive. However, I would like to propose a few of the ways that my students' responses can instruct us about the nature of dance history as a disciplinary endeavor.

Dancers are certainly not the only historians to recognize the importance of movement in historical meaning-making. Thomas Postlewait proposes that we cannot fully comprehend the past because it is, in a sense, fixed; it has already happened: "Only by moving around, shifting our perspectives, can we see the heterogeneous aspects of it." This moving – this dancing – "organizes the landscape of our personal and collective memories."[11] It is not only dancers who dance in the archive.

Nevertheless, my students' words can serve as a reminder of the very practical, physical, sensory nature of archival research, which is at the heart of any historiography. Carolyn Steedman, after Bachelard, refers to the archive as "the counting house of dreams."[12] It is an almost sacred place where the historian accounts for the past through physical exploration (opening the dusty bundles, thumbing through documents – looking, seeing, hearing, feeling, sensing), proposing questions, problem-solving, and imagination. In this way, it is very similar to a dance studio.

My students' research questions also highlighted areas that have been underrepresented in dance history. They wanted to explore audience response, the material conditions of professional dancers, and the nature of collaboration in the creative process. Their interests exceeded the traditional canon, and implicitly question how certain kinds of knowledge have been privileged by dance history.[13]

So to return to my initial question, is dance only the subject of dance history, or can it inform our methods? As I have argued, the archive, like the dance studio, is a potential space where dance can be imagined and enacted. I believe that dance can inform our methods by reminding us to use our senses, to creatively explore time and space, to pay attention to embodiment and materiality, and to value collaboration. It is a reminder of the importance of being willing to "throw yourself back to that time." In this way, my young dance students offer a variation on the conference theme, "Looking Back, Moving Forwards." They are oriented so forcefully on moving forwards—the faster the better—that it sometimes seems literally painful when I ask them to look back, just for a moment, at the past. Going "back there" could only be achieved through force. But perhaps their (reluctant) dynamic dancing in the archive reveals some possible futures for our discipline.

Endnotes

[1] Many thanks to Judith Connick, Manuscript Librarian, Special Collections, Alden Library, for her expert knowledge of the Nikolais/Louis Collection, and her enthusiasm about dancing in the archive.

[2] For more information, see "The Alwin Nikolais and Murray Louis Dance Collection at Ohio University": www.library.ohiou.edu/archives/dance/.

[3] The idea to assign a "fictional account" was inspired, in part, by Alexandra Carter's article, "Interacting with History: Reflections on Philosophy and the Pedagogy of Dance History," *Research in Dance Education* 5, no. 2 (Dec. 2004): 120-121.

[4] The way I use my students' phenomenological texts in this paper was encouraged by my study with Karen E. Bond, whose research methodology respects and celebrates lived experience reflection and the voices of young people. For an example of phenomenological inquiry in dance, see Karen E. Bond and Susan W. Stinson, "'I Feel Like I'm Going to Take Off!': Young People's Experiences of the Superordinary in Dance," *Dance Research Journal* 32, no. 2 (Winter 2000-2001) 52-87.

[5] Alexandra Carter, "Practising Dance History: Reflections on the Shared Processes of Dance Historians and Dance Makers," Society of Dance History Scholars Proceedings (2007): Re-Thinking Practice and Theory; International Symposium on Dance Research, Paris, France, p. 126; Penelope Hanstein, "From Idea to Research Proposal: Balancing the Systematic and Serendipitous," *Researching Dance: Evolving Modes of Inquiry*, ed. Sondra Horton Fraleigh and Penelope Hanstein (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1999) 23-24; Susan W. Stinson, "Research as Choreography," *Research in Dance Education* 7, no. 2 (Dec. 2006): 201-209.

[6] Peggy Phelan, "Thirteen Ways of Looking at *Choreographing Writing*," *Choreographing History*, ed. Susan Leigh Foster (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995) 205.

[7] Susan Leigh Foster, "Choreographing History," *Choreographing History*, ed. Susan Leigh Foster (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995) 6.

[8] Carolyn Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002) xi.

[9] Ibid, 25.

[10] Foster, "Choreographing History," 6.

[11] Thomas Postlewait, "History, Hermeneutics, and Narrativity," *Critical Theory and Performance*, ed. Janelle G. Reinelt and Joseph R. Roach (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992) 365.

[12] Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History*, 80.

[13] Alexandra Carter has noted that the working lives of performers is still an underexplored area of dance history. Like my students, she asserts, "The glamour of the ballerina is fascinating, but so too is the question 'how much did she get paid?'" (Alexandra Carter, "Destabilising the Discipline: Critical Debates about History and their Impact on the Study of Dance," *Rethinking Dance History: A Reader*, ed. Alexandra Carter (London and New York: Routledge, 2004) 16.)

Looking backwards in order to move forwards in an analysis of Pina Bausch's *Bluebeard*

Sophia Preston

A detailed structural analysis of Pina Bausch's 1977 work *Bluebeard: on listening to a tape recording of Béla Bartók's opera "Duke Bluebeard's Castle"* reveals a multi-layered structure to the dance. The way the central character "continually rewinds the tape, chopping the music up and dismembering it" (Schmidt 1983 p83) provides perhaps the most obvious structure to the dance and one which carries readily identifiable meanings. The dance also retains something of the opera's original structure since Bausch never changes the order of the score and effects only minor cuts. Many of the movements described in the opera's stage directions appear in the choreography, establishing both another connection between the two works and a structural interplay derived from the way in which these stage directions and movements appear at different moments in the opera and dance. Superimposed upon, or underpinning, these layers is another "mirror" structure in which crucial moments of the first half of the dance reappear in the second half in reverse order and/or with "reversed gender". Thus, as the dance continues to progress forwards through the narrative, it also moves backwards through the original order of events.

In order to identify detailed internal structures of the work I have, of course, myself looked back to an analytical methodology of some thirty years ago. This methodology, called variously "close reading", "new criticism" or "structural analysis", was employed by (amongst others) Professor Wilfrid Mellers, the Head of Department when I was taking my first degree in music at the University of York (England) at the end of the 1970s.[1] Professor Mellers died last month (May 16th 2008) and I would like to dedicate this paper to his memory with thanks for the many inspiring lectures he gave, all of which encouraged us to gain a greater understanding of the music we were listening to through detailed structural analysis leading to the construction of meanings, expressed in increasingly poetic (some might say flowery, but I always found to be highly expressive) language.

In using an analytical strategy of the 1970s, I do have the excuse, or reason, that I am looking at a piece of the 1970s; but actually this is not, or not the only, reason that I am using it. Although Wilfrid Mellers is famous for having applied the same analytical methodologies to contemporary popular music in the 1970s, writing books on the Beatles as well as on Bach and Beethoven, he was for the most part considering music that was at least decades, and often centuries, old. Bausch, on the other hand, was (certainly by 1980 and, to a lesser extent, in her works of the mid-1970s) incorporating postmodern strategies into her *tanztheater*. In many of her pieces, there are elements of self-reflexivity and radical juxtaposition that foreground the social construction of both gender and identity, in a way that Bach and the Beatles just don't. I do, therefore also employ all sorts of poststructuralist strategies when reading Bausch – in fact when watching anything. I am bound to, I live in a postmodern age, but I also revert to Professor Mellers's reading strategy when I am experiencing almost anything (dance, film, life) so long as I find it an appropriate strategy, so long as it takes me forward in my understanding.

One of the reasons I am making an argument for the continued validity of a structural analysis, is that I think it is something that we all do – it is part of the "matching" that Acocella (2001) feels we are all "hard-wired" to do. By making a close reading of a work (which of course necessitates allowing there to be a 'work' to be read) I am able to expose details in that matching and in what I persist in calling "deeper structures" within the work (*pace* Barthes) which I only appreciated in a generalised way, as an undercurrent, in early viewings of the dance. I am convinced, however, that these deeper structures did have some impact and meaning – were significant to me – even on first viewing.

I first saw Bausch's *Bluebeard* on a small-screen TV, lying on the floor of a friend's sitting room and the fact that we were both slowly drawn in to this lengthy work until we were profoundly moved by the end, was due at least in part to our (shared and privileged) background. As young middle-class women in England in the mid 1980s, we not only knew a number of versions of the folk-tale well (having read them repeatedly in childhood) but we were also both reasonably familiar with Bartók's opera, at least aurally if not visually. It is clear that Bausch felt that it was important that the audience

does know what is going on in the opera, since she not only uses the German language version (rather than the Hungarian original) but also arranged to have English subtitles for particular moments shown on the British TV broadcast.

The folk-tale of Bluebeard is found in many versions in collections from France, Germany and Britain and has had many modern retellings in plays, operas, novels and short stories. The versions are so varied that they could be said to share more a set of family resemblances than one of defining characteristics, but these generally include: previous dead wives; a key to a door the heroine must not open, but does, secretly, in her husband's absence; the last minute saving of the heroine and destruction of Bluebeard by another man, or men (usually her brothers) and a lot of blood.

Balázs's libretto for Bartók's opera has almost none of these elements (apart from the blood) while still being identifiably drawn from the same story. Perhaps the most important difference is that Bluebeard is present throughout the drama, trying to dissuade his new young wife, Judith, firstly from even entering the castle and then from opening any of the seven locked doors she sees in the castle's dark hall. In Bausch's treatment of the opera, we see a set that looks like the leftovers of a baronial hall when all the furniture and fittings have been removed, leaving just traces and marks where they used to be on the walls.[2] The floor is covered with dried leaves suggesting desiccation rather than decay and the only furniture is a plain wooden chair on which a man (dressed in a heavy overcoat, but with bare feet) is sitting at a tape-recorder which turns out to be on a moveable trolley. A woman in a deep pink dress is lying on the floor on her back, her arms bent with the lower arms held straight up, hands open as if waiting to receive something or about to clap her hands. I call these two protagonists B and J, since their movements are so often synchronised with the voices of Bluebeard and Judith, the only two vocal roles of the opera.

B walks slowly to J and, after some hesitation, sinks down to lie in a foetal position with his head on her chest. She, with some difficulty, drags him backwards along the floor. After a few seconds, B gets up and walks to the tape machine which he switches on. We hear the opening deep descending notes of Bartók's opera as B walks back to J and dives down again. She obediently drags him along again, her whole body sweeping from side to side and her legs scrabbling for purchase against his weight. Suddenly B gets up, goes over to the machine and rewinds the tape to near the beginning and starts the whole sequence again. This happens twice more but on the next repeat B lies on his back on top of J and hangs there limply while she drags him again. Having changed to this new position, B seems able to leave the tape running for longer, but as soon as a voice is heard, he again leaps up to switch it off and rewind it for a shorter time.

At this point my friend Jenny turned to me and said "I'm sorry Sophy, but I may not be able to stand this!" I was a bit worried (it was her TV) but encouraged her to stick with it. What neither of us had noticed, and I only remarked when I made an in-depth analysis of the dance, was that the man is leaping up and stopping the tape when a minor second (two notes a semi-tone, or half-step, apart) are heard played by high wind instruments in the orchestra. What nobody knows at this stage on first hearing the opera, is that this interval is going to be heard every time blood is noticed behind each door and even oozing out of the walls of the castle itself. B, from the start, is apparently trying to stop J in her determined progress through the piece, just as Bluebeard repeatedly tries to prevent Judith from opening all the doors and thus breaking down the barricades he has set up against his darkest secrets being revealed. It is only when B has taken up the same position that J has relative to him at the end of the work (when she is dead) that he allows the music to continue through the blood motif. This is just one of many clues that B has worked his way through the opera before, many times, and that the whole process and narrative have a circular inevitability.

B is the only person onstage who can operate the tape-player and one level of the structure Bausch builds up through the dance continues to be determined by just when he switches the tape off, repeats sections or is persuaded by Judith to turn it on again. For instance, there is a crucial moment in the opera after Bluebeard has very reluctantly let Judith open the first door only to reveal a torture chamber. Bluebeard sings on a rising F# - C: "Are you afraid?" Leafstedt (1999) identifies these two notes as underpinning the opera and they form an augmented fourth or (as Prof. Mellers would definitely have mentioned) what has been known since medieval times as "the devil's tri-tone" or "devil's interval". Judith simply repeats her demand for the keys to all the doors and Bluebeard almost shouts in angry frustration: "Tell me why you want to Judith!" In the opera Judith replies with what Paul Griffiths (1984 p64) calls: "the simple answer and the awful truth" – "Because I love you". Before we can hear this, however, Bausch has B hastily turn off the tape. J, who has fled up stage and is visibly shaking with fear, has to shout out the line instead (in German) "*Weil ich Dich liebe*!" Since the "awful

truth" is out, B turns on the tape and we hear Judith's almost agonised, yet beautiful, soaring vocalisation of the line.

Much earlier in the dance – in fact after the first time B has left the tape to play for any length – Judith is singing that if Bluebeard does not let her enter the castle she will simply lie down and perish on his "icy threshold". We see J echo the stage direction that Judith has "her hands pressed to her breast." She then leans back into B's outstretched arms only to find that he does not catch her, but leaves her to fall backwards to the floor. She immediately gets up and repeats the lean backwards and the fall, again and again, with B standing, arms out all the while but stupidly immobile. It seems to me that Bausch is at one and the same time giving a straightforward physical rendition of the "lying down and dying" while also exposing the way that Judith is gaining control of events even as she places herself in the role of victim. If Bluebeard does not let her in, if B does not catch her, she will simply go on and on falling. It is only when Bluebeard is heard singing: "Let the castle door be shut behind us" (which also appears as a subtitle on the TV screen) that B catches J and leads her back to the tape recorder, where he again stops the tape.

At this point Bausch makes the greatest departure from the opera in that she has nine more couples enter the stage, in a long, slowly shuffling, line, hands linked. The men are wearing suits and the women long dresses in single colours but with lace and flounces somewhat in keeping with the period in which the opera was written (1911). J goes to one woman after another (and on one occasion to a man) and pulls them out of the line, forcing their heads up to face B and pushing their hair back from their faces. As soon as she leaves each one, however, the head drops down forward again and each woman takes off her top dress to reveal a plain under-dress like Judith's own, underneath.

Some six minutes later (18 minutes into Bausch's work) B has again run to the tape player to switch it off as soon as a high oboe is heard heralding Judith's first awareness of the seven locked doors. As B stands as though immobile for as long as the tape is off, one woman slowly draws herself to her feet, considers the man sitting slumped against the wall next to her, leans down, takes hold of one his legs and pulls so hard that she pulls him away from the wall. His only response, however, is to scoot back to the wall and resume his slumped, head-hanging posture. Throughout the dance so far, J has been repeatedly trying to stroke B's face, as Judith sings "Can no light enter your castle?", only to be brutally shoved back down each time Bluebeard sings "No. Never!" Here, as each woman, including J, repeats the first woman's actions to the man nearest her, again and again, but always with the same unresponsive reaction, it seems clear that each of them is trying and failing to make any kind of meaningful contact, even to be able to have an argument. This is passive aggression of the first order, coming from the men.

The pulls are followed by a slowly worked-through sequence in which, in each case, the woman tries to take the man's arm only to have it snatched back and then to stroke his face, only to have it turned aside. I call this the "rejection sequence" and we see it repeated immediately after the men are finally, reluctantly drawn to their feet, only to stand immobile as the women run in to hug them each time B rewinds and repeats a short fragment of the tape in which Judith asks: "Why are all the seven [doors] bolted?". As B moves the tape on to repeat Bluebeard answering: "So that none can see what lies behind them." The men drop to the floor and snatch first their hands and then their heads aside each time the women try to touch them.

All these sequences of action are repeated, grouped in reverse order and with reversed gender much later in Bausch's work. 76 minutes into the dance, B has voluntarily switched on the tape to play Bluebeard actually encouraging Judith to open the fifth door. In a blast of triumphal chords in C major from the full brass section, supplemented by additional brass off-stage, the power of Bluebeard's full kingdom is revealed. Judith's response is a high C "Ah!" which I think we can all agree would universally be identified as a notated scream. J is sitting nervously on the floor with her back up against a wall. B takes hold of one of her ankles and yanks her away from the wall with such force that she is pulled metres along the floor. She immediately scuttles back to sit, looking fearfully up at B, only to be yanked ferociously away again.

This is followed by the "rejection sequence" with J snatching back her hand and turning her head aside, B drawing her to her feet and repeatedly running in to hug her while she remains impassive. J shrugs herself out of B's embrace as the men did earlier to repeat the rejection sequence only to be drawn to her feet again. Then B steps behind J and suddenly pulls her down to the ground, falling to the floor with her. J immediately scrambles back to her feet only to be pulled down again by B, the number of pulls being the same as the number of times J fell through his arms six minutes into the piece.

Despite her fearful reaction to Bluebeard's kingdom, Judith still stubbornly demands to open the last two doors and is finally granted "one more key".

This opens the sixth door to reveal (as is subtitled on the TV screen) "a lake, unmoving, mournful waters". The rest of the cast run in and each woman places one foot in a man's hand to be lifted high above him, one hand on his shoulder, one arm outstretched as though in a typical waltz, or social dance hold, only with the woman lifted a couple of feet into the air. The women are thus raised high as though on a pedestal (with the usual concomitant lack of power and mobility) but are all also drooped over, with their long hair hanging down as though matching the sorrow of the "Lake of Tears" being depicted in the music. They also resemble the image, found in a number of versions of the folk-tale, of the corpses of Bluebeard's previous wives hanging from the walls of the secret chamber – an image more closely copied earlier in the dance. The women descend to the floor and slowly remove their top dresses only to sink to the ground with the men and then as slowly recover their first positions while B pushes the tape machine in-between the couples, gathering up the women's dresses as he goes. He finally stops by J and, one after another, beyond what seems physically possible, he determinedly puts dress after dress on her.

Bausch is here echoing the destruction of Judith in the opera. The seventh door opens to reveal not the hacked-up corpses of Bluebeard's dead wives as in many of the folk-tales but instead a ghostly darkness out of which emerge three previous wives, pale and beautiful, kept in an endless living death and described by Bluebeard as his wives of the dawn, noon and twilight. While Judith begs for mercy in heart-rending vocal writing that (as in the rest of the opera) reflects both Hungarian speech patterns and the more universal sounds of human sighs and cries of pain and sorrow, Bluebeard insists on covering her in jewels and a cloak and thus consigns her to the same living death as the other three.

At the moment that B is pulling J down to the floor in a "reverse repetition" of her opening falls signifying "lying down and dying" Bluebeard is presaging the moment when his former wives are revealed as he sings (of his kingdom)

All is thine for ever, Judith.
Here both dawn and twilight flourish.
Here sun and moon and star have dwelling.
They shall be thy deathless playmates.

Thus, Bausch's repetition of the straightforward metaphor for death (now "caused" by B pulling J rather than J simply falling) at the opening of the fifth door, matches the way in which both the text and the music at this point in the opera presage Judith's fate. Leafstedt (1999) notes that the music here and at the opening of the seventh door (which he identifies as two major climaxes of the opera) are both in a C tonality – the opposite end of the tonal axis from the F# tonality that begins and ends the opera.

These are just a few examples of events that are repeated in both halves of Bausch's *Bluebeard.* The mid-way point in Bausch's work, about which the order and gender are reversed, comes at the opening of the third door. This is not the mid-point of the opera which is (both in terms of time and tonal structure and, indeed, the climax of the work) at the opening of the fifth door. What Bausch has identified, however, is a crucial turning point in Balázs's narrative. Bluebeard was very loath to give Judith the keys to the first two doors and keeps refusing to give her the last two, but he almost presses on her the key to the third, fourth and fifth doors opening respectively onto his treasury, armoury and kingdom. In some versions of the tale Bluebeard's new wife is persuaded to marry him despite his ugliness because he is so wealthy, and even in this very different version, the treasury is the one place from which Judith takes something, choosing for herself jewels, a crown and a splendid heavy cape.

At this point in the dance J moves behind B and, taking his arms from behind, guides him, rather clumsily, both to stroke his own face and to clap his hands. It is as though J feels that she is now gaining some control over B, managing at last to touch his face, even if only at one remove, and to perform one of the actions by which B controls the other dancers at the end of the piece. When, B and J (and Bluebeard and Judith) do finally kiss, though, it is the moment of J's destruction and B's hand claps are performed as he drags her lifeless body around the hall, smothered in the other women's dresses. These are Bausch's version of the jewels, crown, and cape with which Bluebeard has "crowned Judith" until she "gradually becomes numb with death", as Balázs puts it in his notes. Bausch has chosen as a turning point the moment when Judith thinks that she may be gaining control but is in fact simply selecting the means of her own destruction.

The matching of the structure of the dance to the opera, even including the stopping and starting of the tape (in fact <u>especially</u> in the stopping and starting of the tape as, or before, crucial musical motifs are heard) reveals how Bausch has not only echoed but also reinforced and enhanced the dramatic and emotional impact of the opera. The fact that the turning point of the dance is also the turning point in Bluebeard's attitude to Judith's determination reveals yet again ways in which Bausch enhances the

opera through her use of structure as well as through physical metaphors. All these conclusions are absolutely reliant on my "close reading" or "new criticism" approach but, as I say, I am more and more convinced that this is an approach taken by most in the audience.

In February of this year I took a party of students to see a double bill of works made by Bausch in the same period: *Café Muller* (1978) and *The Rite of Spring* (1975). I also bought tickets for friends of mine who are professional musicians who have kept up with watching contemporary dance in London. We were all greatly impressed by an experience which was variously reported as "life changing", "left me speechless for three hours" and "the best thing I have ever seen on stage, ever." What I am pretty sure about is that not one of us was watching the programme and thinking "now I must put on my 1975 spectacles and remember to keep the original context of this piece in mind" and nor were we looking at it through the entirely postmodernist framework that some would have us believe must be used for 21st-century work. If the Wuppertal Tanztheater performances in 2008 of mid-1970s pieces only worked for an audience of dance historians then it could not long survive as a company – and nor should it, as a performance company. No, surely the thrill of seeing great works of the past is in the way that they work now and the layers of meaning, the interplay of references and texts, they have accrued down the years since they were first made.

This is not something we have a problem with in music, with pieces being played on and off for centuries, acquiring what my students would call a "random" set of associations but never (or only intermittently and with "random" sections of audience) losing an immediate power to move. When we read books by past authors, or see performances of plays by past playwrights we don't react to them as historical artefacts but as writings that still have something to say to us. We learn from Bach or Shakespeare each time we experience them and we know that to look for a depthless interplay of texts would be a wilful misreading. So why do we have such a problem in dance?

It is only through a detailed structural analysis of *Bluebeard* that I have been able to identify more than the immediate surface layer of the emotional journey of the work. This is not to say that post-structuralist strategies are not also productive of vivid accounts and re-writings of the work. It is, however, only by looking back at, and incorporating, past interpretive strategies that I can identify and interweave more and more layers in the work and thus continue to move forwards in my understanding.

Endnotes

1 In his obituary Peter Dickinson writes that Prof. Mellers "developed a technique based on applied historical knowledge and derived from the study of literature, where the context is used to inform understanding of the work itself." (2008 n.p.)

2 The set is unnervingly reminiscent of the remains of the palaces built or requisitioned by Nazi leaders such as Arthur Greiser in Poland and the former Austro-Hungarian Empire in the 1940s – the period of Bausch's childhood. The single upraised straight arm of the women as they are carried on the men's shoulders 36 minutes into the dance, as the high strident clarinet notes accompany Judith's realisation that the walls of the castle are wet with blood, makes it more likely that Bausch is making a deliberate reference to Nazi horrors here.

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Cultural Diplomacy and the Construction of Empire: Martha Graham's *Appalachian Spring* and the State Department Tour of 1955-1956

Victoria Phillips Geduld

"*Washington wants to get something for its money.*"

- Mrs. H. Alwin Inness-Brown, Vice Chairman of the International Exchange Program's Dance Panel[1]

In 1955, the United States State Department with its Information Agency (USIA) dispatched modern dancer Martha Graham and her company to areas of strategic concern on a tour that started in Japan and moved through the Philippines, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia, Burma, Pakistan, India, Ceylon, and Iran.[2] Korea was canceled at the last minute. Graham's repertory on tour included *Cave of the Heart* (1946), *Night Journey* (1947), *Errand into the Maze* (1947), *Diversion of Angels* (1948), *Ardent Song* (1954), and *Appalachian Spring* (1944). Historians have labeled Graham's deployment the "Far East tour" and understood it as a Cold War project; yet with Graham the USIA, directed by the State Department, spread cultural propaganda through areas that transcend East Asia, encompassing India and the Middle East. The articulated government aims included but also transcended anti-Soviet concerns: under the veil of Cold War, cultural content met varied objectives. Internationally, the government had been promoting anti-colonial ideology as a process of creating American hegemony during World War II. The United States proposed itself as a new solution to the old order as its foreign policy defined a new kind of empire in the post-World War II political arena.

Graham's company closed seasons in each city with her signature work, *Appalachian Spring* (1944) which described the success of a new generation on the decolonized American frontier.[3] Ending with *Spring* at the New Empire Theatre in Calcutta, the State Department left behind the reverberating echo of the folk song on which the dance was based: "'Tis a gift to be simple, 'tis a gift to be free."[4] Where *Appalachian Spring* was taken by the State Department, how it was promoted by the USIA, and when it was left off programs displays American foreign policy at work. Applying the historiography of imperialism to *Appalachian Spring* and the Graham tours through 1962 demonstrates how the State Department and its agencies used dance and modernism as an imperialist seduction, as anti-colonialist rhetoric laid the foundation for U.S. economic hegemony. Dance modernism acted as a veil of empire.

Government involvement in the arts and the use of dance was rooted in the Federal government's Depression Works Progress Administration.[5] Under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Graham's work became familiar to government officials: in 1937 she became the first modern dancer to perform at the White House, presenting *Frontier* (1935).[6] Graham performed *American Document* (1938) in Washington while the company was on tour in the early 1940s; the work featured texts from American history including the Gettysburg Address.[7] Government experiments with dance as international cultural propaganda began before World War II ended.[8] After the 1944 debut of *Spring* at the Library of Congress, in 1945 Graham began early discussions with the State Department about taking her work to Europe.

Between 1946 and 1948, the Fulbright Act and the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act funded cultural diplomacy.[9] In 1950, President Harry S. Truman awarded Graham a Woman-of-the-Year Award. In private letters, Graham indicated that the government was interested in subsidizing her 1950 tour through Europe. By 1953, with the Cold War raging, the USIA strengthened American informational and propaganda activities abroad.[10] Graham received government support in Europe during the 1954 tour, although no funding.[11] In the same year, Public Law 83-663 passed, funding the President Eisenhower's Emergency Fund for International Affairs.[12] The Emergency Fund Board

included the head of the USIA, the Undersecretaries of State and Defense, as well as representatives of the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Council.[13] Yet the State Department understood that the Board members were not equipped to choose artists or handle bookings; thus the State Department hired the American National Theatre and Academy (ANTA) to choose private sector experts in the arts and form advisory panels.[14] Panels created for each artistic discipline included government officials and arts professionals. Early meetings identified the importance of sending Graham and her company on tour to represent the nation.

Historians including Naima Prevots appropriately located the 1955-56 Graham tour as a part of the Cold War project.[15] At the initial meeting of the Dance Panel, the Chair stated: "The State Department is particularly interested in counteracting Russian propaganda."[16] As Penny Von Eschen noted in *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, Eisenhower preferred covert action to "conventional warfare"; cultural "ambassadors" moved in tandem with the CIA.[17] A Washington D.C. *Mirror* newspaper article in 1956 featured Graham and Dizzy Gillespie together under the headline, "State Department to Win Cold War Converts for America."[18] Rebecca Kowal has continued the Cold War anti-Soviet examination of modern dance.[19]

There is no doubt that the project was anti-Soviet. According to Dance Panel minutes, the Soviet Union sent small dance troupes to remote locations and built disposable theatres. At a Dance Panel meeting, a USIA official added to the report about Soviets, "We may explore the possibility of pre-fabricated theatres."[20] According to the Graham tour's stage manager, Charlie Hyman, when the advance crew arrived in Rangoon, they found that they had been deployed to an area where there was no theatre at all. Hyman and his crew of locals literally built a stage from scratch. In notes sent back home he wrote, "Since I designed it, I feel safe in saying our theatre was one of the best and easiest to use that we encountered during the whole tour. Seriously, though…"[21] The incident was precipitated by government plans to check Soviet moves.

However, the anti-Soviet mandate obscures other national intentions clearly stated at the government level and communicated to the USIA for propaganda purposes. According to an internal 1954 USIA memo, "To sell the program and get more money you have to be anti-communist." Like other relatively new agencies, including the USIA and the CIA themselves, communist rhetoric got them appropriations.[22] Yet selling rhetoric masked complex intentions. The 1954 USIA document concluded: "But this [anti-communist rhetoric] is not the way to accomplish our mission."[23] The singularity of purpose presented to appropriations committees and the public obscures the multiple intentions of the State Department.

Economic motives formed a crucial and recurrent theme of USIA propaganda. The 1953 State Department memo, "Attitude of Southeast Asian Countries to Western Sponsored Plans for Control of Raw Materials," outlined how to make the countries Graham later visited adaptable to a U.S. "plan for allocating or controlling raw materials produced in these countries." [24] In *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism,* V.I. Lenin defines capitalistic empire as the desire to control overseas raw materials, markets and profits.[25] As noted by Victoria de Grazia in *Irresistible Empire*, "freedom" rhetoric masked commercial imperial aspirations abroad that were achieved through cultural implants.[26] Von Eschen indicates the complexities of the imperialist agenda of the U.S. cultural touring project writing: "Indeed the story of the tours disrupts a bipolar view of the Cold War and takes us into a far more tangled, and far more violent, jockeying for power and control of global resources."[27] Victoria Thoms explores the reception of Graham as a signal of American empire.[28]

Historians of Franklin D. Roosevelt cite the first stage of American empire as the decolonization process,[29] but this idea has not enhanced the understanding of the State Department tours and the USIA's deployment of dance as propaganda. Many of the nations visited by Graham were former British colonies, as the U.S. had once been. Colonized raw goods markets were like Soviet markets: closed or less free for American business and government. Starting with Roosevelt, old-fashioned models of overt empire were clearly passé. Historians understand the emergence of the United States as a new postwar empire modified with adjectives such as "by invitation," "informal," and "irresistible."[30]

Like earlier dances with a nationalist message such as *Frontier* and *American Document*, Graham's *Spring* used tactics employed by the political dancers of the 1930s who had performed with her company. Ironically, these company members, who also choreographed their own works, had been trained in Soviet ideology and agitational propaganda methods. Ellen Graff notes the influence of these dancers on

Graham's work.[31] For critics like the *New York Times*' John Martin, "pantomime" in the high art field of the 1930s was an unacceptable choreographic tactic associated with agit-prop.[32] By the late 1930s, Graham blended gesture with modernism in order to make her messages readable to a wider public.[33] Individual actions in *Spring* like rocking a baby, gazing over the fenced horizon, and enacting scenes of prayer, work and marriage, made the dance accessible to audiences. Where modernism intersected gesture, or not, it gave works critical currency as high art -- or not. The government knew that Graham understood how to deliver a readable, yet high-art American message. A 1955 memo written by an American cultural attaché from India about the Graham tour, not understanding the word as an artistic pejorative, applauded *Spring* saying that it was sometimes stilted, but "the pantomime is great."[34]

For the 1955-56 tour, *Appalachian Spring* brought what the government needed to encourage decolonization and establish America's new empire: a history of a nation that demonstrated ideals of liberty, freedom, equality, democracy and sound economics at work after the departure of the British. The set abstracted a 1830s Pennsylvania farmhouse, locating the dance just fifty years after American independence.[35] Graham established the idea of the vastness of the American West by opening with an empty stage save the modern set indicating a home with a rocking chair inside and a bench outside, a pulpit and a fence. As the Husbandman enters, he strokes the house – homeownership linked the democratic ability for all people to secure personal financial well-being in a free economy. From 1947, India flooded with homeless refugees after the end of British rule and the severing of Pakistan; other nations she visited on the tour struggled with self-determination such as the Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia. Graham landed in Iran five years after Britain had lost control of the Iranian oil industry in 1951. The couple in *Spring* exemplified freedom, hope, homeownership, and the American dream as these United States citizens triumphed over decolonized territories. President Eisenhower stated, "The whole of our history is anti-colonial."[36] *Spring* portrayed a roadmap for decolonized people with freedom and comfort, American-style.

USIA culture troops on the ground molded *Appalachian Spring* to fit anti-colonial aims, particularly in India, the largest decolonized land mass visited by Graham. Like the U.S., India wrote its own constitution and organized itself into states that embraced a diverse population. The Indian "Souvenir Booklet" for the Graham tour introduced *Spring* with a three-page spread: a line drawing of a statue of George Washington, hand on his sword looking out over the horizon, opposite the program notes for *Spring*. The following page showed the couple. The U.S. cultural propaganda project engaged anti-colonial rhetoric in *Spring* in order to propose the U.S. as an ally to newly independent nations. The story of Graham's *Appalachian Spring* provided the perfect object lesson for newly forming governments as they struggled to assert independence; in India, *Appalachian Spring* modeled the post-emancipation success of a vast former British colony, the U.S. itself. In all nations visited on tour, *Appalachian Spring* educated the periphery and established the legitimacy of the new American force.

The picture of Washington, however, only appeared in India. USIA documents stated that propaganda had to be molded on the ground to meet local needs.[37] Programs in other locations visited by the Graham Company stressed ties to the Japanese traditions through photographs of the Niguchi set, emphasized Graham as an American icon with a hairstyle like a Hollywood star, or included the biographies of musicians in locations where the USIA had identified interest in music over dance.[38]

The 1954 Dance Panel minutes were filled with calls for "Americana," and USIA documents explain this in foreign policy terms. According to the USIA, "Americana" would counteract ideas prevalent in many of the countries visited by Graham that the United States was acting imperially. The State Department memo that called for the U.S. to control raw materials outlined how the majority of the countries visited by Graham interpreted U.S. intervention as "a new form of colonial imperialism."[39] However, according to the State Department, demonstrating that the U.S. government promoted "ideals of liberty, equality and democracy" would counteract this problem.[40] Graham's modern technique allied the U.S. with high cultural forms, established U.S. superiority, and *Appalachian Spring* demonstrated the American system at work. The American value system laid the path for imperial aims.

In all locations, Graham and *Appalachian Spring* satisfied the call for high-art "Americana" by the State Department, and also exemplified empire "by

invitation." In a 1953 USIA survey, agents asked Indians, “What subjects about America or Americans are you most interested in?” “Americana” was listed first, and defined by the USIA: “Americana includes family life, social behavior, dress, hobbies, recreation.”[41] Indeed an entire USIA study followed in response, “Meaning of Americana (As it is suggested by Indian audiences for additional emphasis in USIA output).”[42] *Spring* answered important questions about American life, gender, and race. For example, Indians wanted to know about American “Recreation” including “Pick nicks, festivals, funfare.”[43] *Spring* showed a square dance in the town. Curiosity about women allowed the modern woman embodied in Graham to intersect with the more traditional role of women on the frontier. The Pioneering Woman exemplified the power of the nation as female, particularly important as “Mother India” had been severed from Pakistan.[44] Indians wanted to know about “Religion” and “different religions, different sects of Christians, working of a church, functions of church in American life, separate or common churches for Negros and whites, freedom of religion.” The Wandering Preacher, and even his antics, showed both godliness and tolerance on the frontier.[45] The African American Turney as Pioneering Woman showed interracial mixing at work. After the Company closed at the New Empire Theatre, an Indian reviewer wrote that *Spring* was "a delightful piece of Americana."[46] Americana counteracted charges of American empire in countries visited by Graham according to State.

The irony of *Appalachian Spring* is that this "American icon," that remained a staple of the Graham domestic repertory, was excised as international propaganda after 1956; its rejection illuminates changes in U.S. foreign policy. Although the tour was a spectacular international success, from Japan to Jakarta, some local audiences misinterpreted fences, preachers, and frontiers. But the work's removal was not this simple: by 1956, USIA agents in the field reported back to State that “Americana” as propaganda fell short. It was either misconstrued, or worse, read as a statement of imperialism. The uplift of *Spring* and the ease with which the pioneers settled into their neat and perfectly clean home failed as a message when it was read. *Spring* was not performed on State Department tours again until the 1970s.

As "modernization" rhetoric became increasingly important in foreign policy, the State Department increasingly deployed modern art internationally to represent the United States. The dances kept in Graham's State Department repertory mirrored two connected trends in the U.S. approach to foreign policy: the privileging of modernization rhetoric and the veiling of empire. Future international tours kept Graham’s more modernist *Night Journey* and *Diversion of Angels*. Cold War social scientists borrowed the word "modernization" from the modern arts, and for foreign policy experts the term provided the “lynchpin for understanding postcolonial nations.”[47] Modernization ideology accessed ideas of a universalist progression of society and culture; Graham's modern technique and her starker dances, freed from overt and nationalist pantomime, argued for the same agenda. “Core modernization theory" assumed that development trends proceed toward a common, linear path that included democracy and freedom; the United States was posed as the central harbinger of the ideal at work internationally.[48] In the dance, modernist and particularly myth-based choreography dealt with universals and essences that should appeal to “all humanity” and not specific situations or people.[49] According to foreign policy historians, modernization ideology cloaked U.S. imperialism.[50]

Under President John F. Kennedy, modernization infused policy as Europe continued to push back from American hegemony. By 1962, State Department funded tours included only Graham's mythic and modern works from the 1955 tour*;* Graham brought two new works based on Greek myths, *Clytemnestra* (1958) and *Phaedra* (1962). Graham's tour preceded Kennedy's arrival in Germany by six months. Foreign service dispatches from Germany in 1962 repeated the Indian 1955 press that called Graham the "high priestess of modern dance." Yet the project was also nation-specific as the USIA insisted, "[Modern dance's] strong impetus will no doubt fall on fertile soil in Germany."[51] In June 1963, Kennedy delivered his Berlin speech.[52] Just as Kennedy's administration emphasized modernization rhetoric, "Americana" was replaced by myth and overt modernism that veiled the rhetoric of empire.[53]

Divisions within the U.S. government and problems of Federalism challenge notions of a focused American empire, and complicate the argument of U.S. imperialism. Federalism plagued arts programs from their start: Roosevelt’s Federal WPA Dance program was shut in 1939 after being attacked by Congress. Before the Fulbright Act, government funding often took covert forms. A 1954 USIA study of operating principles called Congress

"undifferentiated and immature," stating, "Congressional Influence on Program Content is considered to have had adverse effects on 'original thinking'... It has discouraged USIA cultural activities."[54] Although the 1955-56 tour was sponsored by the State Department, all programs named only ANTA as the sponsor. Dancers and tour organizers remember being told that the State Department "wanted it kept quiet that they were sponsoring dance."[55] In 1956, Senator Allen Ellender of Louisiana tucked a provision into the Appropriations Bill barring the use of any funds for "ballet and dance groups and similar activities."[56] Eisenhower did not want his name associated with the tours until 1956. The tours were thus semi-covert operations by Executive branch. Neither the high cultural output nor the layered objectives of international agendas were shared with or understood by all members of Congress.

In 1963, Graham predictably came under attack when Congress objected to government sponsorship of her productions internationally. In a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee investigation of anti-communist propaganda methods, Brooklyn Democratic Congresswoman Edna Kelly claimed that she walked out on the Bonn performance of *Phaedra* in 1962; she demanded censorship of the “obscene” work.[57] A Republican from New Jersey stated that he had walked out with Kelly because the dance "involved a lot of couches and a lot of young men in loin cloths leaping about."[58] The press revealed that Graham had never performed in Bonn, only in Cologne. Although Kelly admitted that she had claimed to have seen Graham in the wrong German city, and dancers on the tour reported that that the two members of Congress walked out before the end, Kelly wrote in a telegram to Graham, "I have the right to object to any part of a performance sent abroad at taxpayers' expense."[59] In 1963, the Congressman admitted what the USIA had reported about the attitude of Congress in 1954: "We couldn't quite make it out.”[60] The dance art of Graham was repeatedly reported in papers as far as Kentucky, Missouri, and Florida to be "obscene."[61] One paper added that modern dance was a poor cultural deployment because people abroad might think that “Americans go around barefoot.”[62] Graham asserted the validity of her dance, and the international presses celebrated her work while noting the provincialism of her own country. The Federal government continued to send Graham on tours. Foreign policy leaders borrowed modernism’s definitions, and then deployed its art as propaganda to achieve their objectives, which in turn were misapprehended by Congress and the American public.

Theorizing empire as a part of the State Department tours, and specifically the use of *Appalachian Spring*, engages many areas not discussed in this paper including racial perceptions and propaganda, as well as gender, the Cold War deployment of myth, and the problem of reception. The study complicates the biography of Graham herself. In addition, the State Department's acutely differentiated objectives must be analyzed country by country, region by region. Korea has been dropped from the discussion of all studies.[63] Regional intentions by the State Department gain significance in the twenty-first century as we look toward Iran where Graham's State Department tour funding ended in 1956. Reading *Spring* and the Graham tour in the context of America as a new empire performing internationally during the Cold War reveals how dance was used as a political weapon to achieve complex and layered objectives of national foreign policy over time.

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Endnotes

[1] International Exchange Program, "Dance Panel Meeting," 5 May 1955, 2, in Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs Historical Collection (CU 468), group II (Cultural Presentations Program), Special Collections, University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AK, Box 97.

[2] The names of countries are used based on 1955 geography as listed in "Project Title: Martha Graham Dance Troupe; Description: (Completed)," Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library and Museum, White House, National Security Council Staff Papers, Operations Coordinating Board (OCB) Central File Series, Cultural Presentations Staff: Papers, 1948-1961, President's Fund Program [FY1955], box 14. The file noted "This is one of the most outstanding American modern dance groups," with a total budget of $306,500. The Eisenhower document shows the troupe going to Korea. All official tour itineraries show them in Korea, yet the Library of Congress tour scrapbooks note that the stop was never made. See also, Programs, Charlie Hyman/Ethel Winter Archives, private collection, New York City, NY.

[3] This paper was preceded by Elizabeth Aldrich's paper, "Disappointments and Delays: The Commissioning of *Appalachian Spring, Mirror Before Me*, and *Imagined Wing*," which established the setting with reference to the composer and the set. Loras John Schissel's "Music and Dance: A Dialogue between Creators" was followed by Janet Eilber's "Appalachian Spring: Dance and the Context of Time."

[4] *Appalachian Spring*, choreography Martha Graham, music Aaron Copland, set Isamu Noguchi, premiered 30 October 1944, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[5] For a survey of the Works Project Administration's Federal One, see William Francis McDonald, *Federal Relief Administration and the Arts: The Origins and Administrative History of the Arts Projects of the Works Progress Administration* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969).

[6] *Frontier*, choreography Martha Graham, music Louis Horst, sets and costume Isamu Noguchi, premiered 28 April 1935, New York City, Guild Theatre. Originally, it was the first part of a two-part piece called *Perspectives No. 1 and 2*. The second part, *Marching song* (music by Lehman Engel), was soon dropped.

[7] *American Document*, choreography Martha Graham, music Arch Lauterer, costumes Edythe Gilfond, premiered 6 August 1938, Vermont State Armory, Bennington VT, with Martha Graham, Erick Hawkins, (speaker) Housely Stevens, Jr., and New Dance Group dancers Jane Dudley and Sophie Maslow, among others. Although this ballet is usually credited as Graham's first group work to include a male soloist, Graham's early work at Rochester, *Flute of Krishna* (1926), included Robert Ross as the Krishna (see Ernestine Stodelle, *Deep Song: The Dance Story of Martha Graham* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1984), 46).

[8] Naima Prevots, *Dance for Export: Cultural Diplomacy and the Cold War* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 19; Martin Duberman, *The Worlds of Lincoln Kirstein* (New York: Knopf, 2007), 359.

[9] Prevots, *Dance for Export*, 19.

[10] Prevots, *Dance for Export*, 12-13.

[11] Elizabeth Aldrich, "Biographical Sketch," Martha Graham Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Finding Aid (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress (hereafter MGC-LOC) http://lcweb2.loc.gov/service/music/eadxmlmusic/eadpdfmusic/mu2007.wp.0001.pdf); Victoria Thoms, ""Theorising Graham's First London Season in 1954: Femininity, Nationhood and Cultural Imperialism," presented at the Congress on Research in Dance and Society of Dance Historians conference, "Re-Thinking Practice and Theory: International Symposium on Dance Research," Paris, 22 June 2007.

[12] Prevots, *Dance for Export*, 11. See also Public Law 83-304, H.R. 7996, 83rd Congress, Chapter 935, 2nd Session, Act making supplemental appropriations for fiscal year ending June 30, 1955, and for other purposes, Approved March 6, 1954.

[13] Prevots, *Dance for Export*, 13.

[14] Prevots, *Dance for Export*, 37.

[15] Prevots, *Dance for Export.* See also David Caute, *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy During the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

[16] International Exchange Program, "Dance Panel Meeting," 21 October 1954.

[17] Penny M. Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), 5.

[18] Drew Pearson, "Washington Merry-Go-Round," *Sunday Mirror* 29 July 1956, MGC-LOC, "Scrapbooks 1955-1956," Box 337.

[19] Rebecca Kowal, "Converging Ideologies: The Politics of Universalism in Postwar Containment Policy and Modern Dance," Committee on Research in Dance Conference, Barnard College, New York City, "Migration in/of American Modernism Panel," 11 November 2007. Note that Kowal assigns greater agency to the Dance Panel. Although artistic decisions were certainly mediated by the Panel, government involvement in the project was clear from the Panel minutes and the composition of the group, which included vocal USIA members who were in contact with the State Department, the President, and cultural attaches. For example, after being rejected by the Panel, Jean Erdman was sent on tour after discussions with "Washington." The mantra of following dictates from "Washington" infused Panel minutes. Mrs. H. Alwin Inness-Brown, Vice Chairman of the International Exchange Program's Dance Panel, became responsible for communications from Washington. Inness-Brown stated that the Panel would be consulted "whenever possible" but that "in cases where the State Department, for its own reasons" decided on a deployment, the Panel would have to defer. In 1956, the minutes establish the direct connection between the Panel and the White House: Inness-Brown reported that she had met the President for lunch, and Eisenhower was proud and pleased with the work of the Panel. Although the professional dance experts denied modern dancer Jean Erdman's request for funding because she "not a first-rate performer," a few months later she was "favorably reviewed by Washington," and approved by the Panel (International

Exchange Program, "Dance Panel Meeting," 7 December 1954, 1; 5 May 1955, 4). Her husband, Joseph Campbell, acted as an advisor to Eisenhower from 1950, and in 1956 Campbell addressed the State Department's Foreign Service Institute; the Institute invited him back annually for the next seventeen years (Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Pre-Presidential Recordings Meetings with John Henshaw Crider; Grayson Kirk and Joseph Campbell; E. J. Price" 19 May 1950 (University of Virginia: Miller Center of Public Affairs: http://millercenter.virginia.edu/scripps/digitalarchive/presidentialrecordings/eisenhower/columbia?PHPSESSID=aa681d490cdcf86b2e70e3148230e185, 15 August 2007). At one point a panel member asked if they could dictate content to the artists selected. A government official said the idea would be discussed at the oversight level which would provide "criticism and suggestions to us" ("International Exchange Program (ANTA) Memo" to International Educational Exchange Service, from Robert C. Schnitzer; Subject Progress Report No. 14, 25 May 1955, 3 (IEP Archives)). Although Graham initially wanted to tour Europe, the Panel mandated the 1955-56 touring locations and denied her request to go to both Europe and Egypt. Summing up the decision, Innes-Brown declared, "Washington wants to get something for its money."

[20] International Exchange Program, "Dance Panel Meeting," 10 March 1955, 3.

[21] Charles Hyman, "Technical Notes: Martha Graham Far Eastern Tour, 1955-1956" (New York: Private Archives of Charles Hyman and Ethel Winter – hereafter Hyman/Winter Archives).

[22] Prevots, *Dance for Export*, 11.

[23] "A Study of USIA Operating Assumptions," December 1954, National Archives, record group 306, "Records of the United States Information Agency (USIA), Office of Research, Special Reports, 1953-63," box 7, RC 5. See also Warren Kimball, *The Juggler: Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). 28.

[24] "Attitude of Southeast Asian Countries to Western Sponsored Plans for Control of Raw Materials," 30 January 1951, National Archives, record group 59, "Records of the Division of Research for the Far East," box 5, 1.

[25] Vladimir Ilich Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism: A Popular Outline*, cited in Michael W. Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), 23.

[26] Victoria de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through 20th-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 3.

[27] Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows up the World*, 7.

[28] Thoms, ""Theorising Graham's First London Season in 1954: Femininity, Nationhood and Cultural Imperialism."

[29] Kimball, *The Juggler*, 127 and footnote 3, 255.

[30] Geir Lundestad, "Empire by Invitation? The United States and Western Europe, 1945-1952," *Journal of Peace Research* 23.3 (1986): 263; Charles S. Maier, *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 5; de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire*, 3.

[31] For a detailed explication of this idea in American Document, see Ellen Graff, *Stepping Left: Dance and Politics in New York City, 1928-1942* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997). Irving Howe and Lewis A. Coser discuss American Document as a part of the Popular Front rhetoric in *The American Communist Party: A Critical History, 1919-1957* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957).

[32] Although examples abound, see John Martin (all), "The Dance: A Need of Trained Audiences," *New York Times* (all and hereafter *NYT*) 11 Nov. 1928, 145; "The Dance: Recital and Stage," 31 Jan. 1932, X13; "The Dance: Soviet Style," 6 Jan. 1935, X8; "The Dance: WPA Theatre," 16 May 1937, 171.

[33] For a detailed explication of this idea in *American Document*, see Ellen Graff, *Stepping Left: Dance and Politics in New York City, 1928-1942* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997). Irving Howe and Lewis A. Coser discuss *American Document* as a part of the Popular Front rhetoric in *The American Communist Party: A Critical History, 1919-1957* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), 153.

[34] Haim Ganzu, "The Choreographic Art of Martha Graham," *Haarets*, 24 February 1956, MCC-LOC, "Scrapbooks 1955-1956," Box 337.

[35] "Appalachian Spring" in *Jajasan Impresariat Indonesia*, 10 December 1955 (New York: Hyman/Winter Archives).

[36] Connelly, *Cold War Constructions*, 211.

[37] "A Study of USIA Operating Assumptions."

[38] "Reports, Studies: The Philippines," National Archives, R.G. 306, Box 32-3.

[39] "Attitude of Southeast Asian Countries to Western Sponsored Plans for Control of Raw Materials."

[40] "Attitude of Southeast Asian Countries to Western Sponsored Plans for Control of Raw Materials."

[41] "Library Readership Study Conducted in India," 5 February 1953, page 4, enclosure 1, from New Delhi, National Archives, R.G. 306, "Reports and Studies, 1948-53, India and Iran," Box 32.

[42] "Some Clarification of the Word 'Americana'" New Deli India Despach No. 1442, 19 December 1952, National Archives, R.G. 306, "Reports and Studies, 1948-53, India and Iran," Box 32.

[43] "Some Clarification of the Word 'Americana,'" 2.

[44] Guha Ramachandra, *India after Gandhi: The History of The World's Largest Democracy* (New York: Harper Collins, 2007), 45. I am grateful to Ethel Winter, Charlie Hyman and Professor Prarthana Purkayastha for help in excavating these ideas.

[45] Note that in the 1944 production, the character was titled The Revivalist, but on tour he was recast as The Preacher or the Wandering Preacher.

[46] 'A Ballet Critic,' "Martha Graham's Dance Recital," The Statesman 28 December 1955, scrapbooks 334, MGC-LOC.

[47] Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 2003), 2.

[48] Nils Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future*, 2. See also David C. Engerman, ed. *Staging Growth: Modernization, Development, and the Global Cold War* (Boston: University of

Massachusetts Press, 2003); Michael E. Latham, *Modernization as Ideology; American Social Science and "Nation Building" in the Kennedy Era* (Durham; University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Frank Nikovich, *Modernity and Power: A History of the Domino Theory in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

[49] Gay Morris, *A Game for Dancers*: *Performing Modernism in the Postwar Years, 1945-1960*(Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2006), 12.

[50] Latham, *Modernization as Ideology.*

[51] "Scrapbooks," MGC-LOC, Box 354.

[52] Andreas W. Daum, *Kennedy in Berlin* (Boston: Cambridge University Press, 2007), xviii.

[53] This work has been begun by Serge Guilbaut in *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War*, transl. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

[54] "USIA personnel express a strong sense of responsibility to the taxpayers, but believe that the Agency lacks adequate public support and understanding." After complaining that only anti-Communist rhetoric got them appropriations, they said, "Congressional investigations have lowered morale. They have also placed on the public record matters of strategy which operators believe should be secret." All quoted in "A Study of USIA Operating Assumptions."

[55] Interview with Ethel Winter and Charlie Hyman with Victoria Phillips Geduld, June 2008. Transcript available upon request.

[56] Quoted in Drew Pearson, "Washington Merry-Go-Round," *Mirror* 29 July 1956 in "Scrapbooks," MGC-LOC, Box 337.

[57] *New York Herald Tribune*, 10 September 1963, MGC-LOC, "Scrapbooks," Box 355.

[58] "Martha Graham Dance Performance Abroad Brings Legislator's Call for Censorship," *NYT*, 10 Sept. 1963, MGC-LOC, "Scrapbooks," Box 355.

[59] To LeRoy Leatherman, from Govt PD BX Washington DC, 11 September 1963, Western Union, signed Edna F. Kelly, MGC-LOC, "Scrapbooks," Box 355.

[60] To Mr. LeRoy Leatherman, from Congressman Peter H.B. Frelinghuysen, on Congressional letterhead, 19 September 1963, MGC-LOC, "Scrapbooks," Box 355.

[61] In 1938 the House Committee on Un-American Activities Committee considered calling Christopher Marlowe, a contemporary of Shakespeare, to testify. They condemned *Trojan Women* by Euripides as Communist propaganda. In 1963, the newspapers pointed out to Congresswoman Kelly that the tragedy of *Phaedra* was first produced four or five centuries before the Christian era. Kelley did not know that the erotic story of familial love ends with Phaedra punished with death by her own hand, particularly as she left before the end of the performance according to dancers.

[62] John Chamberlain, "These Days," Athens, Ohio Messenger, 25 Oct. 1963, MGC-LOC, "Scrapbooks," Box 355.

[63] Special thanks to MiRi Park for her insightful comments after the presentation on the importance of Korea in this story.

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Exploring the Corporeality of Rarely Used Choreo-graphic Records of the 19th Century: The Notebooks of the Opfermanns (Germany/Austria) and Henri Justamant (France)[1]

Robert Atwood and Claudia Jeschke

"Progress in dance history will proceed much faster when more technical work has been done in dance reconstruction." This quote comes from dance historian Meredith Little, in an article written for the February 1986 edition of EARLY MUSIC Magazine.[2]

The point is, experiential knowledge gained from working with the physicality of historical dance material is invaluable for a true understanding of that dance. Unfortunately, dance historians do not have a wealth of material for reconstruction. By her 1986 count, Meredith Little estimated that there exist approximately 800 pieces of notation that shed light on the historical development of ballet[3]; a few more have since come to light. One consequence of this limited record has been a tendency towards a simplistic reduction of historical study to consideration of a limited number of key events, conceptual movements and figures about which we have the most information. For example, study of the ballet of 1800s Europe has focused the lion's share of attention on the life's work of August Bournonville.

There are certainly excellent reasons for studying the work of this particular representative of 19th century dance. However, knowing about any single individual does not fully inform us about his period. Was August Bournonville typical of his time or a unique genius? Was his work characteristic of mid-19th century ballet or idiosyncratic? Answers to such questions can only be determined by comparing his work to the work of his contemporaries.

In this context, we present our investigations into the notated dance material of two contemporaries of August Bournonville: Henri Justamant, and the Franz Opfermanns, father and son. Little was written about any of these men (only a few reviews of Justamant productions were discovered with his manuscripts), which may indicate that none were considered exceptional during their lifetimes. However, they appear to have had a significant working life, an inference made on the basis of notated material, in their own hands, of ballet works that they appear to have conceived or set.

Interpreting dance notation from the 1800s poses unique difficulties because, during this period, there was no standard technique for choreo-graphy (i.e. the graphic representation of danced material).[4] Entering the 19th century, the Opfermanns, Justamant and their contemporaries devised eclectic and idiosyncratic forms of notation in their attempts to combine the usefulness of the earlier term and floor pattern notation with the dramaturgically based descriptions of the *ballet en action*. [5] A survey of notated scores from this period offers a wide range of solutions, as each sought to balance the two-dimensionality of floor patterns with the three-dimensionality of sculpted figures, and to balance the preservation of technical execution with that of "perfomative" expression. What each individual choreo-grapher (as notater) chose to record and not to record may have been a reflection of that choreographer's priorities (as dance creator): those choices may imply what aspects of his creations he deemed most important, what aspects he most needed visual cues to remember, or the purpose of the notation (was he trying to remember details for his own use, or for an assistant or colleague to reproduce a ballet in his absence?)

The notation of Henri Justamant

Henri Justamant, who was born in Bordeaux in 1815, spent his early years in the major cities of the French provinces (Marseilles, Lyon and Brussels, etc.) with some travel to foreign centers, among them Vienna and London. Later, he lived in Paris where he produced ballets at the theater of the Porte-Saint-

Martin, at the Paris Opera, at the Theatre de la Gaite and the Folies Bergeres. Justamant is believed to be one of the last French choreographers to produce and notate great 'ballets of action', including their group scenes.

Justamant's notation method offers both verbal descriptions of the movements of the legs, using the conventional ballet terminology of his time, and line drawings to represent the whole body during poses and/or movements, apparently to clarify specific port de bras and body postures. Figures are drawn identically for male and female dancers: a triangular pelvis/torso with lines for the upper torso, arms and legs and a circle for the head. Gender is distinguished only by using different colors: red figure = woman, blue figure = male. The line drawn figures are placed into a stage space on which the floor pattern of the movement is traced. The entire description is arranged to coincide with a numerical record of the musical bars, which is noted in the side margin of the manuscript pages. Justamant left behind more than 100 complete notated scores of ballets, some with orchestral music scores, and a couple with copies of reviews and other notes.

Claudia Jeschke had been searching the dance archive in Cologne for examples of "otherness" in 19th century ballet, in which the ballet depicted peoples of foreign background, i.e. whose body language and physicality would have been different from that of the native French population. Among the notated scores credited to Justamant in the Cologne archive was the ballet *Quasimodo ou la Bohemienne*, dated 1859. She chose this ballet because it was one of the few for which a corresponding orchestral score existed, and because the lead female character, Esmeralda, was described as being of Gypsy origin.

As our initial target for reconstruction, Claudia Jeschke chose the first danced variation, or *danse entrèe* of Esmeralda. There was a strong likelihood that the dance of a gypsy character would reveal steps derived from national dance material, and the notation in the margin indicated that the music for this variation was a bolero. Furthermore, as a solo dance, the focus of the dance would be on the personification of the character rather than on floor patterns or other visual/sculptural effects.

We worked first with the written text, attempting simply to reproduce the listed ballet steps in the order in which they were given, then following the general directions of travel as described in the floor plan. This was not as straight-forward a task as one would hope; ulti-mately, (unlike Bournonville, for example) there is no frame of reference for judging how the steps of Justamant's dance might have looked or how they might have been "danced." We could assume some similarity between steps named by Justamant, and the same named steps described in other dance materials of the era. At the same time, we had to consider that there could be termin-ological differences among choreo-graphers of the period; we could not assume that similarly described steps would always be performed identically. Furthermore, there is ambiguity inherent in ballet terminology itself. For example, the term "*glissade jetè en avant*" could mean a *glissade* in some undetermined direction followed by a forward jump landing on one leg, or a gliding jump in a forward direction that lands on one leg. We discovered several written combin-ations that offered the possibility of a variety of different movement solutions, each conceptually and terminologically logical.

To assist our work, we considered the biomechanical physicality of our dancers as a tool in the process of reconstructing step material. Certainly, different history-ical periods had unique postural, gestural and body language characteristics, specific to those periods. However, we also assume that there is continuity in the bio-mechanics of human movement which shows up in the training and execution of ballet over the centuries. Assuming the likelihood of such continuity, it would be possible to extrapolate from the physical logic of today's ballet execution to deter-mine which changes in direction and shifts of weight might have seemed more "natural" to 19th century dancers.

At this point, we also began to connect the step phrases with the number of measures of music inscribed in the page margin. By setting the speed at which certain steps needed to be executed, this rhythmic connection often helped finalize our decision as to which particular recon-struction option to use. Movements which could be performed in various ways can often be comfortably executed in only one way if it must be done in a particularly slow or fast meter.

We also contended with phrases for which there was a probability that terminological usage had changed.[6] For example, one passage of jumping steps included the phrase "c*oupè dessous, fouettè sautè dessus.*" Claudia Jeschke's research indicated equal likelihood that this terminology could be interpreted as indicating a jump in which the body whips around to change from one direction to another in the air, as in a contemporary *jete fouettè*, or as a form of *ballonnè* in

which "*fouettè*" indicates the velocity of the foot coming into a *coupè fondu* position.

We deemed it important never to disregard an option, even one which we decided not to include in the current reconstructed variation. Instead, such options were noted and retained for further consideration, should later analysis require a reconsideration of what had been done.

The next stage of our reconstructive work began when we obtained a computer generated piano reduction of music from the orchestral score that related to our danced entree. Because our work was begun before we were able to obtain relevant music, we had worked with counted musical measures, assuming the sound of such classical bolero music as came easily to mind, especially Ravel's famous bolero. When we finally heard the recording of music from the Esmeralda score, it was quicker in speed and brighter in feel than we had anticipated and did not seem to fit what we had done. The musical intro appeared of a different length than the Justamant score had implied, leading to questions about when the dance was supposed to begin. We had some difficulty relating the length of various musical sections to the duration of certain dance sections. There were issues of phrasing, and of the compatibility of accent and other qualitative elements. Finally, the dance notation indicated a concluding *coda* finale, which did not appear where expected in the musical score.

While we could be assured that the orchestral score was associated with Justamant's ballet, we could not guarantee it was the score for the particular notated version of the ballet with which we were working.[7] Therefore, we could use the appropriate section of music to provide a structure for our reconstruction, but could not assume a one to one correspondence between music and dance. In reviewing all of our work, we discovered two places where we had misinterpreted the number of repeats designated for a particular phrase, which brought those sections of dance into line with the music. Discrepancies in accent encouraged us to rework some movement phrases; certain steps now felt better taking off on the "3" of the previous measure rather on than the "1." The relative time allotted to movements within a phrase sometimes changed as we related steps to the accents of the music. Reconsideration also allowed us to discover other mistakes in interpretation. For example, the floor plan inscribed above the written description of Esmeralda's first dancing steps, a sequence of six continuous *brisè*, had appeared to indicate that the *brisè* should be danced in a circular pattern. We determined that the *brisè* were actually danced along a diagonal path but the diagram then duplicated the circular floor pattern associated with the next phrase of movement.

Other difficulties resided with the music itself. It had been necessary to record the music without dancers being present. The music was therefore produced at an even rate of speed, which did not allow for the normal modulations in tempo that take place when a piece of music is fitted to the dance. When we allowed for the possi-bility of such tempo adjustments, certain sections of music that had seemed not to fit the dance now complemented those movements. It was also discovered that the musical score did include a supple-mental section of music in a sharper tempo. When this section was speeded up, it well served as a *coda* for the final movements of the dance. Some of the transitional music leading to this *coda* was removed from the recording to better match the duration of time before the beginning of the *coda*.[8]

Further computer modulation enabled us to produce a music recording that incorporated the aforementioned corrections, and took into account the *accelerando* and *ritardando* of the music as determined by our work in the studio. With this musical base, we could work more assiduously on "performative" elements.

The "performative" art as documented in Justamant's score is characterized by a separation of the lower half of the body, which is primarily technical (execution of steps and line), from the upper half of the body (qualitative, story and character based elements). It was in the use of arms, angles of the head and the inclining and twisting of the torso that the story and characterization is expressed. Use of the dancer's body logic again led to interesting discoveries. As we attempted to make certain *tombe* and *faiili* steps fit into the musical meter, we discovered that deeper digging motions or laying back in the upper body actually facilitated execution of some movements. One particular phrase, a step involving a *fouettè*, a *tombè* and a *pas marchè*, led to stepping out with a deep backbend in a manner that matches a description of a "cachucha" step.[9]

The Notation of the Opfermanns

Our second source of notation posed an entirely different set of issues. Little is known about the Opfermann family Records of opera house contracts prove that Franz Opfermann, Sr. and his son, Franz

Opfermann, Jr., were both ballet masters who obtained contracts to work in various opera houses including in Munich. The son even worked at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City.

The Opfermanns, left us a "pattern book," which consists of dance illustra-tions with sparse supplemental commen-tary on 132 numbered pages. These partly colored illustrations are of primarily female dancers in the contemporary clothing used for practice (a heavily waisted ballet skirt ranging down to the calves) or in similarly cut, more extravagent costumes. A few illustrations feature dancers, probably men, in masculine shorts. They are shown from the viewpoint of the spectator and are often presented dealing with props such as scarves and cloths, flags and flower garlands in arrangements of various sizes and forms. The illustrations are not arranged in a clear structure; its organi-zation appears accumulative, like a sketch book, although three general thematic areas can be identified. After the biographical *frontespiece*, the first illustration pages show configurations of two, three, four, six, seven and eight female dancers without props. On the next pages, Opfermann explores sculptural-ornamental structures, construc-ted of various numbers of dancers with props like scarves and flower garlands. The sketches in these first two thematic areas are partly colored, and are of varying sizes; often several sketches are found on a single page of the manuscript. In the third thematic area, group formations are presented in the perspective of the stage, each of them a whole manuscript page in size, in which the dancers are almost always equipped with props. Lack of referential material makes it impossible to exactly date any individual Opfermann illustration. It is also not verifiable which illustrations represent the work of father or son, or even whether the illustrations represent work that was actually done or merely imagined.

Viewed as a whole, Opfermann's drawings deal with the ornamental decoration of the stage through the costumed bodies of female dancers. The illustrator pays considerable attention to their appearance; costumes and hairstyles are shown in great detail. Interaction between the dancers is a concern only in a decorative/sculptural sense as it is established by the posture of their bodies, their positioning in the room and in the contact between individual dancers (such as by touching each other's hands and grasping the waist in the first thematic area, and by the shared manipulation of props in the other thematic areas). Harmony, balance in the arrangement of the limbs in space, and the importance of each element as an ornament within the grouping are essential features of the Opfermanns' aesthetic. Props are used to provide variations on and the intensifi-cation of the sculptural, architectural aspects of the female body. For example, the arrangement of scarves or flower garlands makes visible to the audience the space surrounding the bodies, which is at times a more significant visual element than the body itself. In some sketches with many dancers handling props, especially those props that have to be handled by two or more dancers, walking paths are drawn, providing an interesting mixture of two and three dimensional elements. However, in the Opfermann manuscript, three-dimensional illustrations generally replaced in importance the floor plans of earlier traditional notations.

Interestingly, there is nothing to connect any specific illustration with any particu-lar production or piece of music. Because of similarities in the number of dancers and costume details, one can surmise that certain illustrations may be related to the same dance, but there is nothing to indicate in what order those configurations might have appeared in such a dance. Except for those few sketches of prop manipulation in the back of manuscript, there is nothing to link any of the illustrations of dancers to floor patterns.

The limitations of this historical record dictated an entirely different work process, one in which we were forced to make many initial decisions and hypotheses. First of all, because the pattern book offers no structure for the construction of a dance, there was no pretense that we would be able to produce an historically accurate recreation of an Opfermann ballet. Rather, our focus would be an examination of movement potential, of the kinesthetic choices that could bring dancers in and out of the illustration poses that we chose.

Secondly, we needed to decide which illustrations to utilize. We discovered that, throughout the second thematic section of the Opfermann book were approximately two dozen illustrations of groups of two to four dancers in which the dancers were manipulating two to three meter long streamers of silk. The use of veils/fabric held particular significance for the 19th nineteenth century mind. In addition to its sculptural aspect, the movement of fabric implied certain kinesthetic elements that transferred to the use of bodies in space, such as suspension, swaying, and fall and recover. Furthermore, there was symbolic

importance to the use of veils, involving that which is partially hidden, that which is revealed and that which is discovered. The choice of the illustrations that incor-porated fabric permitted us to explore both the kinesphere that is implicit in the existence and use of veils, and how movement vocabulary can be influenced by its placement in that kinesphere.

Thirdly, because we were not starting with a movement framework, it was determined that we needed the structure of a clear rhythmic framework. After examining several potential music selections, we decided to construct a brief suite from five of Franz Schubert's "German Dances" (D790). The music was of the correct historical period, of the same national area as that in which the Opfermanns had worked, and also provided some evocative inspiration that we could use in creating the dances.

As an experiment, we worked simul-taneously with two different groups of dancers, using a different choreographic process for each group. The first group was a trio of intermediate level teenaged ballet dancers from Studio Maestro in New York City. The second group was a quartet of ballet trained modern dancers from Barnard College. For group one, we ourselves made most of the critical decisions involving the structure of the dance, for example, which pictures went with which sections of music and in what order. With group two, we encouraged the students and their faculty advisor, Katie Glasner, to make most of those decisions. For group one, most of the movement vocabulary was provided to the dancers, utilizing adaptations of move-ment phrases drawn from Justamant, Bournonville, and other contemporaries. For group two, we allowed the dancers to "discover" movement transitions between the chosen illustrations, and then textured and "balleticized" their combinations after the fact. In both cases, we tried to leave the dancers free to discover ways in which to manipulate the cloth; often, their manipulations would result in positions and shifts of weight that would inform what movements could be used.

Neither group's interpretation would have been seen on a 19th century stage. For one thing, both groups resulted in choreography that was denser with movement and with less repetition of steps than would have been common in the mid nineteenth century. However, each group came up with moments that conveyed a convincing impression of the visual form and energy of the period. Interestingly, some of the movement choices of the modern dancers, who are more used to improvisation, and moving based on concepts of space and weight, looked more "authentic" to the historical period than the choices we had choreographed on the ballet dancers. This last result provided a surprising validation of our belief in the potential for the use of contemporary dancers' "kenetic instincts/body logic" as a tool for reconstruction.

The next step in a further exploration of this Opfermann material would be to revisit the results of both groups, excerpting promising elements from both studies. We would most likely use this material to construct a new dance to different music to avoid any prejudice we might have about previously made decisions.

With both notation reconstruction projects. another layer of discovery can come from further research into iconographic resources - paintings, lithographs, descriptive writings – to reveal additional clues about how the upper bodies of 19th century dancers would have looked and moved.

Another interesting avenue for consideration is the possibility that dancing with veils/fabric in 19th century ballet ushered in a new approach to movement elements such as weight and space. These elements were to become significant elements in American Modern Dance, offering the possibility of tracing a lineage from ballet to the explorations of Loie Fuller, Isadora Duncan, Ruth St. Denis and Martha Graham.

With the Opfermann material in particular, it is freeing to consider that there are possibilities for increased understanding of a period even in situations in which there is inadequate information for an accurate reproduction of historical material. We are certainly not the first to point out the distinction between re-construction, and reconstruction based on historical material, and to recognize that there is viability in both. The key is to maintain the integrity of the chosen work process, and honesty about both its potential and its limitations. In particular relevance to the topic of this conference, such a perspective allows one to look forward to both new work and new understandings by looking back.

Endnotes

[1] This paper draws on an article by Jeschke, Claudia and Atwood, Robert (2006) entitled "Expanding Horizons:

Techniques of Choreo-Graphy in Nineteenth Century Dance," Dance chronicle, 29, 2:195-214

[2] Little, Meredith (1986) "Recent Research on European Dance, 1400-1800" Early Music, Feb: 4

[3] Ibid.

[4] For a brief consideration of the evolution in notation techniques, see Jeschke and Atwood and Claudia Jeschke, (2006): 196

[5] This tem is drawn from the yet unpublished work of Noverre scholar, Sibylle Dahms.

[6] As has been documented by Sandra Noll Hammond. (1984) "Clues To Ballet: Technical History From The Early 19th Century Ballet Lesson", Dance Research, 3, 1: 53-66

[7] This discrepancy might indicate that the orchestral and choreo-graphic scores document different stages in the production process.

[8] We assume that this excess music had been used for mimetic exposition, which Justamant either considered unnecessary to describe, or which had possibly been added in another production).

[9] As presented in the Cachucha notation by Friederich Albert Zorn (1887) Grammatik der Tanzkunst, Leipzig: J.J. Weber

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In the Spirit of Pearl: Pearl Primus Collection

Ursula O. Payne

Introduction

The purpose of this repertory class was to engage students in a creative process that utilized Dr. Pearl Primus's unpublished archival and photographic documents as a source of inspiration toward the making of a dance. Involving students in repertory experiences is essential to expanding the students' understanding of how the application of traditional research methods serves as a foundation for their own aesthetic development and creative practice.

Viewing historical images, programs, dance reviews, announcements/bookings and other resources from the Pearl Primus collection provided students with greater insight into how she merged her pedagogical, ethnographic and choreographic knowledge and skills. This added a historical context to the creative process, which served to deepen the students' personal connection and awareness to a historical figure while inspiring the development of original choreography.

What is the Collection?

This valuable archival collection is part of collaboration between the American Dance Festival and Duke University. The American Dance Festival (ADF) owns the intellectual and physical rights to the Pearl Primus collection, which are archived and treasured in Duke University's Special Collection Library. The Pearl Primus collection represents irreplaceable materials that document her life as a dancer, choreographer, and field researcher of African and Caribbean cultures. Currently the location of the collection makes them difficult for large groups of students participating at ADF to view and use them at the same time. Providing repertory experiences where students engage creatively with resources from the Pearl Primus collection greatly increases its current research value and enhances the accessibility of this rare and important collection to scholars and practitioners in the dance community, and the general public.

Personal Experiences

I first encountered Dr. Pearl Primus as a summer work study scholarship student at the Alvin Ailey American Dance Center in New York. She was conducting a repertory workshop that involved restaging one of her master works. I remembered walking out of my Horton class and being drawn to the studio with the pulsing drum rhythms, the steady tempo of a cane pounding on the floor and the majestic presence of this petite black woman dressed in strange garb wearing lots of jewelry and makeup. I remember standing outside wondering who she was. I stared at her knowing I was witnessing something and someone important. What I didn't realize was that this was the beginning of my fascination and relationship with Dr. Pearl Primus, which ultimately led me towards a clearer understanding and breakthrough in my intellectual and artistic development as a college student.

The following summer I attended the American Dance Festival at the suggestion of James Truitte who saw me perform in an adjudication concert at a regional American College Dance Festival conference. He said that Pearl Primus would be teaching there for six weeks and I should go and study with her. He also said I should look into taking up Labanotation. At the time I didn't have a clue as to what it was and later on in my academic career I attended The Ohio State University and received my MFA in Direction from Labanotation Score.

Eventually I was awarded a full tuition scholarship to attend the American Dance Festival. My assignment was to be Dr. Primus' staff assistant. This involved living with her, transporting her around campus and providing her with support during her classes.

During this time, the ADF's Black Tradition in American Modern Dance project, directed by Dr. Gerald E. Myers, Stephanie and Charles Reinhart, was being presented. I was able to see classic masterworks by African-American choreographers being performed live by leading U.S. dance companies. I escorted Dr. Primus to every concert and we conversed freely about the dances, the field of dance and her experiences as a young dancer coming into contact with people such as Maya Angelou, Talley Beatty, Lavinnia Williams, Billy Holiday and Duke Ellington.

This proved to be one of the most important experiences for me as a student. Living with her and being at ADF led to a sharing of experiences that exposed me to a significant presence of black men and women that had a history as modern dance scholars and artists. For the first time I, as an African-American female, had made a significant personal connection to an exciting history and diverse heritage in dance that extended to and beyond slavery.

I found myself reading history books with renewed fervor and awareness. My choreography and physical practice evolved beyond my dance studio influences, much to the delight of my undergraduate professors. The content of my choreography became informed by historical research and my artistic voice began to take shape.

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Archival Research: A New Frontier

My first introduction to the archives was in 2003 while teaching dance notation in the Margo Lehman Dance Notation project. I was introduced to Nancy Muller who donated the Pearl Primus collection to the American Dance Festival. My initial encounter with the materials was before they were catalogued or organized. When I returned the following summer progress had been made with the collection and they were being housed at the ADF offices. The collection is now stored in Duke Facilities and can be accessed through the Duke University Special Collections Main Library.

FIGURE 1: [Dr. Pearl Primus's promotional flyer], Pearl Primus Collection, American Dance Festival Archives.

My motivation was simple and fueled my curiosity to learn more about a woman who in a short period of time, aided my undergraduate professors in changing my perspective on aesthetics, the nature of my choreography, and understanding my responsibility for the images I presented on stage.

I had no clue what I was doing. I was not educated on the current methods of conducting archival research. I had not read any books or articles about researchers or their experiences with conducting archival research. I was not versed in any of the scholarly terminology associated with this kind of research, nor did I have a plan. In fact, it was the first time I had ever been in an archive! A virginal experience to say the least!

I began like any novice. I picked a box and started reading. Fascination and mystery fueled my passions as I began examining her personal effects, diaries, papers, photographs, dance reviews and programs. I spent the entire summer rummaging through the archives and photocopying everything I thought was interesting. Little did I know that this was preparing me for the Primus Archive Project at ADF.

The second experience that prepared me for the Primus Archive Project occurred during the following year when I reconstructed Anna Sokolow's **Scenes from the Music of Charles Ives** from Labanotation on students enrolled in my repertory class at Slippery Rock University.

I was struggling with finding a way to connect my students to the nature of the work. I wanted them to appreciate the historical context surrounding the development of the piece and the legacy of Anna Sokolow. The students and I co-wrote and received a SRU faculty student research grant that funded a field trip to New York City for twenty-one students.

In the grant I argued that the creative process and rehearsal experience of learning the piece extended beyond the physical and included the refining of higher order cognitive processing skills such as critical thinking and synthesizing information from multiple resources and perspectives. It was necessary that the students become engaged in the process of collecting additional materials and resources pertinent to their understanding and performance of this historical work.

Viewing primary source material in Anna Sokolow's Archives housed in the New York Performing Arts Library; interviewing Jim and Lorry May principle dancers in Sokolow's Company; and rehearsing in central park which served as the inspiration for the creation and imagery of Sokolow's

Central Park in the Dark, served to provide the students with an opportunity to as Gesa Kirsch describes in her essay, *Being On Location: Serendipity, Place and Archival Research,* "walk in the footsteps of an historical subject."[1]

Reconstructing historical works from Labanotation Score was a highly specialized skill that I learned as a graduate student at The Ohio State University. This is where I was exposed to the intersection of creative process, dance history, and movement analysis.

In addition, I was able to rely on my twelve years of teaching repertory as a faculty member at Slippery Rock University, several guest artist residencies in colleges and universities nationally and internationally, and in my advanced training in laban movement analysis from the Laban/Bartenieff Institute of Movement studies in New York. These experiences guided me towards developing a research methodology that would support my goals for student learning and achievement in the Pearl Primus Archive Project at the American Dance Festival.

Developing the Course

Donna Faye Burchfield the current Dean of ADF was interested in finding a way for the Primus Archives to have greater visibility within the festival. She approached me with the dilemma and I suggested that a repertory class might be the appropriate means for increasing visibility and accessibility to Pearl Primus's archives among the students.

Within a repertory course students could be engaged in a creative process that centralizes the life and work of Pearl Primus as a mode of inspiration for developing original choreography and deepening one's performance practice. Gaining access to materials and resources located in Primus's collection provided the students and me with an opportunity to empower Primus's legacy through creating a new work.

Prior to my arrival at ADF I was in contact with the ADF archivist Dean Jeffrey. We discussed how the course could be structured to ensure the best use of the archives. He responded by suggesting he become the liaison between the Duke Special Collections Library and myself. He was instrumental in making the arrangements for the class to visit the special collection library and provided us with the necessary paper work. Mr. Jeffrey also allowed me to hold a box which contained duplications of materials from the archive collection. This was very helpful because we could access this information for every class session.

The first week of classes involved passing out questionnaires, getting to know each other and viewing excerpts from the award winning ***Free to Dance Series Part II: Steps of the Gods*** that featured the work of Katherine Dunham and Pearl Primus.[2] We also reviewed and refined the movement phrases that I taught during the audition. After reading the questionnaires I discovered that the majority of the students had little to no information as to the contributions this important historical figure had made to Dance.

The second week of classes involved going to the special collections library and continuing the process of generating movement material. I continued the process of expanding the students' knowledge of Dr. Pearl Primus through viewing her solo choreography and select master classes from the video archives at ADF.

After the students' trip to the archives, Donna Faye arranged for guest lecturer Kimberly Rhodes, an Associate Professor in Art History at Hollins College, to give a lecture to the class. She discussed the challenges of doing archival research, but how this type of historical research can drive contemporary creative processes. Rhodes identified visual and musical artist who currently work in this manner and showed some of their work. She also discussed how an archive presents a fragmented view of a person's life which allows space for interpretation from those using the archives.

The remaining weeks involved creating movement, attending the screening of ***Dancing in the Light*** which featured a performance of Primus's Strange Fruit and participating in the repertory showing during the last week of the festival. [3]

Field Trip to the Archives

Using the Sokolow project as a model, I worked with the ADF archivist Dean Jeffrey to arrange a field trip to the Duke University Special Collections Library for the students participating in the project. Due to the high level of interest from the students wanting to participate in the project I increased the number of students from 12 to 20. This

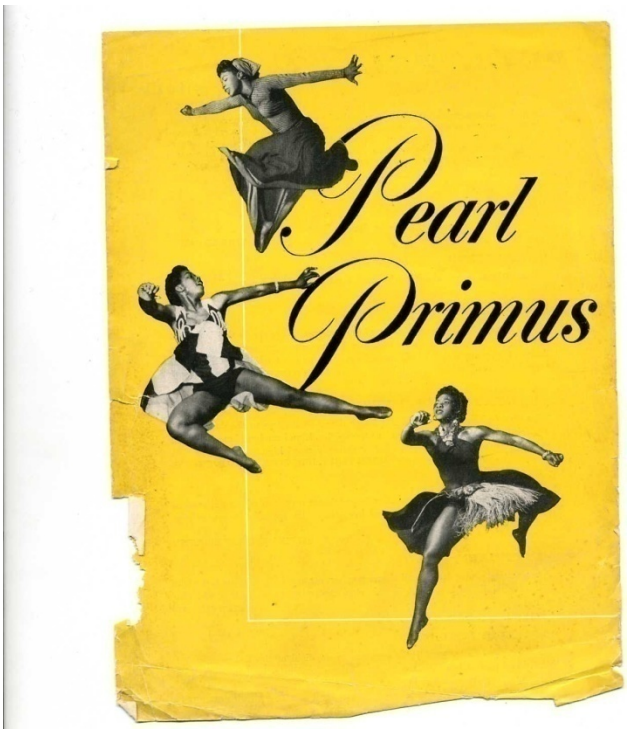

FIGURE 2: [Dr. Pearl Primus promotional flyer from the 1940's], Pearl Primus Collection, American Dance Festival Archives.

would later lead to one of the challenges of the project involving the appropriateness of a group of 20 students visiting the archives.

We prepared the students for their trip to the special collections library by discussing behavior and going over the procedures for handling archival materials. Mr. Jeffrey gave an overview of the archives and provided each student with copies of the inventory. The ADF archivist and I were both on hand during the visit to help direct the students, monitor their behavior and make sure materials were returned unharmed. My hope was that the students would develop an emotional attachment to Dr. Primus through the archive collection that would inform and drive their creative work both individually and collectively in the studio.

Once in the archives the students selected boxes they were interested in viewing and began reading and looking at photographs. I could sense the students were gaining a clearer understanding of the life of Dr. Primus as an educator, mother, teacher, dancer, anthropologist, student, choreographer and daughter. Suddenly the movement sessions and discussions that were taking place in class began to have new meaning as the students were gazing at her handwriting through the correspondence, and diary entries; her family photos, and pictures of her dancing. The activity of browsing through the archives made it easier for the students to develop their own personal connection to this historical figure. Suddenly I became aware of the importance of providing students with multiple opportunities to experience within the creative process "history come to life".[4]

A portion of this involves the student being able to imagine, consider and make choices about what is important regardless of the fragmented nature of historical knowledge. I found myself acting as a facilitator and learning in the moment about how to encourage the students along with myself to remain true to their interpretation of the archive while being true to the legacy of Dr. Primus. I also struggled with the tendency to romanticize this historical figure which often reflects your own idealisms rather than the reality of the subject's experience.

Movement development and choreographic structure

The actual piece that was created during the six weeks began with movement phrases that I developed and taught to the students. This opening section involved all of the dancers. The movement phrases I created became manipulated with the students using critical thinking skills to solve choreographic problems. For example one group of four students had to develop a quartet in response to one of the discussions on immigration. They had the task of shifting between roles of support, nurture, instigation and watching.

Each student had the task of reorganizing the material and interjecting their own movement preferences based upon readings from Dr. Primus's

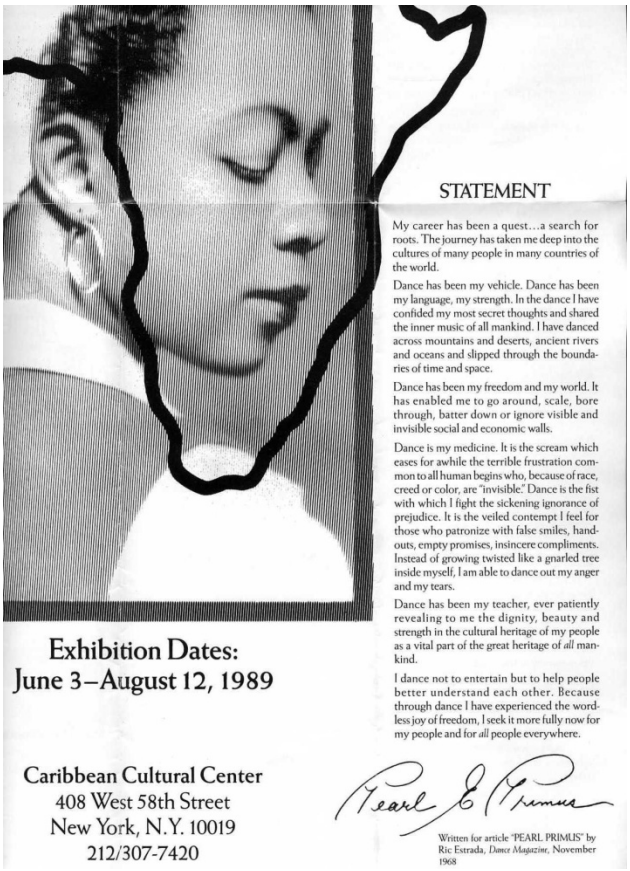

FIGURE 3: [Dr. Pearl Primus promotional brochure 1989], Pearl Primus Collection, American Dance Festival Archives.

Artistic statement. This led to the development of a ninety second solo. Sometimes their solo material was then turned into a duet exploration or placed in front of a group unison section or as a moment of transition between sections. The dance was based on an old experimental group dance Dr. Primus created called ***Freedom Train***.[5]

> My audience must not be aware of the counts…I wish them to live through the sound of many, many, many footsteps which becomes a powerful rhythm.[6]

Through looking at the descriptions of dances created by Dr. Primus in the late forties, we were able to find that what we were creating in the studio related to several dances performed by Primus and her company. The students and I discovered these dances through looking at programs of her concerts. The Pearl Primus collection informed the meaning behind the work by influencing how the dancers shared physical, expressive and cognitive information as they performed and interacted with each other, further revealing the collaborative and intersectional nature of the creative process.

In a program from the Festival International De La Danse in Rome, Primus states "For into that formalized pattern of rehearsal …comes the voice of the soul". [7] I believe this is referring to finding greater coordination between the performers ability to deepen the reciprocal relationship between intuition, cognitive processing and complex kinesthetic skill development both individually and collectively through a consistently rigorous rehearsal process.

Approaching the creative process in this way encourages creative behavior that depends upon experimentation and the development of functional interpersonal relationships between students and their instructors; that generates new ideas, promotes the sharing of information, and deepens their current insights about the nature of performance and the meaning behind the work being performed.

In closing

One of the ongoing challenges to the project involves accessibility of the Pearl Primus Collection for future repertory projects. The appropriateness of taking a group of students into the Special collections library at Duke University is a delicate matter to consider, particularly when scholars travel from all over the world to conduct research in the Special Collections library at Duke.

Archival research is generally conducted as an intimate act between a singular researcher and the collection. I am left with figuring out ways to bring the archives to the students in an effort to minimize any appearance of damage to the collection that could occur accidentally.

One of the inclusions that I have made for this summer is learning the ***Bushasche Etude*** choreographed by Pearl Primus.[8] I remembered learning this dance while being a student assistant in her repertory class at ADF in the summer of 1991. As a part of the creative process students learned steps from the ***Bushasche Etude*** and read excerpts from the resource guide, written by Peggy Schwartz and Julie Adams Strandberg, as a way of reinforcing and deepening their connection to the legacy of Pearl Primus within the rehearsal process. This has proved to be a wonderful addition to the course.

Embarking on this journey was an intimidating and humbling endeavor but I was able to draw confidence from the student responses while participating in the project and the successfulness of the Pearl Primus Archive Project showing at the end of the festival. The following listing is a selection of student experiences in their words taken from a journal I was given by the class at the end of the process.

Student Responses

"I can't thank you enough for the opportunity you gave us. Just the process of creating the work made such a transformation in the way I carry myself, understand choreography, create choreography and what I take in consideration during rehearsal and performance times."

"Working with you has been the highlight of my first ADF experience. I am so happy that I got to be a part of this amazing opportunity for reflection and creation."

"Thank-you so much for giving me the opportunity to be in your rep piece. It has impacted me in so many ways. You have helped cultivate me as a performer, artist and also have allowed me to discover ways I can bring my love of history into my dancing. This experience has been such a turning point for me and I can't even begin to tell you how much I have enjoyed it."

"It was an honor to work with you and to learn from you this summer. You are a beautiful mover. I love your stories, your generosity, and your honesty. What a wonderful idea to become part of history and to explore the Pearl Primus archives. Thank-you for this opportunity and for believing in me and this group."

"I am so glad to have had the opportunity to work with you this summer. It was so refreshing to approach movement as more than movement, to so thoroughly investigate and understand the context and history behind it, and to allow that knowledge to infuse and inform the performance. It was an incredibly inspiring and stimulating process and I am very grateful to have been a part of it."

"Thank-you so much for giving me the opportunity to be a part of your rep piece. The process and creation of the work was a wonderful and unique experience for me. I feel so lucky to have been able to explore the Pearl Primus archives and hear about your own personal experiences with her."

"I am so honored to have been part of this rep experience this summer. I was interested in your process from the beginning because I knew that no matter what I would grow as an artist. Now that is over and done with, I can see that I learned a lot about the legitimacy of the creative process in regard to content, history and performance quality. Thank you for sharing your knowledge and trusting me with your work."

Endnotes

1 This essay was written by Gesa E. Kirsch an English professor at Bently College and Co-Editor of the recently published book, ***Beyond the Archives: Research as a Lived Process*.**

2 This is part of the three-hour Emmy Award-winning documentary film ***Free to Dance: The African-American Presence in Modern Dance*.** Charles and Stephanie Reinhart were the executive producers of the Film.

3 This special was a compilation of six classic works by African-American Choreographers that was originally filmed by the American Dance Festival. All of the dances where shown as excerpts in the **Free to Dance Series**. The students in the Primus archive project attended the special screening of the film on June 19th, 2007 prior to the National PBS broadcast of the Program on June 20th, 2007.

4 See Kirsch, "*Being on Location: Serendipity, Place, and Archival Research*."

5 **Freedom Train** was performed by Pearl Primus and her company at the Soldiers and Sailors' War Memorial Building in Trenton, NJ Tuesday evening, January 23rd, 1945. Members of the cast were Pearl Primus, Thomas Bell, Edith Hurd, Richard James, Alma Robinson, and Remitha Spurlock. The music was by Woody Guthrie. This dance was presented in the section of the concert that featured works dealing with themes of Spirituality and Songs of Protest. Primus's concerts were usually divided into three sections, 1) Primitives or Dark Rhythms, 2) Spirituals and Songs of Protest, 3) Modern Rhythms.

6 This quote was found in an International dance festival program from Rome, Festival International De La Danse. This festival featured La Compagnia Afro-Caraibica Pearl Primus. Percival Borde performed several solos on this particular program. The unofficial year of the program was marked as 1956.

7 This quote was found in an International dance festival program from Rome, Festival International De La Danse.

8 The **Bushasche Etude** is included in the Repertory Etudes Dance Instructional Collection, directed and curated by Carolyn Adams and Julie Adams Strandberg. I acquired the Etude as a gift from a colleague who was aware of my

development of the Primus Archive project and who also attended the repertory showing last summer at ADF.

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Drawing out the Connections between the Past and the Present:

The Lost Dances of Egon Schiele (2002) by Lea Anderson

Henia Rottenberg

The Lost Dances of Egon Schiele, a video-dance, was created in 2002 by the contemporary British choreographer Lea Anderson and Kevin McKeirnan for her all-male group, The Featherstonehaughs. It was based on *The Featherstonehaughs Draw on the Sketch Books of Egon Schiele*, a dance that was first performed in London, 1998. Anderson started to choreograph in 1984, with the foundation of her all-female company, The Cholmondeleys (pronounced Chumlees). After establishing a second company, The Featherstonehaughs (pronounced Fanshaws), in 1988, which was concerned with images of masculinity, Anderson's reputation as a leading choreographer was assured (Hargreaves, 2002).

Anderson, who appropriates Egon Schiele's painterly images and makes them her own is not the first choreographer to work within hybrid, time-shifting genres across dance and painting. Her mode of re-working this genre, however, generates new manifestations in postmodern culture. The process of making the dance, she acknowledges, involved sticking closely to Schiele's pictures, instead of her own. She combines the conventions he used, of pictorial art movements and gestures, the flat surface, colour and the rhythm of brush strokes – with her own discipline. Anderson's choice of images show her representing not only the movements and gestures of Schiele's models but re-constructing an artistic structure within which they could be performed. She copies Schiele's movements and gestures only to incorporate them into another aesthetic, that of a contemporary dance.

Schiele, whose art is appropriated by Anderson into her own artistic medium, is regarded by art historians as one of the major exponents of Viennese Expressionism (for example Kallir, 1981, Comini 1978). He produced in his short lifetime (1890-1918) an *oeuvre* of paintings and drawings ranging from landscapes to provocative nudes that shocked society.

The Lost Dances of Egon Schiele is more than a bringing together of the arts of dance and painting. Anderson's engagement with Schiele's art becomes a point of departure for another distinctive hybrid relationship, between British postmodernism of the late twentieth century and Viennese Expressionism of the early twentieth century. The work shows a postmodern choreographer playing with modern concepts of art. These relationships, however, become problematic since the work challenges modernist art while, at the same time, creating a link with the past by addressing it and recalling it visually. Through this process Anderson undermines some of the profound characteristics of modernism – uniqueness and authenticity – and thus expresses her own views of Schiele's art and of Expressionism, as well demonstrating, wittily, the relevance of these ideas to our time.

Thus I point to the way Anderson confronts and juxtaposes memory and modes of representation in the art of dance. Anderson challenges traditions through her employment of deconstruction and pastiche. The argument here is that the specific manifestations of Anderson's play with the past and the present endow the past with meaning in the present. The issue raised in consequence, from a historical point of view, does the return to a model of art from the past supports the development of a new practice or challenge it? The engagement with appropriation as a critical tool, not of documentation, but of knowingly representing the past brings about a need to discuss the complexity of representation operated by Anderson.

When Anderson uses Schiele's drawings and paintings as sources for her dance, she makes his Expressionist art her point of departure, not the 'subject' of her work. Shifting Schiele's art from its usual place in our culture and transforming its traditions, the distance that separates us from what Schiele's sketch books offer and repress becomes the subject of the dance. As she takes a fresh look at the historical record of modernist Expressionism, Anderson must find ways to relate her own work of art not only to another art, but also to another era. The physicality of Schiele's work, Anderson declares, inspires, appeals and strongly suggests choreography to her. Raw material – Schiele's movements and gestures – is transformed into dance, given shape and form. She speaks of her attempt to reproduce his sketch books: "…I suddenly thought, I wonder what it would be like if I just reconstructed the 'Lost Dances' of Egon Schiele?" (in Robertson, 1998, p. 19). Conceptually, representation in Anderson's artistic work is based on Schiele's actual

drawings and paintings. However, Anderson subjects Schiele's artistic qualities, which she describes as distinguished by "rawness and sense of exposure" (in Hutera, 1998, p. 34), to her own needs.

As a term, 'representation', while complex, is often seen to have two basic meanings (Prendergast, 2000). The first lies in the capacity to 'make present again', the reappearance of an absent person or object by means of a simulacrum. The second meaning of representation, standing for something or someone absent, rests on a principle of substitution. While there can be only one kind of simulacrum, there can be many kinds of substitution, which is a wider sense of representation that can, in theory, cover the entire field of culture. Representation within contemporary culture is complex, and can behave in "a whole variety of different ways according to context, intellectual discipline, and object of inquiry" (Prendergast, 2000, p. 3). Dance critics and scholars advance the referential view of Anderson's choreographic art and tie her work with various themes and discourses, such as popular culture, video dance or gender issues, also demonstrating her socio-political engagement with ideas and non-dance sources (see for example Dodds, 1995; Briginshaw 1995; Burt, 1998 and Jordan 1988).

My argument, however, is that one can read Anderson's dance as both referential and simulacral, oscillating between the two primary meanings of artistic representation – 'making present' and 'standing for'. However, although both concepts of representations coexist within Anderson's choreography, I argue that the concept of representation as 'standing for' is a more significant mechanism. The added value of the theoretical ideas and discourses embodied in the dance are what make it more attractive and interesting.

The 'naked' dancer who is posing on a mattress is aware of the spectator/artist looking. The spectator/artist watches the dancer move and pose before him or her with his legs wide apart, placing his hands over his genitals and raising his pelvis. Anderson uses poses that are similar to those of Schiele's subjects, but at the same time draws the audience's attention to the relationship established between artist and model, a distinct theme in pictorial art. This manifestation of the chain of gazes comprises spectators/artist, model/dancer, and exposes the dancer/model as both an object and voyeur. Anderson, however, pushes this theme further when enabling the audience to become consumers, not of feminine sexuality as in Schiele's paintings and drawings, but of images of male sexuality as objects of desire.

As Prendergast (2000) suggests, the association between representation and power is embedded in a referential ('standing for') relation to representation. Furthermore, in contemporary critical theory the emphasis moves from the object of representation to the subject of representation (which is not necessarily an individual). One aspect of this displacement of attention is "the notion of the representational field as a field to be policed and the subject of representation as a kind of policing agent" (Prendergast, 2000, p. 11). This is exemplified when the dancer looks at the audience, who watch the intimate occurrence on stage. I argue that Anderson creates a powerful female spectator's look, avoiding what Laura Mulvey refers to as a certain 'masculinisation' of spectatorship (in Doane, 1982). The woman spectator, no longer the image, obtains her desire in relation to the process of imaging.

In consequence, questions of representation can also become questions of politics in a broad sense of the term. Applying this to an interpretation of Anderson's dance, the complexity of form and pattern suggests a type of expressionism that is different from Schiele's picturesque use of structure and space in that it shifts the attention towards the subject, towards the way Anderson exposes and transforms his notions of Expressionist art.

When Anderson is quoted as saying that "every single position [in the dance] comes from a painting or sketch of his [Schiele's]", the simulacral meaning of the dance becomes apparent (in Hutera, 1998, p. 34). At the same time, like Schiele's paintings and drawings, the dancers expose and present their emotions as well as their flesh. Anderson's desire to *substitute* Schiele's art is evoked by the sense of exposure portrayed in Schiele's paintings and drawings. The traces of the past found in Anderson's present work are represented as a duality between two layers of time, past and present. These are juxtaposed in a postmodern manner, remaining separate in the dance, and the resulting contradiction between the two narratives is not resolved; rather, they coexist heterogeneously (Hutcheon, 1989).

When Anderson draws on the discourse of the relationship between the artist and model, revealing the field of power and its limitations, she demonstrates that every point of view is only a relative one, and the spectator's point of view is not the ultimate or definite one. In doing so she indicates her self-awareness and up-to-date knowledge of art history and cultural theories, which she incorporates into her video-dance. Furthermore, Schiele, like his predecessors, had no doubts in his art and did not use either irony or any other means that might provoke the audience to disbelieve him. Anderson, who

imitates and exaggerates Schiele's poses and facial expression sometimes provoking laughter, draws on this discourse to present it in her dance with irony and pastiche.

The dance works with two distinctive sets of images: those from Schiele's sketch books and the choreographer's images – and the space or vibration between them. Anderson challenges the traditional representational model of the relationship between the inner and the outer, the subjective and objective world, as expressed by Schiele's art; at the same time, she enables the changes that have transpired since that time to become visible in her dance in, for example, the 'mock-nude' costumes in the dance which indicate some reflection about the construction of eroticism and how desire is to be expressed on the outside of the body. The dancers' 'skin' is painted with Schiele's coloured brushstrokes; but while Schiele expressed his inner feelings on the flesh of his female models, it is male dancers that Anderson and her costume designer Sandy Powell dress in tights. This might point to Anderson's interest in fluid gender identities.

Anderson has long focused on stereotyped definitions of gender identities and heteronormative culture in a way which is characteristic of contemporary feminist critique, and which simultaneously conveys a political message. Anderson formulates her critical message by emphasising the area of Schiele's appropriated 'normative' art. She presents a woman artist's desire for a male artist who desires other women. This is presented by male dancers representing women/models and at the same time longing for other male dancers performing on stage. Thus, Anderson unravels Schiele's ways of looking at the world and constructs her own view of it.

Artistic representation, which is traditionally perceived in visual arts as a field of vision shaped like a triangle, places the subject of vision at its apex. Barthes' (1973) model of representation is a dual one in which his geometric metaphor of a formal model of representation is directed less at objects than at the process of representation. Similarly, Anderson's dance not only focuses the audience's attention on the art of Schiele – an artist who was breaking taboos and challenging *fin-de-siècle* culture in Vienna as well as a product of his time, but also draws attention to Anderson herself as an author. She examines representations within the structures and operations of her dance very differently from Schiele, indirectly, through manipulations of various theoretical discourses borrowed from visual art. Consequently, the complexity of representation in Anderson's dance becomes an active force, which is part of the entire structure rather than an expressive device.

To conclude, Anderson's play with Schiele's art within her dance emphasises the distance between the two, and becomes her point of departure. Appropriating Schiele's exact images becomes a critical tool to challenge what Connor (1997) argues is the impossibility of representation in modernist culture. Anderson's application of imitation and pastiche as a critical device enables her to deconstruct the conventional and accepted meaning of Schiele's art.

In the last analysis, what matters are not the various issues referred to in themselves, but the web-like structure of the text. It is demonstrated when pictorial ideas of another style and time penetrating and enriching the dance, and the engagement with such discourses which undermines normative power structures. The final interpretative task is left to the spectator/reader.

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Choreographic Structure in Dances by Dezais

Ken Pierce

Corrected Abstract[1]

This workshop will explore choreographic devices that Étienne-Joseph Dezais (often referred to as Jacques Dezais) used in his dances: step vocabulary, phrase structure, and use of repeated figures or instances of question and answer. Material will range from very simple, as in contredanses, to somewhat complex baroque dance steps, as in some of Dezais's later ballroom dances. The emphasis will be not on the correct execution of the steps themselves, but rather on the manner in which Dezais arranged steps in choreographic sequences, and how he arranged those sequences in space and in relation to the music.

Workshop participants should wear comfortable *clothing and soft-soled shoes.*

Introduction

After Feuillet's death in 1710, his privilege to publish notated dances was purchased by Étienne-Joseph Dezais.[2] Dezais continued Feuillet's practice of publishing annual collections of ballroom dances. He also published, in 1712, a "second" collection of contredanses for longways sets, Feuillet's 1706 collection having been the first. In 1725 he published another collection of contredanses for fixed sets of four, six, or eight dancers.[3]

Among the dances Dezais published are some that he himself choreographed: four in the 1712 contredanse collection (Table 1), one in each of the annual collections during the period 1712-1719, for a total of eight (Table 2), and nine the 1725 collection (Table 3). This small sample of dances shows Dezais to have been an accomplished and inventive choreographer, whether in a straightforward contredanse or in a sometimes surprisingly varied couple dance. Though all of Dezais's dances are by definition ballroom dances, they include sections that are close in character to theatrical dances. (Unlike Feuillet, Dezais offered no theatrical choreographies to the public.)

Who was Dezais?

Many authors give Dezais's first name as Jacques. There was indeed a dancer named Jacques Deshayes, who brought a complaint in 1680 because he had a chamber pot emptied on his head.[4] Perhaps it was this same Deshayes who danced at the Opéra in 1690. But it's difficult to believe Campardon's conflation of the 1690 Deshayes with an actor (singer) in 1713, or with the dancer or dancers named Dezais or Deshayes who danced at the Opéra in 1720-1722.[5] Perhaps one of these individuals was related to, or identical with, the choreographer Étienne-Joseph Dezais, but so far there's no clear evidence of such a connection.[6] Taubert describes Dezais as a "master" at the "world renowned" Académie [Royale] de Dance, but makes no mention of him as a performer.[7]

Scope of workshop

Because of the limited time available, I will say little about Dezais's contredanses, and will focus instead on his six dances for a single couple.

Briefly: Table 1 lists the four contredanses from the 1712 collection, with notes about Dezais's use of repeated sequences within the dance figures. Note the use in *la Gentilly* of a double question and answer-that is, a short sequence in which the dancers simultaneously do different steps and then switch, each doing what the other has just done. The two contredanses from the annual collection (Table 2) both have verse-chorus structure, like the 1705 dance *le Cotillon*.[8] So do some of the dances in the 1725 collection.

Generalities, and discussion of tables

Tables 2 summarizes some of the structural aspects of Dezais's dances from the annual collections. Symbols in column four indicate use of repeated figures, instances of question and answer, and the number of measures in which both dancers face toward the presence (that is, the front of the dancing space). In four out of the six duos, Dezais uses step-sequence repeats or near-repeats that corresond to musical repeats. Often they occur with modified spatial patterns, as will be seen in the examples, below. Two of the dances include at least one instance of question and answer. In addition to these, *la Corsini* might be said to begin with a sort of extended double question and answer, with unison interspersed (see Example 8).

Unlike Balon, whose choreographies Dezais also published (see Table 4), Dezais's dances include no

choreographic rondeaus, in which the same movement sequence is used as a refrain corresponding to a musical refrain.[9] Two of Dezais's dances are set to musical rondeaus, but for neither of them does he take Balon's approach. In *la Denain*, a rondeau that also involves meter changes, Dezais uses repeated step sequences in the triple-meter couplets rather than in the duple-meter refrain. In *le Menuet d'Espagne*, the overall menuet structure precludes a choreographic rondeau; Dezais instead uses symmetrical right- and left-hand figures in the middle of the dance, corresponding to parallel halves of the refrain (see Table 5).

As Table 5 shows, most of Dezais's duos-the exception is *la Corsini*-follow a basic overall formula, beginning in mirror symmetry, then changing to axial symmetry, and remaining so until the final figure of the dance in which the dancers head upstage for closing bows. This basic formula is typical for baroque dances, and within this formula there's room for considerable variety in the relative lengths of sections and the transitions between them. A choreographer may break up an axial-symmetric section with a stretch of mirror or parallel (translational) symmetry, or with an asymmetrical passage; or he or she may introduce one or more question-and-answer sequences. The choreographer must also provide transitions from one type of symmetry to another.[10]

It seems that Dezais became more assured and adventurous from year to year, at least as regards transitions and other choreographic devices. Table 5 shows a progression: discreet transitions between mirror and axial symmetry in *l'Asturienne*, each via an assemblé into first position; more complex transitions, as in *la Chambéri*, in which the dancers change symmetry while changing places; uses of question-and-answer sequences, first appearing in *la Chambéri*; extended use of a repeated figure, with endings varied, in *la Ribeyra*; and, finally, the unusual first two figures of *la Corsini*, which include Dezais's first extended use of parallel symmetry.

With the notable exception of *la Corsini*, Dezais's dances include only brief moments in which both dancers face the presence (see Table 2). Here, too, there appears to be a progression. In *l'Asturienne*, the dancers face one another at the very beginning of the dance, and don't both face the presence except in passing until the start of the final figure, during a contretemps in which their attention will probably be toward one another rather than forward. *La Denain* begins with a single measure directed toward the presence, *la Chambéri* with three measures facing the presence, and *le Menuet d'Espagne* with two. *La Ribeyra* begins with a six-measure phrase that is mostly directed toward the presence, ending with the dancers facing one another. Only in *la Corsini* do the dancers face the presence repeatedly and for more than a couple of measures.

The number of measures spent facing the presence is related to the use of symmetry in the dance, since the dancers cannot both face the presence during an axial-symmetric figure. It is not difficult to find a ballroom duo in which the dancers face the presence only briefly at the beginning of the dance and in the final figure. (Examples include Pécour's *la Forlana* and *l'Allemande*.)[11] But Dezais does seem to emphasize the connection between the dancers more than their connection with the presence. This is in contrast to Balon, who in his dances from the same period generally had the dancers facing the presence much more often.[12]

Let us turn now to examples of Dezais's choreographic approach.

Examples

Example 1: *l'Asturienne*, first figure (see Figure 1).

The spatial pattern of this figure is very similar to the first figure of la Denain (see Table 5), and to the opening figure of Balon's la Sylvie, another dance published by Dezais for 1712. Dezais employs sequences similar to the first half of this figure in la Denain (final figure) and la Corsini (third figure). The frequency and distribution of jumps in this figure is worth noticing: jumps occur in alternate measures, beginning with the first. Though the pattern of measures with and without jumps varies somewhat during the dance, the frequency of jumps from figure to figure does not. In l'Asturienne, roughly half the measures include jumps.

Notice that in the opening figure of la Denain there is also an alternation of measures with and without jumps, but the pattern is shifted by a measure: the jumps occur in even- rather than odd-numbered measures. (The pattern does not continue beyond the first figure.)

Example 2: *l'Asturienne*, fifth and sixth figures (see Figure 2).

These two figures offer an instructive example of Dezais's use of a repeated step sequence that corresponds to a musical repeat. The steps in the sixth

figure are those of the fifth, on the other foot, but Dezais has modified the spatial pattern so that the dancers travel farther around one another in the sixth figure, not only exchanging places but also rotating the entire figure from a vertical to a horizontal axis. As we'll see (Example 4), he uses a similar device in la Denain.

The alternation of measures with and without jumps in these two figures follows the pattern established in the first figure, discussed in Example 1.

Example 3: *la Denain,* third figure (see Figure 3).

This figure offers another example of Dezais's use of a repeated step sequence, this time a very simple sequence of two pas graves and two pas de bourrée (with the repeat modified to pas de bourrée, coupé). The sequence begins on the same foot each time, and the path continues uninterrupted, just as the music continues without internal repeats. This simple eight-measure figure is striking for the time and space it allows the dancers as they curve away from one another before returning to their places.

Example 4: *la Denain,* fifth figure (see Figure 3).

Dezais uses a repeated step sequence for the second couplet of the music, just as he does for the first couplet (the third figure, discussed in Example 3). For the repeat on the other foot, he adds ninety degree rotation to the sequence, as in the sixth figure of l'Asturienne (Example 2). The shoulder shading in the first two measures adds interest to this sequence, and builds nicely to the turn that begins the back-to-back contretemps in the third measure before the dancers return to face one another and repeat the sequence on the other foot.

Example 5: *la Chambéri,* final figure (see Figure 4).

The first eight measures of this figure offer another example of Dezais's skillful use of turning steps and varied rhythms. The dancers begin in axial symmetry, turning away from one another and crossing back to back. They then face one another and continue along their paths, completing the exchange of places with an assemblé into first position. The rest following this assemblé provides a satisfying moment of stillness, the moreso since the music is in triple meter.

Dezais might have used this first position to effect the transition from axial to mirror symmetry, but he doesn't; instead, he uses the sequence from the fifth figure of la Denain (Example 4), slightly modified. The final four measures begin with a familiar pas de sissone picking up the front foot and followed by a pas de bourrée; but this time the pas de bourrée has turns added,[13] so that the dancers are back-to-back for the contretemp in the penultimate measure, before turning to face the presence for the concluding bows.

The turning pas de bourrée just mentioned is somewhat unusual for a ballroom dance. It is similar to steps found in la Mariée, which originated as a theatre dance,[14] and reminiscent of steps found in theatrical solos.[15] It is not the only hint of theatrical influence in Dezais's dances, or at least of Dezais's willingness to stretch beyond basic ballroom dance vocabulary. La Denain also includes a somewhat unusual turning pas de bourrée (fourth figure, penultimate measure), and both la Ribeyra (third and fourth figures) and la Corsini (third and fourth figures) include steps that would feel at home in a shepherd or peasant dance for the stage.

Example 6: *la Ribeyra,* first two figures (see Figure 5).

For the first two figures of la Ribeyra, Dezais employs the same basic six-measure step sequence, repeated with modifications and varied endings for a total of four times (twenty-four measures). This structure of repeats corresponds to the musical structure: twice through a twelve-bar strain with parallel halves. The sequence itself, and the variations, are full of angles and turns, and show Dezais's confident use of both. The variations serve to alter and add interest to the spatial patterns: the dancers begin the first six measures angled slightly away from on another; the next six, facing one another across stage; the next six, diagonally opposite one another, facing across stage; and the final six, back to back in the center of the space, from which arrangement they quickly circle to face one another and then eventually back away, ending separated on the diagonal.

Example 7: *la Ribeyra,* final two figures (see Figure 6).

In the remaining two figures of la Ribeyra (thirteen measures each), Dezais shifts to through-composed sequences. He does not revisit the turns and angles of the first part of the dance, opting in the third figure of the dance for curving trajectories in which the dancers only once turn their backs on one another, and in the fourth figure for a delightful six-measure question-and-answer sequence of alternating jumps, followed by yet more curving paths into final bows.

Example 8: la Corsini, first two figures (see Figure 7)

The opening figures of la Corsini are unusual not only in the context of Dezais's other dances, but also in the context of baroque dance generally. Dezais begins with one dancer going around another (four measures). This device is found occasionally in other dances-la Forlana offers one example-but not at the very beginning of a ballroom dance. For the remaining four measures of the first figure, the dancers move in parallel, both of them on the same foot and both facing the presence. Again, a four-measure sequence of parallel symmetry is not unheard of-there's one in la Mariée-but this sequence in conjunction with the first four measures makes for a highly atypical figure. And the whole figure repeats: the second figure of the dance is a modified repeat of the first figure, on the other foot and with roles reversed, and with the dancers travelling backward rather than forward for the final two measures.

As with la Ribeyra, the second part of la Corsini is structurally very different from the first part, consisting of through-composed sequences corresponding to the through-composed second strain (repeated) of the music.

Conclusion

We have looked at samples of Dezais's choreography for ballroom duos, noticing especially his use of repeated step sequences and looking at ways in which he varied material that he repeated. In Examples 2 and 4, we saw how he added ninety degrees of rotation to the repeat, so that the dancers end on a different axis from where they began. In Example 7, we saw a clever series of variations on a six-bar sequence, allowing the dancers to relate to one another in a variety of orientations: facing, back-to-back, and on the diagonal. Example 1 showed a sequence and a floor pattern that reappeared, with variation, in other dances. We saw Dezais's adventurous use of space accompanying a simple step sequence (Example 3), and his witty use of question and answer (Example 7). Some examples (Examples 4 and 8, among others) showed his use of turns and shoulder shading to add interest to a figure. And we saw a dance opening (Example 8) unlike anything Dezais had done before.

The examples we've examined, in conjunction with structural elements shown in the tables, offer evidence of Dezais becoming more assured as a choreographer, and more adventurous, as the years progressed. But with such a small sample of dances, and without knowing more about Dezais's approach to choreography over the years, it's difficult to know what the evidence actually shows. It would be interesting to know how and why Dezais chose these dances for publication. How much time did he spend creating them? Were there others that he rejected, and if so how many? To what extent did he keep prior years' dances in mind, and consciously try to vary the dances from year to year?

We may also ask, Why did Dezais stop publishing his own ballroom duos? Probably it had something to do with the marketplace, and something to do with Pécour. In 1720, Dezais published his first collection of dances by Pécour, in addition to a collection of dances by Balon. As Francine Lancelot puts it, "Pécour won".[16] That may be it; though it may also be that Pécour finally gave in to Dezais's appeals for dances to publish.

Certainly, with his sequence of ballroom duos during the years 1712-1719, Dezais showed himself an inventive and attentive choreographer. We should be grateful that he offered the public his dances during those years.

Table 1: **Contredanses by Dezais published in "II. Recueil de Nouvelles Contredanses " (Paris, 1712)**

Title	Music meter and structure	Notes on dance structure
la Cribelée	duple AAB (A with parallel halves)	Each A is a four-measure figure, repeated.
la Gentilly	duple [branle] AABB	Second B begins with double question and answer (pas de rigaudon/balancé).
la Victoire	duple AABB	Each A is the same two figures (change places; balancé, pas de rigaudon), done first with partner and then with neighbor. First half of each B is the same figure (chassés to the side and back), done on opposite foot and with different facing.
la Triomphante	6/4 AABB	Through-composed.

Table 2: **Ballroom dances by Dezais from the "Annual Collections"**

Title (LMC #)	Year[a]	Dance type or description	Structural elements[b]	Music structure
l'Asturienne (1240)	1712	rigaudon	R; p1	AABBAABB
la Denain (2460)	1713	duple, triple	p1	rondeau: AABACA (A duple; B,C triple)
la Chambéri (2040)	1714	triple, duple	QA; p3	AABCBC (A,C triple; B duple)
le Menuet d'Espagne (5720)	1715	menuet	R; p2	rondeau: ABACA
le Cotillon des Fêtes de Thalie (contredanse—no LMC #)	1716	duple	(R)[c]	AABB × 7; second half of B = A
la Ribeyra (7200)	1717	duple [branle]	R, QA; p4	AABB
la Corsini (2260)	1718	bourée	R; p13	AABB
l'Italiene (contredanse—no LMC #)	1719	6/8	(R)[c]	AABB × 3

[a] That is, year for which the dances were intended. Some may have been published at the end of the preceding year. *La Chambéri* and *la Corsini* are known only from manuscript copies.

[b] R = step-sequence repeats or near-repeats corresponding to musical repeats; QA = question and answer; p*n* = number of measures, not including final bows, during which both dancers in a duo face the presence, possibly with shoulder shading.

[c] Such repeats are inherent to the structure of contredanses.

Table 3: **Contredanses by Dezais published in "Premier livre de contre-dances . . . " (1725)**[a]

Title (number of dancers)		
Cotillon Hongroise (4)	Cotillon de Surennae (8)	L'Esprit Follet (8)
L'Inconstante (4)	La Blonde (4)	L'Ecossaise (6: 2W, 4M)
L'Infante (8)	La Brunne (4)	La Carignan (4)[b]

[a] For further information on these dances, see Milo Momm, "Jacques Dezais' Premier livre de Contre-Dances 1726" in Uwe Schlottermüller, Howard Weiner, and Maria Richter (eds.), *Vom Schäferidyll zur Revolution: Europäische Tanzkultur im 18. Jahrhundert*, proceedings of the 2nd Rothenfels Dance Symposium (Freiburg: fa-gisis, 2008), 147–173.

[b] The menuet "La Carignan", by Dezais, is described in words in Dupré, *Methode pour apprendre de soi-mesme la choregraphie. . .* (Paris, 1757).

Table 4: **Extant dances by Balon**

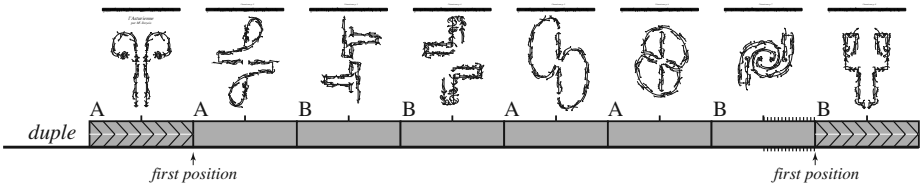
(adapted and updated from Table 1 of: Ken Pierce, "Choreographic Structure in the Dances of Claude Balon", in *Proceedings Society of Dance History Scholars* (2001), pp. 101–104.)

Dance (LMC #; FL #)	Musical type, time signature, and structure (pr = "petite reprise")	Includes step-sequence repeats corresponding to musical repeats?	Includes any question-and-answer or canon?	Year
Entrée (3000, Ms05.1/04)	[loure] (6/4): AABACpr	no	—	
Menuet (5700, Ms17.1/36)	menuet (3): AABB	no	—	
Gigue (—, Ms06.1)	gigue (6/4): AABCCpr	no	—	
The Mattelott (5440, Ms13.1/06)	[marche] (6/8): AAB	no	no	
la Gaillarde (4840, Ms17.1/35)	gaillarde (¢): AABB x 2	no	yes	
Paspíe Príncesa (6460, Ms19.1/04)	passepied (3/8): AABB x 4	yes	no	
la Silvie (8060, 1712.1/01)	gravement (3): AA passepied (6/8): B bourrée (¢): C passepied (6/8): B bourrée (¢): C	yes	yes	1712
la Dombe (2500, 1712.1/02)	courante ([3/2]): AA [bourrée] (2): B [passepied] (3/8): C [bourrée] (2): B [passepied] (3/8): C	yes	no	1712
la Melanie (5480, 1713.1/01)	(3): AABACA (2): DDEE	yes	yes	1713
la Gavotte de Seaux (4880, Ms08.1/01)	gavotte (2): AABACAA	yes	no	1714
Rigaudon (7360, Ms08.1/02)	rigaudon (2): AABBCCD	yes*	yes	1714
la Transilvanie (8140, 1715.1/01)	[branle] (2): AABACAA	yes	no	1715
la Gavotte du Roi (4920, 1716.1/01)	gavotte (2): AABprBpr	yes**	yes	1716
la Bouree Nouvelle (1540, 1716.1/02)	bourrée (2): AABBCCDD	no	yes	1716
la Clermont (2100, 1717.1/01)	(6/8): ABACADDEE[17]	yes	yes	1717
la de Bergue (2440, 1717.1/02)	[bourrée] (2): AABB	no	yes?***	1717
la Brissac (1640, Ms11.1/01)	[branle] (2): AABACAA	yes	yes	1718
la Czarienne (2420, Ms11.1/02)	lentement (3): ABA rigaudon (2): CD	yes	yes	1718
la Montpensier (6100, 1718.2/01)	gavotte (2): AABB 2e gavotte (2): CCDD	no	yes	1719
la Lorraine (5220, 1718.2/02)	rigaudon (2): AABB	yes	yes	1719
la Poitevine (6860, 1720.1/01)	(6/4): AABACA	yes	yes	1720
la Modene (6060, 1720.1/02)	(3): AA bourrée (2) B passepied ([6/8]) C bourrée (2) B passepied ([6/8]) C	yes****	no	1720
la Villeroy (8400, 1722.1/03)	(2): AABB	yes	yes	1722
la Bouflers (1440, 1722.1/04)	gavotte (¢): AABCCDDA	yes	yes	1722

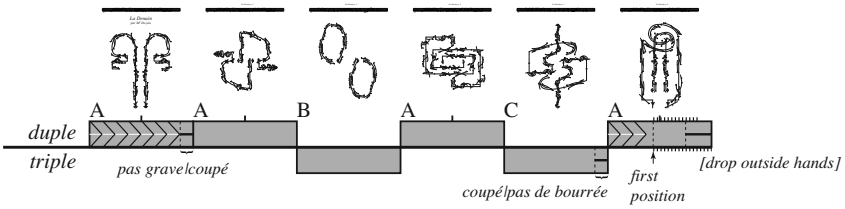
*But not much: first half of A = first half of A'.
**The same two-measure step throughout.
***Both dancers have a rest at the same measure—presumably a copying error.
****But there is a problem with repeats as written: the dancers cannot get to the correct positions.

Table 5: **Choreographic and musical structure in Dezais's ballroom duos**[a]

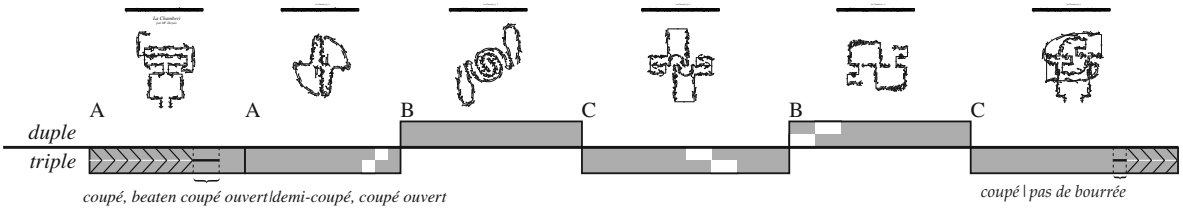
l'Asturienne



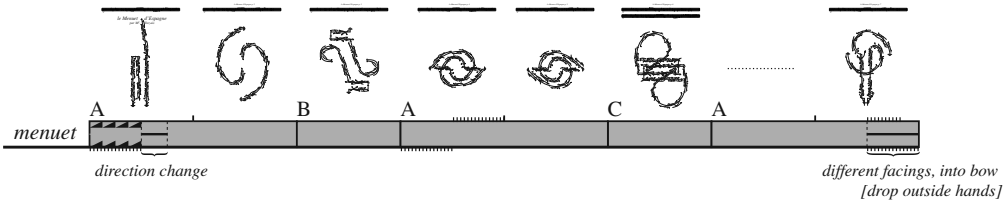
La Denain



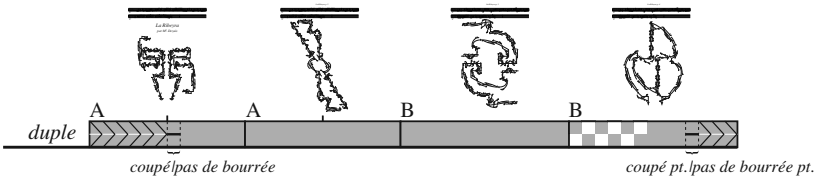
La Chamberi



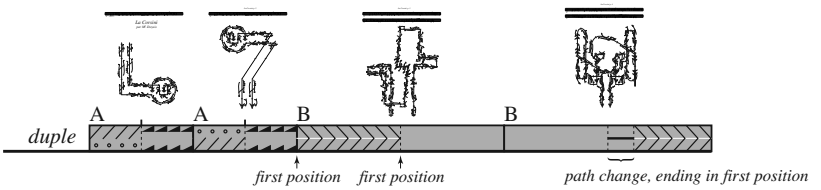
le Menuet d'Espagne

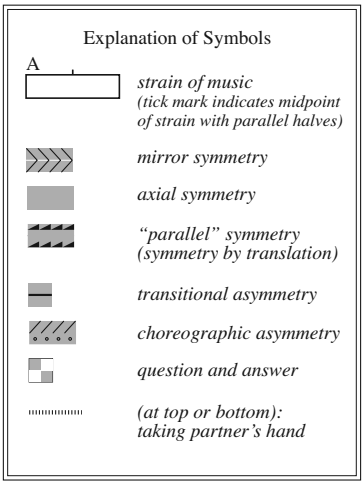


La Ribeyra



La Corsini





[a] A scalable pdf of this table, allowing the viewer to zoom in and study the notations, is available at http://web.mit.edu/kpierce/www/sdhs2008.

Figure 1: Notation for example 1

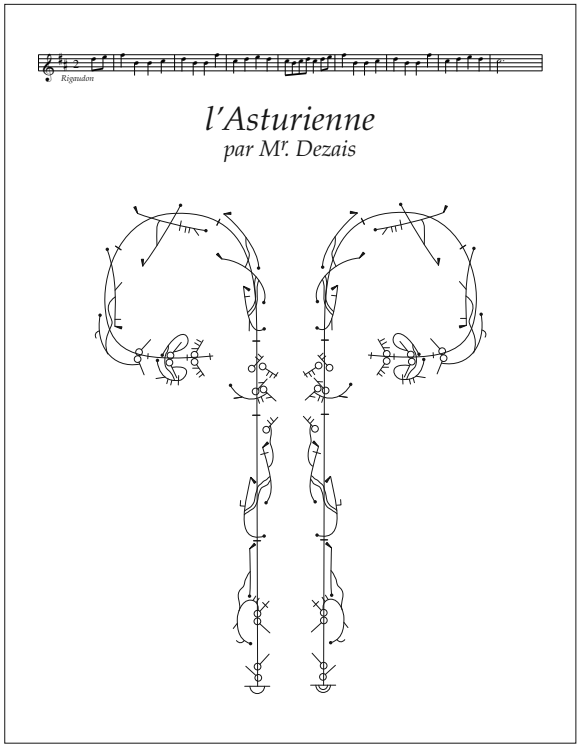
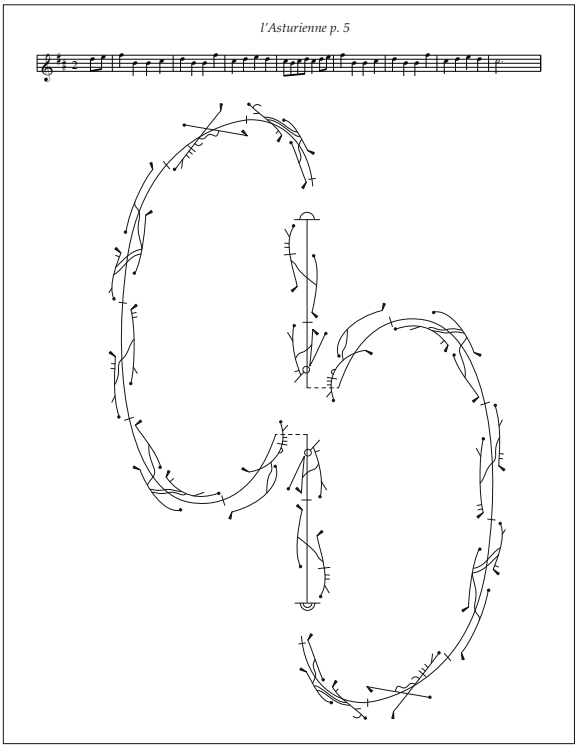


Figure 2: Notations for example 2



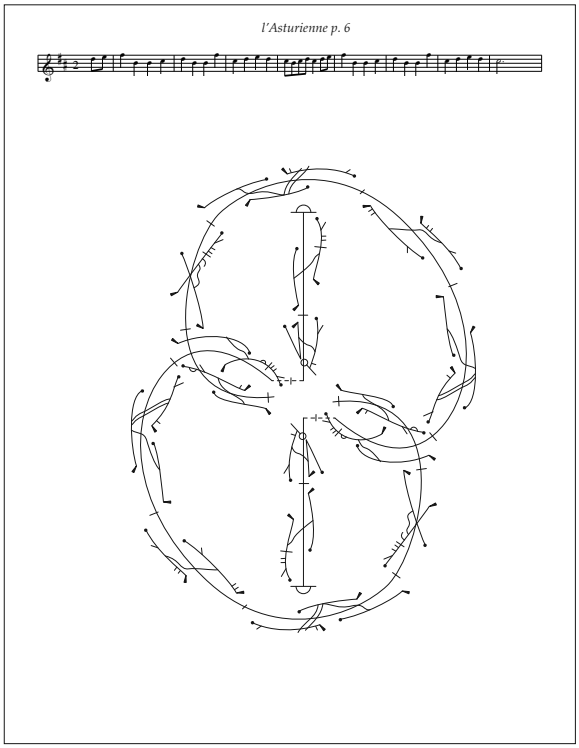
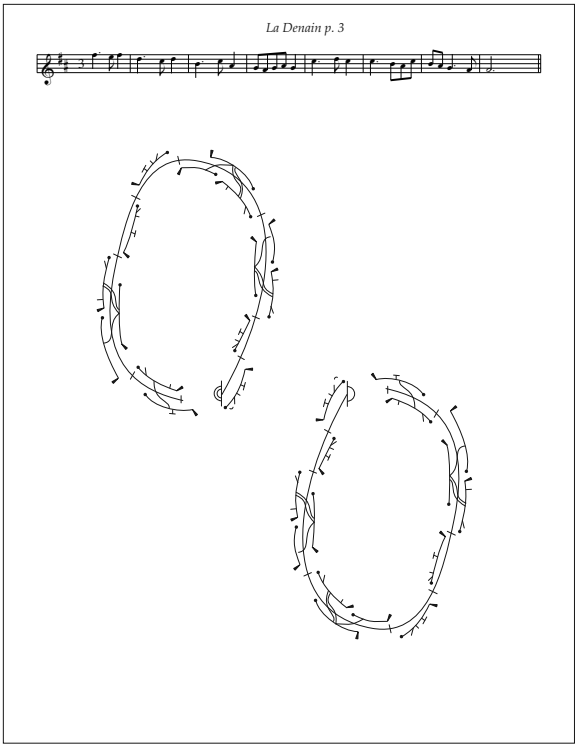


Figure 3: Notations for examples 3 and 4



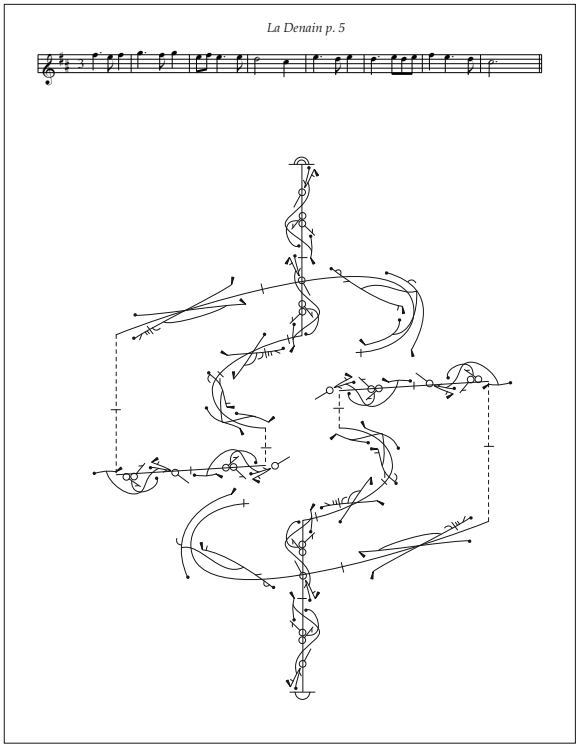


Figure 4: Notation for example 5

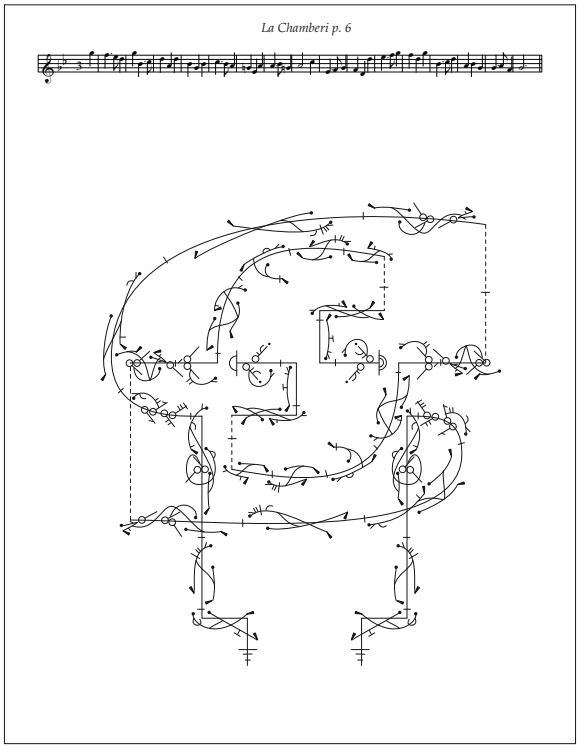
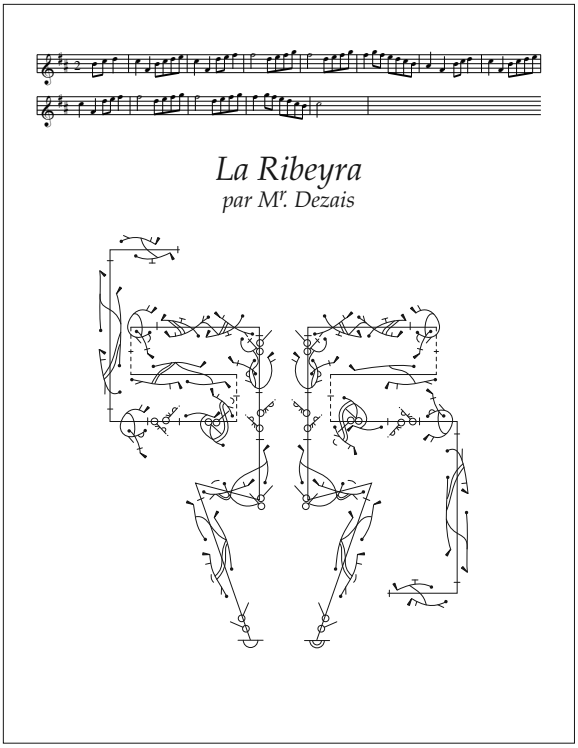


Figure 5: Notations for example 6



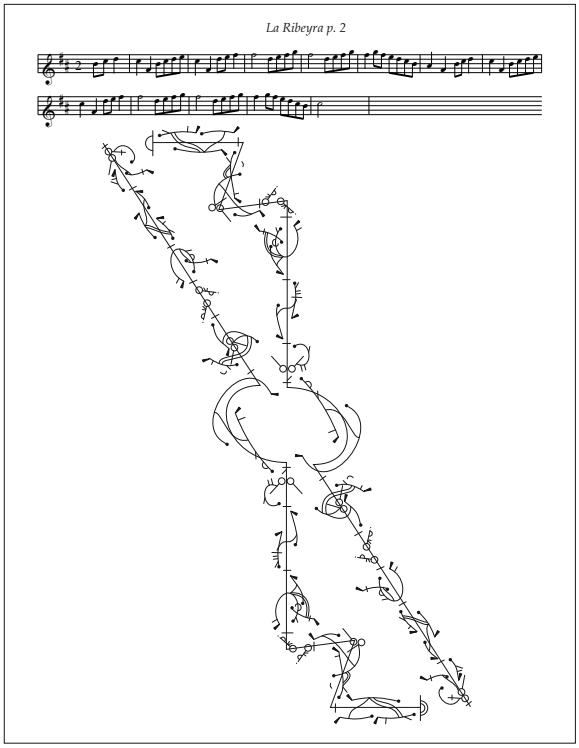
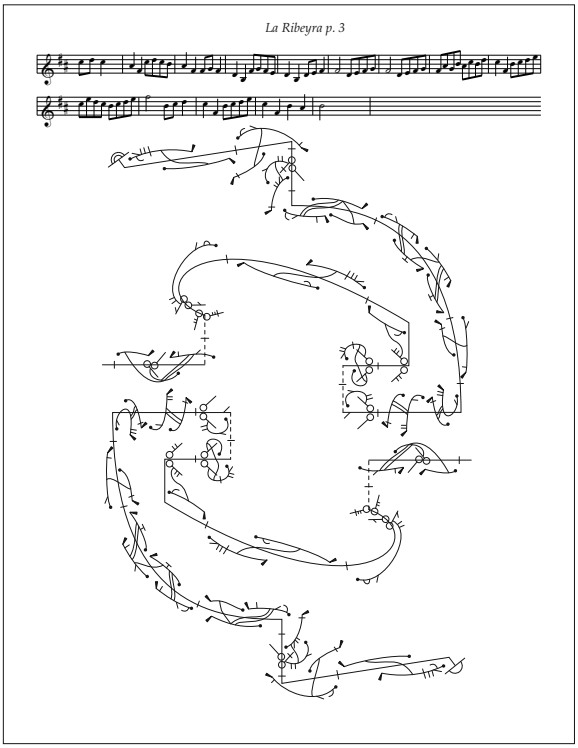


Figure 6: Notations for example 7



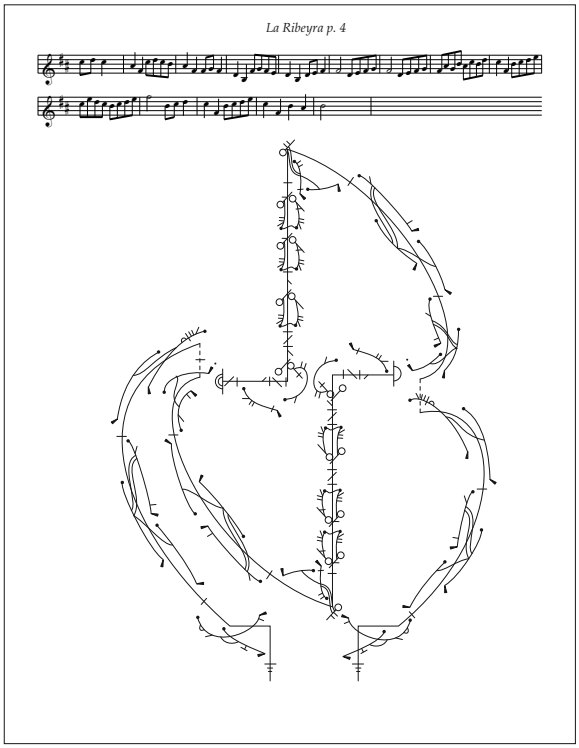
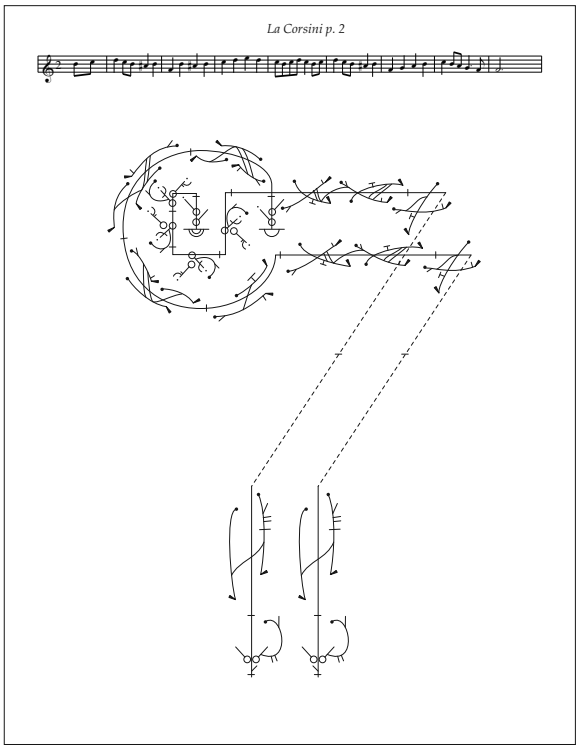


Figure 7: Notations for example 8



Acknowledgements

I am especially grateful to Camilla Finlay for her help in learning and studying Dezais's dances, and for her perceptive comments and questions about his choreographic approach. Students of the 2007 Longy Summer Early Dance workshop and of this year's Longy Early Dance Ensemble learned and performed several of these dances, helping me to become more familiar with Dezais's choreographies. Milo Momm generously helped resolve my questions about Dezais's 1725 publication. Alastair Thompson, harpsichord, wrote bass lines, and recorded the dance music with Karen Burciaga, violin. I wish to acknowledge and thank the Longy School of Music for support of my teaching and research, and for a Faculty Development grant funding my attendance at the 2008 SDHS conference.

Notes

Notation samples in the figures and Table 5 are redrawn from photocopies of original printed copies and manuscripts. They are meant to be working copies rather than definitive editions, though I have tried to be as accurate as possible, correcting obvious errors but not supplying symbols presumed missing, nor resolving ambiguous liaison lines.

Scalable pdfs of Table 5 and dance notations are available at http://web.mit.edu/kpierce/www/sdhs2008.

1 The correction to the abstract is in Dezais's first name. The abstract remains inaccurate in that the material presented in the workshop was not exactly as advertised.

2 Régine Astier, "Feuillet Notation" in Selma Jeanne Cohen et al., eds., *International Encyclopedia of Dance* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 2:588-590.

3 Sources for dances in the annual collection are listed in Meredith Ellis Little and Carol G. Marsh, *La Danse Noble: An inventory of dances and sources* (Williamstown: Broude Brothers Limited, 1992), hereafter "LMC". The contredanse collections are *II. Recueil de Nouvelles Contredanses* (Paris, 1712) and *Premier livre de contre-dances à quatre, à six & à huit* (Paris, 1725). Apparently Dezais published this latter work in 1725 and again, with a new title page, in 1726 (Milo Momm, personal communication).

4 Émile Campardon, *L'Académie royale de musique au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1884), 1:243.

5 Campardon, 242-243, confirmed by: Claude and François Parfaict, *Dictionnaire des theatres de Paris* (Paris: Rozet, 1767), under headings of works listed by Campardon.

6 Michael Barnard and Mary Hunter note that "Campardon identified Jacques Deshayes with Joseph Dezais (fl 1710-22), a choreographer at the Opéra who taught dancing and published collections of dances, but this claim has never been proved." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Stanley Sadie, ed., 2nd ed. (New York: Grove's Dictionaries, 2001), 7:237.

7 Gottfried Taubert, *Rechtschaffener Tanzmeister* (Leipzig, 1717), appendix.

8 LMC 2280.

9 There seems to have been a fashion for rondeaus in dance music in the second decade of the eighteenth century. In the years 1700-1709, only four published ballroom dances were set to rondeaus; in the years 1710-1719 there were at least ten that were set to music that was partially or entirely in rondeau form. Five of these were by Balon (see Table 4). For more on Balon's choreographic approach, see Ken Pierce, "Choreographic Structure in the Dances of Claude Balon", in *Proceedings Society of Dance History Scholars* (2001), 101-104.

10 For more on choreographic structure, see Ken Pierce, "Choreographic structure in baroque dance", in Jennifer Nevile (ed.), *Dance, Spectacle, and the Body Politick, 1250-1750* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008), chapter 9.

11 LMC 4800 and 1200. *La Bourrée d'Achille* (LMC 1480) and *la Conty* (LMC 2220) are additional examples of dances that include only a few measures in which the dancers face the presence.

12 The only exception is *la Silvie*, for 1712, in which the dancer face the presence for only one measure. The range for the rest of Balon's dances from the period 1712-1719 is six to twenty-two.

13 The turn symbols in the notation are inaccurate.

14 LMC 5360. Rebecca Harris-Warrick, "La Mariée: the history of a French court dance", in *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the Music of the French Baroque: Essays in Honor of James R. Anthony*, ed. John Hajdu Heyer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 239-58.

15 For example, LMC 7820, "Sarabande Espagnole".

16 Francine Lancelot, *La Belle Dance* (Paris: Van Dieren,1996), 206.

"They have done it all": George Balanchine and Folk Dance

Lisa C. Arkin, Beth Genné, and Marian Smith

The bulk of Balanchine style studies have concentrated on Balanchine's training in the Russian Imperial Ballet tradition – Petipa in particular. More recently, scholars have recognized the influences of the Russian choreographers Louphokov and Goleisovsky and African American dancers like The Nicholas Brothers, Josephine Baker and Katherine Dunham. Yet one of the most important influences on Balanchine has been, until recently, overlooked. This is folk dance. We argue that folk dance exerted a major influence on Balanchine's style, and that he drew from folk dance not only in works overtly associated with national dance traditions but in abstract "pure dance" works as well.

First, before we begin, we'd like to say something about our use of the term "folk dance". The term is problematic and not often precisely defined. We use it here because Balanchine himself used it. As our work progresses we hope eventually to give it a more nuanced definition encompassing such considerations as the distinctions between urban and rural types, between upper and lower class types, and the differences between balleticized folk dance, or "character dance", and the theatrical dancing in professional folk companies.

Here is what Balanchine said about folk dance, according to Ann Hutchinson Guest, who remembers his advice to a young choreographer. "For choreographic devices you can learn everything from watching the folk dance of different countries. They have done it all."

This belief is confirmed by Maria Tallchief. We would like to show an excerpt from a tape (made for the Balanchine Foundation's interpretive archive) in which Tallchief is talking with Nancy Reynolds and Arlene Croce . They are discussing Balanchine's version of *Firebird* in which Tallchief created the title role. Here they discuss the Berceuse section of *Firebird*. Note how Tallchief uses the terms "folk dance" and "character dance" interchangeably — and more to the point — listen for these words: "character dancing

[. . .] was something very important – very important because we used it so often in so many of the ballets. .." [Video excerpt.]

Balanchine's interest in folk dance grew from many roots. Theatricalized folk dance — or character dance — constituted part of the curriculum at the Russian Imperial Ballet school where the young Balanchine was exposed to many folk styles in the character dance class required of all the students, and he maintained this interest throughout his life, becoming well known as a particularly adept character dancer. Just as important, Balanchine's father Meliton Balanchivadze was a composer and avid collector of Georgian folk songs and dances; he partook in a general movement amongst European and American composers (including Bartók, Sibelius and Grieg) at the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, who with the rise of nationalism, were eager to discover a national identity in the folk music of their native lands. Thus, both at home and at school, George Balanchine found himself in an atmosphere in which folk culture was valued, sought after, and mined as a rich source.

In his choreographies, Balanchine uses folk and social dance in a variety of ways, but one thing is certain: He did not, like Petipa, stick to the strict separation between "noble" classical dance on one hand and folk and social and character dance on the other. Rather, for Balanchine, the body language and movements from folk dance were part of a vast movement vocabulary he began amassing in childhood -- everything from the *danse d'ecol*e to historical dance to social dance to popular dance, acrobatics and vernacular movement — and he could make use of this vocabulary at any time, anywhere.

As Tallchief said, Balanchine incorporated folk dance into many ballets. But when did he use it and how did he use it? So far in our research we have noticed several different ways in which he uses it. This list will expand, we are sure, as our research progresses. First of all, and most obviously, there are ballets in which folk dance is used to establish a theme; to set a mood; to create a very specific atmosphere. In these ballets, the music makes reference to folk or popular music, and the décor and costumes and often the title support the theme as well. Theme ballets include (to name a few) *Tarantella*, *Tzigan*e, *Union Jack*, *Stars and Stripes*, *Western*

Symphony, and Scherzo *à la Russe*.

A second type of ballet is that in which there is no theme *per se*. Here, some aspect of the music seems to be the prime motivator for the use of folk dance in the ballet, be it the music's phrase structure, the melody, style, or instrumentation. In some cases, the folk elements are introduced at joining points in the choreography; at phrase endings; or during phrase extensions in the music. Often in such cases, folk dance is part of the choreographic vocabulary of the ballet but is not obvious as such – it is fully integrated into the overall work.

In the third type of ballet there is no overriding folk theme of the ballet as in our first category, nor anything in the music calling for a folk dance response, as in our second category. Rather, folk dance is simply one of many resources upon which Balanchine draws to create a unified whole.

Scherzo à la Russe

Let us now consider one example each from these three categories. First, a theme ballet, *Scherzo à la Russe*. Its title clearly identifies it as Russian. So do its costumes, straight-falling pinafores (sarafans) and distinctive bejeweled and be-ribboned headpieces. So, too, does its music, by Igor Stravinsky, which draws from well-known folk songs (most of them dance songs, includling *"Vo piru bïla" and "Ya pa gor kush la"*). Stravinsky snips small bits of a variety of songs here, at times taking a melodic cell and restricting himself just to those pitches for awhile in a block of composition, and at other times mixing together tiny fragments from various songs to create what the Russian ethnomusicologist Margarita Mazo has called a "crazy jumble." Balanchine responds to Sttravinsky's treatment of folk *music* by deploying, in a similarly syntactically disruptive fashion, folk *dance* elements. That is, he takes the vocabulary of Russian folk dance, *cuts* it up into bits and mixes the bits back together in ways that would not normally be done.

The choreographic elements he uses include different types of port de bras, including the distinctively feminine one that calls for the face to be hidden in the crook of the elbow (this is Georgian), and another that is decidedly in the Russian folk style and includes folded arms, and another that includes “from-the-heart” gestures and hands that open palms up. Other choreographic elements include parallel feet, stamping, inwardly and outwardly rotated legs and feet, walking on the heels, the pripidanya (the classic Russian traveling step), classic Russian arms (that is, one arm crooked behind the head), simple traveling steps drawn from the Khovorod, high kicks with open-chest port de bras, and a lovely little narrative gesture (seen in the back of the *corps de ballet* in *Scherzo à la Russe*) which consists of young women scanning the horizon looking for their boyfriends. This gesture constitutes a standard way of beginning a folk dance celebration: the boys will soon arrive, the girls and boys will greet each other, and the festivities will begin — only here in this playfully remixed jumble this gesture appears not at the beginning, but as an isolated gesture a few minutes into the piece.

Aside from its distinctive use of Russian folk melodies, what other qualities in Stravinsky's music does Balanchine respond to? One such quality is the 'block construction' of *Scherzo à la Russe*. (Block construction is Stravinsky's celebrated technique of composing a block of music using a particular static harmony and texture with repetitive melodic and rhythmic patterns, and then shifting abruptly to another block). Balanchine responds to Stravinsky's blocks of music by closing out each one with the very distinctive deep Slavic bow (straight knees, hands to heart). This bow in folk dance is used ceremoniously only to end or begin a Slavic dance. But Balanchine throws in several such bows in this work, always at the end of one of Stravinsky's musical "blocks", to visually mark the end of a section of the music, instead of — as was customary — the very beginning or end of the piece. [Video of Lisa Arkin demonstrating folk steps, port de bras and Slavic bow; video of the opening of *Scherzo à la Russe*]

Diamonds

The Russian elements in *Scherzo à la Russe* are obviously Russian. But more often folk dance devices are hidden, disguised; seamlessly integrated into Balanchine’s choreography as one strand among many that make up a unified whole. You can see this in our next example, an excerpt from the penultimate movement of "Diamonds", a work which includes a short passage of Balanchine folk-influenced choreography.

Balanchine was surely inspired by a short folk-like melody in the music, which is the scherzo movement of Tchaikovky's 3rd symphony. Tchaikovsky imbeds a 16-bar folk-like tune in this movement which is otherwise devoid of obvious folk references.

Balanchine responds choreographically with Russian port de bras and steps of a Russian folk dance.

(It's like a private joke or understanding between two friends.) Balanchine eases into this brief segment of folk dance with two piqué arabesques (building on the piqués from a few moments earlier) and then the four ballerinas dance a series of pripidanyas with a basic Russian port de bra. You can see the hands opening out from the heart, the palms turned up, hands going to hips, and fluid relationship of arms, chest and head. The dancers also kick forward, but note that this is not a normal ballet *battement*. They drop down as though they were wearing heeled shoes or boots, with the weight to the back, but Balanchine makes the adjustment for pointe shoes so there is no large shift of weight. It is a character kick; the leg flicks up, which would be appropriate if their feet were flexed. Balanchine's excursion into Russian style does not last long. But it enriches the choreography as a whole, just as Tchaikovsky's brief reference to Russian folk music enriches this classical symphony. [Video of *Diamonds*, excerpt.]

Stravinsky Violin Concerto

Now, for the third category in which no motivating theme or musical cue *per se* calls for folk dance. Our example here is the last movement of Stravinsky *Violin Concerto*. Here, at the beginning, Balanchine appears to be using the idea of a celebratory gathering of folk dancers. The opening of the movement seems to be saying “Let’s get together and dance!”, the gestural counterpart to the sounds of fiddlers tuning up in Stravinsky's music. Assuming a pose right out of a Russian folk dance, the ensemble takes off with simple footwork leading with the heel and gesturing with a broad, welcoming character port de bra.

As in *Scherzoà la Russe*, two soloists with Russian folded arms emerge from the group to lead the dancing. In fact, folded arms are used as a basis for all sorts of variations for soloists and corps. In this video excerpt the folded arm motif is used straightforwardly at first, but then expanded into a beautiful canon of arms folding and unfolding as the two lead dancers, Karin Von Aroldingen and Bart Cook, playfully compete with each other center stage. Their gestures are picked up and varied yet again by their fellow dancers who provide a reflecting framework for their actions.

In Stravinsky Violin Concerto, of course, the Russian gestures are combined with a good many other gestures, including bits of the swing-out from the Lindy, square dance — in short many movements from many sources interwoven into what together we can call Balanchine style. [Video of *Stravinsky Violin Concerto*, excerpt.]

In this short presentation we have attempted to make a case for the importance of folk dance in Balanchine’s choreography. This briefest of glimpses into the vast world of Balanchine is only part of a larger study we are undertaking of manifestations of the many aspects of movements and themes that characterize his work. Given the breadth of Balanchine's training and experience— as a musician, as a classical dancer, as a character dancer — and his love for so many kinds of movement and music, one might say 'it takes a village' to analyze his choreography.

Acknowledgements

We thank Tim Scholl for his paper "‘A Georgian Source for Serenade?’ presented at the conference "From the Maryinsky to Manhattan, George Balanchine and the Transformation of American Dance" (Ann Arbor, 31 October 2003,) which sparked our interest in this subject, and Margarita Mazo, who identified several of the Russian folk songs in *Scherzo à la Russe* and kindly discussed this subject with Marian Smith.

Setting the Air on Fire: Loie Fuller and the Task of 'New Biography'

Rhonda Garelick

In writing what turned out to be a non-biography of Loie Fuller, my recent book, *Electric Salome*, I learned something about how biographies do intellectual work or sometimes don't, and about how dance biographies in particular can open up new ways to document lives and artistic movements.[1] I am glad to be part of a panel entitled "New Biography" because I think that is a better term for what I ended up writing.

When I was in graduate school, I was preparing a dissertation on fin-de-siècle views of performing women. In an extension of what I had been studying in my class work and while preparing for oral exams, I had decided to focus on certain decadent writers' views of women onstage, wanting to understand the dialogue between some very wordy, arch and witty dandyist writers (Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Oscar Wilde, and Arthur Symons, among others) and their apparently mute, female objects of contemplation: actual performing women in some cases (people such as Sarah Bernhardt, La Goulue, Mistinguett, and Loie Fuller), fictional dancers, singers, or actresses in other cases. I did write that dissertation, but later it occurred to me that those 'real' women could and should be studied in their own right, outside of the frame put around them by those particular authors. I did not imagine one could ever study an artist or art work in a pure or transparent context, but I knew there was much I could not know simply from reading such narrow, often reductive accounts of these women.

I decided back then that I would devote myself to a biography of Loie Fuller, about whom little had been written at that time. There was the groundbreaking work of Sally Sommer, a lyrical essay by Frank Kermode, and the obligatory introductory pages about her in all histories of dance, which listed her dutifully as one of the three founders of American modern dance (with Duncan and St Denis), as a pioneer in stage design and lighting, and always, as one of the first dancers to break with classical ballet, with narrative ballet, and with traditional stage décor.[2]

All of this was of course true, and fascinating. At least as fascinating as Fuller's apparently revolutionary role in dance history was her personal story. A lesbian from the American dustbowl, Fuller, with little education, no money, and no dance training, had gotten herself from diphtheria-ridden Fullersburg, Illinois all the way to Paris and her groundbreaking initial success at the Folies-Bergère, where she had talked her way into a run there in 1892, which wound up lasting over 300 consecutive nights, longer than any show in the Folies' prior history.

Fuller befriended royalty and members of the French Academy, politicians, even scientists such as Pierre and Marie Curie. She married the cousin of a United States president (a relative of Rutherford B. Hayes), divorced him, and wound up living for decades with a French-Jewish banking heiress in Paris, a woman who wore only men's suits. And although she was overweight (eventually quite heavy), not really conventionally beautiful, and kept her body hidden, swathed perpetually onstage in hundreds of yards of silk, she remained one of the most famous and beloved performers of Europe for about thirty years.

Fuller's life was, therefore, delicious to recount, and I got absorbed in tracking down its many details, in the exceptionalism of her life, in the anecdotal pleasure of an under-appreciated, colorful, female genius. The juicy and unusual details of her life jibed perfectly with the more intellectual or academic side of the story, that is, with the narrative that seemed to ask to be written: this unusual, self-created maverick of a dancer was responsible for creating a totally new, maverick form of dance. She revolutionized everything, she turned a page. The fact of writing a biography seemed both to require and produce this *a priori* narrative.

But the more I researched Fuller, delving into archives in several countries, reading the thousands of contemporary reviews and interviews, the more I encountered a troubling obstacle: yes, Fuller was a revolutionary, a relief, a big change in everyone's mind. The problem was that everyone had a different idea of what that big change was. For many critics of her time, Fuller was a revolutionary because she was so apparently innocent and chaste. If she was considered a cabaret dancer, and therefore compared with those performers, Fuller appeared to

her critics as unusually modest. She did not expose her breasts or legs, and her actual physical, bodily movements were small and constrained. Critics described her as "*correcte*" (in the French sense of 'decorous') and innocent, a sweet grandmotherly type, a guileless American lady-scientist, a kind of female Thomas Edison. "Nothing bestial here," said one review, "in this way debauchery is marching toward redemption."[3] Another critic declared: "Miss Fuller has done wonders in improving the public taste, proving that dancing is not an art that degrades."[4]

Sometimes this ostensible chastity, along with her highly abstracted, highly technological performances devoid of narrative and sets in most cases, led critics from lauding her virtue to seeing her as a door of transcendence: "She is a glimpse of the ideal, removed from time and place," wrote one.[5] "She is not a human being," said another.[6] And Camille Mauclair wrote, "Loie Fuller tears us away from everyday life and leads us to purifying dreamlands." [7] Mallarmé referred to her as his "unconscious source of inspiration."[8]

On the other hand, at least as many critics saw and still see in Fuller a deeply bodily, physical artist who was the first to defy the unnatural strictures of ballet, for example, and espouse a 'free' form of natural dancing in the manner of Isadora Duncan. "She no more learned to dance than she learned to breathe," wrote one such critic.[9] Even Fuller herself occasionally bought into this insistence on her own wholesome naturalism, which proved useful to her politically, when she had established her Ballets Loie Fuller, a dance troupe of young girls attached to the somewhat haphazard "school" she and her partner, Gabrielle Bloch, ran out of their home in Neuilly. About those young charges, Fuller said, "When people see my students' healthy and delicious svelteness, I want them to think of little wildflowers bathing in the sun….Their dancing will reveal their strange and natural charm."[10]

Fuller also fascinated visual artists of every stripe, especially those within the Art Nouveau and Ecole de Nancy movements. But critical reception of her by these artists becomes even more confusing. There exist hundreds if not thousands of paintings, sculptures, figurines and posters of Fuller, most created between 1893 and the 1920s. Despite the fact that during these years she was over 30 and grew ever more overweight, these art works almost only depict Fuller as a svelte, beguiling young girl—of the sort she had never been. One of the most famous of these is Jules Chéret's 1893 poster of Fuller for the Folies-Bergère, in which she twirls a round on one toe in a kind of modified attitude, looking over her shoulder at the viewer, with her breasts bared, nipples erect. The poster bears not even the slightest resemblance to Fuller. Between 1897 and 1902, when Fuller was between 35 and 42 years old and really stout, François-Rupert Carabin produced a series of sculptures of her as a nubile young girl, bending supply at the waist, her torso nude, rib cage visible. Countless other examples exist in glass, terra cotta, and crystal by some of the finest artists of Europe.

Why did these artists return again and again to a model whose own figure differed so much from the proportions they clearly preferred? Why did they label these nubile, often nude creatures, "Loie Fuller?" Certainly, they could not have intended them as faithful reproductions. Fuller herself did not commission most of them, nor did she demand that she be portrayed so unrealistically. How did this dancer, who seemed resolute in her project of occulting her physical self, wind up the subject of so much nude statuary and portraiture? The visual interpretations of Fuller hinted at an erotic presence in her performances that was almost never overt and virtually never written about.

I found a much more recent narrative of Fuller's erotic presence in the work done of late by those who explore her status as a queer artist and who find lesbian subtexts in those same dances that seemed with equal frequency chaste and virtuous and racy in a heteronormative way in Fuller's own day. Tirza True Latimer, for example, in an article entitled, "Loie Fuller: Butch Femme Fatale" writes, "Fuller staged a presence that was specifically lesbian…. Audiences were never sure, in all the lights and swirls of fabric, exactly what her body was doing, where it was, or even exactly how many bodies were on stage."[11] Here Latimer was referring to Fuller's use of her mirror room which multiplied and fragmented the dancing body onstage. Sally Banes has written "perhaps because Fuller was an openly identified lesbian, she shunned the provocative female representation of enticement so closely identified with the dancing girl."[12]

These critics and others have seen Fuller's sculptural transformations via light and fabric veils and her refusal ever to unveil herself as coded

evidence of a queer performativity. According to this scenario, despite her reputation as a general crowd pleaser and her particular appeal to children, families, and the elderly, Fuller was also using her performances to convey an alternative approach to sexuality. Within this interpretation, Fuller's performances refused or deflected the male gaze or desire, redrawing the female body as a series of mutating, floating, bodiless forms—the lilies, orchids, clouds, and great birds that Fuller sculpt with the wands sewn into her silks. These forms were fanciful, usually non-human shapes into which Fuller would subsume her own fleshly, biological body nearly completely (leaving out hands and head).

This interpretation troubled me for several reasons. First, although this is a sexual interpretation, it actually removes Fuller's body from the equation. These queering readings of Fuller seem to subtract the body in order to see it, reading lesbian sexuality as an absence or refusal of Eros rather than as an alternative expression of it. But the interpretation also troubled me because the story of Fuller as modern dance, barefoot dance pioneer so much requires her corporeality, her bodiliness, which I am inclined to focus on as well. To take at face value Fuller's ostensible physical disappearance in order to find her queerness seemed mistaken.

I could go on this way for a long time, demonstrating how trying to reconstruct this dancer's life and work led me consistently through mutually contradictory arguments. All these arguments, furthermore, depended upon a story of exception, according to which Fuller was the first, the only, the most…something. I realized that it was the contradictions that would tell the story.

I found help in a curious place—in one of many rhapsodic poems written about Fuller, this one by Georges Rodenbach, the Belgian symbolist poet, and friend of Mallarmé. In 1896, Rodenbach had watched a performance of Fuller's famous *Fire Dance* (which she had adapted from her original production of *Salome*), and then composed a very long poem in her honor. Here is an excerpt from that text, which appeared in *Le Figaro*:

> Brusquely ripping through the shadows, she is there. And it is dawn.
> …She is flaming spirits and incense burning.
> Her robe is a pyre of lilies…
> As the volcano is filled up with lava.
> It seems as if she had created the rivers of fire that surround her, her slaves,
> Writhing over her like serpents.
> O Tree of Temptation! O temptress!
> The Tree of Paradise, where she has entwined our creeping desires that twist together like colored serpents.
> A pause.
> She comes, her hair a green red, tinted by these delirious clouds;
> One might think a great wind returned from afar;
> For already, amid the swirling fabric, her body loses its foamy wake;
> Disappearing into wisps.
> O darkness, what do you do to turn her robe thus into an ocean of flame…
> It is over;
> Brusquely, the air is scarred
> By this flower-shaped wound from which it has bled.[13]

Here you can easily see the very normative, heterosexual view of Fuller, one that corresponds more to those sexy figurines and posters of her than to her historical self. In Rodenbach's poem, Fuller has become a femme fatale in the great Romantic tradition.

But that is not what I found so startlingly helpful about poem. The useful sections occur in the first and last stanzas, which I have excerpted here, where Rodenbach imagines Fuller beginning and then ending her performance with a deeply female, birth-like violence with which she tears open the space around her. First, she is: "ripping through the shadows, she is there and it is dawn." At the end: "the air is scarred by the flower shaped wound from which it has bled."

It is easy to understand the first metaphor, Fuller would burst onto a darkened stage that had been covered in black velvet, and her fire-colored lights would indeed have seemed a burst of dawn. But Rodenbach complicates things in the last stanza with the conceit of the bleeding floral wound left by Fuller, which now scars over. As she whirled around in a spiral of blood-red light (this is Salome's *Fire Dance*, remember), Fuller seems to have set the air itself on fire, violently opening up a distinctly feminine, even vaginal rupture, a bleeding flower, in

the planar space around her. In Rodenbach's vision, Fuller forces the spectator to acknowledge the three-dimensionality of space, not only by creating her ephemeral shapes, but by doing so so violently that the surrounding air suffers permanent damage. The air has lost its transparency, and its two-dimensionality, and acquired instead a kind of skin-like thickness and vulnerability—a phenomenon akin to what Stephen Kern has called the materialization of space, in the paintings of Braque and Cézanne.[14] It's fair to say that Rodenbach is here intuiting Fuller's proximity to modernist painters, for whom the materiality of their media, the thickness of the paint, the texture of brushstroke and canvas, counted as much in a work as its figurative content, sometimes of course replacing figurative content altogether.

Rodenbach also points up the deep interconnectedness in Fuller of the technological and the biological: It is the mechanics, the light and costumes that create a very bodily reference and visceral reaction—the bleeding wound. I want to look carefully at that floral-shaped wound. The air around Fuller has been penetrated, it can bleed; it can form scars. Fuller has apparently extended her body so forcefully into space that that space itself is granted, as if by contagion, physical depth and human blood. This is how I came to understand Fuller's brand of bodily modernism as well as her effect on critics.—as a process of transferring or even transference (in the psychoanalytic sense) of force, motion, and of physicality being transferred *from* a body *onto* its surroundings, be they costumes, mechanical trappings, the air around her, and finally the members of her audience.

Rodenbach makes clear that Fuller, however chaste or covered-up, created a kind of spectacular femaleness onstage. His metaphors of rupture, scar, blood, and flowers lead us unmistakably to a whole range of associations that all evoke female reproduction or sexual events: menstruation, childbirth, even rape or a violent deflowering. Let us note, though, that in Rodenbach's vision, it is Fuller herself who is the perpetrator, not the victim of violence. She is not the bleeding flower, she is the one who rips it into existence and then emerges from it autocthnonously, giving birth to herself and leaving the audience with the resultant gore. The forms are strikingly female but the action shaping them is penetrative, masculine, violent. Her effect on the audience is hypnotic, but when she leaves the stage, she has separated herself from the attendant images of sex and birth. She sweeps off, her robes are still pristine; it's the air that's bloody.

Rodenbach's poem is not unique in its depiction of Fuller's strangely violent power onstage. If there was one thread connecting all the disparate interpretations of her it was this: that people felt overwhelmed, speechless, transformed, paralyzed by her spectacles. Fuller preferred to mystify her work, referring to herself as a wizard, a fairy, a magician, and those kinds of labels appeared constantly in her reviews. Rodenbach's poem, however, provides a very apt metaphor and explanation for the process by which this enchantment occurred, which has to do with violent rupture or powerful sexuality being transferred from Fuller to the space around her. When she danced onstage with her troupe of young dancers a similar thing would happen, reviews would often focus on the youth, beauty, and sexuality of the young girls. In fact, sometimes Les Ballets Loie Fuller were considered quite scandalous, because Fuller dressed the girls often in transparent tunics and nothing underneath. Alone onstage, Fuller's body was normally completely invisible, but she allowed her dancers' to exhibit theirs—again, transferring the bodily power, in this case to other dancers.

This contagion or transferring process made sense as a way to explain the impossible contradictions of Fuller's work: I realized that I could not write a biography of her because she insisted on absenting herself from her work and even in some ways from her life (she always insisted, for example, that all of her choreography and inventions were mere accidents, that she was unaware of how she came to them, that she was just a kind of accidental genius). I had discovered an artist whose work was based on a process of transferring—of transferring bodily motion from the limbs to wands and fabric, of transferring narrative or figurative content from a story to a series of shapes and forms, and somehow, of transferring erotic force from herself to others, to the air, and I think, to the audience.

By wrapping herself up so completely and by turning herself into a kind of absent presence, Fuller redirected her kinetic and erotic force more completely outward than anyone before her ever had. She set the air on fire. She set critics on fire, hence the highly contradictory interpretations that all

claim her work as proof of definitive rupture and change in dance history.

I realized that Fuller was not a revolutionary, but rather someone who had an unusual ability to perform a conversation among many movements and forms. She does not, after all, represent the end of classical ballet and the beginning of modern dance, but rather an onstage, performative conversation between the two forms. I think that Fuller illustrates also particularly well the way dance studies can help us see how different disciplines speak to one another, literature, visual art, and drama.

This is what my version of 'new biography' turned out to be: a process of listening to and interpreting the conversation that Fuller set in motion by virtue, ironically, of her own apparent undecidability. It was the bodily force suppressed, redirected, transferred onto so many other trappings and ultimately onto so many other people that I needed to trace, not Fuller per se. It turned out to be far more important to see her as an interlocutor not an exceptional pioneer, and in seeing that, I was able to investigate questions that extend far beyond the scope of one woman's life.

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1. See Rhonda Garelick, *Electric Salome: Loie Fuller's Performance of Modernism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).
2. See Frank Kermode, *The Romantic Image* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957) and his "Loie Fuller and the Dance before Diaghilev," *Salmagundi*, nos. 33-34 (Spring-Summer, 1976): 23-47. See also Sally Sommer, "Loie Fuller," *Drama Review* 19, no. 1 (1975): 53-67.
3. Paul Adam, review of Loie Fuller, *Le Courrier de la Presse*, 13 February, 1893, 6 Musée Rodin Archives.
4. Mrs. M. Griffith, "Loie Fuller: The Inventor of the Serpentine Dance," *Strand Magazine*, Winter 1894, 540.
5. Claude Roger-Marx, "Loie Fuller," *Les Arts et la Vie*, May 1905, 3.
6. Francis Miomandre, *Danse* (Paris: Flammarion, 1935): 16.
7. Camille Mauclair, *Idées vivantes* (Paris: Librairie de l'Art Ancient et Moderne, 1904): 104.
8. Stéphane Mallarmé, "Les Fonds dans le Ballet," *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1979): 305.
9. Jules Clarétie, review of Loie Fuller, Fuller papers, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.
10. Pierre Desclaux, "Gala de l'orphelinat des arts," unidentified publication, 19 June, 1911, Collection Rondel, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris.
11. Tirza True Latimer, "Loie Fuller: Butch Femme Fatale," in *Proceedings of the Society of Dance History Scholars, 22nd Annual Conference* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999): 86.
12. Sally Banes, *Writing Dancing in the Age of Postmodernism* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1994): 74.
13. Georges Rodenbach, *Le Figaro*, 5 May 1896, qtd in Kermode, "Loie Fuller and the Dance before Diaghilev," 40. The translation of this excerpt is a combination of my own and that of Philippe Rein, which appears in Kermode's article.
14. See Stephen Kern, The Culture of Time and Space 1880-1918 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983):162.

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