DALCROZE BY ANY OTHER NAME: EURHYTHMICS IN EARLY MODERN THEATRE AND DANCE

by

JAMES W. LEE, A.B., M.A.

A DISSERTATION

IN

FINE ARTS (THEATRE ARTS)

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty
of Texas Tech University in
Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for
the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Approved

_____
Chairperson of the Committee

_____

_____

_____

_____

Accepted

_____
Dean of the Graduate School

August, 2003

©1999-2003, James William Lee

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to The Graduate School of Texas Tech University for awarding me their Dissertation Research Scholarship for the summer of 2000.

This scholarship funding enabled my travel to and work with:

The Dalcroze Society of America National Conference at Oberlin College, Ohio;

The Dalcroze Society of America/Irwin Spector Collection of the Jerome Lawrence and Robert E. Lee Theatre Research Institute at the Library of The Ohio State University in Columbus, Ohio; and

Dalcroze Summer Workshop I, at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

From the Dalcroze Society, I would like especially to thank Leslie Mills, Terry Boyarsky, Julia Schnebly-Black, Tom Kanthak, Lisa Parker, Susan Chess, Sean Hartley, Daniel Cataneo, and David Frego for their earnest interest, beneficial insights, and encouraging counsel.

At the Lawrence and Lee Theatre Research Institute, Nena Couch and Valdan Pennington were exceptionally helpful in planning my visit and during the several days I spent in their archives. I reserve special appreciation for Ayisha Jones for her priceless assistance in gathering, organizing, and replicating many of the resources used in this work.

The instructors and program administrators of Carnegie Mellon University's Dalcroze Workshops were exceptionally accommodating and hospitable to the disoriented stranger. I particularly appreciate the good offices of Annabelle Joseph, Marta Sanchez, Herbert Henke, Stephen Moore, Stephen Neely, Sally Stone, and Amanda Ford: their patience with a non-musician, and their significant contributions to both my historical research and general knowledge of contemporary Dalcroze training.

I also want to express my gratitude and lasting obligation to Dr. Sharon Carnicke of the University of Southern California, Professor Diana Moore of Texas Tech University, and Professor J. Timothy Caldwell of Central Michigan University. I am also indebted to Doris Miller and Verena Sebek for their firm guidance as I entered the black forest of German translation, and David H. Gerber, rare book dealer of Austin, TX, who altruistically taught me how to search for out-of-print, used, and rare books on the world wide web.

I deeply thank my doctoral committee, Dr. Linda Donahue, Dr. Carolyn Tate, and Prof. Peggy Willis-Aarnio for their encouragement and enthusiasm about the importance of this topic and its continuing implications in human arts, and especially Dr. William Westney whose Unmaster Class® exposed to me the existence and implied significance of Dalcrozean music teaching.

I must single out my committee chair, Dr. Jonathan Marks for his steadfast support and, additionally, for his selfless contributions as my French translation consultant and editor. I also thank him for the many opportunities he afforded me to join him in productions of some the best works of western theatre.

I am indebted to University of California Professor Emerita Dr. Christena Schlundt, my undergraduate dance teacher, who started the considerations of physical performance roiling in my perception.

I also must express my unbounded gratitude to Louis and Doris Lee, and Wes and Harriet Olson for their encouragement and interest in such a curious and peculiarly timed enterprise.

Above all and beyond everyone, my love and gratitude to my wife Lynda Olson-Lee and my son Josh Lee who know first-hand how long one hundred years of research takes. I am eternally grateful for everything you both have done to make this work possible. Most of us managed to see it through. Our love to good ol' Ben who didn't.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ii
ABSTRACT v
CHAPTER
I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION 1
II. ÉMILE JAQUES-DALCROZE 9
III. ÉMILE JAQUES-DALCROZE AND MUSIC 35
IV. ÉMILE JAQUES-DALCROZE AND MODERN DANCE 63
V. ÉMILE JAQUES-DALCROZE AND MODERN THEATRE 94
VI. CONJECTURES AND CONCLUSIONS 123
BIBLIOGRAPHY 135
APPENDIX
A. SOME NOTES ON SOURCES 154
B. DEFINITION OF THE LAWS OF RHYTHM 163
C. LUSSY AND LIZST AND DALCROZE 175
D. RE: STANISLAVSKY/DALCROZE CONNECTION 177
E. ORIGINAL TEXTS OF TRANSLATED MATERIAL 178

ABSTRACT

It is the argument of this dissertation that, in the early years of the twentieth century, the Swiss music teacher Émile Jaques-Dalcroze (1865-1950) was the preeminent authority, advocate, and researcher into the following principle: human artistic expression is based on an intrinsic, physical, and visceral bond between performing artists and their work. Furthermore, Dalcroze's work was pivotal to all of the stage-centered arts at the inception of modernism.

Historical acclaim for the initiation and promotion of expression in theatre and dance is accorded to such commonly recognized figures as Konstantin Stanislavski and Rudolf von Laban. However, Russian, German, Swiss, and French sources from that era have revealed that Émile Jaques-Dalcroze and his associates had formulated, established, taught, and widely dispersed his foundational techniques of artistic expression well in advance of the recognized icons of modernism in the theatrical arts.

This work provides evidence that Jaques-Dalcroze was in direct contact with both Laban and Stanislavsky, and contributed materially to the work for which they later became world-renowned.

Unlike many others who shared his quest and passion for expressiveness in the performing arts, Dalcroze's work and insights have been inadequately considered in the chronicles of expressive performance. This dissertation demonstrates that Émile Jaques-Dalcroze should appropriately be seen as the principal source of the methods and theories of the now-celebrated founders of modern performance in the twentieth century: Konstantin Stanislavsky and Rudolf von Laban.

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

> . . . we conceive music in too narrow a sense, as if music were wholly an affair of sound. What music is in essence we do not know; no definition can cover what it means in our inner experience. It is at any rate *in us*, not in the violin or the voice, not in written score or the conductor's hand. It is time and rhythm and sound, and it is more than all of these. Hands and feet, keyboard and strings, notation and letters, are all alike instruments by which the soul of music can reach our souls.
>
> (J.J. Findlay qtd. in Pennington 8)

Eurhythmics is the English term devised in 1913 for the concept of music instruction developed by Swiss composer and music teacher Émile Jaques-Dalcroze. During its developmental phase in Switzerland this program was called *la gymnastique rythmique*, although with use the name eventually was shortened to *la rythmique*. Before World War I, Jaques-Dalcroze and his work became best known in Germany where his process was referred to as *der rhythmik*. During the course of the twentieth century the Jaques-Dalcroze process for music instruction became known variously as *rythmique*, *rhythmics*, or often simply as *Dalcroze* (Lawrence, D.H. 180).

The name eurhythmics is a variant of the word *eurhythmia* that was, according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, a nineteenth-century term used to refer to art works or architecture when seen as especially well- or harmoniously proportioned. Eurhythmia was derived from the Greek *eu-* meaning 'well' or 'good,' and *rhuthmos* 'to flow' (Concise Oxford Dictionary WPO 2002, Caldwell, J. 21).

In particular, Dalcroze Eurhythmics is a form of music education based on the premise that music, irrespective of its culture of origin, flowed first from the rhythms felt and expressed by the human body. That speculation was not particularly innovative, but it was extended when Dalcroze asserted that music always flowed best when the body was fully engaged in its performance. This conclusion emerged from observations Dalcroze made, and experiments he conducted when he was teaching music conservatory students in 1890s Geneva. Further, he came to believe that expressiveness in music was teachable, though it was widely thought that expression was a dimension to be reached only by the naturally gifted. He also argued that what distinguished gifted musicians was a visceral and bodily connection with the music.

Dalcroze set out to physically engage the bodies of his students with the fundamentals of music. In order for each musical feature to be represented by a physical response, he composed a virtual lexicon of bodily movements over some twelve years of classroom observation and music-and-motion experiments. Each physical action, movement, or position correlated to a musical term or concept and, finally, could be used to physically render any music that could be heard. Because there was a physical reaction to every feature of the music, to average viewers of these exercises *la rythmique* was very much like dancing.

During his studies of musical rhythm for the sake of expression, Dalcroze also grew to believe that his music experiments had unexpectedly revealed a genuine and fundamental human nature in all of its dimensions: physical, mental, and spiritual. [The theoretic core of Dalcroze's rhythmic studies appears below as Appendix A.]

Dalcroze was further encouraged in this belief when dilettantes and specialists in the emerging disciplines of biology, psychology, and sociology began to see that rhythm studies could be expanded beyond the limited range of expression in music, and into all aspects of

human life. Some social engineers among Dalcroze's benefactors postulated that the advent of European industrialism disconnected individuals from their access to the rhythms of nature, including their own, and that centuries of inhibited physical expression had severely distorted their inner equilibrium.

If the expression of human rhythm were a previously unknown but vital law of nature, it was not a far fetch to realize that groups of unnatural (transmuted) individuals, collected as societies, had thereby mutilated the political and social integrity of the supposedly advanced societies of Europe. In this way, rhythmic imbalance was offered as a possible explanation for the social decay of nineteenth-century Europe which threatened to contaminate the twentieth.

In the Europe prior to World War I, Jaques-Dalcroze and his work became prominent beyond the dominion of music. Eurhythmics had its detractors even when it was thought to be only an unconventional method of music instruction. After its mis-identification as a form of dance and its advancement in support of socio-political theories, it evoked artistic, social, and political arguments, some of which persist to this day. Disputes brought to the fore by Dalcroze's work included those of discipline vs. freedom in the arts and society; the rivalry of passion and reason; the proper place of music among the arts; and innovative modernity vis-à-vis ancient authority. This last dispute is one that can be disposed of immediately. Did Dalcroze originate his eurhythmics or steal it from the Greeks?

Some early observers of *gymnastique rythmique* were so struck by its intrinsic appeal to their emotions that they heaped praise upon Dalcroze for his unparalleled insight and unique perception of human nature. Classical scholars, however, imbued with the excitement of the so-called Greek revival, saw Dalcroze's work as re-establishing the grounding principle of ancient Greek civilization. Rhythm could be

restored as the common operant element of human nature, and as the means and goal of education.

Dalcroze himself readily acknowledged that eurhythmics was not his innovation:

> The Greeks attached great importance to rhythmic movements: they recognised the beneficent influence of a rhythmic education of both body and mind, and they also knew that this rhythmic education was capable of influencing the inner life of man. Plato says: "Rhythm, *i.e.* the expression of order and symmetry, penetrates by way of the body into the soul and into the entire man, revealing to him the harmony of his whole personality." (Dalcroze, Eurhythmics Art and Education 102)

A particularly clear statement of the Greek origin of eurhythmics is cited by Peggy Willis-Aarnio from *Ballet Education*, a posthumous (1947) collection of Nicolai Legat's (1869-1937) teaching principles:

> The Greek philosophers established a principle that Eurhythmics (the training and balancing of the mind by rhythm) was the best way to perfection, that this rhythm was the most precious quality of the soul, and that rhythm penetrated into the soul through the body. The Greek was compelled to be eurhythmic in walking, in dress and in speech. [The ancient Greeks] were judged and appreciated by the degree of rhythm with which their way of life and their outlook were characterized. . . . (Nicolaeva-Legat qtd. in Willis-Aarnio 285)

Dalcroze was well read in Greek musical theory, and aware of the place of rhythm in ancient Greek society (Moore 35-38). He used the empirical process of observation and experimentation to delve into his society and its music, just as the Greeks had done in theirs, and then described the intrinsic sense of rhythm that he found there. Neither he nor the Greeks invented rhythm or eurhythmic principles.

He saw and claimed as a law of human nature the phenomenon that they all had discovered by watching human behavior.

Other controversies, misconceptions, and professional rivalries would later obscure Dalcroze's reputation, and compromise a positive identification of his work. One such professional rival was the superstar of Dalcroze's day, the legendary free-dancer, Isadora Duncan. She denounced eurhythmics based on her conviction that only unlimited individual freedom could be a source of art and beauty. "I do not like the Dalcroze system. I regard all that as sin—a crime against the nature of children. . . There is no need to subject a child to any demands. . ." (Duncan, 1981 82). Further cases of opposition and reproach directed at Dalcroze will follow in Chapter V.

All other controversy pales beside the pivotal dispute that led to the partial but profound eclipse of eurhythmics: nineteenth-century nationalism in the figure of twentieth-century war. Between 1905 and 1914, eurhythmics was ascendant, and for a short time it appeared to many that it might reveal the secrets of both artistic expression and global harmony. During and after World War I, however, artistic and national partisanship acted simultaneously to inhibit the emergence of a multinational, interdisciplinary human and artistic brotherhood.

By 1905, Dalcroze's years of associating musical performance with physical movement had uniquely prepared him to be the key authority on the relationship of bodily motion to artistic expression. Dalcroze and his experiments were reaching their maturity just as the centuries-old stage conventions of dance and drama were collapsing under increasingly critical attacks on their pervading falsity. These circumstances set the stage upon which Dalcroze's work exerted a matchless influence on the pioneers of the modern performing arts.

This influence can be particularly well discerned in the work of those who subsequently created systems of analysis and instruction in

physical performance, e.g., Jacques Copeau and Konstantin Stanislavsky in theatre, and Ted Shawn and Rudolf Laban in dance. In the former instances, Copeau's journals recount days spent conferring with Dalcroze and attending his classes in Geneva. In his writings, Shawn made several direct and complimentary references to Dalcroze and his exceptional insights. But what of Laban and Stanislavsky? There are obvious points of coincidence between their work and Dalcroze's, but in their major works neither made mention of contact with Dalcroze.

In the summer of 2000, to gain an orientation to the history and practice of eurhythmics, this writer attended the Dalcroze Society of America's national conference at Oberlin College, Ohio. In interviews, several exponents of Dalcroze and his work readily expressed a belief in his influence on Laban and Stanislavsky, but the assertions seemed to rest largely on the substantiation of common knowledge within the Dalcroze society. Though well-meant, reflexive validation of influence led to the need for objective evidence or testimony in corroboration of Laban and Stanislavsky's knowledge of Dalcroze's work. By extension, it also became a research goal to discover historically whether either or both had direct, professional contact with Dalcroze and/or working exposure to his performance theory and practice in action.

Some Notes on Organization

It is evident in the three principal Dalcroze biographies (Brunet-Lecomte, Berchtold, and Spector) that his multiplicity of interests and simultaneous careers often mislead writers who undertake to tell the chronological story of his life. His biographers repeatedly must make parenthetical departures in order to illuminate related facts or actions running parallel to particular moments in his chronicle.

Deviations can fill entire chapters with accounts of events and people who will figure in Dalcroze's later life. Other chapters, still in the midst of his life story, detail aspects of his theories because they had emerged at that point in his biography. There are diversions to depict historical circumstances, or to describe his simultaneous work in completely different fields of study. Consequently, this melange is difficult reading for those previously unfamiliar with Dalcroze and his multi-disciplinary activities. However, it is precisely those unfamiliar with his work who are the anticipated readers of this study.

The purpose of this work is to attract an overdue recognition for the figure of Jaques-Dalcroze and to elucidate the fact that his studies were antecedent to the currently better-known personalities and more-celebrated systems of physical performance. In order to present his life, times, and multiple careers in a more accessible form than those currently available, an unusual but useful organizational convention has been adopted for the purpose of this study.

The story of Dalcroze's life will be told four times. The distinct strands of biography that represent his history, his music, his links to modern dance, and his connection with theatre will be disentangled, or unwoven, so that each aspect can be seen without undue interference.

Chapter II is a bio-historical overview covering Jaques-Dalcroze's first fifty years, from 1865 to 1915. In this chapter, an imperfect but earnest effort is made to keep an unbroken chronology, and to limit the narrative to the circumstances of his life, separate from his artistic work. Each of the following three chapters will then move through his chronology using the perspective of one of the art disciplines in which he was involved: music, dance, and theatre.

Chapter III centers on Dalcroze's music education and his insight into the learning and teaching of music that resulted in the

developing of eurhythmics. It does not deal with his work as a composer. In Chapter IV the emphasis shifts to his critical and professional ties to modern dance. His chronology is de-emphasized in this chapter since modern dance *per se* did not exist until Dalcroze was over fifty years of age. Chapter V then profiles the extent of his life and influence in theatre by returning to his Vienna childhood and proceeding to 1915.

Chapter VI serves as a summary of the contributions of Dalcroze to the performing arts. Some speculations are also offered about what circumstances, after less than one hundred years, may have diffused and obscured Dalcroze's person and general knowledge of his work.

Another convention employed for the sake of simplification is the use of appendices. Details are set forth in appendices which are pertinent to the study of Dalcroze and his work, but which, if included in the body of the work would impede the purpose and readability of the study. Materials to be found in the appendices are, in Appendix A: Some Notes on Sources; Appendix B: "Definition of the Laws of Rhythm" is Dalcroze's extended theoretic statement; Appendix C: Lussy and Lizst and Dalcroze furnishes some details about the musical reputation of Mathis Lussy, Dalcroze's mentor in rhythmic studies; Appendix D: Re: Stanislavsky/Dalcroze Connection is the full text of an e-mail letter to this author from Stanislavsky scholar Sharon Carnicke; and Appendix E: Original Texts of Translated Material provides original-language material translated for this work. All citations stemming from translation are indicated by numerical endnotes in Appendix E. They are consecutive within chapters, and restart with each new chapter.

Explanatory comments are restricted to footnotes which are numbered consecutively throughout this work.

CHAPTER II
ÉMILE JAQUES-DALCROZE

Introduction

This chapter establishes the biographic framework within which the development and influence of Jaques-Dalcroze's process of music education, *Eurhythmics* (*la rythmique*) will be considered. This frame encloses Émile Jaques-Dalcroze's first fifty years, opening at his birth in Vienna in 1865, and closing in Geneva in 1915, the year *l'Institut Jaques-Dalcroze* was established in that city.

Particulars concerning his motivations, practices, reflections, innovations, and influences in the course of those fifty years will be found in following chapters from which those specifics derive, or upon which they bear most directly: Chapter III, music; Chapter IV, dance; and Chapter V, theatre.

Now begins the biography.

Vienna

Though his parents were both Swiss, Émile-Henri Jaques was born in Vienna, in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, on July 6, 1865. The Jaques family found itself in Vienna because Émile's father was a sales representative for two Swiss clock manufacturers. He had stationed himself in Vienna to ease the ordeal of semi-annual business trips to his assigned territory: Poland and Russia.

Dalcroze's adoring younger sister Hélène was born in January of 1870, also in Vienna. She became one of his closest collaborators, his lifelong confidante, and his initial biographer. A large part of their bond, from their earliest years in Vienna, was a life rich in imaginative play, and their mutual enjoyment of music.

Despite their modest income, Émile and Hélène's parents often attended the opera and the theatre, frequently in boxes of the nobility which were loaned to a physician friend who passed them along. The Jaques children loved to hear their parents' stories about the evenings at the opera, and the great artists of the day whom their parents had the opportunity to see.

The children were fascinated by all of the sights and sounds of 1870s Vienna, and were extremely impressed when they heard that, at a Swiss exposition, the Emperor Franz-Josef himself had engaged M. Jaques in a pleasant dialogue about a miniature golden pistol that had been crafted by their great-uncle, a Swiss watchmaker (Berchtold 32).

Passing their early childhood in Vienna convinced the children that it was entirely natural that people to lived in a sparkling world of music, beauty, and congenial royalty. However, after having spent ten years in Vienna, M. Jaques decided to return with his young family to Switzerland. The decision was met with great despair by the Jaques children (Brunet-Lecomte 27-29).

Ironically, the children themselves went to the *Stadtoper* [Civic Opera] only once, when the family was in the midst of their move to Switzerland. The furniture was packed, the family had already relinquished their house, and their parents did not wish to leave ten-year-old Émile and his five-year-old sister Hélène alone in a hotel room.

> We heard *Aïda* by Verdi. . . .
>
> While entering in the box, mama had told us: "Take a good look at the leader of the orchestra, because it is the great Verdi himself. You will be able to say later that you saw him conducting his opera in person."
>
> It is certain that we never forgot that pleasant head with its white beard.[1] (Brunet-Lecomte 26-27)

Within a few days of *Aïda* the children were transplanted to the provincial life of Switzerland. However, judging by their later studies and adult careers, their Viennese childhoods had been imprinted with beauty and music, and exercised a continuing influence on their lives.

Geneva

In comparison with Vienna, the Swiss city of Geneva seemed like a country village to the young exiles. Fully seventy years after the move, Hélène retained the emotion-memory of that time: "The empty streets, our poor mama so sad to have left all her dear friends, our noticeably distraught father, our lack of friends, all created an ambiance around us whose bitterness my brother and I still feel . . . "[2] (Brunet-Lecomte 30). To make matters worse, the entire summer was involved with moving in and then it was time for school.

Émile attended the *Collège de la Ville* in the fall of 1877 and was also admitted to piano studies at the *Conservatoire Genève.* He stayed at the conservatory when he advanced to *le gymnase*, and completed his secondary education in 1883.

During his years in secondary school (Dénes 12) Émile worked, to much praise and applause, both as an actor and musician with the *société d'étudiants de Belles-Lettres* [Society of Humanities Students]. The Society presented evenings of classical music, drama, and poetry, and frequently debuted student compositions. In later years he often credited the Society with the beginning of his artistic development (Brunet-Lecomte 31).

In 1883 Émile entered *l'Université de Genève*, with no particular goal, though he did continue to perform with the Humanities Society. As he neared the age of eighteen, Émile was torn between prospective futures in both theatre and music. His singing professor thought that Émile had the talent and ability to become a first-rate comic tenor if

he worked at it. However, Émile's cousin Samuel hired him to perform with his acting company on a summer tour of France. This experience enhanced Émile's appreciation for his prospects in a dramatic career. In either case, he decided not to resume classes at the university (Spector 9).

Paris

By the fall of 1884, Émile decided to go to Paris, and study both theatre and music, although, according to his sister, he went inclined somewhat more towards the theatre (Brunet-Lecomte 35). He had been accepted for studies in declamation with Denis Talbot, a private coach who once had been a featured player with the Comédie-Française.

Émile's continuing hesitation between careers in theatre and music had led him to take along some letters of introduction with recommendations from the Geneva Conservatory. After working with Talbot made it clear to Émile how much he still had learn to become an actor, he decided to use his letters from the Conservatory to secure an audition with Gabriel Fauré (1845-1924), the leading composer and teacher of his time. Émile wanted to study composition, and played a piece he had written. As his audition came to a close, ". . . the master tells him that he knows 'nothing, nothing, nothing at all . . .'"[3] (Berchtold 37-38). In Paris for just a few weeks, Émile had climbed to the lowest rung in his new career, the rank of the talented amateur.

Émile soon began to write depressed letters home to his sister:

> . . . I breakfast alone, all alone. The whole morning I work, I declaim, and eat lunch at noon. In the afternoon I re-work and re-declaim again until six-thirty, and finally, the moment awaited with impatience, the only moment when I forget my unhappiness, I go to the Théâtre français [home of the Comédie-Française]. Besides that, homesickness holds

> me so that I only get out for meals, and even then with reluctance, because I have not been hungry since my arrival.[4] (Brunet-Lecomte 36)

However, it was not long before opportunity presented itself. One evening when Émile was lamenting with some artist friends in a Montmartre café, a troubled member of a neighborhood cabaret came into the bistro. He characterized his problem for the clientele: the pianist for the cabaret was ill, and there was no replacement.

> ". . . Jaques offers himself and carries away a great success improvising some delectable music adapted to an article by Francisque Sarcey, the famous French critic, who was just then in the room. After having laughed himself to tears, he consecrated dithyrambic praises to Jaques the following day in his newspaper."[5]

Émile Jaques from Geneva had just found himself playing in Paris's first artistic cabaret, the Chat Noir.[1] The missing pianist's recuperation was lengthy enough to permit Émile to fill in at the cabaret several more times. Émile regarded the environment of the Chat Noir to be pleasant, and the founder of the cabaret, Rodolphe Salis, to be his spiritual countryman (Brunet-Lecomte 36-37).

In spite of some occasional bright spots in his life, Émile went on with his studies; and the ordeal which started as homesickness and doubt became transformed into disheartenment and apprehension.

> What good is hoping, I say to myself, don't I know . . . that in this life one cannot count on anything, that everything here below is luck, that in spite of courage, in spite of energy, one can arrive only by a stroke of luck: the

---

[1] Erik Satie started attending the Chat Noir in 1887, became its assistant pianist in 1888, and performed there until 1891 (Perloff 67).

> unexpected! There are composers of sixty years who still wait for it. . .
>
> And they promise, always promise, and they tell me: "It will come, what the hell, Paris wasn't built in a day..." Well, hell, I know that, but Paris had time to be built. There are times that I ask myself why I pile in a cardboard box manuscripts upon manuscripts unto oblivion.[6] (Brunet-Lecomte 38)

And yet, not every experience in Paris was as daunting as trying to become a composer. Émile was hired as an accompanist for Juliani, a singer and professor of *bel canto*. Émile learned a great deal from the maestro that later aided his operatic compositions. He also played chamber music with Gavés [sic], a violinist with whom he presented a protocol-bedeviled concert for the Queen of Spain. Berchtold claims that Émile even appeared briefly on stage at the Folies-Bergère.

> Out of the Genevan hearth, my first studies in Paris revealed to me the spontaneous nature of young Parisian musicians, and my contact with them diminished my congenital reserve. This latter is basically just a form of shyness created by very respectable traditions.[7] (Dalcroze, Souvenirs 40)

Seemingly, whether uplifting, disappointing, or tormenting, all of his experiences in Paris were developmental to the future Émile Jaques-Dalcroze. Nonetheless, after nearly two years in Paris, Émile returned to his home in Geneva.

He worked again with the *Société des Belles-Lettres*, but he almost immediately accepted a summer position with a hotel and spa at Saint-Gervais-Les-Bains. To the chagrin of his family, he had been hired to play piano after lunch and dinner, and to create musical evenings for the visitors to the resort. Émile was enthusiastic because he had the opportunity to play, be paid, and to study, but his parents

saw this position as little better than that of a servant. None of them anticipated his pending good fortune.

During his summer at the resort, Émile was approached by Léo Delibes (1836-1891) who greatly admired an improvisation that Émile was playing, having mistaken it for a published piece. Delibes, the noted French composer of the ballet *Coppelia* and the opera *Lakmé*, gave Émile a standing invitation to "pester" him whenever he might come to Paris (Brunet-Lecomte 44).

Upon Émile's return home at the end of his summer job, he encountered Ernest Adler, a composer/conductor from Saint-Gallois. They spent a good deal of time together and in a short while became friends. Soon Adler asked Émile if he would be interested in serving as the assistant conductor of the orchestra for which Adler was the music director: the Théâtre des Nouveautés in Algeria, French North Africa. Émile accepted Adler's proposition.

As it happened, to leave Europe in September of 1886[2] was a particularly valuable decision for Émile to have made at this stage of his personal and musical development. His job with the orchestra was to last for one season, but things did not go as planned. Even though his intended plans went awry, in Algiers Émile-Henri Jaques became Émile Jaques-Dalcroze, and Jaques-Dalcroze first heard Arabian rhythms, and saw them interpreted by human bodies.

Algeria

In 1950, his sister Hélène described Émile's process of name-changing, which had stirred much conjecture over the course of his adult life. A publishing house in Paris had decided to print a selection

---

[2] Brunet-Lecomte differs with Martin/Berchtold/Dénes about this travel. Martin et al. have Émile in Algeria in 1886, but Hélène puts him in Vienna at that time. Spector and this author follow Martin.

of Émile's compositions. They requested, however, that he modify his surname to avoid confusion with a Bordelais Jaques who wrote polkas. Soon after arriving in Algeria, Émile encountered Raymond Valcroze, a former schoolmate from the Collège in Geneva. After obtaining his friend's permission, Émile then adopted and adapted his last name by changing the "V" to a "D" (Brunet-Lecomte 59-60).

After less than a year in North Africa, during which the theatre he was working for went bankrupt, and, in an unrelated incident, he nearly had to fight a duel, Jaques-Dalcroze was offered the position of director of the local conservatory. It was a tempting proposition for a young man of twenty-two, but he was as tentative about this choice as he had been when trying to decide between careers in music and theatre. This time, however, he received firm and vigorous counsel from a local clergyman who advised him to return to Europe. If he remained in Algiers, the pastor told him, his musical creativity would suffer and he would develop no further (Dalcroze, Bariolées 20-21).

Vienna II

Despite his late application in the fall of 1887, Dalcroze went to Austria and auditioned for the Vienna Conservatory of Music, *Wiener Konservatorium* (Storck 5). He was admitted and enrolled to study organ and composition with the already-legendary composer Anton Bruckner. Jaques-Dalcroze was excited by the opportunity to work with Bruckner, but in a short time he began to write to his sister about difficulties he was having with Bruckner's punctilious teaching style.

Dalcroze also was vexed by Bruckner's use of students as score copyists. After he had made a particularly excellent transcription, he took his work to Bruckner. ". . . He got into a rage and tore it into bits, seeing that I didn't put the tails on the notes in exactly the right

places! He called me «*Der dumme Franzose*»!"[8] [stupid Frenchman] (Jaques-Dalcroze, Souvenirs 41).

It was not long before Bruckner and Dalcroze had a ferocious classroom quarrel about a harmony exercise, after which Bruckner demanded that Dalcroze be expelled. However, the director of the Conservatory decided to re-audition Dalcroze. Adolf Prosnitz stepped forward at that audition and offered to take on Dalcroze as a student with incontestable talent, but lacking technique (Brunet-Lecomte 49).

In his revised enrollment, Dalcroze studied composition with Hermann Graedner and piano with Prosnitz. Prosnitz was exactly the teacher Dalcroze needed at that point in his development. After Dalcroze played a Beethoven work for him, Prosnitz said, "« Schön, aber jetzt geh hinein! »" (Dalcroze, Bariolées 158), which is translated by Spector as, "That was nice, but now you must really get into it" (Spector 16).

Paris II

By February of 1889, Émile decided to leave Vienna for Geneva. In March, however, he decided to lay some of his demons to rest and returned again to Paris. He had decided to visit Léo Delibes, for his expressed willingness to be pestered, and also to return to Fauré and demonstrate some of the abilities he had acquired since his audition of five years earlier.

Geneva II

At the beginning of 1891, Dalcroze came home to Geneva where he would remain for most of the next twenty years. In October of that year, the *Académie de musique de Genève* requested that he teach a class in music history. By his own choice, he added to this

assignment further lectures on the particular musical histories of the cities of the *Suisse romande* [French-speaking Switzerland].

Hugo de Senger, Émile's favorite teacher from the Conservatory in Geneva, died in January of 1892. In April, the governing Committee of the Conservatory designated Dalcroze as Professor of Harmony for the upper division. A little more than a year later, in May of 1893, he was also assigned to teach the higher course in solfège.[3]

Dalcroze at first considered it an honor to be chosen to replace his old master, but from the beginning of his employment, "Jaques asked himself whether he was in port, or in quarantine. 'My music sells; the aristocracy smiles at me, and the moneyed salute me. To me this all seems grotesque!'"[9] (Berchtold 48).

For much of his lengthy tenure at the Conservatory things did not go smoothly. Berchtold cites several problems that arose between Dalcroze and the institution. The committee described his teaching as having "*beaucoup de brio*"—lots of vigor and animation—but lacking in clarity and precision. Additional descriptions of his personal and professional style are found in the minutes of the oral proceedings of the Committee in 1898. "'The Committee . . . finds the personality of Jaques a little, nay very burdensome.' Is it tolerable that he gives a lyric diction course at the academy of music (competing institution)?" [10] (Berchtold 48-49).

Administrative tension continued throughout his conservatory career, since he was not much influenced by continuing remonstrance about expectations, protocols, and his loyalty to the institution. In 1898 part of his time was spent touring Europe as the accompanist to the Belgian violinist Eugène Ysaÿe, and in the following year he played

---

[3] Solfège is the study of ear-training and sight-singing.

for the Italian singer Nina Faliero, whom he married later that same year.[4]

Distractions from the Conservatory did not stop there. In 1902, Dalcroze advocated some of his evolving rhythmic teaching theories in a conference at Geneva's rival *Conservatoire de Lausanne.* Several years later, in 1905, also away from Geneva, at the music teachers' congress of the Association of Swiss Musicians in Soleure, Dalcroze asserted his intention to entirely reform Swiss music teaching, and presented live student demonstrations of his work.

Earlier that year, Geneva's Conservatory withdrew its already-tenuous support (one experimental class) for *gymnastique rythmique.* They told him there was a lack of space, but in all likelihood his trials were forced out due to the purported nudity (bare feet, legs and arms) in Dalcroze's music-and-motion work, and a fear of liability for the effect his tests might be having on the physical stamina of his students. He continued to teach the sanctioned lessons of the Conservatory, but Dalcroze was compelled to transfer his movement experiments to a private space in the city, and to look for *rythmique* students independently.

Regardless of Dalcroze's problems with the Conservatory, due to his demonstrations outside of Geneva, news of his work was spreading through other parts of the country and into the rest of Europe. As a guide for teachers and students of *la rythmique,*[5] in 1906, Dalcroze published his first book of essays, exercises, and scores about his system of gymnastics for teaching music: *Méthode Jaques-Dalcroze: Pour le développement de l'instinct rythmique, du sens auditif et du*

---

[4] Their only child, Gabriel-Émile, was born in September of 1909.

[5] With the assistance of Nina Gorter, who had resigned her professorship at the Berlin Conservatory to work with Dalcroze.

sentiment tonal en 5 parties. However, due in part to the rising popularity of expressive dancers like the Americans Isadora Duncan and Ruth St. Denis, his publication was also being purchased by an increasingly curious European public. Although he was gratified that his book was selling, Dalcroze soon became ambivalent.

He was not sure if the dissemination of his work was not also its diffusion. Dalcroze was pleased that his ideas were being recognized, although with recognition came the mixed blessing of popularity. His publication began to be used as a self-help book, and as a lesson plan for ersatz teachers who had never studied with Jaques-Dalcroze, knew nothing about Dalcroze, his program, its practice or purpose, and who may never even have seen a demonstration. To Dalcroze, an informed and experienced instructor should be a guide to the discovery process in order to minimize a wasteful self-consciousness and to help enhance a calming self-discipline.

To stop this distortion of his work, the misappropriation of his name, and the anecdotal misinterpretation of his theories, in 1907 Dalcroze began to present public lectures with demonstrations of *la rythmique*, as presented by *les rythmiciennes*, his most advanced music and motion students. In these presentations, and on later European tours, he emphasized the uplifting and edifying dimensions of his work, much like an itinerant preacher illuminating the true word.

Because his book and an increase in the frequency of journal and magazine articles created more interest in his work, Dalcroze also became more hard-pressed to safeguard his work from becoming just a musical variation of then faddish hygienic gymnastics.[6] The

---

[6]For fifteen or more years, gymnastics for health and fitness had been very popular with middle and upper classes, and also helped to engage enthusiastic public support for the modern Olympics in 1896.

growing exposure through public presentations led to more interest and curiosity in his process, which then compelled even more extensive touring.

Between 1907 and 1910, *la rythmique* on tour helped to establish a general European perception of Jaques-Dalcroze as an authority on music, teaching methodology, artistic expression, and human nature.

Hellerau

During his 1909 Austro-German tour of *la rythmique*, after one performance in the city of Dresden, Dalcroze was met by Wolf Dohrn (1878-1914), the General Secretary of a German social reform group known as the *Hellerau Werkbund*. Dohrn, and his younger brother Harald, were completely "bowled over" while watching the display of *rythmique* (Berchtold 87). Dalcroze's illumination of the humanistic origins and inspirational purposes of *rythmique*, plus the physical, polyrhythmic, music-in-motion performance had left them virtually speechless. They had just witnessed a succinct expression of the goal of individual harmony and concerted group effort that the Hellerau *Werkbund* was working toward. They immediately invited Dalcroze to come with them to see Hellerau, the *Werkbund*'s model community near Dresden. Dalcroze visited Hellerau, to learn what the *Werkbund* was, and how its goals were visible in his work.

The founder of the *Werkbund* was one of the most prominent German social reformers, Frederick Naumann (1860-1919). He had been a theologian, but became a Christian socialist politician when he realized that the social conditions of his time did not allow most modern Europeans any practical possibility of achieving a Christ-like life. He believed that increasingly mechanized societies coarsened

wage-earners and others of the poorer classes because their constant quest for simple survival disallowed any development of their higher faculties or emotions.

In 1906, Naumann formed the *Hellerau Werkbund* with a group of dedicated social reformers, consisting of politicians, merchants, manufacturers, and artists. They intended to create a combination industrial facility and planned community that would express concern both for its profits and its workers. It had the additional purpose to "refine public taste" by promoting a utilitarian artistic style that was in harmony with modern technology (Berchtold 86). Based on a social engineering experiment at the English industrial town of Letchworth (Spector 151), the *Werkbund* established the *Gartenstadt*[7] of Hellerau.

The *Dresdner Werkstätten für Handwerkskunst* (Dresdner Heft 4) [Dresden Workshops for Craftsmanship] had been established by Karl Schmidt as the industrial center of the planned community. These workshops were emphatically nothing like the nineteenth-century industrial sweatshops which had provoked the need for a Hellerau.

> Products of these workshops were meant to open the eyes of Germans to the true beauty of the functional shapes of daily use. But the workers who achieve this beauty, shouldn't they themselves live in a world of harmony? Shouldn't workers be restored the joy of work and that professional pride which big industry has destroyed?[11] (Berchtold 86)

The garden-city concept meant more to Hellerau workers than just pleasant working conditions and pride in their labor. They lived in quiet, single family houses that were surrounded by peaceful gardens, and leased to them by the *Werkbund* (Levitz 3).

---

[7] The garden-city idea was outlined in *Garden cities of to-morrow* (1898) by Ebenezer Howard. It was translated into German in 1907 as *Gartenstädte in Sicht* [Garden Cities in Sight].

As executive officer of the *Werkbund*, Wolf Dohrn was charged with establishing and directing a stimulating cultural and educational center for the community of Hellerau. Soon after the demonstration of *rythmique* in Dresden, the Dohrns went to Geneva to see some of Dalcroze's classes in action. After becoming better acquainted with Dalcroze in Geneva, and based on what he and his brother had seen, heard, and felt at the *rythmique* demonstration, Wolf Dohrn became convinced that Dalcroze's work contained the physical means by which to harmonize, nurture, reform, and develop not just music or the world of the arts, but human society in general.

On behalf of the *Werkbund*, Wolf Dohrn drafted a proposal to Dalcroze in November of 1909. They offered him a ten-year contract, promising to build performance facilities [*Festspielhaus]*, rehearsal halls, teaching spaces, and changing rooms with hot and cold showers for the future *Bildungsanstalt Jaques-Dalcroze* [Jaques-Dalcroze Institute]. The facility was to be the architectural, educational, and cultural center of the community.

Dalcroze resigned from Geneva's Conservatory effective in May of 1910. He had joined his professorship at not quite the age of twenty-seven, and was leaving it as he approached forty-five. During his eighteen-year tenure Dalcroze had advanced his education, honed his professional skills, developed his rhythmic theories, and established himself as a respected Swiss composer. As tedious as he often found it, his time at the Conservatory had been invaluable. Émile had been able to test, adjust, and retest his theories, always developing a growing awareness, in himself and his students, of the value of rhythm study to music, to musicians, and to all of human life.

In the summer of 1910, having received the imprimatur of the larger European community, Dalcroze was accorded honors in Geneva from both the Conservatory and the University. Cyvia Ramberg, who

came to Geneva to study with Dalcroze, and moved with him to teach in Germany, spoke to this hypocrisy in her memoir *Quicksilver*. "The enthusiasm of the Dohrn management was most heartening after the distrust of the directing body of the Conservatoire of Geneva, who then, of course, began to see Dalcroze in a new light" (Rambert 51).

Accompanied by his wife Nina, his infant son Gabriel, and his administrative assistant, Nina Gorter, Dalcroze left Switzerland for Germany in October of 1910. Additionally, fifteen of his *rythmique* students from Geneva soon followed them to Hellerau.

During Dalcroze's first year in Germany, the Institute complex was still in the planning and construction stages, so he and his faculty held classes in Dresden proper at the *Ständehaus* [Guildhall]. With the end of the school year in the spring of 1911, several certificates and diplomas in *la rythmique* were awarded to students who had begun their studies in Switzerland and finished them in Germany. Following the examinations, a modest invited reception was held, which featured class exercises and demonstrations performed by Dalcroze's students.

The members of the *Werkbund* expressed a wide range of reactions to what they saw at the 1911 school reception:

> Theodore Heuss[8] is quite disconcerted and skeptical . . . [he] had never thought of contributing to the resolution of social problems by dancing. . . . Frédéric Naumann, seeing the 'animated masses' moving about, regrets that his colleague in the *Reichstag*, the socialist leader Augustus Bebel, did not attend this performance; he would see the individual dissolving into the total man; he would see an articulated crowd.[12]

---

[8] It is notable that Heuss became the first President of West Germany at the conclusion of World War II.

Naumann greatly admired, but was unsettled by, the recital. He had misgivings when reflecting on the potential political judgment of individuals who were inspired by spontaneous emotion, and not by a rational, analytic, and erudite sense of social justice (Berchtold 93).

Between 1910 and 1912, while Dalcroze's facilities were under construction, and his reputation in Germany was being established, word spread about this new kind of music school at Hellerau, and prospective students and eager visitors began traveling to Dresden.

Prince Serge Wolkonsky, who once was the superintendent of the Imperial Russian theatres, and Percy B. Ingham, the son of the English educator Charles Ingham,[9] each visited Hellerau, and both soon became committed disciples of Dalcroze and *la rythmique*. They undertook to promote Dalcroze and his school, and to create more opportunities for his work to be demonstrated and taught in their native countries.

At a 1911 meeting, it was announced that the *Werkbund* had gone deeply into debt during the construction of the central Institute. Nevertheless, the governing board decided that neither the expense nor the value of the Institute would be justifiable if its work were not seen, and its discoveries not disseminated. It was decided that a school festival would help to publicize both the *Bildungsanstalt* and the garden community itself. Prince Wolkonsky made a sizeable personal financial donation to defray some of the expense, and the *Werkbund* provided the rest to produce a school festival for the summer of 1912.

---

[9] Charles Ingham had seen *la rythmique* in 1910 in Geneva, and wrote the first article about it in English. He had already incorporated study of its principles into the curriculum of the Eastbourne (England) private school where he was director (Spector 156).

Although gone, Dalcroze had not been forgotten in Geneva. Respected as a composer and educator, more so since the Germans thought so, in the summer of 1912 Geneva's Council of State commissioned Jaques-Dalcroze to conceive, compose, and organize a *Fête de Juin*. It was to be a festival to celebrate the centennial of Geneva's 1814 liberation from foreign occupation and its admission into the Swiss confederacy. The June Festival was meant to be performed in the summer of 1914.

Dalcroze initially declined the offer because of his contractual obligation to Hellerau, but the city of Geneva entreated Dalcroze's sister Hélène to intercede with her brother. That intervention, plus a "whirlwind" of appeals from Geneva's populace (Brunet-Lecomte 146), and a promise from Dohrn to grant him a leave of absence in the spring of 1914, enabled Dalcroze to accept the commission. At the time of this arrangement in 1912, it was impossible to predict that this authorized absence would sever all of Dalcroze's connections with Hellerau and his institute two years later.

In the meantime, both at home and abroad, 1912 was a busy year for Dalcroze. Wolkonsky arranged for Dalcroze and a small group of his most advanced student-teachers to present a demonstration tour to Moscow and St. Petersburg in January of the year. Ingham also engaged Dalcroze to travel to England in June with a young group of *rythmiciens* from Geneva (where the Conservatory offered courses in *rythmique*, taught by a former student of Dalcroze).

Between those two travel commitments, Dalcroze and his friend and associate, Adolphe Appia (1862-1928), presented the inferno scene from Act II of Gluck's opera *Orpheus and Eurydice,* in addition to class exercises and *rythmique* demonstrations as had been presented in 1911. Even in its truncated version the opera created a sensation for its dynamic three-dimensional stage setting, its

evocative, unearthly lighting, and its visually amplified musical score that was kinetically interpreted through choral movement. News of Hellerau's production spread rapidly through the European art world.

Partly due to the exceptional word of mouth after 1912's school festival, when the entire opera was presented a year later, some five thousand people attended the festival of 1913. In that number was an astonishing array of current and future leading figures of the literary, visual, and performing arts. Judged on its level of innovation and the degree of its influence, Hellerau's *Orpheus* was the defining theatrical event of the twentieth century.

A short while after the exultant acknowledgement of Hellerau as the new artistic epicenter of Europe, the community would lose what many considered to be "the soul of the Institute" (Berchtold 102) Wolf Dohrn.

In February of 1914, Dohrn was killed in an alpine skiing accident at the age of thirty-six. The *Werkbund* set the community's agenda and wrote the checks, but more than any other factor behind the success of the Hellerau venture and the Dalcroze Institute was the wholehearted enthusiasm, presence, and personality of Wolf Dohrn. Wolf's brother Harald was appointed to take his place as director of the Institute, but without Wolf's continuing energy and idealism, confidence was severely shaken.

Speaking for the *Werkbund*, Naumann assured the community that Hellerau was financially stable, and that the survival of the enterprise and its work were guaranteed. He added that if the venture were destroyed, all Germany would be the poorer (Berchtold 102).

Objectively, the venture was secure, but Dalcroze wrote to his sister Hélène that the anguish of Dohrn's loss weighed on the entire community, and most heavily on the Institute. Dohrn's keen personal interest and understanding of the rhythmic work were missing.

Dohrn's memorial service was held in the *Festspielhaus*, in the same space where *Orpheus* had been performed. Dalcroze wrote his sister about the horror he experienced during this ceremony. He perceived death to be oozing from the walls, the singing agitated and agonized him, and he was overpowered by the scent of the flowers, as he had been with the congratulatory bouquets after performances of *Orpheus* (Brunet-Lecomte 166-167).

Very soon after Dohrn's commemoration ceremony, it was time for Dalcroze to go to Geneva to begin rehearsing the *Fête de Juin.* The journey was like a bequest from his friend Wolf Dohrn, who had arranged for this leave of absence two years earlier. The departure of Dalcroze from Hellerau for the spring and summer meant that there would be no school festival in 1914.

He would create no others. Four days before the *Fête de Juin* opened in Geneva, Archduke Franz-Ferdinand and Archduchess Sophie of Austria-Hungary were murdered in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Notwithstanding its name, the first *Fête de Juin* debuted on the second day of July in 1914 (Dénes 20). At the end of the celebrations, Dalcroze moved with his family to a summer house on the outskirts of Geneva to enjoy some rest and relaxation before returning to Hellerau. Dalcroze was using some of his personal time to study English, since he had promised Percy Ingham, when Ingham established the London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics in 1913, that he would chair the 1915 Eurhythmics exams in London, and present future English tours.

Within three weeks, tangled chains of alliances, conveniences, delays, and encumbrances led to the first declaration of war on July 28, 1914, one month after the royal assassinations.

Dalcroze had been outside of Germany at the onset of war. In less than three months, that fact, added to the dominance of mindless nationalism would render his life and work in Hellerau irretrievable.

Dalcroze was forty-nine years old, Swiss, not partisan by nature, and at the pinnacle of the European art world. At the beginning of the war, he failed to see how national disagreements could possibly affect the private lives of people of good will. He was quickly disabused of this notion when he received a telegram from Hellerau.

Harald Dohrn had wired Dalcroze to plan to come to Hellerau soon for a meeting to discuss details of the future of the Institute. His brother Wolf's death had resulted in a work overload, which Harald had not yet resolved, and now there was a war. Harald was a reserve officer in the German army, and he feared that even a limited conflict would make his ability to continue as director of the Institute virtually impossible.

German travel restrictions and an inability to exchange currency prevented either man from traveling to a meeting. Dohrn later wrote a letter to Dalcroze on August 28 in which he outlined measures that he already had taken, and some that had been forced upon him regarding the Institute: the courses for children were canceled for the fall, and the courses for teacher training were also withdrawn due to a lack of adult students. Moreover, until the end of the conflict, Hellerau's buildings had been conscripted as a *Lazarett* [military infirmary] (Ausschuss 5-6).

In the same letter, Dohrn suggested that, in view of the volatility of the European political climate, Dalcroze should take a long-planned journey to America. The United States and Switzerland were considered equally neutral at that time. Nina Gorter, Dalcroze's Dutch friend and colleague, also recommended the American tour in view of the German government's requisition of the Institute.

On September 3, Dalcroze replied to Dohrn's letter that he was in difficult financial straits and could not travel to Hellerau even if there were still classes and a facility. His Dresden bank account was

completely out of reach across the border, and Swiss banks had begun to limit withdrawals to 150 francs per week.

Dalcroze also wrote that he was seriously considering an offer from Percy Ingham to teach at the London school until the end of the war. Partly, this idea was his means to the end of making the trip to America, since he would need financial support and Ingham had once offered to be his interpreter and guide.

He closed, ". . . I shall return. Because you know, my dear Harald, that I am loyal to you and shall always remain loyal. You can count on my sincere friendship. . . "[13] (Ausschuss 7-8).

Best-laid plans and friendship aside, Harald's return letter of September 12 destroyed any possibility of Dalcroze establishing a gainful relationship with the London school while maintaining contact with Hellerau.

> According to the contract with the Institute . . . . . you could not accept the offer from Ingham without the consent of the Institute. Therefore this was not legally possible as long as the Institute had not told you officially that it was not in a position to pay your salary . . . .
>
> I am also writing him [Ingham] . . . all the reasons, that I am enumerating for you, why you are not allowed to go to England. . . .[14] (Ausschuss 9-10) [ellipses as published]

It was clear. Dalcroze had six years remaining on his Hellerau contract, and would not be released by his German employers (the *Werkbund*) to work in England.

Soon, with the escalation of atrocities and outcries of barbarism from both sides, all Hellerau questions would be resolved to no one's satisfaction. On August 25 the German army, claiming provocation by snipers, began a six-day burning and sack of the medieval Belgian city of Louvain. On September 19, in France, the Cathedral of Notre Dame

in the city of Reims caught fire while the city was under bombardment by the German army. These attacks against a common human heritage met with widespread outrage, especially in the countries assailed, and in those nations considering themselves to be neutral in the conflict.

On September 21, 1914, Geneva's newspaper *La Suisse*, printed: "A Swiss Protest against the bombardment of Reims."

> The undersigned, Swiss citizens, intensely moved by the unjustified assault against the cathedral of Reims, occurring after the arson of the historic and scientific wealth of Louvain, denounce with all their might an act of barbarism which wounds all humanity in one of its most noble testimonies of moral and artistic grandeur: [signatures follow].[15] (Ausschuss 16)

The names of ninety-three Swiss artists and intellectuals came after the statement. One of them was Émile Jaques-Dalcroze.

On September 29, in what might have been an explanatory letter to Dohrn, Dalcroze reaffirmed his dedication to the Hellerau project.

> . . . The conservatory in Lausanne wanted to engage me. I have said no in order to show that I want always to remain a Hellerauer. I have also told the Geneva conservatory no. You see that I am neutral.[16] (Ausschuss 16-17)

Continuing, he declared that the war was opposed to everyone's artistic and intellectual interests, and that it should be protested in every nation. Further, he decried nationalism, militarism, and the general inaction of intellectuals. Jaques's letter reached Hellerau on October 4, the same day as the list of signers of the Geneva protest.

Finding his name among the Swiss protestors, the German press excoriated Dalcroze as a traitor and embezzler who had taken benefit of Germany's idealism and generosity, and then had abandoned the country, while labeling it barbaric and supporting its enemies. During

the next three weeks Dohrn repeatedly attempted to get Dalcroze to explain, modify, and ultimately recant his support of the protest, but without success. Editorials in German papers, added to abusive letters he received, some even from German former students, served to strengthen Dalcroze's belief that his original position was both morally and artistically correct.

According to Spector, on October 24 (October 27 in Berchtold), some three weeks after the protest went to Germany,

> . . . the directors of the institute . . . declined to take responsibility for the mistakes and indiscretions of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze, heretofore artistic director of the Cultural Institute, and for the stand he had taken. . . . the school and the German students felt they must separate the method and the past from Dalcroze's actions in late September. (Spector 193, Berchtold 111)

Dalcroze composed an open letter to his German students, and assured them of his personal affection. He asserted that his stated opinions were not against the Germans as a people, but against those atrocities which all people of the world should oppose. In addition, he insisted that citizens of neutral countries were better informed than the combatants, since they had greater uncensored access to all of the facts. Harald Dohrn did not deliver this letter to the German students of *der Rhythmik* remaining in Hellerau; *la rythmique* and its founding father had been banished from Germany.

Geneva III

In 1910, several leading citizens of Geneva felt that Dalcroze had been constrained to seek greater artistic and pedagogical fulfillment in Germany because of inadequate support from the

Conservatory and the city of Geneva. Now, in 1914, since Dalcroze had returned, they resolved not to let him be lured away again.

Just as the Geneva protest was reaching Germany near the end of September, Dalcroze again began to conduct classes in Geneva. He taught mostly Genevan students in vacant rooms at the Hôtel du Lac.

Educational psychologist Edouard Claparède, accompanied by Swiss poet Jacques Chenevière and others, began a campaign to equip Dalcroze with facilities in which to continue his teaching and advance his research.

In the beginning of 1915, the *ad hoc* committee in support of a new institute for Dalcroze were developing ideas to accomplish their goal, when a building came available which would serve if adequately modified. In April, a steering committee was established for *l'Institut Jaques-Dalcroze à Genève.* In order to sell shares in the enterprise, the committee recapitulated the countries and cities which held Jaques-Dalcroze in greater esteem than in Switzerland or Geneva.

> "There are institutes in London, Petrograd, Amsterdam, Stockholm, Brussels, and all the great cities of Germany. America even opened numerous schools." What will Geneva do? "Five years ago we allowed Jaques-Dalcroze to leave us. But there are mistakes that don't have to be committed twice."[17] (Berchtold 112)

By May of 1915, the committee to build Dalcroze an institute had become a provocation to civic, and ironically, to national pride. It was announced in June that l'Institut Jaques-Dalcroze would be opened in October, and that vows of professional cooperation had been extended by both the *Conservatoire de musique*, and *l'Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau.*

L'Institut Rousseau had been founded in 1912, by Edouard Claparède and Pierre Bovet. Much of Claparède's early work on the

nature of learning was indebted to, and had derived from, Dalcroze's original turn-of-the-century observations and physical experiments with his music students. Claparède's institute had been dedicated to the science of education.

L'Institut Jaques-Dalcroze à Genève did open in October of 1915, and Claparède presented the inaugural address (Dénes 21). Within one month, the Institute had enrolled three hundred pupils. For almost ninety years, thousands of students and teachers-in-training have attended Geneva's institute. Certificates, licenses, and diplomas are still offered and earned at the same Geneva facility that was secured for Dalcroze in 1915.

CHAPTER III
ÉMILE JAQUES-DALCROZE AND MUSIC

Introduction

Using the previous chapter for bio-historical reference, the life of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze will now be considered from the perspective of his music education and experience, with particular attention to his insights concerning the learning and teaching of music. Eurhythmics grew directly out of Dalcroze's reactions and perceptions as a music student, in addition to the obstructions and delights he encountered during his development as a musician and composer.

In the following chapter, Dalcroze's writings are excerpted when his personal vision, opinion, or explanation is held to be essential to the reader's understanding.

Vienna

Hélène retells a favorite family story. One Sunday afternoon in 1871, Émile's mother and father took him (and baby Hélène?) to Vienna's Stadtpark to enjoy two of his favorite treats: to devour an ice and to watch Johann Strauss conduct the orchestra. At the pavilion, all were listening to the music when six-year-old Émile, at first unnoticed, appeared at the front of the audience and took a place behind Strauss. The little boy withdrew from his coat a ruler he earlier had concealed while in his father's office, and "with very great earnestness" began to co-conduct Strauss's orchestra. When Strauss noticed his musicians attempting to stifle their laughter, he looked around and, seeing the child's sincerity, continued to lead while keeping an eye on him and laughing himself. "At the intermission, he approached the parents of the small boy and told them: —This child will be a great musician if you make him work"[1] (Brunet-Lecomte 17).

Both of the Jaques children enjoyed music, though not the manner by which it was taught in mid-nineteenth-century Vienna. Enduring the teachers of his youth helped lead Émile to understand how not to teach music. Alfred Berchtold quotes Dalcroze:

> From the age of six, he is initiated into piano technique by a very ugly damsel whom he hates. "I had . . . heard her recommend to my mother to stop me from noodling according to my fantasy and to oblige me to play only scales and other intolerable music. I think it was then that took root in my little subconscious this absolute conviction that the child must not begin to play the piano without having been submitted to a previous musical education based on the development of sensitivity and auditory faculties."[2] (Berchtold 31) [Berchtold's source omitted]

Berchtold and Brunet-Lecomte both credit the Viennese milieu in which Émile spent his first ten years as influencing his multi-cultural, interdisciplinary, and open-handed approach to the arts and human cultures. These biographers point out that not only was Vienna the European capital of music, opera, and theatre, but was also, within the limits of a nineteenth-century European empire, surprisingly without prejudice, open, and cosmopolitan. It was a European melting-pot and prided itself on the harmonious relations of its many distinct ethnic and language groups (Berchtold 30).

Geneva

In 1875, after the family moved to Switzerland, Émile continued to study piano, two years at the Collège, and then in the Conservatory of Geneva. As Émile began to attend the Collège,

> . . . I only thought about the music lesson that waited for me at the end of the week and I rejoiced about it loudly to myself but, alas!

> what disillusion! . . . The music was numbered and rhythms were scanned by the words Ta, Te, Ti repeated constantly. Not a word about musical sonorities, melodies, harmonies, the dynamic and temporal accentuations, no emotion, no style, no citations of beautiful work; in a word, no music. I refused to vocalize with classmates, and since the good master asked me the reason for my silence, I responded melodramatically: "Because these exercises are too stupid!" I was punished severely and was classified among the incapable. . . .[3] (Dalcroze, Bariolées 22)

Receiving insufficient stimulation from his music classes, when in his early teens, Émile founded an orchestra (The Musigena). It was made up of fifteen or so musician schoolmates, and they presented a public concert at the Salle de la Réformation. This work with his orchestra proved to be such a valuable lesson in self-instruction and self-motivation that he mentioned it in separate memoirs. The joy of the players was far greater than their skill, but, Émile's experience led him to learn more about harmony and orchestration, while he was having a great time (Dalcroze, Musique 50-51; Bariolées 141).

At the Collège Émile was constantly irritated by the disinterest of his teachers. According to Hélène, one professor even slept during his lessons. Awakened only by the silence at the end of a piece, he would tell the student to start over, and then go back to sleep (Brunet-Lecomte 32-33). It was not only the disinterest and disrespect of his incompetent teachers that provoked him. Émile was also indignant at the shortsightedness of some masters at the Collège who ". . . didn't try to know the spiritual, nervous, or emotional states of their disciples"[4] (Dalcroze, Bariolées 189).

After he began to study at the Conservatory and attend the *gymnase* for his general schooling, Émile joined the *Société d'étudiants*

de Belles-Lettres, and was gratified that the Society was supervised by one teacher whom he actually admired,

> . . . Professor Emile Redard, who knew how to obtain discipline without begging for it and, without calculation, to address both our spirits and our hearts. It was with joy that every morning we sat down on our benches and with regret that we left them.[5] (Dalcroze, Bariolées 189)

While working with the Society, Émile started writing some "petites chansons," which led, in the fall of 1881, to a collaboration with Philippe Monnier, a former Collège classmate, who later became a Swiss poet of note. Dalcroze reflected that meeting Monnier was the only good thing to come out of the Collège. Their first production was *La Soubrette*, an operetta that was performed only once, in 1883, and was financed mostly by Émile's father. Brunet-Lecomte reports the score to be lost.

Paris

Émile's first visit to Paris demonstrated that, despite his talent and the good reviews from Geneva, he had no professional standing in Paris as either an actor or a musician. Émile included selections from *La Soubrette* in his audition for Fauré, who, after excoriating Émile's total ignorance of music, said that he might be willing to take him on as a student in the future. This willingness, however, was predicated on Émile first working to improve his command of theory. He began to study with Albert Lavignac[10] on Fauré's recommendation.

The reaction of the professionals came as a shock. The praise, congratulations, and indulgence Émile had grown used to, first in

---

[10] Albert Lavignac published a large number of music teaching works (Berchtold 38, n. 1.).

Vienna as a precocious child, and then in Geneva with the Humanities Society, was finished. He would no longer automatically receive warm adulation and friendly encouragement. Any future professional participation either in music or theatre, would depend entirely on his fitness to join them at their level. Later, Dalcroze realized his debt to these veterans, having grown to see that their pointing out of his shortcomings helped him to cast off his amateurishness and get on with serious work (Dalcroze, Musique 51).

After quickly returning to Geneva in the spring of 1886, Émile began his piano-playing position at the resort of Saint-Gervais. For Émile it was musical work for pay, coupled with the time to compose and study as Fauré expected of him. While at the resort he had access to a piano in a garden room in which he composed, played, and studied Reber's[11] *Treatise on Harmony* (Brunet-Lecomte 43).

In the remedial and restorative summer of 1886, Émile received Delibes' invitation to visit him in Paris and, back in Switzerland, chose to accept the conducting position in Algiers.

Algeria

The owner of the Théâtre des Nouveautés went bankrupt not long after Émile's arrival. This untimely caesura required him to embark on a chamber music tour of rural Algeria for several months with four members of his former orchestra. However, it was after his conducting job came to misfortune that Émile's experience in Algeria indeed became foundational for his future discoveries and ultimate career.

---

[11] "Professor of composition at the Conservatoire [Paris] Reber also wrote operas, songs, ballets, and chamber music. His greatest work was *Traité d'harmonie*" (Curtiss 11).

According to his sister, Émile was "enormously" interested in the rhythmic variations of Arabian music, and observed it at every opportunity (Brunet-Lecomte 56). He found the dissociations of their percussion instruments to be of particular interest (Dalcroze, Souvenirs 39). In his later years Dalcroze continued to reflect upon his Algerian experience:

> . . . I can definitely account for the origin of my personal tendencies and also of what I may be allowed to call my discoveries . . . that consist of humanizing rhythm . . . as well as my love for irregular measures and unequal times . . . I had the luck to encounter these rhythms in Algeria where I heard a lot of Arabian music, and to be able to attend a festival of the Aïssaouahs . . . Their dances are extremely violent, their leaps and contortions of an extraordinary originality, and their instinct for acceleration is marvelously developed. Their dance little by little quickens itself, accompanied by a crescendo of the tam-tams. The accelerando becomes intense and produces a diabolic effect completed by the sudden silence that follows it, and during which the dancers let themselves tumble onto the ground.[6]
> (Dalcroze, Musique 18-20)

Returning to Algiers from his extemporaneous tour of the Algerian countryside, he was offered the position of director of the *Conservatoire d'Alger.* Having been roundly criticized and frustrated in Paris, he was extremely tempted by the idea that he might become the best (European) musician in the city just by choosing to stay there.

Sixty years later, in his last memoir, Dalcroze enumerated the opportunities he had realized because he took Pastor Rocheblave's emphatic advice to decline the directorship in Algiers. By following the pastor's counsel, Dalcroze was able to work under the auspices of Bruckner, Prosnitz, and Graedener in Vienna. He also reintroduced

himself to Fauré and Delibes in Paris, where he was to meet Mathis Lussy. Topping off his opportunities was the meeting and working with Eugène Ysaÿe (Dalcroze, Bariolées 21).

Vienna II

In the autumn of 1887, Émile entered the Vienna Conservatory and began to study composition and organ with Bruckner. Dalcroze made character portraits of Bruckner in several writings. It appears that he was repelled and fascinated with the *maître*. Bruckner was

> . . . the most original character that I have ever known. Small and fat, absolutely bald, he was dressed in white, in clothes too large, similar to those of the classic Pierrot. . . . He growled a lot, bestowed punches, forbade the students to go to the theater and to be interested in literature.[7] (qtd. in Berchtold 42)

> Frankly, the man is a mess at the door . . . He has the nose of a crow, and no teeth left at all. He constantly takes snuff and doesn't seem to know how to take care of the most insignificant details of his material life. Before he leaves class, we retie his tie for him.[8] (Brunet-Lecomte 47)

> . . . However, his demands were very useful and I owe a lot to his teaching. He was an incomparable musician.[9] (qtd. in Berchtold 42)

Although Émile came to admire the master's musical standards, he was appalled by his lack of humanity. When the inevitable clash of personalities and cultures led to Dalcroze's expulsion from Bruckner's classes, Dalcroze realized that Bruckner lacked the same qualities that were missing in his professors at the *Collège* in Geneva. To Jaques-Dalcroze Bruckner was a

> . . . composer of genius, but a brutal and stubborn pedagogue, [who] required of his

> pupils intense work, but he was scarcely interested in their personality and didn't seek to develop their spiritual faculties.[10] (qtd. in Berchtold 43)

In his 1942 memoir Dalcroze concluded of the choleric *maître*,

> . . . I keep a good memory of his extraordinarily strict teaching, insisting inexorably on the observance of the rules of classic technique. However, the work of Bruckner didn't have any influence on my creative faculties . . . [11] (Dalcroze, Souvenirs 41)

Adolf Prosnitz and Hermann Graedener stepped into the breach left by Bruckner's renunciation, and Jaques-Dalcroze came to count them among his favorite and most valued teachers.

Dalcroze says little about Graedener in his published writings, but Berchtold quotes a letter "dated from Vienna" in which Dalcroze commends Graedener's sense of humor and alludes to the great affection and admiration his students had for him and his work.

It was Prosnitz who received most of Dalcroze's enthusiasm. At last he had something exciting to write home to his sister about: Prosnitz, expression, and Bach.

> A touch so effortless as though concealed; Prosnitz played for us. He has a divine touch, such as I have never heard.
>
> . . . You cannot imagine . . . to what point Bach fascinates me. There is a fire, an ardor, a soul in these inventions, that I would not have suspected a few months ago. In the beginning, I played these Inventions stupidly, but Prosnitz is a Bach enthusiast; he explains clearly, and beneath his fingers the smallest of these pages becomes a long poem.[12] (Brunet-Lecomte 50)

In contrast to most of his earlier teachers, Prosnitz not only took an interest in his students' individuality, but actually mandated that they investigate their feelings vis-à-vis those of the composer (Dalcroze, Musique 192).

The example and demonstrations of Prosnitz's playing remained with Dalcroze. Throughout his career he attempted to find evidence and testimony that performers must remain open to emotional contact with their composers and illuminate their performances with active, realtime collaboration.

Witnessing Prosnitz's moving renditions of Bach enhanced Dalcroze's appreciation of the composers humanity, and aggravated his perception of musical abuses committed under a misrepresentation of classicism.

> The pianists of today have the obsession to interpret the inventions and fugues of Bach at full speed. . . . A lot of musicians imagine that a "noble" style requires a rigorous meter, and refuse to enlighten their playing with the lamp of the imagination. Bach was a good family man and liked to compose cheerful diversions for his children. Why make him into a solemn master without imagination?[13] (Dalcroze, Bariolées 84-85)

In his last memoir Dalcroze restated Prosnitz's concept of interpretive illumination:

> My delicious and venerated old master Anton [sic] Prosnitz . . . had the custom of requiring of his pupils that they be inspired by the emotion induced by the interpretation of a work in order to comment on it freely while improvising in their personal style. Thus was established a kind of collaboration between the interpreter and the author that enlivened the interpretation with a more quivering current of life.[14] (Dalcroze, Bariolées 158)

While studying in Vienna Dalcroze agreed, at the request of the Humanities Society in Geneva, to compose a score for *Par les Bois*, a musical-fantasy interpretation of Shakespeare's *As You Like It*. His old friend Monnier had written the libretto.

Émile's studies scarcely left him time to finish the work. Berchtold reported that Dalcroze's letters speak of the work being torment, excitement, anguish, and elation (Berchtold 45). His sister Helène, now an accomplished musician in her own right, played piano in the ensemble, and the score was conducted by his dearest teacher at the Conservatory, Hugo de Senger. Because of his studies it was out of the question for Dalcroze to attend the performance in Switzerland.

Paris II

In early 1889, Dalcroze returned to Geneva, but to his family's continuing disappointment, he departed almost immediately for a second go at Paris and studies with Delibes and Fauré. From 1889 to 1891 Dalcroze found encouragement and inspiration from such mentors as Fauré, Delibes, and Lussy. His entire outlook had changed since his original stay in Paris five years earlier. According to his sister, he had become more mature in Vienna, and intended work with "more seriousness" this time around (Brunet-Lecomte 54).

Dalcroze felt that he had gained much from studying Delibes's orchestrations, and from the example of his professional discipline (Dalcroze, Souvenirs 40). Delibes taught him to compose every day whether he felt like it or not, because not feeling like it meant that the inward creative spark was dying (Dalcroze, Musique 260).

During this stay in Paris, Fauré provided great encouragement to Dalcroze, who grew to regard him both as an advisor and a friend. Fauré impressed on him the potency of simplicity in self-expression,

and the importance of analyzing his thoughts and emotions (Dalcroze, Souvenirs 40).

Fauré and Delibes gave Dalcroze some of the professional standards and methods that he needed, and his gratitude was boundless; but the teacher who was most influential to Dalcroze's future career and later recognition was the Swiss music teacher and theorist, Mathis Lussy (1828-1910). In his studies with Lussy, Dalcroze first looked closely at the extended implications of the teaching and study of music. This led him also to reflect on what had made his bad music teachers bad teachers. In this regard, Dalcroze became especially interested in Lussy's concepts of the *anacrouse*, and agogic nuances.[12]

> The *anacrouse*, that set of notes which precedes the first time of a theme, plays a very important role in musical shading. The three quavers [eighth-notes] that prepare the *Marseillaise* have a dynamic action as important as the three quavers of the theme of the symphony in *ut* [C] *minor* of Beethoven. Every action is preceded by a preparation, in art as it is in life. . . .[15] (Dalcroze, Bariolées 75) [Italics as published]

L'anacrouse, or the anacrusis, is the term Lussy gave to the preparation before initiating a musical action. Lussy explained the derivation of the term: "The *anacrouse precedes* . . . the *initial ictus* [stress or stroke] *of the rhythm* in which it makes part. This ictus always falls on the first beat, the strong beat, the *stroke* in the first measure of this rhythm. Thence the name: *ana* = before, *crouô* = I strike"[16] (Lussy, Anacrouse 1; Moore 36).

---

[12] "Agogic nuances = nuances in the use of time (*accelerando, ritenuto, ritardando*, etc.)." (Berchtold 47, n. 1.).

To Lussy, the anacrusis was the "soul of rhythms" and therefore of performance. An anacrusis could be recognized if it led to pathetic accents, modified dynamics, shaded the meaning or expression in a musical phrase, or provoked physical gestures (Lussy, Anacrouse 2-3). According to Moore, in Lussy's theory of accent there were three:

> "(1) Metric accentuation . . . (2) rhythmic accentuation . . . and (3) pathetic accentuation, of which there were three elements: expressive, emotional, and nuance. Expressive pathetic accents were essentially rhythmic accents that were irrationally exaggerated by the performer, either by playing them more loudly or by lingering on them. The emotional aspect involved the appropriate use of accelerando and ritardando, while the nuances referred to the employment of crescendo and diminuendo." (Moore 33)

Dalcroze was always puzzled by the failure, or refusal, of the Euro-American music teaching establishment to put Lussy's insights and methodology to use. Although seemingly written earlier, Dalcroze's published words from 1948 expressed his continuing frustration with the music teaching establishment:

> I am appalled to note the extent to which music teachers today neglect the development of the child's creative qualities and cling to the exercises of other times. . . . Matis [sic] Lussy already noted this negligence fifty years ago, and his studies of agogic nuances open numerous doors upon the knowledge of the close rapport existing among the body, the spirit, and musical emotions.[17] (Dalcroze, Bariolées 152)

As early as 1864, Franz Lizst had endorsed Lussy's teaching method (Appendix C, below).

After two years in Paris with Lussy, Delibes, and Fauré, Dalcroze returned to Geneva, where for nearly twenty years he applied and

developed the rhythmic principles that Lussy called to his attention: expression is based in rhythm, rhythm essentially is movement, and all movement is physical.

Geneva II

In 1891, Émile Jaques-Dalcroze returned to Geneva, and there he encountered another pivotal experience concerning the conundrum of expression in performance. It came a few years after he began making empirical observations while teaching at the Conservatory.

Following Prosnitz, Dalcroze had come to believe that the goal of musicianship was to communicate composers' visions to audiences. Dalcroze began teaching by insisting that student musicians discover composers' intents within a score. However, he soon found that his students had no tools with which to recognize the tracings of a composer's expressive intent.

Metronomic, memorized precision was the standard and goal of instruction at the Conservatory: simple accuracy passing as excellence was the criterion facing Dalcroze as he took on his professorship. It had been almost thirty years since Liszt's letter to Lussy, and nothing had changed. The top prizes still went to the most mathematical and mechanistic students. Both the purpose and the process appalled Dalcroze, who became intensely dissatisfied with the abilities of even his most advanced students. They were becoming highly distilled as players but had no command of the most fundamental skills of musicianship, which Dalcroze had just spent nine years learning.

In *The Importance of Being Rhythmic* (a 1925 condensation/ editing of Dalcroze's *Rhythm, Music and Education*), Jo Pennington writes that a lack of visceral response to, feeling for, or understanding of rhythm had left Dalcroze's early pupils ". . . where the average musical training leaves most students: Mere pianists, technicians,

unmoved by the emotions which inspired the composer and therefore unable to express them" (Pennington 6-7).

In addition to having to teach his students the most elementary listening skills, Dalcroze also found that the progress of those students whose ears were developing normally was hindered by their inability to judge variations in time and rhythm groups. His students found some success when he taught them meter while using finger exercises, so he attributed proper time perception to a stimulus of the fingers. Then, while continuing to conduct classroom experiments at the keyboard, he became aware of his students' physical movements

> . . . in parts of the body other than the hands— movements with the feet, oscillations in the trunk and head, a swaying of the whole body, etc.— [which] led me to the discovery that musical sensations of a rhythmic nature call for the muscular and nervous response of the *whole organism.* (Dalcroze, RME vi)

The great frustration he encountered in his early teaching gave him the provocation to attempt to address and reform the weaknesses found in the common practice of music instruction. After roughly five years of teaching, scrutinizing, and experimenting with his students, Dalcroze made a professional connection that put his perceptions into perspective, and his discoveries into context. He met the Belgian violin virtuoso Eugène Ysaÿe[13] who demonstrated to him how his accumulated insights, information, and methodologies fit together.

Dalcroze claimed that, from the moment he met Ysaÿe, he found himself "seduced by his vitality, the strength of his convictions, his scorn for conventions, and by the ardor of his feelings"[18] (Dalcroze,

---

[13] Ysaÿe (1858-1931) entered the Conservatory of Liège at the age of seven and went on to study with Vieuxtemps and Wieniawski, two of the most distinguished violinists of the nineteenth century (See Vieuxtemps/ Wieniawski/Ysaÿe in Slonimsky: 1304/1358/1390).

Souvenirs 42). This was a list of admired characteristics that, in years to come, other people in other places would come to apply to Dalcroze himself.

Ysaÿe was in the process of resigning his professorship at the *Conservatoire Royal de Bruxelles* at the time that he and Dalcroze met. He was appointed to his position at the age of twenty-eight, and had taught at the Conservatory for twelve years. As it happened, Ysaÿe had resigned because he would soon embark on a series of concert tours. These tours would become vital to Dalcroze's realization of a greater purpose for his education and experience.

Ernest Christen, one of Ysaÿe's students who later became his biographer, held him in the highest esteem both as a virtuoso and as an inspiring teacher:

> We could have felt ourselves crushed by the genius of Ysaÿe, and discouraged by his grandeur. He surpassed us as Mont-Blanc surpasses a molehill. In front of him, several among us lost the power of speech.
>
> Were we all going to quit? No. He had communicated to us something other than stage fright: his radiance had reached us; from his ardent flame and his sacred fire, a spark had sprung upon us.[19] (Christen 84)

Dalcroze was a good friend of Ysaÿe's brother Théophile, who lived in Geneva and taught at the Academy of Music. Dalcroze became close with Ysaÿe, and saw him with some regularity when he would come to Geneva to visit his brother. The friendship between Dalcroze and Ysaÿe led to Dalcroze's next great insight into musical expression.

Ysaÿe was preparing to go on an extended tour through the major cities of Germany with his brother as his accompanist, but Théophile became ill and Ysaÿe hired Dalcroze to replace him. This experience would give Dalcroze the intimate contact and professional

working relationship he needed to learn invaluable musical principles from Ysaÿe (Dalcroze, Souvenirs 41-43).

On tour with Ysaÿe, Dalcroze discovered a focus for his studies, aptitudes, and perceptions. As accompanist to the virtuoso, Dalcroze learned the practical basis and applications of Lussy's theories.

> Our rehearsals began in Berlin, and the studies seemed very arduous to me. Ysaÿe demanded a lot on the part of his accompanists: The interpenetration of two temperaments, mutual sacrifices, a meticulously ordered rubato,[14] the search for sister sonorities, and the greatest respect for the phrasing and nuances indicated by the composer. He hated all exaggeration in the emotional interpretation of the works, and applied himself meticulously to proportion the nuances, to balance the accents. . . .[20] (Dalcroze, Souvenirs 43)

Ysaÿe explained the notion of rubato in a way that led Dalcroze to a practical realization of how rhythm is distinguished from tempo.

> If in the melodic rubato passages the piano only had to play a simple accompaniment, he forbade me to follow him in a precise way through the accelerando and ritenuto. "It is I alone," he said, who can let myself go into the emotion suggested by the melody in this passage; you, you accompany me in measure, because "an accompaniment must always be measured." "You represent order and your duty is to counterbalance my fantasy. Don't be afraid, we will always meet, because when I accelerate a few notes, afterwards I re-establish the balance by slowing down the ones that follow, or by stopping myself a moment on one of them."[21] (Dalcroze, Souvenirs 43)

---

[14] Rubato: ". . .a certain elasticity and freedom of tempo . . . thus 'robbing' the duration of some beats and adding to others" (Apel 256).

On tour, Dalcroze clarified the values he was discovering in his own career, research, and experiments through witnessing and joining Ysaÿe in his dedication to practice, and his professional disposition.

> During a stay at Ysaÿe's, one morning Jaques-Dalcroze hears some continuous grunting within the master's room. Concerned, he knocks at the door. No answer. The unh! unh! continuing, Dalcroze half-opens the door, ready to bring help, and what does he see? Ysaÿe hitting the air with his two fists, rising up on every blow as if he wanted to break open the ceiling. "I'm studying the *Polonaise* of Vieuxtemps," said Ysaÿe, "it has to get inside me."
> . . . the rhythm of Ysaÿe had such *élan* that often his listeners listened standing.[22]
> (Christen 78 n.1.)

Daily, Ysaÿe's process of sensing music and physically yielding to the demands of interpretation showed Dalcroze his corporeal approach.

> He liked to work his technique in darkness or with closed eyes, to better—he said—go back to the source of the physical movements. When on the train he tried to imagine violin strokes while following the cadences and dynamic accents of the wheels, and to perform some "rubato" strokes while returning to the first beat each time that we passed by a telegraph pole. And I often surprised him . . . in his room delivering himself of an expressive mime putting his entire body into motion, rhythmically and plastically, while the right arm and fingers maintained all their lightness for the performance of the virtuoso strokes. "The sound vibrations," he said, "must penetrate us entirely right down to our viscera, and the rhythmic movement must enliven all our muscular system, without resistance or exaggeration."[23] (Dalcroze, Souvenirs 44)

These active experiences in rehearsal and performance with Ysaÿe finally set Dalcroze on the course of *la gymnastique rythmique.*

From Bruckner, Dalcroze had learned a rigorous classical precision, and from Prosnitz the notion that a musician must seek and contact the emotional content of compositions. Lussy showed him that rhythm had a physical basis and was the key to expressive performance, and with North African musicians he saw and felt how compelling it was to be swept away in a rhythmic storm. Ysaÿe demonstrated all of these qualities through his virtuosity in action. Everything came together for Dalcroze by joining Ysaÿe in the crucible of performance.

Over nearly ten years, including his time on the road with Ysaÿe, Dalcroze conducted trial-and-error experiments which focused first on breathing and walking: the two human tempos that are easily changed by choice. Following Lussy and Ysaÿe, he then developed the concept that the full engagement and commitment of the physical body are the all-important connection between reading a score and playing a score. Also, he established the principle that the difference between reading music into an instrument and expressing music with an instrument is the rhythmic schema provided by the composer. Physicalization became the central focus for his investigation into a musician's 'whole organism' on the muscular and nervous level.

During his professorship at the Conservatory in Geneva he was able to conduct what amounted to an evolving rhythm workshop that he used to test and refine Lussy's ideas and Ysaÿe's practice. It was in 1900, according to Berchtold, that Dalcroze began to envision "special exercises" to augment the solfège classes, and others in nuance and phrasing based on Lussy's theories.

In the spring and summer of 1902, Dalcroze gave professional papers calling attention to his theoretic assumptions about a musical

education gained through movement. During the early exposure of Jaques-Dalcroze's theories, at the Conservatory of Lausanne, support began to flow from such figures as Edmond Röthlisberger, who was president of the Congress of Swiss Musicians, and Edouard Claparède, an educational psychologist and teacher, who later became the mentor of Jean Piaget. In addition, Colonel Edouard Secrétan, a writer who later would become the director of the *Gazette de Lausanne*, referred to Dalcroze as a "Poète nationale" in a 1902 article in the *Semaine Littéraire* (Spector 38 n. 37).

In the spring of that year, influenced by Secrétan, the Council of the Canton of the Vaud commissioned Dalcroze to create the *Festival Vaudois*, to honor the canton's one-hundredth year of independence and its joining with the Swiss confederation. The Swiss festival, also known as the *Festspiel*, was a true community event which had the added effect of unifying all social classes into one public-spirited impulse (Brunet-Lecomte 75).

Because of Dalcroze's personal charisma and his developing professional support, that autumn the director and committee of the *Conservatoire* reluctantly conceded provisional permission for classes to be conducted as a test of the potential of *la rythmique.*

After many months writing the pageant, in early 1903 Dalcroze, much like a pastoral circuit-rider, also supervised the rehearsal work, which was conducted over a six-month period in various districts by local music teachers and choral directors.

In July of 1903, the *Festival Vaudois* was presented in Lausanne. Jaques-Dalcroze conducted his own score. With a cast of 2500 actors, singers, and community participants (not including animals), Dalcroze had his greatest popular success. Throughout the rehearsal process,

he also had been able to refine several practicalities bearing on his rhythmic teaching principles.

In spite of his upsurging popularity, based on a very successful *Festival Vaudois*, Dalcroze continued to struggle with the Committee in Geneva about the value and respectability of *la rythmique* as a way to teach music in the Conservatory. Dalcroze was convinced that the Committee had boycotted his rhythm studies because they were too lazy to examine their theoretic foundation (Dalcroze, Musique 143).

In Dalcroze's view, his rhythmic studies were about to come to fruition, and he would soon be wanting the Conservatory to publicly offer classes in *la rythmique*. To this end, Dalcroze decided to hold a formal demonstration for the committee. He even rented a hall for the purpose:

> In 1904, I invited the members of the Committee to a demonstration given at Casino Saint-Pierre, and my friend Gaspard Vallette, who was by chance in their grand box, laughingly told me of the indignation that the rhythmic movements of my pupils awakened in their timorous souls. . . .[24]
> . . . following my first demonstration, one of the members of the Committee exclaimed in the middle of the board meeting: "You are, monsieur Jaques, in the process of resurrecting the worst spectacles of Latin decadence!"[25] (Dalcroze, Musique 141, 143)

Citing a lack of space, the Committee denied Dalcroze's request to include *la rythmique* in the Conservatory curriculum.

By 1905, Dalcroze had developed sufficient practical experience to present his work in a regular class. Using his own funds, he rented a small hall in Casino Saint-Pierre where he introduced rhythm classes to the public, and gave both private and public demonstrations. In late April of 1906, one of those demonstrations was seen by Adolphe

Appia,[15] who was then a largely unknown Wagner scholar and theorist of theatrical performance.

Through years of dedicated study of Richard Wagner's (1813-1883) theories and works, Appia had developed the conviction that musical dynamics must command physical space during performance. It was virtually a religious tenet of Appia's that music must not only be the audible portion of a performance, but also must drive every aspect of the *mise en scène*, including but not limited to: the setting, the lighting, and, most important, the nuances and expanse of all of the physical locations, postures, gestures, and movements of the performers.

After years of hermit-like study, theoretic conceptualizations, detailed visual design work, and meticulous production planning, Appia was overwhelmed to tears at Dalcroze's demonstration. Though he had only imagined it for years, he finally saw music made visible by Dalcroze and his students.

Appia did not approach Dalcroze after the presentation, but did write him immediately, laying out the ways in which Dalcroze's work had touched him. He marveled how his own theoretical remedies for what ailed music were reflected in Dalcroze's active insights. Appia succinctly itemized how modern music and its teaching, through excessive emphasis on mentality and technical proficiency, had lost its way, and could only be rehabilitated by exteriorization. To avoid its staying in the brain, music had to be put into the body. Appia

---

[15] In his 1945 memoir, Dalcroze recalls Appia attending the 1904 program the same evening as the Committee, and receiving Appia's letter the following day. However, extant research shows both Appia's letter and Dalcroze's reply dated in May of 1906 (Stadler 417-419).

closed his letter by thanking Dalcroze for permitting him to glimpse the future of music and art through his work (Stadler 417-418).

Jaques-Dalcroze was deeply touched and excited by Appia's enthusiasm and clear understanding of his work. Dalcroze wrote back immediately:

> . . . Your letter caused me very great joy and I thank you for it with all my heart—yes, I realize that for a long time music has tended to become a simple speculation of the mind, whereas my educational experiences have made me note that music is *within* man and that the role of the brain is to control and to classify, to harmonize and to balance the *natural* functions to which one has become dis-accustomed. To return to the body its eurythmie, to make music vibrate in it,—as if to make music an integral part of the organism, to play this marvelous keyboard that is the muscular and nervous system in order to render plastically a thought measured in space as in time, that is what I have been seeking for some years . . . [26] (Stadler 418)

Dalcroze went on to explain how he had been struggling with "those who direct the musical movement at home," the Conservatory and others, to overcome their lack of understanding and their lack of will to try to understand his work. In his letter to Appia, Dalcroze gave vent to his frustration with short-sighted colleagues who denied the "serious character" of his research and reproached him for trying to become a "dancing master." He closed by writing Appia that he wanted to see and speak with him soon (Stadler 418-419).

Dalcroze's performance had shown Appia his long-imagined artistic promised-land, and Appia's letter had led Dalcroze out of his enduring exile among the tedious. The day that Dalcroze and Appia met in person their collaboration began at once, and lasted for nearly twenty years.

Partly due to growing popular demand, in addition to mounting numbers of distortions and misrepresentations of his principles and purposes, by 1907 Dalcroze decided to present his work personally to the public. Also, he didn't want to lose the moment, as he sensed that he and his followers were on the brink of unsurpassed understanding of not only music, but also of art, and possibly the very nature and purpose of life itself.

From August 1-15, 1907, Dalcroze presented a series of public lectures on his method of musical education to a crowd of more than one hundred in Geneva (Dalcroze, *Der Rhythmus* III). Imparting both the rationale and the practice of *la rythmique*, the lectures were published as *Rhythm as an Education Method for Life and Art: Six lectures by E. Jaques-Dalcroze on the basis for his method of rhythmic gymnastics.* [*Der Rhythmus als Erziehungsmittel für das Leben und die Kunst: Sechs Vorträge von E. Jaques-Dalcroze zur Begründung seiner Methode der rhythmischen Gymnastik.*]

Between 1907 and 1910, with the added impetus of Appia's enthusiasm and philosophical clarity, and Claparède's foundation of educational expertise, Dalcroze undertook extended international tours exhibiting his method. Conferences and demonstrations were held in Switzerland, Germany, Holland, and London, and classes were organized in Paris (Berchtold 81). It was during this series of tours in 1909 that the Dohrn brothers would see the potential of *la rythmique* in a socio-political context.

Hellerau

In 1909, when Wolf Dohrn offered him the commission to bring *la rythmique* to the garden-city of Hellerau, Dalcroze immediately contacted and engaged his friend Appia. In addition to later becoming

the stage director and executing set and lighting designs, Appia originally worked with one of the Institute's architects, Heinrich Tessenow.[16]

Appia's Wagner-inspired principles, contributing materially to the architectural concept, included concealing the orchestra space and permitting no barriers or frames to intrude between the audience and the performers' area. These innovations had been implemented by Richard Wagner in his Bayreuth *Festspielhaus* [17] (Beacham 10).

Appia also contributed to the work of Alexander von Saltzmann, the Russian artist who was in charge of installing the lighting system and its controlling equipment, and devising the plotting strategy for the main performance hall.

It was nearly two years from the inception of classes in Germany in the fall of 1910, until the main hall was used for presentations at the school festival of 1912. In the interim, the Institute's classes were held in Dresden proper.

Among other dignitaries and artists of all stripes who visited Hellerau between 1911 and 1914, two major English-language writers observed classes, exams, and performances at the Dalcroze Institute.

In June of 1913 (George) Bernard Shaw wrote some postal cards about the classes to his friend Stella, Mrs. Patrick Campbell:

> The children can beat 4 in a bar with one hand
> and 3 in a bar with the other simultaneously,

---

[16] Tessenow also asked the brother of *rythmique* student Albert Jeanneret to contribute to the project, but the twenty-three year old Charles Edouard Jeanneret (Le Corbusier) declined (Berchtold 92 n.1., Spector 153 n.4).

[17] Wagner's theatre at Bayreuth also originated seating equality (no boxes for the aristocracy); the darkening of the auditorium during performance; and omission of elaborate auditorium ornamentation to avoid distracting from the stage (Beacham 10).

> and they can change instantly in marching from 4 and 3 and 6 (and such rhythms as you and I can manage) to 5 and 7. . . . Tots as high as your . . . [sic] take a stick and conduct like Nikisch,[18] only better, each making their own favourite rallentandos and rushes. There is no discipline, absolutely no nervousness, and no sulking when they cant [sic] pick up the rhythm though there are 700 strangers looking on. Costume is a blue bathing singlet without sleeves for arms or legs. (Shaw 138)

In addition to classes, Shaw also had the opportunity to see some examinations. He was particularly taken with the conducting exercises that required the use of the entire body to elicit dynamic musical responses from a student choir:

> . . . a Frenchwoman, began on her knee, with her head bent to the floor. This produced a *pp*. When she wanted a *ff con esplosione*, she shot up to her utmost reach, tip toes on the floor, finger tips to heaven; and her crumpling up for a *dim*, was lovely: the singers did what she wanted without thinking of it. Yet I am told that this was a wretched display of second raters, and that we must go again when the examinations are over and see Dalcroze give a lesson.

Shaw also marveled at the complexity of the exercises and games that the students used as warm-up routines. He remarked in particular about the proficiencies he witnessed:

> They have 20 movements; and when they have learnt them the first variation they are asked for is to give them in canon; that is, when the right hand has finished No. 1, the left hand begins it and accompanies No. 2 with No. 1, No. 3 with No. 2, etc., etc., etc. . . . All these

---

[18] Arthur Nikisch (1855-1922) "Celebrated Hungarian conductor . . ." (Slonimsky 910).

> games, instead of driving them mad seemed to come quite easily to them. I shall try to learn some of them. Then I will buy you a singlet and teach them to you . . . . (Shaw 139-140)

Not every notable visitor to Hellerau was equally taken with the classes they saw. For example, the dancer/choreographer Bronislava Nijinska, who had accompanied her brother, Vaslav Nijinsky, and the director of the Ballet Russe, Sergei Diaghilev to see the work of the Institute was particularly disaffected.

> . . . I was not impressed by what seemed to me to be a pseudomusicality, acquired by long training. It reminded me of the skill acquired by jugglers who practice for hour after hour to be able to juggle bottles, plates, or balls, to perfect their circus acts. (Nijinska 451)

However, Shaw had an additional opportunity to see the skills as they applied to a performance one night in June of 1913.

> . . . the evening at Hellerau finished up with one of the best performances of Gluck's *Orfée* . . . the production was most remarkable . . . All the pupils at the school, heaped on the floor in a dim light and tossing their arms and legs about looked like heaps of snakes in hell . . . .(Shaw 139)

Shaw referred to one of the celebrated Hellerau performances of Gluck's opera *Orfeo ed Euridice.* In the summers of 1912 and 1913, as part of the Hellerau school festivals, Dalcroze and Appia investigated the composition. They experimented with a single act in the first year and then presented the entire opera the following summer.

Jaques-Dalcroze was the musical director and conductor, Appia was the stage director, and the setting and lighting designer, and one of Dalcroze's student/teachers, from Holland, Annie Beck, was the choreographer of the performance.

Another spectator at Hellerau's *Orpheus* was American author Upton Sinclair. He was so taken with the implications of what he saw that he opened his 1940 novel of World War I, *World's End*, at the front of the Hellerau Institute, shortly before a performance of *Orpheus*. In this novel Lewis wrote his protagonist as a Dalcroze student who, in the course of the first chapter, performed in the *Orpheus* at Hellerau.

Sinclair's extended, though partly fictionalized characterization of the impact of the opera considerably amplifies Shaw's observations. However, it appears that the authors were most impressed with the inferno scene in Act II, since they both chose to communicate its stunning effects in their writings.

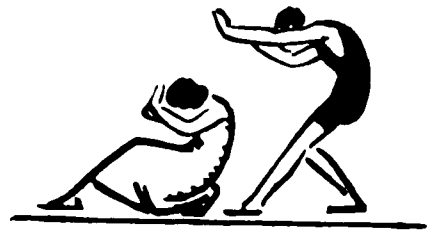
> Orpheus, the singer, had descended into hell . . . confronting a host of furies . . . Infernal music pounded forth their protest. . . .
>
> Furies, it is well known, are dangerous; these trembled with their peculiar excitement, and could hardly be restrained. Their feet trod with eagerness to leap at the intruder, their hands reached out with longing to seize and rend him. The music crashed and rushed upward in a frenzied presto, it crashed and rushed down again, and bodies shook and swayed with the drive of it.
>
> The spirits stood upon a slope within the entrance gates of Hell; tier upon tier of them, and in the dim blue light of infernal fires their naked arms and legs made . . . a mountain of motion. Their anger wove itself into patterns of menace . . . they thundered with the hammer-strokes of arms and the trampling of feet. . . .
>
> The mountain of motion burst forth into silent song. The denizens of Hell were transformed into shades of the Elysian fields . . . Rapture seized the limbs now shining in bright light; they wove patterns as intricate as the music, portraying not merely melody but complicated harmonies. Beautiful designs were brought before the eye, counterpoint was

> heightened through another sense. It was music made visible . . . (Sinclair 4-5)

As a young music student, Dalcroze's abuse at the hands of his inept and unimaginative teachers led him to seek a more competent, more pleasurable, and more consequential way to learn and to teach music. His innate love of the art, and his uncontrollable need to enjoy it, made Dalcroze sensitive to the resonances of music in his life, and, ultimately, in his body. Sensitized by these resonances, he awakened progressively to an understanding of musical resonance as it moved through the biophysics of the human organism at large. His particular sensitivity arose through a combination of his native aptitudes and relevant life experiences as a music student, music teacher, and young professional musician. As Dalcroze was later to observe when he contended against specialization: all life experiences are relevant in art (Dalcroze, Souvenirs 130).

Even though all of Dalcroze's original work on rhythm was in the service of music and music teaching, he grew to believe that the instinctual origins of human rhythm bear on the entire range of human behaviors, not just on what may be considered to be musical. After Dalcroze revealed his re-discoveries and their founding principles, the vital relationship of the human body to human rhythms and human actions could no longer be separated from the embodied artistic realms of dance and theatre.

CHAPTER IV
ÉMILE JAQUES-DALCROZE AND MODERN DANCE



C'EST PAR LE CORPS QUE L'EURYTHMIE PÉNÈTRE DANS L'AME ET C'EST LA DANSE GYMNASTIQUE QUI ENSEIGNE L'EURYTHMIE.

PLATON.[19]

Introduction

The information presented in this chapter is less dependent on Dalcroze's biography since there was no modern dance establishment in Dalcroze's youth and young adulthood. Unlike music and theatre, which remained under centuries of enervating customs and outworn practices, modern dance arose during Dalcroze's maturity in the early twentieth century. In fact, as will be seen, Dalcroze played a pivotal role in the inception of European modern dance. Throughout this chapter, however, it is expected that the previous biographical and musical facts will be retained and brought to bear upon the details set forth regarding Dalcroze and modern dance.

Dalcroze was not a dancer, and no obvious childhood events led Émile Jaques to become a dance theorist by the age of forty. Unlike music and theatre, dance had no particular emphasis in his training or experience other than his participation in the ordinary social dancing of his time (Brunet-Lecomte 31, 51). He had no mentor in movement

---

[19] "It is through the body that eurhythmy penetrates into the soul, and it is gymnastic dance that teaches eurhythmy." Frontispiece to the *Gymnastique Rythmique* portfolio by Bertrand/Thévanaz.

studies, nor was he of an era or a society which sought out dancers or had any expectations concerning what dancers should be.

Nonetheless, Dalcroze was always led by his curiosity, and his connection with modern dance was mostly an unexpected function of aggregation. He collected experiences, and filtered them through his analytic temperament. Dalcroze's insights grew out of his perceptions and empirical assessments of human rhythms related to music, and were not derived from any professional tradition or physical training. What began as Dalcroze's curiosity has evolved over one hundred years into the vital and indispensable principles of modern dance and theatre training.

His dance preparation began with observations he made and impressions he gathered about the psycho-physical-musical nature of human beings. He cultivated the values he found in the rhythmic basis of music, and added his relentless belief that intense expression was necessary in all performing arts. By 1905, this process had him at work analyzing how emotions were expressed and communicated through the rhythmic use of the human body.

Aggregation

From his birth in 1865 until he was ten years old, Émile Jaques lived in Vienna. Mid-nineteenth century Vienna, the capital of Austria-Hungary, was a particularly fertile location to observe the customs and practices of the many distinctive peoples who were subject to the empire. In her memoire, Hélène recalled being fascinated by the great variety of Austro-Hungarian peasantry frequenting the marketplace in front of the Jaques's home. Émile and his sister were exposed to their diverse speech, walking, gestural, costume and hair styles, and also experienced the peasants' ethnic music and dance forms. Hélène was especially taken with the Croats (Brunet-Lecomte 16). Through this

exposure, Émile gained familiarity with numerous cultures, and began to notice the movement peculiarities among the many European and west Asian peoples who literally gathered outside his own front door.

Émile's ten years in Catholic Vienna were abruptly succeeded by the family's relocation to Calvin's provincial Geneva. The contrasts of the modest Swiss city with Austria's metropolis further provoked his curiosity and consideration of the nature of national and ethnic differences: how individuals fit within their own cultures and into the human race at large.

Beginning when he was eighteen, Émile's travels presented his curiosity with many additional years of cultural stimulation. His published writings, and those of individuals he traveled with, attest that wherever he went, Paris, Algeria, Vienna, Geneva, Berlin, Moscow or London, he observed, analyzed, and made Henry Higgins-like mental and written notes about how the people of those nations and cultures walked, spoke, used their hands, and held their bodies in daily life (RME, 322-23). Dalcroze would even imitate their walking, gestural, and vocal patterns to help himself remember their physical rhythms. This practice continued whenever he traveled, whether alone, with his family, on concert tours, or during the demonstration travels with his students of Eurhythmics.

Beryl de Zoete (1880-1962), an English student of his in pre-war Germany, and later a noted dance anthropologist and critic, recalled,

> He could at once grasp the essential characteristics which mysteriously find expression in every line of the body, and make them visible to others through his own gestures. How often he did it for the entertainment of his pupils. . . .(de Zoete 15)

His curiosity to observe and his disposition to extrapolate the cultural characteristics in the people he met also prepared Dalcroze for his musical impromptu through rural North Africa.

His time in Algeria was especially illuminating since he realized on a visceral level the emotional impact of irregular rhythms, silences within music, and corresponding stillnesses in movement (Dalcroze, Musique 19-20, 23-30). The festivals that Dalcroze witnessed were, to his nineteenth century European education and musical perceptions, a demonstration of the potential power and expressive value of the (re-) unification of music with movement. Further, his observations of Algeria's social structure led him to conclude that the rhythmic subtlety and physical deftness of the performers was attributable to the continual impressing of those qualities on the populace from earliest childhood.

Dalcroze's return to Vienna and his unpleasant experience with Bruckner further underscored the steady temperament and dedication of the musicians he had studied with in North Africa. Dalcroze was saved from Bruckner's temper by Prosnitz, whose personal, effortless way of playing, and imaginative improvisations were in harmony with Dalcroze's growing appreciation of the potential of intense expression in music.

It is likely that Dalcroze encountered Mathis Lussy's theories on expression when he studied in Vienna from 1887 to 1889. Prosnitz's interests in musical expression ran along similar lines to Lussy's, and he could have acquainted Dalcroze with Lussy's work. In 1886, the year before Dalcroze went to Vienna, Lussy's *Traité de l'Expression Musicale* (1874) was published in German from the fifth French and first English editions. In this treatise Lussy had made the statement:

> It would be a curious study to analyze the connection that exists between certain musical

> structures and the gestures they excite . . . it is a fact that certain metrical figures provoke spontaneous movements, not only for singers, but also for instrumentalists.[20] (Lussy qtd. in Moore 32)

Dalcroze had begun to believe that expressiveness in music was rhythm-based and not a characteristic only of gifted players. Backing up what Dalcroze had heard and seen in Algeria, Lussy also claimed that rhythm was essentially a physical phenomenon. It seems almost inevitable that, after Vienna, Dalcroze would go to Paris to meet and study with Lussy.

After his appointment to the Conservatory in Geneva, Dalcroze found that when his students played piano, the rhythms they were experiencing became visible in other parts of their bodies in addition to the fingers. As he experimented with their motions, Dalcroze also discovered that a lack of rhythm perception was pervasive among his students:

> I set my pupils exercises in stepping and halting, and trained them to react physically to the perception of musical rhythms. . . . [but] I soon discovered that, out of ten children, at most two reacted in a normal manner; that the motor-tactile consciousness, the combination of the senses of space and movement, exists in a pure state as rarely as . . . "absolute pitch." (Dalcroze, RME vi)

Years of experimentation and observation led Dalcroze to finally conclude that satisfactory response to musical rhythms required the muscular and nervous involvement of the entire organism. His belief that music existed within the body led him to diminish a canonic

---

[20] Moore 32, n35. "Mathis Lussy, *Musical Expression: Accents, Nuances and Tempo in Vocal and Instrumental Music*, 4th ed., trans. Miss M. E. von Glehn (London: Novello and Company, n. d.), 41."

emphasis on fingers and to try to find a way to disperse the visible, muscular perceptions of rhythm throughout the entire body.

Dalcroze had started with Lussy's concept of anacrusis as it was applied only to music. As Dalcroze verified the physical basis of rhythm, he also broadened his notion that rhythm in general, and the anacrusis in particular, were exclusively disposed to the interests of musical performance. From his analysis of human movement in aid of musical expression, Dalcroze was led to his investigation of dance as a medium of human expression (Dalcroze, RME vii).

Music Criticism and Theory

After Dalcroze's experiments came to be seen as dance, the purpose, effectiveness, safety, and decency of his music teaching project became the subject of Conservatory discussion. Dalcroze was repeatedly required to appear in defense of *la rythmique,* and himself, for compromising the image of the Conservatory by means of his "satanic inventions" (Dalcroze, Musique 143).

According to his student Beryl de Zoete, who was a student of his in Geneva at that time,

> So long as the young professor confined himself to vocal or keyboard experiments in the classroom there was nothing to be said; but to make his pupils *move* was surely the first step towards turning a music college into an *école de danse*. . . . (de Zoete 17)

Numbed through long years of institutional criticism, Dalcroze usually disregarded the disdainful reactions of his senior colleagues. However, other observers also did not comprehend the purposes of his regimen, and it became clear that the discoveries which excited him and his students were also exciting some members of the Swiss public in hostile ways:

> Physicians reproached my exercises for provoking a very great fatigue; choreographers, for a lack of saltatory [dance] technique; musicians, for the abuse of unequal tempos and the establishment of the build not on the length of duration, but on the weight of the sonorous elements... Painters complained about the black gymnastic jersey and blamed la Rythmique for killing the sense of color! As for the parents, they judged the costumes as quite unseemly, and that the students should wait for their majority before daring to remove their stockings.[1] (Dalcroze, Musique 143-144)

Although Dalcroze presented some rhythmic demonstrations as early as 1903 (Spector 73), in 1905 he decided to formally explain his attempts to overcome what he considered to be inferior European musicianship and music teaching. In July, at the Congress of Music Teaching of the Association of Swiss Musicians, meeting in Soleure, Dalcroze undertook to describe the developments which led him to the source of the problem, how he conducted his experiments, and how his method of physical exercise was intended as a promising remedy. During his formal talk, he presented a call for the reform of music education in Swiss schools (Dalcroze, RME 13-57). To illustrate his remedy for music teaching, he featured rhythmic presentations by several of his most accomplished students.

In the formulation of his presentation to the music teaching community, Dalcroze was aided by three major collaborators: the psychologist Edouard Claparède, Nina Gorter, a Dutch pianist who left the Berlin Conservatory to work with Dalcroze, and fifteen-year-old Suzanne Perrottet, who was among Dalcroze's first and most capable students (Odom 2002, 7).

The publication of his theoretical work began in earnest with the printing of his presentation on teaching reform, which was followed in

1906 by publication of *Méthode Jaques-Dalcroze: For the Development of Rhythmic Instinct, Auditory Sense and Tonal Feeling in Five Parts,*[21] in eight volumes by Sandoz, Jobin et Cie., Paris and Neuchâtel.

Dalcroze's conceptual break with traditional European music teaching was his assertion that music should begin to be experienced and learned in advance of any playing or reading of it. He reasoned that since children were able to speak languages without first learning how to read, and they were not required to write or draw before becoming physically capable of picking up a pencil, to teach them skills which they are organically unable to grasp due to neuro-, psycho-, or physiological immaturity was a waste of time. Since he also believed that, "no one can exercise several faculties at the same time before he has acquired, however crudely, at least one faculty" (Dalcroze, RME 80), the only medium and mechanisms needed to begin the learning of music were the music itself and the movements of the body. This was more than just a challenge to traditional teaching. The physically active means by which Dalcroze chose to achieve his purpose also provoked opposition.

Dalcroze asserted that music is inherently a human activity, and he held that modern Europeans had suffered a disconnection.

> All the rhythmic elements in music were originally formed after the rhythms of the human body; but in the course of time the types and their combinations were varied and multiplied to the point of spiritualising music, and their [the rhythms'] muscular origin was eventually lost sight of. The body became unaccustomed to them [rhythms] in proportion as the preponderance of purely intellectual education increased . . . (Dalcroze, RME 262)

---

[21] *Méthode Jaques-Dalcroze: Pour le développement de l'instinct rythmique, du sens auditif et du sentiment tonal en 5 parties.*

He further believed that physical separation from the music which always had been the body's primary means of rhythmic expression, had dulled the nervous system and diminished its ability to transmit either active or reactive stimuli across the neural network. Beryl de Zoete reported, "M. Jaques often insisted that his *Méthode Rythmique* was devised for the unrhythmical bodies of Europeans and was entirely superfluous for the peoples which had not lost their sense of rhythm" (De Zoete 14).

In the first of a fifteen-day series of public lectures which began on August 1, 1907, Dalcroze cited two (possibly fanciful) instances of the stifling of innate human rhythms. He postulated two women: a trained gymnast and gymnastics instructor, and an estimable pianist and licensed piano teacher. Their stories then followed:

One day, the gymnast decided to jump down from a streetcar which was moving too slowly and, in spite of her strength and agility, lost her balance and went sprawling in the street. One evening, the piano teacher was seen dancing waltzes in two-four time and polkas in three-four time, and was always stepping late on the accented beat.

The first woman had trained her musculature and nervous system to execute set physical routines. However, her body did not have spontaneous access to the input from her brain and nervous system. She was unable to judge the kinetic and spatial situation and to modify her muscular timing accordingly. The second woman was fully in control of eye-brain-finger coordination when playing the piano, but her body and nervous system were insufficiently trained to create and execute the ear-brain-leg connection that she needed for dancing. Dalcroze observed, "This lack of time sense by a lady who enjoyed long years of instrumental teaching probably entitles one also to the question whether piano study makes sense when it neglects the main components of music: time and rhythm"[2] (Dalcroze Rhythmus 1).

Further complicating the problem, and implied just under the surface of his examples, was the acceptance and perpetuation of these conditions by society, its institutions, and its teachers. Piano teachers insisted on the conditioning of the hand and fingers above the development of a sensitive musical intelligence, while dance and acrobatics teachers insisted on developing the body without taking into account the influence of the mind and emotions on movement (Dalcroze, Plastique 5). Such inadequate teaching separated the active mind from the active body, and thereby removed the chance for a physical stimulus to modify mental functions. This, reciprocally led the body to disregard emotional or mental feedback during physical activities. Dalcroze pointed out that when otherwise intelligent, and even gifted, people have trouble negotiating physical tasks involving the entire body, it is usually a sign of an inadequately functioning nervous system (Dalcroze, Plastique 6).

Dalcroze used these examples to illustrate the primary problem he was trying to solve with his method of music teaching. The gymnast and the pianist clumsily addressed those physical tasks which were not within the range of their specialized training. Both of them were severely but differently "a-rhythmic" (Dalcroze, RME 324-25).

According to Dalcroze, to be a-rhythmic was not to be capable of performing a movement in the time required for its execution. In the case of his music students, a movement would always be specified by him at the piano, and the necessary time was always related to the music he was playing. Dalcroze sensed arrhythmia if his students sped up or slowed a motion during its execution, were not able speed or slow a motion as needed, or if they began or stopped too soon or too late. Whatever the symptoms,

> . . . all these deficiencies, without exception, may be attributed either to inability of the brain to issue its orders sufficiently promptly to the muscles responsible for the execution of the movement, inability of the nervous system to transmit these orders accurately and smoothly to the right quarters, or inability of the muscles to execute them infallibly. A-rhythm arises, then, from a lack of harmony and co-ordination between the conception and the execution of the movement, and from the nervous irregularity that, in some cases, produces, and, in others, is the product of, this dis-harmony. (Dalcroze, RME 263-64)

Dance Theory and Criticism

Dalcroze did not set out to be either a dance theorist or critic. He was a music teacher who, having followed his curiosity, found himself in the midst of the social and artistic movement which was to become known as modern dance. Much to his annoyance, he was too often described as a dancing master, although, on the other hand, he was not displeased to be regarded as an authority on the condition of theatrical dance at the start of the twentieth century.

Dalcroze always maintained that, outward appearances aside, he did not teach dancing, and his eurhythmics classes and presentations were not dance. Based on what he considered to be their intrinsic values, Dalcroze distinguished dance from eurhythmics. He found dance to be superficial, while *la rythmique* cultivated the mind, body, and spirit.

> One must not . . . confuse Rhythmics with dance. The latter is the art of becoming alert and graceful, which naturally constitutes a great advantage. But it doesn't have any connection with our character, our temperament, and the development of our general qualities. It specializes in certain bodily movements and assures an exterior

> balance. But the most eminent dancer becomes more intelligent only within his own field, while a complete education of all our faculties of understanding and expression creates in us an unceasing coming and going of diverse activities and organizes rapid communication between the dual poles of our being.[3] (Dalcroze, Musique 22)

In short, Dalcroze's rhythmic theories of movement constituted his dance criticism. Since his theories had grown out of his empirical study of the structure of music, he always judged dance on a requisite musicality. He insisted that both the sources and means of expression should truthfully and naturally show the bio-psycho-musical rhythms of the human body. Using these standards, he never shrank from expressing his opinions about what he considered to be the inherent limitations of dance, dances, and dancers. His 1912 article "How to Revive Dancing" offered several examples of his forthright dance criticism.

Dalcroze condemned theatrical dancing in opera performances because, he said, it seldom expressed anything. Human emotion was missing, and there was almost never any attempt made to physically interpret the music being played. What was worse, the arms and legs of the dancers coordinated no better with one another than they did with the music.

Of course, interludes of operatic stage dancing were not the only focus of his impatience. He also disdained the classical ballet. In his opinion, balletic training consisted of nothing but the acquisition of various automatic gestures and movements that ballet masters would cobble together for the sake of display during the playing of music. (Dalcroze, RME 233).

Dalcroze, whose theoretical base was the naturalness and truth of the rhythms of the human body, thought that dancers were foolish to try to give an "illusion of immateriality" by leaping into the air. To Dalcroze, leaping dancers, by making the strenuous effort necessary to leave the stage, only reminded audiences of their earthbound essence.

Within his discourse on the futility of interpreting immateriality by means of dance, Dalcroze set out his criteria for a credible physical expression of immateriality. He did not outline any sort of gymnastic or acrobatic solution, but proposed a transcendent answer. Dalcroze's estimation of the power of eurhythmics is revealed by his conviction that it would remain impossible for a dancer to convey immateriality ". . . unless the dancer is sincerely and completely absorbed in immaterial thoughts" (Dalcroze, RME 234).

Dalcroze continued to issue challenges that transcendent values be included in physically-manifest performing. These demands would crop up at various places within his dance criticism. For example, in spite of the fact that Dalcroze agreed with general audiences that the costuming, lighting, and decorative arts of Diaghileff's Ballet Russe were compelling, he also argued against his own reactions:

> . . . are these enjoyments also of a spiritual and emotional order? Are they truly the direct product of deep and sincere feelings, and so completely that they can satisfy our need for aesthetic pleasure while they imbue us with the generating emotion of the work?[4] (Dalcroze Plastique 14)

Dalcroze could be passingly swayed by the visual impact of dance performances, and also clearly esteemed personally engaging dancers such as Duncan and St. Denis. His ability to perceive merit in the new forms of dance gave Dalcroze problems when he tried to

apply his eurhythmic rules to dance performance. He enjoyed some aspects of dance, but also found his musical feelings to be offended. He often found otherwise appealing dancers to be contrived, affected, and lacking in both truth and naturalness. To better understand his ambiguous reactions, he did exercises in self-observation while he was attending performances. He realized that in addition to the opinions he held about a performance, he also was self-conscious about his sensitivity relative to the opinions of other audience members whose perceptions he otherwise greatly respected.

> I saw painters endowed with the surest judgment scream their enthusiasm in view of the splendor of the attitudes, the refinement of the gestures, the beautiful harmony of the groupings and the boldness of acrobatics; and . . . despite all my efforts, I didn't manage to feel any aesthetic emotion, blaming myself for coldness, accusing myself of incomprehension and smugness. . . .[5] (Dalcroze, Plastique 12)

Dalcroze reflected on the essence of the perceived offense, and at a notable performance discovered one source of his irritation. By his description, it appears he attended Nijinsky's "The Afternoon of a Faun" by Debussy (Nijinsky). The choreography of that piece put the problem into high relief for Dalcroze.

The choreography was modeled on ancient Greek vase paintings and bas-reliefs. At the beginning of the dance, "a cortege of nymphs" entered stage walking slowly in profile and stopping every eight to twelve steps. As they stopped, they assumed physical poses copied from the Greek sources. This dance was not made of successive movements, with an occasional pause to take a posture reminiscent of classical statuary. Rather, the dancers assumed a posture and then maintained it while walking to their next stop, when a new pose was taken. It was this discontinuity that unsettled Dalcroze musically, and

put him in mind of a film from which several frames were removed at various intervals: [italics as published]

> . . . the dancers . . . attacked the next posture each time they stopped walking, without any *movement of preparation*. . . And I understood that what shocked me was the lack of linking and sequencing between the postures, the absence of that *continuous movement* that we should notice in all vital demonstrations enlivened by a consistent thought.[6] (Dalcroze, Plastique 12)

As a general fault, it was the detachment of choreography from the rhythm of music that so aggravated Dalcroze as he listened to and watched the innovative dance of his time. In the case of the nymphs, one pose followed another but were not connected by any essentially human activity. The accretion of postures was pleasant to see and the music was pleasant to hear, but Nijinsky divided the movement from the musical elements of duration, continuity, development, and natural preparation (Dalcroze, Plastique 12). The severing of musical elements from the physical aspects of performance negated the regulating influence of rhythm, which to Dalcroze was the only assurance that the bond between gesture and music would remain true and natural.

> Gesture itself is nothing—its whole value depends on the emotion that inspires it, and no form of dance, however rich in technical combinations of corporal attitudes, can ever be more than a mere unmeaning amusement, so long as it does not aim at depicting human emotions in their fulness [sic] and intimate veracity. (Dalcroze, RME 244)

Using this insight, Dalcroze analyzed the movement character of "several dancers of the highest merit." This analysis verified to his satisfaction that even the most musical of dancers, those willing and

trying to form themselves to the contours of music, had no command of the qualities of continuity of movement or movement phrasing. He determined that they, like Nijinsky's nymphs, started with gesture and physical postures, and not with movement itself (Dalcroze, Plastique 13). This was the very ground that Lussy and Ysaÿe had prepared.

> Not measure, but rhythm, assures the originality of musical expression. It is futile for dancers who are not artists to make their steps exactly correspond with the musical phrasing—their movements express not music, but merely its external forms deprived of all vital impulse. (Dalcroze, RME, 234-35)

Beyond the pandemic rhythmic ineptitude and lack of musicality of the western civilizations, Dalcroze diagnosed an additional problem in the new dance and new ballet of his era. There was something of a vogue among dancers and choreographers to use ancient painting and statuary as inspirations for pseudo-classical dances. Dalcroze publicly assailed the use of static models on the grounds that such works had already been distilled by their original artists from lost sequences of movements. In his opinion this process might create pleasant images, but such connecting together of empty ancient gestures was a further remove from the all-important source of Truth, ancient Greek or modern (Dalcroze, Plastique 13).

Dalcroze made and published statements like this with complete knowledge that both Duncan and Nijinsky used ancient sculpture, frescos, and vase paintings as models for poses and gestures in their choreography. With this criticism Dalcroze was going head to head with the icons of both the new dance and the new ballet. He added in the case of Duncan, however, "In several of her plastic interpretations the great artist Isadora Duncan instinctively delivers her body to

continuous movement, and these interpretations are all the more lively and suggestive"[7] (Dalcroze, Plastique 13, n.1.).

The preface to *Plastique Animée* spells out the factors Dalcroze considered to be indispensable to rhythmic study in music, and so, required of dance before it should aspire to regain the status of art. Dalcroze assessed dance as though its goals in performance were the same as his in music.

> . . . the authentic perception of movement is not of a visual order, it is of a muscular order and the living symphony of the steps, gestures and attitudes linked together is created and controlled not by the tool of appreciation that is the eye, but by the instrument of creation that is the entire muscular apparatus. Under the action of spontaneous feelings and irresistible emotions, the body vibrates, enters into movements and then fixes itself in attitudes . . . the direct result of the movements that separate them. . . .[8] (Dalcroze, Plastique 13)

These considerations emanated from his belief that any movement which did not penetrate from and to the psyche, or perhaps the soul, was essentially meaningless.

Legacy

Among all of his artistic endeavors, Dalcroze's influence was perhaps most pervasive in the field of dance. Due in part to the misreading of *rythmique* as expressive movement rather than embodied music, he was thrust into the midst of the early twentieth-century public and artistic vogue as both a theorist and critic of the new dance.

As early as 1902, Dalcroze presented demonstrations of nascent *rythmique.* In 1907, he actively began to book tours taking him and his advanced students throughout Europe and as far east as Moscow.

The tours continued well into the 1910-1914 Hellerau period. Until the outbreak of World War I in August of 1914, his demonstrations and writings about the relationship of music to bodily motion created a general European enthusiasm both for his work and for his perceptions relative to human movement.

Dalcroze also impacted his contemporaries who were members of the emerging modern dance establishment, in addition to which several of his students, at times without his direct or intentional encouragement, made vital contributions to the new dance. Some even became leaders in the growing modern dance establishment, as will be shown in the next sections of this work. Sometimes his influence was not appreciated, and his opinions would be revised or rejected outright, but in the ten years before World War I he was an energizing presence in the developing domains of modern dance, choreography, and movement theory.

Suzanne Perrottet

Dalcroze's influence on modern European dance revolves around three of his students, and centers on one in particular. His pupil and longtime associate Suzanne Perrottet (1889-1983) possesses a singular place in the development of both eurhythmics and modern dance. She had been a violin student at the Geneva Conservatory and began to study music with Dalcroze when she was only ten years old.

According to Irwin Spector, Perrottet had an innate beauty and grace in her movements, and Dalcroze chose her as his main model when she was about thirteen. Dalcroze conducted her movement, would ask her which bodily actions and attitudes she found to be most and least comfortable, and sketched her positions with special attention to her arms, legs, torso and head (Spector 57).

Perrottet was in the 1905 exhibition of *Gymnastique Rythmique* at the conference of Swiss musicians, and in 1907 began touring Europe with Jaques-Dalcroze. She even moved from Geneva to Dresden when Dalcroze was enticed to Germany by the Dohrns and their *Werkbund*. In both Dresden and Hellerau she taught classes for the institute, while also performing and touring.

Selma Odom, a dance professor at York University, interviewed Perrottet in 1979, and points out that far from being only an advanced Dalcroze student, in 1911-1912 Perrottet taught six classes per week in rhythmic gymnastics, and eight sessions of piano improvisation in the same period. This list did not even include the classes she was taking with Dalcroze (Odom 2002, 6-7). In *Mastering Movement* John Hodgson also points up Perrottet's value to Dalcroze and the entire Hellerau venture as ". . . Dalcroze's principal piano teacher, and 'star' assistant. . . " (Hodgson 70).

Moving from Switzerland, in addition to two years of teaching at Dresden/Hellerau, and a Russian tour in the winter of 1912, had led Perrottet to need recuperation from overwork (Perrottet 87). She was also becoming disaffected with Dalcroze's obstinacy and intransigence regarding the pre-eminence of music. By the spring of 1912 they both agreed that her work had become ". . . exterior and cerebral rather than physically inevitable" (Odom 2002, 6).

With Wolf Dohrn's encouragement, Dalcroze sent Perrottet for a two-week rest cure at a sanatorium on the outskirts of Dresden. At the same hotel, convalescing just at that time, was Rudolf Laban. "They talked about movement and dance and even at that first encounter Laban must have learned a great deal about Dalcroze" (Hodgson 70).

Laban contended that dance was an art form in itself and that a dancer's body need not be chained in the service of composers nor at all restricted by musical forms. This position agreed with clandestine

trials that Perrottet was having with her colleagues Myriam Ramberg and Annie Beck, and an older student, Marie Wiegmann. Each wanted to explore bodily motion without music, and three of them had even made overtures to Dalcroze, who would not hear of it (Perrottet 86).

When Perrottet and Laban were discharged from the hospital, she took him to Hellerau where rehearsals were underway for the 1912 school festival (Odom 2002, 7). Laban's reaction to Dalcroze's work is recorded in Perrottet's *Ein Bewegtes Leben.*

> . . . At last I felt strong enough to take a look at the garden city of Hellerau and visit Jacques [sic] Dalcroze's institute. It was on a day when festival rehearsals as well as classroom lessons were being performed for artists and journalists. . . What an enormous cultural achievement! You are aware how familiar I am with rhythm, as well as dance, music, etc. Here, it evolves altogether into a religiously complete effect, our religion of the future. I have met Jacques himself, his teachers and students, and I am exuberant just thinking of the possibilities . . . it was an experience that will play a part in my own development.[9] (Perrottet 93)

Because of her disaffection with Dalcroze's intransigence on the question of silent dance, and her attraction both to Laban and his idea of dance, Perrottet wanted to resign immediately. However, she had a year remaining on her contract with the Werkbund, and decided to honor it. Wishing not to continue to teach at Hellerau, however, she agreed to establish the Vienna branch of the Dalcroze school. She supervised the facility, and also had the chance to choreograph for Vienna's Hofoperntheater (Perrottet 96).

In 1913, at the close of her contract, Perrottet joined Laban at Monte-Verità, an artist colony at Ascona in Italian Switzerland. During World War I, she bore a son with Laban in 1916 (Odom 2003, 5). She

performed as a dancer and pianist with Laban, Wigman, Hugo Ball, and Emmy Hennings at Café Voltaire's Dada Gallery in Zurich in 1917 (Melzner 78-83). After the first war, in 1919, she began to teach dance in Zurich and continued to do so well into the 1970s.

Marie Wiegmann

Among Suzanne Perrottet's first-year piano students in 1910 was twenty-three-year-old Marie Wiegmann (1886-1973), who was inspired to become a dancer after seeing Grete Wiesenthal performing with her sisters.

> I went to the Wiesenthal Sisters and told them I wanted to dance. They said, "You are not young enough . . . you have to start when you are a little child. Maybe you could dance in a nightclub, but not on the concert stage." Then I remembered Dalcroze. I went to Dresden with the last marks I had and enrolled in his school. (Wigman 187)

Wiegmann and Perrottet had become friends after two years of classes and sharing morning dance improvisations. In the summer of 1912 Perrottet told her friend about meeting Laban, that she planned to leave Hellerau, and that she would be joining Laban within the year. Marie was astounded at Perrottet's choices, and very excited to learn that Laban's new dance would be based on the interior rhythms and creativity of the dancer, with music remaining incidental (Hodgson 71).

Marie completed her studies at Hellerau in the spring of 1913 and had made a verbal agreement with Dalcroze to take over his Berlin school. Awaiting the arrival of her contract, and with the additional encouragement of another friend, painter Emil Nolde, she went to visit Laban and Perrottet in Ascona. "Nolde had told me: 'He moves as you do and he dances as you do-without music'" (Wigman 26).

After several weeks at Monte Verità, the promised contract to work for Dalcroze reached Marie.

> But had I not meanwhile grown beyond the limitations of Jaques-Dalcroze's method? Had not my burning desire to liberate myself for a very personal artistic expression through movement found its affirmation in the few short weeks with Laban?
>
> . . . . I had worked with his little group of pupils and was intoxicated with aimless improvisations - I danced, danced, and danced. . . .
>
> Silently I showed him my contract. "Well, I can only congratulate you on a beautiful and secure position for a lifetime," he said and paused. "But what a pity! Actually, you are a dancer who ought to be on stage."
>
> . . . I did not sign the contract . . . (Wigman 27)

During the following sixty years, under the name Mary Wigman, she became celebrated as a dancer, choreographer and teacher. She also came to be regarded, with Rudolf Laban and Kurt Jooss, another early Laban student, as one of the founders of European and German expressionistic modern dance.

Cyvia Ramberg

Cyvia Ramberg (1888-1982), the third conduit of influence from Dalcroze into the world of dance, did not contribute to modern dance *per se*, but became a significant figure in the school of dance that was to be known as the contemporary or modern ballet.

In early 1905, there was revolutionary agitation in many parts of the Russian empire, including Ramberg's native Poland. Ramberg was something of a political activist, and, partly from concern for her safety, she was being sent to Paris to live with an aunt who was a

doctor, and to study medicine. Then Isadora Duncan came to dance in Warsaw on her way from Berlin to St. Petersburg (Magriel 71).

Overcoming her concerns about Duncan's renowned nakedness, Ramberg claims to have been profoundly moved by the beauty of her performance while sensing something of personal importance in the language of dance.

Several months after moving to Paris, and having begun dancing whenever possible, Cyvia read that Duncan was returning to Berlin by way of Warsaw, and immediately "went by twenty trains from Paris" to Warsaw to see her dance again.

> I was absolutely mad with joy to see all that beauty. . . . I rushed backstage, pushed aside a tall young man with a leonine mane who was guarding Isadora's door - it was Gordon Craig - and threw myself on my knees kissing her hands with tears streaming down my face. Finally I was torn away from her and ejected. The next day my mother read out a paragraph from the paper about 'a hysterical young girl who forced an entrance into the great artist's room'. I admitted it was me, and for the first time dared to cry out that I intended to dance at all costs. (Rambert 35-36)

On her return to France Rambert lingered in Vienna, where she managed to see another American dancer, Ruth St. Denis, who toured Europe from 1906-1909. St. Denis did east-Indian style dances with full set and costumes, and was more famous for her grace and stylish beauty than for her choreography (Rambert 38).

Back in Paris, after dancing an authentic mazurka at a costume ball, Ramberg met and became friends with Isadora Duncan's eccentric brother Raymond. He always dressed as an ancient Greek, and he also arranged for Greek-oriented dance presentations and plays in Parisian society. Ramberg's ecstatic and abandoned way of dancing prompted

a friend of hers to call her Myriam, a name that she adopted because of her growing aversion to the French way of pronouncing her Polish diminutive, Cesia. Later, against her heart, but with the intention to develop a range of capabilities in differing dance styles, she also took ballet with Mme. Rat of the Paris Opera,"a very bad teacher" (Rambert 43).

As Myriam was becoming known as a dancer, a Swiss friend who greatly admired her dancing ability encouraged Myriam to accompany her to Geneva for a ten-day course with Jaques-Dalcroze. "'Of course, you don't *need* Dalcroze,' she said . . . 'but it would be interesting for you to see what he does.' So I went, I saw, and I stayed for three and a half years" (Rambert 46).

Myriam was unaccomplished and ill at ease as a musician, and she discovered that, in spite of her dance aptitude and experience, even the simplest Dalcroze movements to music were difficult for her,

> . . . as this had to be done not spontaneously, but with different objects in view. We had to run twice as fast or twice as slowly as the music, or stop suddenly at the word of command "Hop!" for a certain number of bars, then at the word "Hop!" change the running step to skipping, and so on. I felt tied in knots but kept on trying. (Rambert 47-48)

She also became dismayed that despite the Dalcrozian emphasis on movement, the preeminent feature of Dalcroze's system was that a movement was to be performed in the service of music, rather than being an independently physical form of personal expression. To Ramberg it was not dancing. There was no specific aesthetic value to the movements and gestures prescribed by Dalcroze, and also no underlying movement technique was taught to the students. What

technique she had was criticized by Dalcroze as being too balletic and too exterior (Rambert 48).

Myriam also came to realize that Dalcroze's students were not at liberty to dispute the matter, even from a philosophical stance.

> During the first Christmas holidays he asked us to write an essay on any subject we chose, and I wrote . . . that dancing does not have its source necessarily in music, as was Dalcroze's theory. If one burns to dance the movement bursts out spontaneously - a natural reflex in a dancing nature. I have always loved pure movement, and I still do. That by no means prevents me enjoying movement with music. I love that passionately too. Dalcroze was horrified and considered my thought an absolute heresy; so I did not pursue it then. I dropped it and submitted to him and his improvisations. (Rambert 50)

Myriam succeeded in her studies, having managed to learn the musical skills essential for the instigation of movement in Dalcroze's method. Dalcroze even employed Ramberg to teach *Turnen*, a basic sort of hygienic gymnastics. She later admitted that what she taught was derived from Mme. Rat's teaching, at the Paris Opera. It was the only movement technique Myriam knew, but she never called it ballet since "ballet was anathema to Dalcroze." According to Ramberg, she taught *Turnen* (ballet) technique as a barefooted form in Isadora's style (Rambert 51).

In 1912, celebrated visitors were commonplace at Hellerau, so the arrival of Diaghilev (1872-1929) and Nijinsky (1889-1950) caused little stir. This was more especially the case because of Dalcroze's very slight respect for ballet. The following day,

> . . . to my utter amazement, Dalcroze told me that Diaghilev wished to see me with a view to engaging me to join his company for special

> work. Though I was still in my anti-ballet, pro-Isadora phase, the prospect excited me immensely.
>
> . . . I readily accepted Diaghilev's invitation to join the company, to acquaint them with Dalcroze's method, to help Nijinsky in applying it in the production of Stravinsky's *Sacre du Printemps* and to dance in ballets for which I was suitable. (Rambert 53-54)

Nijinsky's younger sister, Bronislava Nijinska (1891-1972), had also accompanied Diaghilev to Hellerau and had another point of view.

> During our drive back to Dresden, Sergei Pavlovitch [Diaghilev] told us that he was concerned that our artists would not be able to master the difficult rhythms in Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps*, the new ballet that Vaslav [Nijinsky] was soon to mount . . . and that he had invited Dalcroze's best pupil, Miriam Ramberg . . . to teach us Eurhythmics.
>
> I was burning with indignation and protested loudly, "I cannot see what a Dalcroze pupil can teach our artists. . .
>
> ". . . Rhythm cannot be taught, it can only be developed. There is not a single ballet artist who does not have an innate sense of rhythm, otherwise he would be a freak and would hardly be dancing in a ballet company. The Dalcroze Institute is a sanatorium for children who need help to develop their coordination of the body and their sense of rhythm." (Nijinska 451-452)

Ramberg joined Diaghilev's company on the road in Budapest. Myriam soon became close friends with Nijinsky, in part because they were both Polish, and also because she was actually helping him to understand rhythm. She helped him to get a rhythmic feel for his choreography for Debussy's *Jeux* and Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du*

Printemps. With time she gained a place in the *corps de ballet* under the direction of Enrico Cecchetti.

After the First World War started, in September of 1914 Myriam Ramberg found her way to England, where she became known as Marie Rambert.

Denishawn

Dalcroze's influence was not as direct or personal in American modern dance, but one particular connection attests to the knowledge and acceptance of his work within the American context.

Ruth St. Denis was touring Europe with her purportedly oriental dances from 1906 into 1909, the early years of Dalcroze's rythmique demonstration tours. After her return from Europe Ted Shawn (1891-1972) saw St. Denis perform on a U.S. tour in 1911 and was enchanted with her grace and beauty. Shawn worked his way to New York City as a ballroom exhibition dancer and met St. Denis early in 1914.

In the biography, *Ruth St. Denis*, Suzanne Shelton reports, "They talked all that day, into the night. They shared pet theories and favorite authors, Emerson, Mary Baker Eddy, Delsarte." (Shelton 120) St. Denis and Shawn were married in August of 1914, the month that World War I began in Europe. They established the Denishawn school of dance in Los Angeles in 1915.

Their faculty included St. Denis, Shawn, Shawn's former Delsarte teacher, Henrietta Hovey, and ". . . Marion Kappes, who had studied at the Dalcroze Institute near Dresden and taught the Dalcroze system of music analysis through bodily movement" (Shelton 127-28). Spector asserts that ". . . Kappas [sic] . . . though not an authorized Dalcroze teacher herself, understood and fostered the master's principles to some degree . . ." (Spector 242).

In 1917, with the United States's entry into the war, Shawn was drafted but volunteered for the Army Ambulance Corps, serving most of his enlistment in San Diego. While Shawn was away St. Denis went on tour in support of Liberty Bonds. Shelton states that, "On this tour she began to experiment with 'music visualizations,' musical scores made visible through movement, a concept derived from the Dalcroze techniques taught at Denishawn" (Shelton 140).

Also according to Shelton, St. Denis denied that the Dalcroze techniques were the primary inspiration for her visualizations. She claimed that both she and Dalcroze shared a common principle: to understand music by way of movement. St. Denis asserted, however, that she realized that music was being neglected when she saw Isadora Duncan perform with Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony*. When the music became too intricate for Duncan, she stopped dancing and "compromised by making one of her unforgettably noble gestures in complete disregard of the music" (St. Denis qtd. in Shelton 149).

In 1912's "How to Revive Dancing," Dalcroze also saw Duncan's innocence of musical rhythm.

> If one carefully watches Isadora Duncan, in other respects the sworn enemy of mere technical virtuosity, and a seeker after naturalistic effects, one will notice that she rarely walks in time to an *adagio*, almost invariably adding involuntarily one or more steps to the number prescribed by the musical phrase. This arises from her inability to control the transfer of the weight of the body from one leg to another in all variations of pace. She disregards the laws of gravity which, from the corporal plastic point of view, create the laws of balance. (Dalcroze, RME 240)

Doris Humphrey, who had studied eurhythmics before joining Denishawn, assisted St. Denis as she began to experiment with music visualizations, which Shawn described as St. Denis's ". . .term for the

scientific translation into bodily action of the rhythmic, melodic and harmonic structure of a musical composition, with no intention in any way to interpret any hidden meaning apprehended by the dancer. . ." (Shawn 55).

St. Denis's process consisted of listening to a piano piece being played by one of the company's accompanists, conceiving a mental picture of the mood of the piece, and translating the musical structure into dance. She and Humphrey made a study of metric values and rhythm patterns, and formulated movements of varying durations for a range of notes from eighth notes to whole notes. They dealt with dynamics by muting muscular energy for *pianissimo* sections, and setting up vigorous, powerful gestures when there were loud chords. As a melody line rose and fell, the dancers' bodies would rise up and then descend. St. Denis blended balletic movements with running steps and natural hops and skips. "Often the girls linked arms, held each other lightly about the waist, or allowed their arms to pulse airily to the music, a vestige of the time-beating gestures that accompanied Dalcroze drills. . ." (Shelton 150).

St. Denis created more than thirty music visualizations, and also formed the nine-member Ruth St. Denis Concert Dancers by the end of 1919. Beyond the St. Denis visualizations, the group also performed pieces created by Humphrey and by Shawn (Shelton 151).

In the early 1920's, with a small troupe that included Denishawn student Martha Graham (1894-1990), Shawn toured from Los Angeles to New York with dances on Native American themes. Shawn opened a branch of the Denishawn School in New York, and Graham became his assistant. Shawn's continuing commitment to Dalcrozean principles is demonstrated by his hiring of a fully qualified eurhythmics teacher, Elsa Findlay. Findlay had been a Hellerau student and was the

daughter of English educator and Dalcroze enthusiast J.J. Findlay (Spector 82; Shelton 172).

Further demonstrating his long-term support for Dalcroze and his work, in 1938 Shawn presented a series of seventeen lectures on dance theory at Peabody College in Nashville, Tennessee. Transcripts of these lectures were collected and published under the title *Dance We Must*. Shawn does not relate how he discovered Dalcroze's work, but he cites Dalcrozean precepts from both 1920's *Rhythm, Music and Education* and 1930's *Eurhythmics, Art and Education*.

In "Lecture 7: The Relationship of Music to the Dance," Shawn refers to Dalcroze as ". . . an intelligent and inspired man," and writes that "anything he says is of value" (Shawn 54). In "Lecture 9: The Dance in Education," after briefly sketching Dalcroze's breakthroughs Shawn wrote, "Upon similar experiments to this he built up his system of Eurhythmics, upon which he has written two books, and I strongly recommend you to read them sometime—they are so rich and stimulating"(Shawn 74).

The dancer/choreographer/teachers Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey, and Charles Wiedman were among the first Denishawn students whose talents were partly developed in accordance with Dalcroze eurhythmics.

Conclusion

At the inception of modern dance there were literally no modern dance teachers. Isadora Duncan and Ruth St. Denis both taught, but apparently neither were teachers in the same sense as a Mary Wigman or Martha Graham: conveying particular physical techniques to future performers. Both Duncan and St. Denis gestured towards teaching but preferred to be seen as inspirational figures, which, beyond question, they were. Therefore, with the exceptions of Laban and Shawn, both

of whom addressed dance in theory and action, it was largely Dalcroze students, and their students, who became the mentors of modern dance.

The foregoing appraisal represents only the lighting of the fuse of modern dance. That fuse was ignited by Jaques-Dalcroze by means of the 1912-13 departures of his three students: Perrottet, Wigman, and Rambert. Two of the three materially contributed to the early work of Rudolf von Laban, as he was formulating his principles of movement. The hundreds of pupils who were taught directly by Laban, Perrottet, and Wigman must be multiplied in turn by their hundreds of students who became teachers, and so on in a geometric progression. Elsa Findlay was taught and licensed by Dalcroze, and, in turn, she taught Graham, Humphrey, and Wiedman, who also had hundreds of pupils during their careers.

Although not a channel for modern dance as such, Rambert had an influence on contemporary ballet similar to her colleagues' on modern dance. Rambert became especially noted for her ability to recognize and cultivate the talents of choreographers who introduced their modern visions while using the vocabulary of traditional ballet.

The branching and ramifications of Dalcroze's teaching of music through movement has reached tens, possibly hundreds, of thousands of students over the past ninety years. That effect has been no less profound when it comes to the lighting of the fuse of modern theatre.

CHAPTER V

ÉMILE JAQUES-DALCROZE AND MODERN THEATRE

Introduction

In order to adequately illustrate Jaques-Dalcroze's association to modern theatre it is necessary to distinguish the theatrical thread of his life separately from his careers in music and dance. It should be recalled that much of his theatrical life took place concurrently with the information already presented. Gathering our sea-legs, we return once again to Austria-Hungary in the 1870s.

Vienna

Hélène's recollections from her childhood with Émile attest that she and her brother had a vivid sense of wonder at daily events, and a sensitivity that, in theatrical terms, might be known as sense memory. For example, their house was located in a cul-de-sac with the neighborhood "*caserne des pompiers*" — a barracks of firemen,

> . . . who exercised upon my brother and me an intense fascination, because, to our eyes, their ornamented uniforms and their helmets of flashing gold lent them a kind of magic power. This was heightened by the imperious call of their trumpet which always sounded an interval of one-fourth: Do-Fa. This interval became so fixed in our ears that, for my part, later on I never hesitated in a lesson of solfège to achieve, without a hitch but with pride, this interval, revived in our eyes immediately the exalting vision of a troop of men helmeted in gold, springing onto a chariot harnessed with two spirited horses which carried them away at triple gallop toward faraway fates.[1] (Brunet-Lecomte 15-16)

According to Hélène, she and Émile had great adventures of the imagination that grew out of the rich fantasy life they shared during their time in Vienna. In addition to stories made up by Émile, the two Jaques children and their playmates also re-presented plays, such as *Schneewitchen* [Cinderella], that they had seen at the local children's theatre. As Émile grew older, he began to adapt material from books. Hélène recalls that before she could read, Émile would teach her both the story and the lines. She remembers that she used to be assigned roles that none of her older friends were willing to play, e.g., the son of Swiss hero William Tell (Brunet-Lecomte 25).

In the summer of 1871, when Émile was six and Hélène was old enough to travel, the Jaques family began a tradition of journeying to Switzerland for the summer. The family continued to summer at their hereditary homes even after moving from Vienna. Émile became well known for adapting, producing, casting, directing, and performing in summer theatricals. These productions involved almost all of the local children, many of whom were Émile and Hélène's cousins.

When he was twelve (Berchtold 31) Émile presented one of his most popular productions at their mother's family home in the valley of the Joux. Hélène remembers:

> One day, in the fire of creation, Jaques summons his troupe . . . he tells them, "this evening we play *Around the World in Eighty Days* by Jules Verne."
>
> No astonishment greets these words of the ebullient Émile, no hesitation nor doubt seems to spring into the eyes of these young faces, and yet none of these children have read this book. . . .
>
> Not much of this performance stayed with me except that, in the scene of the cave of the snakes Aouda was terrorized by reptiles that undulated out of a swinging door. . . .[2] (Brunet-Lecomte 21-22)

Foreshadowing the furies in the Hellerau *Orpheus* of thirty-five years later, the effect of the snakes was achieved by waving arms clad in black stockings. The stockings and arms were those of some of Émile's cousins who had not been cast in featured roles but who still wanted to perform for Émile.

Geneva

Sometimes even without an ensemble, Émile costumed, made up, and characterized himself as various personalities from literature for the entertainment of his family and friends; or he might portray strangers with interesting but completely improvised identities. Berchtold found more than humor in Émile's disguises: ". . . The youngster with the round cheeks and sparkling eyes is an animator. He feels the passionate need to escape himself, to disguise himself, to play roles. . .[3] (Berchtold 31).

When Émile was a university student in Geneva he appeared as a visiting Hindu prince in the audience of the circus Rancy. He placed news of the royal visit in that day's newspaper, and was therefore accorded many courtesies, including accommodations in the royal box. However, Émile's show was not finished with just a masquerade.

One of the circus routines featured a fight between a man in an ape costume and a clown. When it began to appear that the clown was losing the battle, the Hindu prince bolted from the royal box and joined the clown to defeat the monkey in hand-to-hand combat. The audience was flabbergasted, having no idea how to react to what they saw. It was Geneva in 1882.

The next day a newspaper description of the event explained the bargain that had led to the spectacle: ". . . the Hindu prince was none other than a facetious student of our University. Having been warned,

the man-ape had cheerfully agreed to lend himself to the joke and to moderate his blows"[4] (Brunet-Lecomte 24).

In the Belles-Lettres Society, Émile's devotion to the dramatic art increased, and he was greatly encouraged by the many roles that he performed in evenings staged by the Society: Scapin, Gringoire, and Nicole in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (Brunet-Lecomte 34).

In the summer of 1883, Émile performed as an actor on a tour of France with a theatre company directed by Samuel Jaques, a cousin of Émile's who had taken part in the summer vacation theatricals (Dénes 13). Samuel Jaques, known as Bonarel, was the director of the Theatre of Lausanne, and producer at *Aix-les-Bains* (Spector 9).

Paris

In the fall of 1883, eighteen-year-old Émile Jaques decided to go to Paris to study declamation with Talbot. Spector reports that in addition to his lessons with Talbot, Émile

> . . . attended sessions of François Delsarte, an influential vocal teacher who could capture, even enthrall, his listeners with his small but exquisite voice and excellent elocution. He coached numerous actors in the art of suiting word to gesture, and none could rival him in declamation. (Spector 10)

Delsarte's system of declamation made use of inner states as the source of gesture, and was the established method of actor training in 1880s Paris. Although Spector implies in the above passage that Émile worked personally with Delsarte, that would not have been possible. Delsarte died in Paris in July of 1871 (Curtiss 460), a few days after Émile turned six years old in Vienna.

Even though Émile could not have studied directly with Delsarte, Dalcroze's writings show that he was familiar with Delsartean theory

(RME 223, Musique 36, 37). For example, Dalcroze's conviction that internal emotional states unite with physical movement to produce expressive communication seems to rely directly on Delsarte's work.

Between 1884 and 1886, Émile could have had Delsartean work directly with Talbot, might have known of Delsarte through contact with other declamation students, or may have seen contemporaneous publications by or about Delsarte. For example, a text of Delsarte's teachings, *Pratique de l'Art Oratoire de Delsarte* by l'Abbé Delaumosne had been published in 1874 (the same year as Lussy's *Traité de l'Expression Musicale*).

In 1912, the German music critic Karl Storck confirmed that Émile knew of Delsarte's work during his first residency in Paris:

> "Jaques-Dalcroze first learned to know the more considerable works of Delsarte and the entire activity of this outstanding man much later, but during his studies at the Parisian conservatory in courses for declamation he rehearsed some movement which was called Desartean exercise."[5] (Storck 24)

As a student in Paris, Émile did not work in either music or the theatre for many months, and could not afford to attend any plays or concerts. According to Berchtold, however, at one point he seemed to find a way to attend the theatre and get paid for it. He was hired into the claque of the Comédie française for twenty sous per run-through. As an audience member he had not reckoned with the need to take direction. Even though he was being paid to applaud and cheer, Émile booed the performance of one of the most respected actors of his day, Mounet-Sully. Émile found "the great Mounet-Sully to be too noisy, too 'theatrical.' And, paid to applaud, he hisses his bellowing. [Émile] is dismissed[6] (Berchtold 38).

In his later memoirs, Dalcroze continued to scorn Mounet-Sully's acting style, and also assailed Sarah Bernhardt's (1844-1923).

> . . . The exaggerated mime of a Mounet-Sully, the affectation and the simpering of a Sarah Bernhardt would have made today's public explode with laughter. I remember the ultra-dramatic postures of Mounet in *Hamlet* as veritable caricatures, and the vocal modulations, murmurings, howlings and meowings of the great Sarah have made my flesh crawl since childhood.[7] (Dalcroze, Souvenirs 149)

The nature of Bernhardt's vocal performance was also recalled by Cyvia Ramberg, a Dalcroze student in both Geneva and Hellerau, who saw Bernhardt just after arriving in Paris from Warsaw. "When the great Sarah came on to the stage and started speaking I nearly burst out laughing, and so did my aunt - though she was a woman who had very little humour - because the voice sounded so cracked and funny. . ." (Rambert 31-32). Unlike Dalcroze, Ramberg suspended her disbelief of the actor's limited vocal gifts, and was moved by her characterization.

Having washed out of the claque, Émile was musically employed at the cabaret Chat Noir where he provided piano accompaniment and presented his own musical parodies. However, it should be realized that because of the nature of the Chat Noir, his work was essentially theatrical. It may be assumed that Émile also did physical and vocal characterizations, using some of the talents he called upon twenty years later for the pleasure and instruction of his students. Beryl de Zoete:

> To express himself in music was as natural to him as speaking; he seemed to be able to conjure a whole world from the keyboard rhythms of sound and silence, storm and

> tranquillity. Scenes and emotions flowed from his fingers with inexhaustible wealth of fancy and a simplicity of means . . . But it was not his fingers only that obeyed his fancy; he had an extraordinary gift of mimicry and the actor's power of expressive gesture. . . . He had all the gifts of a popular musical entertainer . . . and would probably have made a fortune on the music-hall stage. Indeed he told me himself that he was nearly persuaded to choose this as his profession. (de Zoete 15-16)

At the Chat Noir, Émile became immersed in improvisations and performances that were something of a cross between the recreations of his own time, and the happenings and performance art of the late twentieth century. The spirit of the cabaret was not just for laughs. It was satire with a bite. In her history of Cabaret, Lisa Appignanesi maintains that the political and social origins of the Chat Noir were in the 1880's Parisian protests against a hypocritical bourgeoisie.

> . . . An initial aspect of this new genre's importance was to introduce satire into the cult of naturalism, to shock the middle-class spectator into a realization that his respectable values were merely a thin veneer hiding a lust for the sewer which he had himself partially helped to create. (Appignanesi 16)

The nourishment of Émile's youthful social consciousness in the hotbed of Parisian art and politics in 1885 found mature expression in Dalcroze's acceptance of Dohrn's utopian proposition of 1909. Even though Dalcroze was apolitical in the sense of nations and parties, his belief in an implicit human brotherhood led him to want to provide the families of the *Werkstatte* with first-rate cultural and educational

experiences for the good of society at large. To be apolitical in this fashion is, arguably, a political position.

Vienna II

From 1887 to 1889 in Vienna, and contrary to Bruckner's ban on taking pleasure in other arts, Dalcroze went to as many operas and concerts as possible (Brunet-Lecomte 48). Berchtold cites Dalcroze's confused and frustrated reactions to performances he attended:

> One day, [Dalcroze] attends a performance of *Tristan*. This "divine" revelation plunges him into rapture. "Not a note that didn't resound in me from head to toe, that didn't captivate my spirit . . . that didn't make my heart pound and didn't extract some tears from me; I wept during the acts, and during the intermissions I remained prostrate in my place, still weeping in my immense joy." Alas, sometime later, the enthusiastic spectator is transformed into pitiless analyst. "And it was for me veritable suffering to hear the notes follow each other, one after the other . . . without anything trembling in me, without the truth of the drama penetrating me. . . . I left desperate, doubting my love for music, doubting music itself, doubting everything, cursing myself . . . "[8] (Dalcroze qtd. in Berchtold 44-45)

Dalcroze had begun to perceive a quality of communication in truthful performance, the absence of which was bitter and painful. In opera, desperate gestures, repetition of "weighty" gestures, and lined-up choruses agitated him immensely (Dalcroze, Souvenirs 149).

The literally physical reactions that Dalcroze experienced at concerts and operas in Vienna awakened his sense that all music could and should be a visceral and spiritual experience, encompassing both the musician and the audience. Friedrich Klose, Dalcroze's best friend in Vienna and, ironically, Bruckner's favorite student, claimed that

Dalcroze was toying with *gymnastique rythmique* even then: already writing dissociation exercises and syncopated marches that amused his friends (Berchtold 45, n.1).

Dalcroze's ambition to be an actor was slowly evaporating as he became more satisfied with his work as a composer and musician. On his first visit to Paris, Émile had become a member of *SACEM* (Society of Music Authors, Composers, and Publishers) upon the publication of his operetta, *Riquet à la Houppe*. In Algeria he wrote the one-act lyric comedy, *L'Ecolier Francois Villon*, with words by Philippe Monnier, and he scored Monnier's *Par les bois* while a student at the Konservatorium in Vienna. On successive returns to Geneva he had opportunities to perform his own compositions at Conservatory (Dénes 15). His decision in 1889 to return to Paris and work with Delibes, Fauré, and Lussy, confirmed his repression of any further intentions to make acting his career.

Geneva II

Though Dalcroze's professorship at the Conservatory ultimately became devoted to his attempts to discover the medium and mechanism of the transmission of human emotion by and through music, in his early years back in Geneva Dalcroze channeled his theatrical disposition into the writing of operas and oratorios (Dénes 15-17). In the spring of 1902 Dalcroze's reputation as a composer on Swiss themes and a charismatic teacher led to a commission to create the *Festival Vaudois* in Lausanne for the summer of 1903.

Firmin Gémier

Dalcroze's classroom and studio career became inclined once again toward the stage, with the Canton of Vaud's commissioning of

Firmin Gémier[22] (1869-1933) to arrange the final staging of the Festival.

Some thirty villages took part in the festival. Hélène was very impressed at how Gémier had drawn up a "sort of map" for the single general rehearsal, on which he had calculated the total steps required for each group to arrive in its turn upon the central platform, and later to accomplish their exits (Brunet-Lecomte 77).

For his part, Gémier was profoundly impressed with one aspect of the performance which later contributed to his own reputation. It seems that Gémier had arranged for the choruses and supers to take their places for the finale in a circular aisle surrounding the audience. Gémier was deeply moved when his cast of two thousand began to sing the Swiss national anthem and the audience of eighteen thousand stood as one to join in.

Berchtold advances similar stories from Paul Gsell in his Gémier interviews, and from the Gémier biography by Paul Blanchart. He also asserts that Gémier was "profoundly marked" by his experience while directing the *Festival Vaudois*, and came to believe with Rousseau that "ancient spectacles, grave and superb" should be held under the sky and in the face of the entire nation (Berchtold 62-63). Both Berchtold and Brunet-Lecomte claim that Gémier's reaction to that spontaneity proves that he was not Swiss.

Based on the exhilaration Gémier sensed in Lausanne, he seems to have tried to revive and relive that experience in France:

> Excited by the unanimous outburst, and by this forgetting of self joined to the desire for collaboration without concern for class that

---

[22] In 1896 in Paris, actor/director Gémier had played Père Ubu in Jarry's *Ubu Roi* and later became the director of the Théâtre de l'Odéon, and was also the founder of France's TNP, Théâtre National Populaire.

> characterizes the Swiss people, in France Gémier tried to organize the Festival of Wine, but he had to give it up, because some choral society didn't want to meet on stage with some other society, some lady refused to appear beside her seamstress, and finally, in a nutshell, every amateur wanted to be a star.[9] (Brunet-Lecomte 77)

Cole and Chinoy, in Directors on Directing, also citing Gsell (*Le Théâtre*, 1925) and Blanchart (*Fermin Gémier*, 1954), describe Gémier as ". . . a director who sought inspiration in antiquity and the middle ages . . . He attacked the purely literary view of drama, seeking 'to create an atmosphere where each assisting celebrant communes with his neighbors and the author in a sort of social religion'" (Cole and Chinoy 68). Gémier's conviction that drama should both exemplify and express communal collaboration emerged during this time in Switzerland with Jaques-Dalcroze and his *Festival Vaudois* in 1903.

Participating with Gémier in the staging of his work, Dalcroze began to focus on the means and methods of communication possible via the human body. Dalcroze in 1928: "It was during the preparation of the *Festival Vaudois* that I had the opportunity to study in depth the question of the relationships of bodily movements and evolutions in space and time"[10] (Berchtold 63). In 1903 Dalcroze set out to sketch young Suzanne Perrottet as she tested the bio-musical theories leading to *gymnastique rythmique* (Spector 57). It was just more than a year since he had presented his theories at the Conservatory of Lausanne to the Congress of Swiss Musicians. Within three years he would move his rhythmics from Geneva's Conservatory, present his memorandum of reform to the Swiss music teachers, and his work with space, music, and the human body would astound Adolphe Appia.

As a musician and music scholar, Appia had been inspired by what he considered to be the sublime genius and powerful beauty in the works of Richard Wagner; however, it was not until 1882, at the age of nineteen, that Appia saw his first Wagnerian opera. He went to Wagner's Festspielhaus at Bayreuth for the premiere of *Parsifal.* The *mise en scène* was personally supervised by Wagner and was his final production before his death.

Wagner "collaborated [on *Parsifal*] far more intensely with his designers than ever before, attempting to formulate the appropriate and coherent scenic style which, as he conceded, had not yet been achieved in the Bayreuth productions," according to Appia scholar Richard Beacham. "The results were indeed impressive: the meticulously executed scenery . . . embodied and perfected a lavishly pictorial romanticism which could advance no further" (Beacham 11).

Appia had been imagining Wagnerian operas based solely on his reaction to and perception of their music. He was greatly frustrated in the production at Bayreuth. In Appia's words, *Parsifal* ". . . impressed me only by its unusual luxury . . . even the careful treatment of the characters left an emptiness because there was no harmony between scenery and acting except in the Temple of the Holy Grail . . . the music held all my attention" (Appia qtd. in Beacham 11-12).

Over the next eight years Appia set about seeing, learning, and understanding everything he could about Wagner's operas and his philosophy of the theatrical arts. Appia also studied the rehearsal and backstage processes of theatre in general and Wagnerian productions in particular. Near the end of this orientation tour Appia also served as an apprentice to the "father of light," Hugo Bähr, who "developed and used a variety of carbon-arc devices, projections and other lighting effects . . ." (Beacham 12).

Beginning in 1891, Appia learned Wagner's scores, and explored his scenarios and stipulated set designs. He sketched stage, setting, and lighting designs, and wrote alternative scenarios that he accompanied with essays elucidating his production concepts.

Through his scholarship Appia had come to believe that the compelling qualities of dramatic action and expression in Wagner's works were wholly resident in the music. Therefore, Appia's proposed reforms did not stop with scenic innovations, but required increased skills within the performer. Appia's interpretation led to his premise that the composer/poet reaches his audience mostly by the agency of the singer/actor. If, as he believed, the music embodied Wagner's entire drama, and the actor/singers were an audience's only physical revelation of the music, therefore, in the Appian reformation, it was necessary that the performers be capable of embodying the music, not simply of using their singing skills to render it adequately.

In writing an essay in 1895 that would become part of his major work *Music and the Art of the Theatre,* Appia had no practical means in mind by which dancing could be exploited for the training of actors' bodies in music sensitivity:

> . . . by means of words and gestures, [the body] can serve as a means of communication between the dramatist and the audience. . . .When music is added to the words, we *see* . . .the living human body cast off the accidental covering of its individuality and become the instrument consecrated to the expression of what is common to all human beings. It is not yet the whole expression, but it is already a *visible* part of it. (Appia 37)

Everyday human expression exploited a physical intensity, but that intensity distorted time and, therefore, was not useful to actors in opera. However, he realized that

> . . . there is yet another means of involving the living body in the expression: and that is by communicating to the actor the basic proportions of music . . . by means of the *dance*. By dance I do not mean those light parlor entertainments or what passes for dance in the opera, but the *rhythmic* life of the human body in its whole scope." (Appia 37)

Appia repeatedly submitted his core theoretical work to Cosima Wagner [the composer's widow], who repeatedly rejected it out of hand. She was dedicated to enshrining the work of her late husband, and under her aegis the production concepts of his operas remained restricted to the scenic elements and effects that he had written and implemented. For much of the next ten years Appia could engage no one who remained consistently interested in the projects he needed to present in order to demonstrate his dramatic theories.

In the spring of 1906 (twenty-four years after *Parsifal*), Appia attended a demonstration of *la rythmique* presented by Dalcroze and his students in Geneva. "My impressions were complex and surprising. At first I found myself moved to tears, remembering how long I had waited. But soon I sensed the awakening of a new force utterly unknown to me! I was no longer in the audience, I was on the stage with the performers" (Appia qtd. in Beacham 74).

After their first meeting, Dalcroze was moved to write Appia, in part, ". . . The future belongs to us as long as we live and we have the duty to explore it. Too bad if we are mistaken; we would be more mistaken if we were living solely in the past"[11] (Stadler 420).

During the following three years, Dalcroze and Appia became close friends, collaborating, trading insights, and bolstering each other's confidence. In 1909, when Wolf Dohrn offered Dalcroze the contract to bring his work to Hellerau, Dalcroze immediately recommended that his friend Appia be included in the venture.

Dalcroze and Appia's most famous collaboration was their noted presentation of Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice*, the second act of which was presented in a workshop production during the summer of 1912. The opera was then fully produced for six performances in the Dalcroze Schulfeste in June of 1913 (*Dresdner Heft*, facing 1).

In observance of Dalcroze having delivered him out of years of obscurity and the wilderness of ignorance, Appia dedicated his *Work of Living Art* (1921) in part to "Emile Jaques-Dalcroze the faithful friend to whom I owe my aesthetic homeland" (Appia, *WOLA* xxiii).

In turn, Lee Simonson summed up Appia's influence on modern theatre in 1932's *The Stage is Set*.

> . . . In Appia's drawings for the first time the stage is a microcosm of the world. . . . the actors in it seem living beings who move as we do from sunlight or moonlight into shadow. . . .There is depth here that seems hewn and distance that recedes infinitely further than the painted lines converging at a mathematical vanishing point. In attacking the conventions of scene painting Appia created an ultimate convention. . . .The third dimension, incessant preoccupation of the Occidental mind for four centuries, defined by metaphysicians, explored by scientists, simulated by painters, was re-created in terms of the theatre, made actual. The stage more completely than ever before became a world that we could vicariously inhabit; stage settings acquired a new reality. The light in Appia's first drawings, if one compares them to the designs that had preceded his, seems the night and morning of a First Day. (359)

Stanislavsky

Soon after the Dohrns brought Dalcroze to Dresden/Hellerau, Georges Pitoëff (1884-1939) spent several months there. He was amazed by Dalcroze's music-based system of expression and Appia's

use of the rhythmic principles as the source and justification of the mise-en-scène. Pitoëff returned later in the year accompanied by his compatriot, Prince Serge Wolkonsky, who had been Superintendent of Russia's Imperial Theatres (Berchtold 95).

After seeing *la rythmique* in action, Wolkonsky became one of Dalcroze's most ardent supporters, even declaring at one point that what he had seen caused him to be reborn. From Berchtold:

> New birth of Wolkonsky. Back in Russia, in Moscow and St. Petersburg he does lectures on what he saw. He speaks in his books about Dalcroze and rhythmics; he devotes his time, his labor, and his money to rhythmics. Why? ". . . because . . . I didn't have the right to act otherwise. I had understood that rhythmic education develops the complete man, and that it represents a benefit for humanity."[12]

Under Wolkonsky's influence, rhythmic institutes were founded in St. Petersburg, where Appia's brother Théodore taught eurhythmics, and in Moscow and Riga. Dalcroze and small groups of advanced students twice toured Russia at Wolkonsky's invitation (Berchtold 96).

Among the *rythmiciennes* on the first Russian tour were both Suzanne Perrottet and Cyvia Ramberg. As Dalcroze's most capable student/instructors, they were indispensable to the demonstrations. Also, Ramberg knew how to speak Russian because of her childhood education in Poland.

In her 1972 memoir, *Quicksilver*, Marie Rambert recalled that during the extended trip to St. Petersburg Dalcroze had been "at his most entertaining." She also reported that in St. Petersburg Dalcroze and his students "appeared at the Mikhailovsky Theatre, the Smolny Institute for Young Ladies of the Nobility, and at the Conservatory" (Rambert 51-52).

At the Smolny Institute the court burst out in applause despite the institution's stipulation that such enthusiastic exhibitions were forbidden. Reportedly, Rachmaninov enjoyed that performance (Berchtold 97), and Spector implies that it was due in part to Dalcroze and his students presenting an improvisation on a Rachmaninov prelude (Spector 160). Ramberg also recalls that Rachmaninov played for them in St. Petersburg after a supper given by Wolkonsky's family.

In her memoir Rambert also describes the Moscow portion of the journey. In Moscow Dalcroze and his students performed at the Hall of Nobles and at the Conservatory. Relative to theatre, Moscow was a much more important city than was St. Petersburg. To Rambert's great delight, the *rythmiciennes* had the opportunity to perform on the stage of the Stanislavsky's Moscow Art Theatre. In addition, they met the actors Stanislavsky, Kachalov, and Olga Knipper, who was the widow of playwright Anton Chekhov. Stanislavsky gave them a box from which they saw both Chekhov's *Uncle Vanya* and Gordon Craig's mounting of *Hamlet* (Rambert 53).

After seeing *Hamlet* Dalcroze wrote Appia an exasperated letter from Moscow on the production by Gordon Craig[23] (1872-1966). Focusing almost entirely on faults of the mise-en-scène, Dalcroze indignantly asserted his opinion that Craig had stolen Appia's scenic style, and worse, was deplorably inept at interpreting it for the stage (Stadler 441).

The simple fact that *la rythmique* was demonstrated on stage at the Moscow Art Theatre does not prove that its influence extended into Stanislavsky's actor training system. Clark Rogers, in his 1966 study of the application of eurhythmics to dramatic art, held that

---

[23] Stanislavsky (1863-1938) had hired Craig at the special urging and on the recommendation of Isadora Duncan.

Stanislavsky did use the Dalcroze system in his training of actors. Dr. Rogers advanced the idea that a look at the entire Stanislavsky system shows the emphasis that is put on the vital aspects of voice and movement training. He specifies looking at the entire system as opposed to the American-style psychological training used by such teachers as Lee Strasberg, and derived from Stanislavsky's earliest experiments.

> A glance at the Table of Contents of Building a Character revealed to this writer that Stanislavsky and Dalcroze were not in disagreement as to the proper training of actors. Chapter headings included: Making the Body Expressive, Plasticity of Motion, Restraint and Control, Accentuation: the Expressive Word, Tempo-Rhythm in movement. . . .
>
> Although Dalcroze was never mentioned in Building a Character . . . it is very possible that Dalcroze's rhythmic theory was influential on Stanislavsky's thought as revealed in chapter eleven, "Tempo-Rhythm in Movement." (Rogers 127)

Rogers then compared various exercises and descriptive phrases in the writings of both Dalcroze and Stanislavsky, concluding that Stanislavsky's discovery and use of an external technique, patterns of voice and movement used to stimulate emotional memory and visceral response, were derived from a Dalcrozean source (Rogers 130). Rogers finally included a selection by Sheldon Cheney in 1925, unequivocally stating that "the Dalcroze system of rhythmical dancing" had indeed been taught at the Moscow Art Theatre (Cheney 140).

Rogers brought convincing evidence and testimony to bear on the question in 1966, but for fifteen years Soviet travel and research restrictions would continue to obstruct the discovery of facts leading to clear knowledge. Now, over thirty-five years after Rogers set forth

his thesis, testimony is available proving that eurhythmics was taught, not just demonstrated, at the Moscow Art Theatre.

In 1998's *Stanislavsky in Focus,* Sharon Carnicke describes how the actor Stanislavsky experienced a crisis in 1906 when he began to externalize one of his favorite roles and discovered he had become empty as a performer. He exiled himself to Finland, accompanied by "major tracts about acting from many centuries" and an actor's eternal questions: How can spontaneity be maintained in a role that is repeated endlessly; Is there a way that inspiration can be summoned when needed; Can a creative mood be controlled?

> When he returned to Moscow, he began experimenting with techniques aimed at answering these nagging questions. Over the years he tested all ideas that came his way and tried any exercise from any plausible source - Yoga's relaxation and visualization, Dalcroze's eurhythmics, psychological theories of emotion from France and Russia . . . (Carnicke 27)

Seeking the basis of Carnicke's statement that Stanislavsky had tested eurhythmics, this writer initiated e-mail correspondence with Dr. Carnicke, citing Marie Rambert's memoir mentioning 1911 as the year Dalcroze first toured to Russia, and asking if that date could be verified. If so, did she have any specific dates and times during which Stanislavsky worked particularly on eurhythmics?

Dr. Carnicke generously sent this writer several references from Russian texts in her possession that verify and date the inception of Dalcroze studies in Stanislavsky's actor training programs. They even specify the time of day that classes were held.

The following letter by Stanislavsky demonstrates his knowledge of Dalcroze and his methods as early as February of 1911. This is less than two months after Prince Wolkonsky became a Dalcroze convert

and returned to Russia with news of his German discovery. These excerpts were sent by Dr. Carnicke by means of e-mail, and are cited verbatim.

> In February 1911, Stanislavsky mentions in a letter that he wrote from Rome that he wanted to Dresden [sic] because he had heard there was a school that taught Dalcroze's methods there. . . .

Possibly due to Wolkonsky's boundless enthusiasm, *rythmique* classes began at the Moscow Art Theatre before Dalcroze's tour:

> . . . In August 1911, the movement teacher S. M Volkonskii began to teach Dalcroze to the Moscow Art Theatre Troupe at the request of Stanislavsky. . . Stanislavsky notes in his diary from Oct. 1911 that the lessons took place from 10-11:30 in the mornings in the foyer of the theatre . . . the actor N. Petrov notes that the entire cast of Hamlet and the whole troupe were 'taken with these exercises', 'observed with curiosity' (304)

Then followed the Dalcroze tour with a demonstration on the stage of the Moscow Art Theatre on February 4, 1912:

> On January 22, 1912,[24] Dalcroze and his students demonstrated the exercises . . . according [to] the 'Journal of Performances' at the theatre (p. 322) . . . This last stuff is from I. Vinogradskaia, ed. 'Zhizn' i tvorchestvo K. S. Stanislavskogo' which is a collection of documents on Stan's life and work, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1971 (Carnicke 5/3/2002)

At this writing, these selections remain only in the Russian. [The unexcerpted text of Dr. Carnicke's e-mail is in Appendix B.]

---

[24] The *Programm der russischen Aufführungsreise* [Program of the Russian performing-tour] states: "*4.Februar: Aufführung (Matinee) :Künstlerisches Theater*"(Perrottet 82). The MAT performance journal used the Julian calendar; the German itinerary followed the Gregorian.

Further correspondence with Dr. Carnicke has also established that the Eurhythmics teacher for the Moscow Art Theatre was Dalcroze disciple Prince Sergei Wolkonsky himself. Between December of 1910 and August of 1911, the Prince had plunged into Dalcroze study and had become qualified to teach the system.

The question is now settled affirmatively: *Rythmique* was taught at the Moscow Art Theatre. Beyond Dr. Rogers's well-reasoned conjecture, this is now a fact that helps to shed light on the "Tempo-Rhythm" chapters of *Building a Character.* This fact also leads music and acting teachers and scholars back to the texts of Stanislavsky and Dalcroze to discover how the two systems might be able to illuminate one another.

To illustrate some of the available synergy:

As part of his justification that the neuro-muscular system has, and should have, primacy in music training, in "Initiation into Rhythm" Dalcroze wrote in 1907, "*The muscular system* perceives rhythms. By means of repeated daily exercises, *muscular memory* may be acquired, conducing to a clear and regular representation of rhythm" (Dalcroze, RME 80-81).

Isadora Duncan wrote to Stanislavsky in January 1908, grateful to him for some artistic advice: "Last night . . . I was thinking of you and I danced well. I feel a new, unusual access of energy. . . . I have put a lot of new ideas into my work. Again—rhythms. These ideas you have given to me . . ." (Schneider 33).

Hellerau

Soon after they met in Geneva, Appia and Dalcroze had planned to produce *Prometheus*, composed by Dalcroze, directed and designed by Appia, and featuring the most celebrated dancers of the day (Beacham 79). When Dalcroze moved his operation to Dresden, Appia

and Dalcroze considered producing *Prometheus* at Hellerau, but they set that idea aside after they saw a terribly disappointing *Orpheus* in Lausanne. They then decided that they would do part of *Orpheus* for the next Hellerau school festival.

During the 1912 tour to Russia, Dalcroze saw Michel Fokine's *Orpheus* in St. Petersburg. He wrote Appia that the mise-en-scène was vile [Ignoble, ignoble!], and that it felt like an eighteenth-century relic. Dalcroze added, "At Hellerau we are mounting Hell from *Orpheus*"[13] (Stadler 440-441).

In the summer of 1912, the Festival consisted of demonstrations of the classes taught at the Institute, a performance of Dalcroze's *Echo and Narcissus*, a rhythmic pantomime, and a workshop presentation of Act II of Gluck's *Orpheus and Eurydice*.

The festival performances convinced Appia that the second act of *Orpheus* and Dalcroze's *Echo and Narcissus* had "realized for the first time since Greek theatre the perfect fusion of all the means of expression, each one tightly subordinated to the others."[14] Dalcroze wrote to Appia in November of 1912 that he had decided to produce the entire *Orpheus* the following spring, noting that their "Hell" had already been copied by the Frankfurt Opera, and that the director was being hailed as a genius (Stadler 445-46).

Included among the constant stream of visitors to Hellerau and the five thousand audience members at the 1913 festival were actors, dancers, composers, producers, poets, conductors, and dramatists: Rachmaninoff, Pavlova, Granville-Barker, Paul Claudel, Rainer Maria Rilke, Ernst Ansermet, Stanislavsky, Bernard Shaw, Nijinsky, Georges Pitoëff, Diaghilev, Max Reinhardt, Upton Sinclair, Darius Milhaud, Franz Werfel, Jaques Rouché, and many of the most esteemed European music and theatre critics.

Although there was some discontent and surprise with the cuts, rearrangement of the score, and the style of production (Levitz 10-13), the presentation of *Orpheus* was a triumph.

The German critic Karl Storck wrote: ". . . on no stage today in Germany or anywhere else could one see a production which in purity and beauty of style could be compared to this." Prince Wolkonsky rhapsodized,

> . . . this strongest of operatic impressions was made upon us not by singers or actors, but by students . . . who had never studied singing or dance. . . .through all three acts one never had the feeling that one was at a presentation: we had before us real life, translated into music, magnificent music, which became living . . . all the performers were possessed by music; it possesses them both physically and emotionally; the music was for them a principle of life like the act of breathing. . . Most impressive of all was the naturalness — one forgot that it was an opera — the most conventional and unbelievable of all arts. (Wolkonsky qtd. in Beacham 104-05)

The French poet, playwright, and diplomat Paul Claudel wrote,

> . . . Choruses are no longer rows of miserable lifeless dummies, but become great sentient beings, utterly filled and animated by the life of the drama and the music. From this point of view, the performances of Gluck's *Orpheus* at Hellerau were incomparable. It was the first time since the days of Greece that true beauty had been seen in the theatre. (Claudel 18)

In the summer of 1913, Claudel's *Verkündigung* [The Tidings Brought to Mary] was to have its German premiere three days after the close of *Orpheus*. However, the play was delayed from July to October (Volbach 93). Although Claudel thought that Appia and Dalcroze came with the theater, both declined to work on the play.

Dalcroze thought it was too soon for his students to attempt to create performances that were not accompanied by and based on musical rhythms. Appia found Claudel to be foolishly impressed with the surface of the theatre and its facilities. He felt that Claudel lacked the understanding to realize that a stage setting was an organic part of a great concept, which could not come to life except through music (Beacham 113, n. 38).

The *Fête de juin*

In the spring of 1914, Dalcroze and Appia undertook to produce the June Festival for the city of Geneva. In 1912 Dalcroze committed himself to creating the festival after Wolf Dohrn agreed to grant him a leave of absence for the purpose. In spite of Dohrn's accidental death in February of 1914, the *Werkbund* honored the promise that Dohrn had made. Fermin Gémier, the stage director of Dalcroze's *Festival Vaudois* in 1903, joined the Geneva production as the director of the inaugural *Fête de juin.*

According to Beacham the 1914 festival was less remarkable for influencing theatre practice than for its impressive presentation of the artistic visions and skills of its three mature innovators in historic collaboration (Beacham 107).

Only a few weeks after the festival closed Hellerau's experiment was effectively destroyed by the onset of World War I and Dalcroze's alienation from Germany. In October of 1915 Dalcroze's rythmique program was revived at Geneva's new *Institut Jaques-Dalcroze.*

Jacques Copeau and Geneva III

Currently, the name Jacques Copeau carries little meaning even among students of theatre. He is the largely unknown conduit from Dalcroze to modern theatre. As opposed to the so-called Stanislavsky

Method that internalized emotion and avoided physical and vocal training as too theatrical, Copeau's program was the source of theatrical training that was always physical and which attempted to stay centered in truth.

Jacques Copeau (1879-1949) was a French writer and critic who, somewhat like Appia hearing Wagner, perceived more substance than he saw embodied in dramatic productions. In 1913, after years of frustration in the theatre, Copeau finally "became convinced that dramatic art had reached its nadir and that the time had come for new practical research into the European dramatic heritage. . ." (Rudlin 1).

In September of 1913 Copeau's essay "On Dramatic Renovation," appeared in the *Nouvelle Revue Française.* It stated in part,

> Most theatres have been snapped up by a handful of entertainers in the pay of unscrupulous impresarios; everywhere, most of all in those places where great traditions should safeguard some integrity, there is the same mountebank, speculative attitude, the same vulgarity; one finds fakery everywhere, excess and exhibitionism of all kinds, all the usual parasites of a dying art that no longer pretends to be otherwise; everywhere one finds flabbiness, mess, indiscipline, ignorance and stupidity, disdain for the creative and abhorrence of the beautiful; what is produced is more and more extravagant and self-congratulatory, criticism is more and more fawning and public taste more and more misguided: that is what has roused our indignation. (Copeau qtd. in Rudlin 3-4)

However, the essay was more than a simple exercise of frustration, it also heralded the pending debut of Copeau's new theatre that would be established to combat the very faults he enumerated.

In October of 1913 Copeau introduced the Théâtre du Vieux Colombier. For almost a year he had been coaching actors, planning

productions, and renovating a theatre space. Although he had no practical experience in either the business or practice of theatre, he claimed those deficiencies as virtues. Copeau reasoned that since he was not a part of the body needing reform, he was not compromised by having any stake in its offending systems.

Copeau's dissatisfaction with commercial theatre had sufficient resonance in the artistic community that the Vieux Colombier's first season was a marginal financial success. Additionally, his company came to be recognized for presenting good quality, although bookish, productions. This criticism was understandable in that Copeau had arrived at theatre by way of dramatic literature. Also he had become a producer based on his belief that dramatic texts were being betrayed by the existing methods and standards of production.

Copeau had been capable of preparing his company to render a text with clarity of speech and meaning. However, he did not have the acting or directing skill, or even the experience to give immature actors a reliable means with which they could unify texts with a sensitive and expressive physicality. His critical perceptions led him to realize that it was an actor's physicality in space that separated theatrical performance from merely speaking a dramatic text aloud. Copeau resolved to work on the problem throughout the company's second year.

World War I began before there was a second season. Military service and other national priorities fragmented his company, making a 1914-15 season impossible. Copeau was conscripted but declared to be physically unfit for military service. Released from any continuing responsibility either to his theatre or his country, in 1915 he decided to learn what he could about the kind of theatre he envisioned.

Copeau began his pilgrimage with a visit to Gordon Craig, but "after his visit with him . . . in September, 1915, he came to the

conclusion that Craig's principles remained 'incomplete' because they had no 'solid foundation'" (Volbach 102).

After three weeks with Craig, Copeau went directly to Geneva to meet Jaques-Dalcroze. During the winter of 1913-14 Copeau had seen performances of *la rythmique* which were held at the Vieux Colombier. In the spring of 1915 Copeau also had read a small book in English, *The Eurhythmics of Jaques-Dalcroze*. "Reading it was a veritable revelation for me, and I took an enthusiastic interest in it" (Copeau 57).

According to Beacham,"After the success and wide renown of the Hellerau productions, Dalcroze was a figure of some stature in theatrical circles, and Copeau was intrigued with eurhythmics, whose resources he felt one could take and use in the training of the actor" (Beacham 186).

Copeau wrote about his first meeting with Jaques-Dalcroze:

> The new Dalcroze Institute in Geneva had been opened since 1 October [1915] when I arrived on the 19th. Dalcroze said to me: "I am very annoyed at having nothing interesting to show. We are beginning all over again." I answered: "Just let me attend your classes. I did not come here to see productions but to see you and your work. The more humble and elementary it is, the more interesting I shall find it." (Copeau 59)

Since his early days as a critic Copeau had struggled with the actor's place and purpose in the theatre. Craig's dictum, "You believe in the actor. I do not," seemed pithily apt, but in the end was not a helpful response. Copeau had replied, "I don't know whether I believe in the actor. In fact I have always detested him, especially the 'great actor.' But I do believe in a new spirit which would transform the art of the actor. . ." (Copeau 59).

Copeau was impressed both with the clarity of Dalcroze's method and with his great personal charm. In the year that he had worked with actors Copeau had come to sense an indefinable "something" that he experienced with his actors, which provided a foundation for their work. "Well, here, from the first session, I found this something between Dalcroze and his pupils which exists between me and mine" (Copeau 59).

By the time Copeau left Geneva he was firmly committed to the inclusion of *la rythmique* in his training regime. During Copeau's visit to Geneva Dalcroze introduced him to Adolphe Appia, who became a great friend and supporter of Copeau. Although he doubted that eurhythmics could be fully realized in a non-musical setting, Appia admired Copeau's efforts to include the principles both in his theatre productions and in his actor-training programs. They remained good friends until Appia's death in 1928.

In 1917, the government of France asked Copeau to reconstitute the Vieux Colombier company, and to travel to the United States with his repertory. Copeau took Dalcroze student Jessmyn Howarth on the tour to the United States for the sake of teaching eurhythmics to the company. Some members of the company who were instructed in Dalcrozean principles included Louis Jouvet and Charles Dullin. Both actors went on to teach after they left the Vieux Colombier company.

In the mid-1930s, Jean-Louis Barrault was a student in Dullin's Atelier (workshop), and Antonin Artaud was collaborating with Dullin at that time. It was Barrault's mime/movement performance in *Autour d'une mère*[25] that inspired the renowned chapter in Artaud's The Theatre and Its Double, "An Affective Athleticism."

---

[25] An adaptation of William Faulkner's *As I Lay Dying*

The concept of affective athleticism went on to stimulate the Polish director and theatre theorist Jerzy Grotowski and his actors. Together, Grotowski and his associates created a form of theatre that emphasized an athletic level of fitness and bodily control, and was viscerally and physically centered.

Conclusion

Appia theorized the necessity for *la rythmique* some ten years before he saw it in action, although without Dalcroze he could never have put it into action. Dalcroze 'empiricized' his way to the same conclusions as Appia, but, like eurhythmics itself, started by doing rather than thinking.

Gémier was already an actor and director, but discovered the power of articulated crowds while working with Dalcroze, and sought to make community-centered theatre from that time on.

Stanislavsky was also an actor/director, but his insights into tempo-rhythm might never have become organized or published but for Dalcroze's understanding and demonstration of the psycho-neuro-muscular nature of human behavior.

As opposed to his extensive presence in modern dance, the influence of Dalcroze on twentieth century theatre was largely a function of his impact on the work of his mature associates. These were professionals with no lack of imagination who had theatrical traditions dating back hundreds of years. These colleagues already had been formulating many of the answers to theatrical falsity and naturalism that Dalcroze had discovered only a few years before.

CHAPTER VI
CONJECTURES AND CONCLUSIONS

"You have among yourselves a malefactor."[1]

Isadora Duncan on Dalcroze

(To a Swiss crowd after she
danced in Lausanne.
Qtd. in Divoire 76)

The life of Dalcroze reads like that of a fictional protagonist written for the sake of profiling the historical figures with whom he came in contact. Almost invariably, while describing Dalcroze and his work to those who have not heard of him, the questions are asked, "If he used to be so famous, what happened? Why isn't he well known?"

In the process of research, having the same questions, I marked references to contentions and recorded some passing impressions of misunderstandings and strained relationships. This exercise was something of a sidebar to the purpose of this work, but curiosity kept reinstating itself. In time, a list of possible causes for Dalcroze's later obscurity had been compiled. Some possibilities were deadly serious, and others highly speculative. Many of the observations are absolute conjecture. Some possibilities are more plausible than others.

The first and most obvious cause of Dalcroze's decline was the World War itself. Following the war, official anti-Dalcroze sentiment in Germany persisted until 1927. At that time, some of his German students from Hellerau interceded with their government to have both Dalcroze and his teaching process publicly reinstated. Dalcroze then made periodic visits to Germany for a few years until the Nazis took power. Spector reports that the Nazis disliked Dalcroze's system, and, predictably, accused him and his followers of being Jewish (Spector

271-72). It is not clear if the Nazis also devised a Jewish identity for Dalcroze, but it is curious to note that the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Ballet* (which is based on the German *Friedrichs Ballett Lexikon*) and the website of the *Festspielhaus Hellerau* both put forward that Jaques-Dalcroze was the pseudonym assumed by one Jacob Dalkes.

It has already been explained how World War I and its attendant xenophobia accounted for Dalcroze's exile from his adopted Germany. It must be recalled, however, that nationalist suspicion did not reside entirely with the Germans. Gordon Craig's "Monthly Leaflet . . ." *The Mask*, reviewing the 1917 republication of 1913's *The Eurhythmics of Jaques-Dalcroze*, clearly demonstrated that demagogic patriotism was alive on both sides of the conflict:

> We cannot see why it is that this book about this System "Rhythmische Gymnastik" has come out in England. . . .and what Professor M. E. Sadler means by still pushing German goods in England at this day is incomprehensible. . . . In this book we find that Herr Dalcroze of 1913 has now become Monsieur Dalcroze. Detestable if incomprehensible. . . . (Craig 8, 53)

It has not been determined whether these opinions were general, aberrant, or had any influence at all. They are set out here as an attitude that had the approval, and the likely authorship, of E. Gordon Craig: the best-known theatre theorist of the early twentieth century.

Craig had been somewhat more admiring of Dalcroze and his work in the 1912-13 volume of *The Mask*. John Balance, a frequent Craig pen name (Guidry 7-10), wrote, ". . . to do M. Dalcroze full justice, in his teaching he reaches nearer to Miss Duncan's ideal than that of one of her imitators or one of her masters" (Craig 5, 32).

Isadora Duncan was a close friend and former lover of Gordon Craig, and she was one of Dalcroze's most antagonistic critics.

Duncan made public statements, both verbally and in print, that condemned Dalcroze. From 1917:

> All kinds and conditions of people have imitated my work. But they seem to think it consists in certain stereotyped gestures. In reality, it has its virtue in certain soul-states which are, in a sense, incommunicable. The eurythmics of Jaques-Dalcroze are an illustration of the error that is born of imitation unsupported by original thought. They are good up to a certain point, but they are not creative. (Duncan 1981, 47)

Writing in the new Soviet Union in the early 1920s, Duncan also attacked Dalcroze for having caricatured, paralyzed, and "killed by systems" the "great Spiritual treasure" of her art (Duncan 1969, 110).

As shown by this author's research, neither Stanislavsky nor Laban gave Dalcroze written credit in their major theoretical works. This was very likely due to the discipline-specific precepts they were developing. However, such omissions were at least partly responsible for obscuring the Dalcrozean lineage of modern theatre and dance.

Within the interdisciplinary chronicle of music, dance, and Dalcroze, Nijinsky premiered his dance trio to Debussy's composition, *Jeux* on May 13, 1913. This was the first performance of a piece that Nijinsky had analyzed with the aid of Dalcroze student and teacher Myriam Ramberg. In a letter written several weeks after the premiere of *Jeux* Debussy criticized Dalcroze through Nijinsky's performance:

> The man put in thirty-second notes with his feet, accenting the beat with his arms, then suddenly, half his body struck by paralysis, he deigns to pass over the music disapprovingly. . . . It is ugly! It is exactly Dalcrozian, and I consider Monsieur Dalcroze as one of the worst enemies of music! Imagine what devastation his method can make in the soul of this young, wild Nijinsky! (Spector 162)

As evidenced by this example and the reactions of his students who wanted to be dancers, Dalcroze could be seen as simultaneously too heretical and too traditional.

Although one feasible cause for the withering of eurhythmics in other art fields may be the lack of credit accorded to Dalcroze by non-musical artists, it also should be recognized that prerequisites needed to begin formal Eurhythmics study inhibit future students who would otherwise apply for classes and licensing. Following Dalcroze's early beliefs, there is abiding insistence on the centrality and primacy of music above all other arts. Due to this precondition, all eurhythmics teachers' instruction is oriented towards already capable musicians. This is the case despite the fact that Dalcroze himself realized that "Rhythm . . . is by no means an exclusive apanage of the musical art. Indeed, the teaching of rhythmic movement, although based on music, is not solely a preparation for musical studies, but rather a system of general culture" (Dalcroze, EAE 102). Unfortunately, it appears that the fall of Hellerau also ended active interdisciplinary experiments united under the name of Eurhythmics.

Some additional possibilities for Dalcroze's eclipse may include:

- Possible confusion due to the multiple names of his teaching process: *Gymnastique Rythmique, la Rythmique*, Eurhythmics, eurythmics, rhythmics, *der Rhythmik*, and Dalcroze.
- Name confusion with Rudolf Steiner's Eurythmy.
- Especially among English speakers, confusion with the surnames and work of François Delsarte and/or Etienne Decroux.
- Dalcroze's musical skill and personal charm may have exceeded those qualities in his students who became teachers.
- Appia's continuing relative obscurity vis à vis Craig, because of the limited availability and lack of translations of Appia's theoretical works.

In this connection, something must be observed about the Craig, Duncan, Stanislavsky troika. Isadora Duncan burst onto the arts and public scene as Europe entered the twentieth century. She was a high-profile and flamboyant American. Gordon Craig was the son of the famous English actress Ellen Terry, and, when still an actor, had been something of a matinee idol. Stanislavsky was a tall and distinguished Russian actor/director. Each of them cut an impressive public figure. In contrast was the trio of Dalcroze, Appia, and Copeau. At best, they were regional celebrities compared to such continental luminaries.

Finally, one of the most intriguing possibilities to account for Dalcroze's fall from recognition is the claim that some information about his work and influence may actually have been suppressed by a part of the dance establishment. In his 1935 book, *The Dance*, Lincoln Kirstein points to important deletions of references to Dalcroze:

> . . . take the case of the influence of Jacques-Dalcroze [sic] on modern ballet. There is a definite influence. It deeply affected Nijinsky. Yet although Romola Nijinsky wrote it into her husband's biography [1934], it was excised by her English editors. In Haskell's life of Diaghileff [1935], the facts, as if shameful, are still omitted. (Kirstein 285)

Additionally, according to Kirstein, Dalcroze's reputation was not the only one to become distorted through publishing omissions. While making reference to Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*, and Nijinsky's choreography, Kirstein wrote:

> A new dancing language was needed. Directly or indirectly, Dalcroze gave Nijinsky a weapon without which he could not have achieved his masterpiece. The reasons for the deliberate omission of Rambach's [Ramberg's] historic service in the published books are hard to guess. (Kirstein 288)

The 1913 production of *Orpheus and Eurydice* was at once the pinnacle and the conclusion of the experiment in life and art that was Hellerau. Dalcroze and Appia exploded into the European art world mere weeks before the European world exploded into war. The swiftly falling shadow of savagery and technology run amok quickly obscured both the Hellerau legend and the *Orpheus* myth it produced.

Details of the myth vary with its source and presentation but the essence of the story is this: Orpheus, who was the best musician in the world, fell desperately in love with Eurydice. After their marriage, Eurydice was walking in a field with her bridesmaids. She was bitten by a snake and died. Beside himself with grief, Orpheus resolved to go into the underworld to convince Hades and Persephone to permit Eurydice to return with him to life and light. In order to find these gods, Orpheus had to confront a series of supernatural sentries that blocked his way. By playing on his lyre and singing, he overcame all of the obstacles, including the lethal furies. Upon meeting the gods, he sang of how his love had been taken too soon and asked to borrow her back until she had completed a full human life. Even the lord of the underworld was moved by the song, and Hades granted Orpheus his wish, with the condition that he not look at Eurydice before they both reached the light of the human world. The long journey out of the darkness tried Orpheus's patience in the extreme. Relieved as he came into the light, he turned to embrace Eurydice, who had not yet emerged from the shadows. As he saw her, he lost her, and she was engulfed again by the underworld (Hamilton 103-105).

Several commentators on the Hellerau experiment, including the present writer, have separately perceived that the story of *Orpheus* may imaginatively serve as the artistic biography of Dalcroze himself: An exceptional musician entreats the powers of the universe to permit

him to retrieve the lost soul of music from the infernal regions of timeless death. He faces many opponents but the potency of his music and the purity of his affection subdues them all, even the deadly furies. Just as he emerges from the dark underworld, leading his inspiration into the light, forces beyond his control plunge the rescued spirit back into the darkness. . . . It is uncertain if Dalcroze ever found himself in this mythological quest, but those familiar with his story cannot help but recognize the parallels.

Hellerau's *Orpheus and Eurydice* was based on the 1762 opera by Christoph Willibald Gluck. In preparation for her 2001 article, "In the Footsteps of Eurydice," Tamara Levitz of McGill University read several contemporaneous accounts of the Hellerau production. She notes several disparities between the opera as reportedly performed, and the Peters Edition of the Gluck score and Calzabigi libretto which was ostensibly used by Dalcroze and Appia. Levitz points out that, in order to emphasize his opportunities to present rhythmic movement, Dalcroze had reordered the score, in addition to "remodeling the story" and modifying the instrumentation (Levitz 10). Supposedly, such lack of authenticity and historical inaccuracy were disappointing to critics. And yet, the production was immensely popular with the art community and the general public. With these exceptions noted, what did this production do with music, theatre, and dance that no other production had ever done?

One of the major innovations of the Hellerau facility was its immense, undecorated central auditorium. It was fifty meters long, sixteen meters wide, and twelve meters high (Beacham 83). The audience area was at one end of the space. The performance area at the other end had no raised stage platform or picture-frame arch to separate it from the audience. Located between the two areas was a concealed orchestra pit.

The stage setting for the production of *Orpheus* was a pyramidal array of practical stairs and platforms which looked like part of the building rather than scenery. The scenes were shifted by selectively revealing and obscuring parts of the set with curtains and lighting. For example, Orpheus's Act II entrance into Hades was at the top of a flight of sixty stairs which were mostly concealed during Acts I and III.

Another Hellerau innovation was a lighting system that covered the walls and the ceiling of the auditorium behind a concealing fabric. The color of the light could be mixed among blue, green, and white (Levitz n.5). As the lighting sources could not be seen, and the light itself was diffused, the entire auditorium appeared to emanate light. The atmosphere itself seemed to glow with a luminous presence that could not be seen simply as theatrical illumination.

One of the revolutionary ways that Hellerau's production used light was in the replacement of the character of Amor. That character is usually seen in the flesh by the audience. Appia and Dalcroze saw the spirit of love as an almost blinding light that undulated with the music. The singer was concealed behind a curtain and performed her role without ever taking stage.

As the performance began, the overture had been omitted and Orpheus was revealed prostrate at the tomb of Eurydice. A chorus of nymphs entered almost immediately, rhythmically interpreting the lament for Eurydice. This movement chorus did not sing. A singing chorus performed behind curtains for most of the production. When the character of Eurydice was found in the Elysian fields, her gestures and movements silently echoed those of her mourners in the first act.

Contrary to the baroque happy ending of Gluck's *Orpheus*, Appia and Dalcroze returned to the myth and permitted their Orpheus to lose Eurydice. As the couple emerged from the opening out of hell, and Orpheus turned and looked at his wife, a combination of lighting

and curtains produced an effect that made it appear that Eurydice was swallowed back into the darkness (Beacham 104).

The Hellerau production used an unprecedented combination of light, movement, and three-dimensional staging. As realized in action by Appia and Dalcroze, these concepts were totally revolutionary, and had a marked visceral effect on their audiences. No later theatre or music venture by Appia or Dalcroze equaled the superior level of excellence or influence reached by the Hellerau *Orpheus.*

Conclusion

At the beginning of his teaching career Dalcroze's work was all about music. He was attempting to wrest student musicianship out of the domain of mathematics and to return it into the realm of art. As he continued to teach he began to look for a way to instill a musical sensitivity into average pupils, since in his opinion the gifted student would always become self-evident. Always learning from his students, Dalcroze came to realize that over several hundred years a rift had formed between European humans and their music.

To begin to solve the problem of precision over expression, Dalcroze drew upon his student and professional backgrounds. In Algeria the Arab musicians he met had a virtually limitless physical commitment to their playing and dancing, which were one and the same thing. Prosnitz required his students to look for direct, personal inspiration from the composer and to be their real-time collaborator in performance. Lussy taught Dalcroze that all rhythm was physical and that every action, in art as in life, is preceded by an inner physical movement of preparation: the Anacrusis. Ysaÿe showed him that a musical score must literally, physically enter the player's body, and insisted that an expressive rubato must have a solid and consistent foundation upon which to set its fantasy, its contrast, its rhythm.

Dalcroze began to see music as a creature that lives in time, and humans who have lost contact with their internal music as beings that live only in space. He thought that by a process of transliteration he could help his students to understand time in terms of space, and by extension, realize music in terms of their bodies. His physicalizing of music not only helped to sensitize average students, but also helped to increase the expressive range available to his exceptional students.

In addressing a musical problem Dalcroze had unexpectedly also demystified the pietism of the cult of inspiration, and casually began to democratize the performing arts. Recapturing expression for the sake of music made him aware of principles that seemed to govern the bonds between and among the human body, human mind, and human spirit. These were exactly the principles that Stanislavsky and Laban would soon attempt to define within their own theatric specialties.

This writer's research into Dalcroze's influence has objectively verified, through recently acquired access to untranslated German and Russian sources, long-assumed but previously unproven connections between Dalcroze, and Laban and Stanislavsky.

The Laban connection was verified after the *American Dalcroze Journal* published an article by Selma Odom of York University. In her article she cited a 1995 German biography of Suzanne Perrottet, *Ein Bewegtes Leben.* A copy of that biography was secured from Germany. In the book is Laban's statement that he met with Dalcroze, saw his work demonstrated, and that it would influence his future efforts.

In her book *Stanislavsky in Focus*, Sharon Marie Carnicke of the University of Southern California referred to the fact that Stanislavsky had tested eurhythmics. Dr. Carnicke has undertaken a complete (re-) translation of Stanislavsky's theatre writings, and she provided this author with requested transcriptions of Russian sources previously unknown to western Dalcroze researchers.

In January of 1912, Dalcroze and his students demonstrated eurhythmics at the Moscow Art Theatre, and in the spring of that year Suzanne Perrottet led Laban to Hellerau. I hold that these encounters were incitements to both Laban and Stanislavsky. Their meetings with Dalcroze did not give them ideas they had not already considered, but I hypothesize that meeting with him, hearing his theories, and seeing his work in action helped to provoke and encourage both Stanislavsky and Laban into realizing that their work also could be achieved.

In support of this opinion: In the summer of 1912 Laban set up his first experimental outdoor dance colony at Ascona. In that same year Stanislavsky established his First Studio for the purpose of experimenting and developing principles leading to his system of actor training.

The demise of the social and cultural experiment at Hellerau effectively swept Dalcroze from the world's stage. From 1905 to 1913 however, his experiments, demonstrations, lectures, and writings had framed the discourse on expression in performance for years to come.

After the Hellerau experiment ended in Germany, Dalcroze remained in Geneva for most of the rest of his life. He moved to Paris in 1924, but returned to Geneva after just two years. Throughout his many other careers, Dalcroze was always recognized as an inspiring and gifted teacher. He continued to teach until the end of his life.

This writer's research was not undertaken to delineate exclusive rights to an idea that governed Greek society more than two millennia ago. The contention of this inquiry is not that successors to Dalcroze in theatre and dance imitated his work. This research was approached with the understanding that the arts are quintessentially human and that most artistic advances, especially in performance, are almost instantly assimilated into the general repertory and, if popular, also into the public domain.

There are few instances of the licensed ownership of ideas in the arts. In the performing arts especially, perhaps influence is all that can be claimed, but that influence should and must be acknowledged.

> As for eurhythmics . . . We touch currently on the threshold of a new art which I approach while trembling, with a religious thrill and a solemn dread. Oh, it won't be me who will solve the problem and will write the new works . . .[2] (Dalcroze qtd. in Berchtold 75)

> It matters little that the servants of ideas reap nothing or very little personally; it suffices that they assisted the harvest to occur. The reward of the one who planted is to feel that he planted fine grains and that he did what was necessary to make them germinate. . . .[3] (Dalcroze, Musique 175)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Works Cited

Apel, Willi and Ralph T. Daniel. The Harvard Brief Dictionary of Music. New York: Washington Square P/Harvard U P, 1960.

Appia, Adolphe. Music and the Art of the Theatre. Trans. Robert W. Corrigan and Mary Douglas Dirks. Ed. Barnard Hewitt. Books of the Theatre Ser., No. 3. Coral Gables: U of Miami P, 1962.

---. The Work of Living Art: A Theory of the Theatre. Trans. H. D. Albright. Man is the Measure of All Things. Trans. Barnard Hewitt. Books of the Theatre Ser., No. 2. Coral Gables: U of Miami P, 1960.

Appignanesi, Lisa. Cabaret. New York: Grove P, 1984.

Ausschuss zur Gründung eines Vereins zur Erhaltung der Methode Jaques-Dalcroze in Deutschland. Der Genfer Protest und Jaques-Dalcroze: Die Tatsachen über die Lostrennung der Bildungsanstalt von ihrem bisherigen künstlerischen Leiter Jaques-Dalcroze dargestellt auf Grund der schriftlichen Unterlagen. [Committee for the Establishment of a Society for the Conservation of the Jaques-Dalcroze Method in Germany. The Genevan Protest and Jaques-Dalcroze: The Facts About the Separation from the Bildungsanstalt of its Previous Artistic Leader Jaques-Dalcroze, Depicted on the Basis of the Written Information.] Berlin: Winckelmann, n.d.

Bablet, Denis, and Marie-Louise Bablet. Adolphe Appia, 1862-1928: actor - space light. Zurich: Pro Helvetia; London: Calder; New York: Riverrun, 1982.

Beacham, Richard C. Adolphe Appia: Artist and Visionary of the Modern Theatre. Contemporary Theatre Studies, v. 6. Reading, UK: Harwood, 1994.

Berchtold, Alfred. "Émile Jaques-Dalcroze et Son Temps." Martin 27-158.

Bertrand, Jean-Félix, and Paulet Thévenaz. Gymnastique Rythmique. Paris: A. Tolmer & Cie., n.d.

Brunet-Lecomte, Hélène. Jaques-Dalcroze: Sa vie, Son oeuvre. Pref. by Paul Chaponnière. Geneva, Paris: Jeheber, 1950.

Caldwell, J. Timothy. Expressive Singing: Dalcroze Eurhythmics for Voice. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1995.

Carnicke, Sharon M. Stanislavsky in Focus. Russian Theatre Archive, v. 17. Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998.

---. "Re: Stanislavsky/Dalcroze Connection." E-mail to the author. May 3, 2002.

Christen, Ernest. Ysaÿe. Preface by Émile Jaques-Dalcroze. Geneva: Editions Labor et Fides, 1946.

Claudel, Paul. Claudel on the Theatre. Ed. Jacques Petit and Jean-Pierre Kempf. Trans. Christine Trollope. Coral Gables: U of Florida P., 1972; Mes ideés sur le Théâtre. Paris: Gallimard, 1966

Cole, Toby, and Helen Krich Chinoy,eds. Directors on Directing: A Source Book of the Modern Theatre. Rev. ed. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963.

Concise Oxford Dictionary. WordPerfect® Office 2002. Ottawa: Corel Corp., 2001.

Craig, Edward Gordon, ed. The Mask: A Monthly Leaflet of the Art of the Theatre. 8: (1918-1919). Comp. Lorelei F. Guidry. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967.

---, ed. The Mask: A Quarterly Journal of the Art of the Theatre. 5: (1912-1913). Comp. Lorelei F. Guidry. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967.

Curtiss, Mina. Bizet and His World. New York: Knopf, 1958.

De Zoete, Beryl. The Thunder and the Freshness. "A Tribute to My Master, Jaques-Dalcroze." Ed. Arthur Waley. New York: Theatre Arts, 1963.

Dénes, Tibor. "Chronologie." Martin 11-26.

Divoire, Fernand. Pour la Danse. Paris: Éditions de la Danse, 1935.

Dresdner Hefte, No. 51. Gartenstadt Hellerau: Der Alltag einer Utopie. Dresden: Dresdner Geschichtsverein, 3/97.

Duncan, Isadora. Isadora Speaks. Ed. and intro. Franklin Rosemont. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1981.

Guidry, Lorelei. Index and Introduction to *The Mask*. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968.

Hamilton, Edith. Mythology. New York: Mentor/NAL, 1940, 1942.

Hecht, Patsy Ann Clark. Kinetic Techniques for the Actor: an Analysis and Comparison of the Movement Training Systems of Francois Delsarte, Émile Jaques-Dalcroze, and Rudolf Laban. Diss. Wayne State U, 1971. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1972. 7214569.

Hodgson, John. Mastering Movement: The Life and Work of Rudolf Laban. New York: Theatre Arts/Routledge, 2001.

Jaques-Dalcroze, Émile. Eurhythmics, Art and Education. Trans. Frederick Rothwell. London: Chatto & Windus, 1930.

---. La Musique et Nous: Notes sur notre double vie. Geneva: Perret-Gentil, 1945.

---. Méthode Jaques-Dalcroze: Exercices de Plastique Animée. Vol. 1. Lausanne: Jobin & Cie., 1916.

---. Notes Bariolées. Genève, Paris: Jeheber, 1948.

---. Rhythm, Music, and Education. Trans. Harold F. Rubinstein. New York: Putnam/Knickerbocker P., 1921.

---. Souvenirs: Notes et Critiques. Neuchâtel, Paris: Attinger, 1942.

---, and Paul Boepple. Der Rhythmus als Erziehungsmittel für das Leben und die Kunst: Sechs Vortrage von E. Jaques-Dalcroze zur Begründung seiner Methode der rhythmischen Gymnastik. Ed. Paul Boepple. Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1907.

Kirstein, Lincoln. Dance: A Short History of Classical Theatrical Dancing. New York: Dance Horizons, 1969; Putnam, 1935.

Laban, Rudolf. A Life for Dance: Reminiscences. Trans. Lisa Ullmann. London: MacDonald & Evans, 1975.

Lawrence, D.H. Women in Love. "XIV: Water-Party." 1920 [ms.1916]. Intro. Louis Menand. New York: Bantam, 1996.

Levitz, Tamara. "In the Footsteps of Eurydice: Gluck's *Orpheus und Eurydice* in Hellerau, 1913." Echo: a music-centered journal, 3.2 (Fall 2001) : 34 pars. Online. Internet. 23 Apr 2003. Available: www.echo.ucla.edu.

Lussy, Mathis. Le Rythme Musical: Son Origine, Sa Fonction et Son Accentuation (Second Edition). Paris: Heugel et Cie, 1884.

---. L'Anacrouse dans la Musique Moderne. Paris: Heugel, 1903.

Magriel, Paul, ed. Nijinsky, Pavlova, Duncan: Three Lives in Dance. New York: Da Capo P, 1977.

Martin, Frank. Ed. and Preface. Émile Jaques-Dalcroze: L'homme, le Compositeur, le Créateur de la Rythmique. Neuchâtel: Baconnière, 1965.

Melzner, Annabelle Henkin. Dada and Surrealist Performance. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1994.

Moore, Stephen F. The Writings of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze: Toward a Theory for the Performance of Musical Rhythm. Diss. Indiana U, 1992. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1993. 9301500.

Nijinska, Bronislava. Bronislava Nijinska: Early Memoirs. Trans. and ed. Irina Nijinska and Jean Rawlinson. Intro. Anna Kisselgoff. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981.

Nijinsky. Dir. Herbert Ross. *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* recon. William Chapell and Elisabeth Schooling. Videocassette. Paramount, 1980.

Odom, Selma. "Meeting Suzanne Perrottet." American Dalcroze Journal 28.3 (Spring/Summer 2002) : 6-8.

---. "Suzanne Perrottet: Writing a Teacher's Career." American Dalcroze Journal 29:2 (Winter/Spring 2003) : 4-6.

Orpheus and Eurydice. Dir. David Thomas. Choreo. Selma Odom. Dramaturg. Richard C. Beacham. U of Warwick, U.K., Festival of Switzerland in Britain. Videocassette. Films for the Humanities, 1992.

Perrottet, Suzanne. Ein Bewegtes Leben. Ed. and image selection by Giorgio J. Wolfensberger. Berlin: Beltz Quadriga, 1995.

Pennington, Jo. The Importance of Being Rhythmic: A Study of the Principles of Dalcroze Eurythmics Applied to General Education and to the Arts of Music, Dancing and Acting. Based on and Adapted from "Rhythm, Music and Education" by Émile Jaques-Dalcroze. Intro. Walter Damrosch. New York: Knickerbocker P/ Putnam, 1925.

Perloff, Nancy. Art and the Everyday: Popular Entertainment and the Circle of Erik Satie. Oxford: Clarendon P/Oxford UP, 1991.

Rambert, Marie. Quicksilver: The Autobiography of Marie Rambert. London: Macmillan, 1972.

Rogers, Clark. The Influence of Dalcroze Eurhythmics in the Contemporary Theatre. Diss. Louisiana State University and A&M College, 1966. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1967. 6701183.

Rudlin, John. Jacques Copeau. Directors in Perspective Ser. Gen. ed. Christopher Innes. Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1986.

Schneider, Ilya Ilyich. Isadora Duncan: The Russian Years. Trans. David Magarshack. Foreword: Frederick Ashton. New York: Da Capo P, 1981; Harcourt, Brace, 1968

Shattuck, Roger. The Banquet Years: the Origins of the Avant-Garde in France, 1885 to World War I. Rev. ed. New York: Vintage/ Knopf, 1968.

Shaw, [George] Bernard, and Beatrice Stella Tanner. Bernard Shaw and Mrs. Patrick Campbell: Their Correspondence. Ed. Alan Dent. New York: Knopf, 1952.

Shawn, Ted. Dance We Must. New York: Haskell House, 1974.

Shelton, Suzanne. Ruth St. Denis: A Biography of the Divine Dancer. American Studies Ser. Austin: U of Texas P, 1990.

Simonson, Lee. The Stage is Set. 1932. New York: Theatre Arts, 1963.

Sinclair, Upton. World's End. New York: Literary Guild, 1940.

Slonimsky, Nicolas, ed. The Concise Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians. New York: Schirmer/Macmillan, 1988.

Spector, Irwin. Rhythm and Life: The Work of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze. Dance and Music Ser., No. 3. Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon P, 1992

Stadler, Edmond. "Jaques-Dalcroze et Adolphe Appia." Martin 413-459.

Storck, Karl. E. Jaques-Dalcroze: Seine Stellung und Aufgabe in unserer Zeit. Stuttgart: Druck, 1912.

Volbach, Walther R. Adolphe Appia, Prophet of the Modern Theatre: A Profile. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan U P, 1968.

Willis-Aarnio, Peggy. Agrippina Vaganova (1879-1951): Her Place in the History of Ballet and Her Impact on the Future of Classical Dance. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen P, 2002.

Wigman, Mary. The Mary Wigman Book: Her Writings. Ed. and trans. Walter Sorell. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan U P, 1973, 1975.

Works Consulted

Abdel-latif, Mahmoud. Rhythmic Space and Rhythmic Movement: the Adolphe Appia/Jaques-Dalcroze Collaboration. Diss. The Ohio State U., 1988. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1989. 8907181.

Abramson, Robert M. Feel It! Rhythm Games for All. Miami: Warner Bros., 1997.

---. Rhythm Games for Perception and Cognition. Rev. ed. Miami: Volkwein Bros./Warner Bros., 1997.

Acocella, Joan. Mark Morris. New York: FSG, 1993.

Ambrosio, Nora. Learning About Dance: an Introduction to Dance as an Art Form and Entertainment. Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt, 1997.

Anderson, Jack. Choreography Observed. Iowa City, IA: U of Iowa P, 1987.

Artaud, Antonin. "States of Mind: 1921-1945." Trans. Ruby Cohn. Tulane Drama Review 8:2 (Winter 1963) : 30-73.

---. The Theatre and its Double. Trans. Mary Caroline Richards. New York: Grove P, 1958.

---. The Theatre and its Double. Trans. Victor Corti. London: Calder, 1993.

Barba, Eugenio. The Paper Canoe: A Guide to Theatre Anthropology. Trans. Richard Fowler. London: Routledge, 1995.

---. Theatre: Solitude, Craft, Revolt. Ed. Lluís Masgrau. Trans. Judy Barba and Richard Fowler. Aberystwyth, Wales: 1999.

---. "Theatre Laboratory 13 Rzedow." Tulane Drama Review 9:3 (Spring 1965) : 153-171.

---, and Nicola Savarese. A Dictionary of Theatre Anthropology: The Secret Art of the Performer. Ed. and comp. Richard Gough. Trans. Richard Fowler. London: Routledge, 1991.

Barber, Stephen. Antonin Artaud: Blows and Bombs. London: Faber, 1993.

Barish, Jonas. The Anti-theatrical Prejudice. Berkeley: U of CA P, 1981.

Barker, Barbara. "Nijinsky's Jeux." The Drama Review 26:1 (Spring 1982) : 51-60.

Barrault, Jean-Louis. Memories for Tomorrow: The Memoirs of Jean-Louis Barrault. 1972. Trans. Jonathan Griffin. New York: Dutton, 1974.

---. Reflections on the Theatre. 1949. Trans. Barbara Wall. London: Rockliff, 1951.

Beacham, Richard C. Adolphe Appia, Theatre artist. Directors in Perspective Ser. Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1987.

---. The Design of Modern Theatre: Adolphe Appia's Innovations. Videocassette. Prod. Rikki Holland and H.H. Productions. ©U of Warwick, 1991. Films for the Humanities & Sciences, 1993.

---, et al. Adolphe Appia ou le renouveau de l'esthétique théâtrale: dessins et esquisses de décors. Lausanne: Éditions Payot, 1992.

Blair, Fredrika. Isadora: Portrait of the Artist as a Woman. New York: Quill/Morrow, 1986.

Blitz Latin, Version 1.37. Latin Dictionary v. 1.97 and code : William A Whitaker. C++ code and Artificial Intelligence by John F. White. 2001.

Bode, Rudolf. Expression-Gymnastics. Trans. Sonya Forthal and Elizabeth Waterman. New York: A.S. Barnes, 1931.

Boleslavsky, Richard. Acting: the First Six Lessons. New York: Theatre Arts, 1933.

Braun, Edward. Meyerhold: A Revolution in Theatre. Iowa City, IA: U of Iowa P, 1995.

---, ed. Meyerhold on Theatre. Trans. Edward Braun. New York: H & W, FSG, 1969.

Brestoff, Richard. The Great Acting Teachers and Their Methods. Lyme, NH: Smith and Kraus, 1995.

Brown, Frederick. Theater and Revolution: the Culture of the French Stage. New York: Viking, 1980.

Burt, Ramsay. Alien Bodies: Representations of modernity, 'race' and nation in early modern dance. London: Routledge, 1998.

Caldwell, Helen. Michio Ito: the Dancer and his Dances. Berkeley: U of CA P, 1977.

Campbell, Joseph. Myths to Live By. New York: Bantam, 1973.

Carlson, Marvin. Performance: a Critical Introduction. London: Routledge, 1996.

Carlton, Elizabeth B., and Phyllis S. Weikart. Guide to Rhythmically Moving 1. Ypsilanti, MI: High/Scope Press, 1996.

Chekhov, Michael. On the Technique of Acting. Ed. and intro. Mel Gordon. New York: HarperPerennial, 1991.

Chekhov, Michael. Michael Chekhov's To the Director and the Playwright. Comp. Charles Leonard. 1963. New York: Limelight, 1984.

Cheney, Sheldon. The Art Theater. Rev. ed. New York: Knopf, 1925.

Chujoy, Anatole. The Dance Encyclopedia. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1949.

Cohen, Selma Jeanne. Dance as a Theatre Art: Source Readings in Dance History from 1581 to the Present. Princeton, NJ: Dance Horizons, Princeton Bk. Co., 1992.

Cole, Toby, and Helen Krich Chinoy, eds. Actors on Acting: The Theories, Techniques, and Practices of the World's Great Actors, Told in Their Own Words. New York: Crown, 1970.

Copeau, Jaques. "Visites à Gordon Craig, Jaque-Dalcroze [sic] et Adolphe Appia (1915), extraits des 'Registres' de Jaques Copeau." Revue d'Histoire du Théatre 15:4 (Octobre-Décembre 1963) : 357-74.

Copland, Aaron. Music and Imagination. Cambridge: Harvard U P, 1952; New York: Mentor/NAL, 1959.

Craig, Edward. Gordon Craig. New York: Knopf, 1968.

Craig, Edward Gordon. On the Art of the Theatre. New York: Theatre Arts, 1956; London: Heinemann, 1980.

---, ed. The Mask: A Quarterly Journal of the Art of the Theatre. 7: 1 (July 1914). Comp. Lorelei F. Guidry. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967.

Creese, Robb. "Anthroposophical Performance." The Drama Review 22.2 (June 1978) : 45-74.

"Dalcroze Explains His Method." The Literary Digest 78: 9 (Sep. 1, 1923) : 31-32.

Daly, Ann. Done Into Dance: Isadora Duncan in America. Bloomington: Indiana U P, 1995.

Davies, John Booth. The Psychology of Music. Stanford, CA: Stanford U P, 1978.

De Mille, Agnes. Dance to the Piper. Boston: Little, Brown, 1951.

---. Martha. New York: Random, 1991.

Decroux, Étienne. Paroles sur le mime. Collection Pratique du Théâtre. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1963.

---. Words on Mime. Trans. Mark Piper. Pomona, CA: Mime Journal, 1985.

Delamosne, M. L'Abbé. Pratique de L'Art Oratoire de Delsarte. Paris: Albanel, 1874.

Delsarte System of Oratory. Fourth ed. New York: Werner, 1893.

Dickinson, Hugh. Myth on the Modern Stage. Urbana: U of IL P, 1969.

Dobbs, Jack. "Emile Jaques-Dalcroze." Some Great Music Educators: A Collection of Essays. Gen. ed. Kenneth Simpson. Borough Green, UK: Novello,1976.

Dolin, Anton. Pas de Deux: the Art of Partnering. New York: Dover, 1969.

Draper, Muriel. Music at Midnight. New York: Harper, 1929.

Duncan, Dorée, Carol Pratl, and Cynthia Splatt, eds. Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World. Foreword by Agnes de Mille. New York: Norton. 1993.

Duncan, Isadora. The Art of the Dance. 1928. Ed. and intro. Sheldon Cheney. New York: Theatre Arts, 1969.

---. My Life. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1927.

Dutoit, Claire-Lise. Music Movement Therapy. Trans. Muriel Anderson, et al. London: The Dalcroze Society, 1971.

Ellis, Sylvia C. The Plays of W.B. Yeats: Yeats and the Dancer. New York: St. Martin's, 1995.

Eynat-Confino, Irène. Beyond the Mask: Gordon Craig, Movement, and the Actor. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois U P., 1987.

Farnsworth, Paul R. The Social Psychology of Music. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State U P, 1969.

Fletcher, Ifan Kyrle, and Arnold Rood. Edward Gordon Craig: A Bibliography. London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1967.

Findlay, Elsa. Rhythm and Movement: Applications of Dalcroze Eurhythmics. Miami: Summy-Birchard Music, 1971.

Fowler, H. W. A Dictionary of Modern English Usage. Second ed. Oxford: Oxford U P, 1965

Giertz, Gernot. Kultus Ohne Götter: Emile Jaques-Dalcroze und Adolphe Appia. Der Versuch einer Theaterreform auf der Grundlage der Rhythmischen Gymnastik. München: Kommissionsverlag J. Kitzinger, 1975.

Gordon, Mel. "German Expressionist Acting." The Drama Review 19:3 (September 1975) : 34-50.

Graham, Martha. Blood Memory: An Autobiography. New York: Doubleday, 1991.

Gorter, Nina. Rhythmus und Sprache. Berlin: Winckelmann & Söhne, 1915.

Gropius, Walter and Arthur S. Wensinger, eds. The Theater of the Bauhaus. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1996; Wesleyan, 1961.

Grossman, Harvey. "Gordon Craig and the Actor." Chrysalis. Vol. VI (1953) : Nos. 7-8.

Gluck, Christoph Willibald. *Orpheus and Eurydice*: The Appia Staging. Videocassette. Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1992.

Hansen, Martha Alice. Isadora Duncan: a Literary Inquiry into the Somatic Foundations of Her Art, Life, and Ideology During the Early Years--1900-1914. Diss. Temple U., 1988. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1988. 8818795.

Hartnoll, Phyllis. A Concise History of the Theatre. New York: Scribners, 1968.

Haskell, Arnold, and Walter Nouvel. Diaghileff: His Artistic and Private Life. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1935.

Hodgson, John, and Valerie Preston-Dunlop. Rudolf Laban: An Introduction to his Work and Influence. Plymouth, UK: Northcote House, 1990.

Humphrey, Doris. The Art of Making Dances. New York: Grove, 1959.

Innes, Christopher. Edward Gordon Craig: A Vision of Theatre. Contemporary Theatre Studies, v. 28. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998.

Jaques-Dalcroze, Émile. Émile Jaques-Dalcroze: Vol I: Chant et piano. Perf. Audrey Michael, Philippe Huttenlocher, Brigitte Meyer. Disques VDE-GALLO, 2000.

---. Émile Jaques-Dalcroze: Vol II: Musique de chambre. Perf. Ensemble Stanislas. Disques VDE-GALLO, 2000.

---. "Eurhythmics and Its Implications." Musical Quarterly 16.3 (July 1930) : 358-65.

---. "La Rythmique, la Plastique Animée et la Danse." Pages d'Art 5. (May 1916) : 81-93.

---, John Harvey, Percy Ingham, et al. The Eurhythmics of Jaques-Dalcroze. Boston: Small, Maynard, 1915.

Jourdain, Robert. Music, the Brain, and Ecstasy. New York: Morrow, 1997.

Jowitt, Deborah. Time and the Dancing Image. Berkeley: U of CA P, 1988.

Karsavina, Tamara. Theatre Street. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1931.

Kavanagh, Julie. Secret Muses: The Life of Frederick Ashton. New York: Pantheon, 1996.

Kendall, Elizabeth. Where She Danced. New York: Knopf, 1979.

Kerner, Mary. Barefoot to Balanchine. New York: Anchor/Doubleday, 1990.

Kinney, Troy and Margaret West Kinney. The Dance: its place in art and life. New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1914.

Kirby, E.T. "Delsarte: Three Frontiers." The Drama Review 16:1 (March 1972) : 55-69.

Langer, Susanne K. Philosophy in a New Key: A Study in the Symbolism of Reason, Rite, and Art. Third edition. Cambridge, MA: Harvard U P, 1957.

Lawrence, W.J. The Life of Gustavus Vaughn Brooke, Tragedian. Belfast: Baird, 1892.

Leabhart, Thomas. Modern and Post-Modern Mime. New York: St. Martin's, 1997.

Leigh, Barbara Kusler. "Jacques Copeau's School for Actors." Mime Journal, 9 & 10. Allendale, MI: Performing Arts Ctr., Grand Valley St. Colleges., 1979.

Leonard, William. "Loie Fuller's Contributions to Stage Lighting." Thesis. Texas Tech U., 1964.

Lernout & Hauspie. Simply Translating Deluxe, Ver.3. CD-ROM. 1999.

Loewenthal, Lillian. The Search for Isadora: The Legend and Legacy of Isadora Duncan. Pennington, N.J.: Dance Horizons, Princeton Bk. Co., 1993.

Lussy, Mathis. De l'Accent Esthétique. [8 page leaflet] Lausanne: Vaney-Burnier, n.d.

---. Die Kunst des musikalischen Vortrags: Anleitung zur ausdrucksvollen Betonung und Tempoführung in der Vocal- und Instrumentalmusik. Trans. Felix Vogt. Leipzig: Leuckart, 1886.

---. Traité de l'Expression Musicale: Accents, Nuances et Mouvements dans la Musique Vocale et Instrumentale. Paris: Heugel et Cie., 1874

MacGowan, Kenneth. The Theatre of Tomorrow. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1921.

Magarshack, David. Stanislavsky: A Life. London: Faber and Faber, 1986.

Magriel, Paul, ed. Nijinsky, Pavlova, Duncan: Three Lives in Dance. New York: Da Capo P, 1977.

Maynard, Olga. American Modern Dancers: The Pioneers. Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1965.

Manning, Susan A. Ecstasy and the Demon: Feminism and Nationalism in the Dances of Mary Wigman. Berkeley: U of CA P, 1993.

---, and Melissa Benson. "Interrupted Continuities: Modern Dance in Germany." The Drama Review 30:2 (Summer 1986) : 30-45.

Mellers, Wilfrid. Caliban Reborn: Renewal in Twentieth-Century Music. World Perspectives Ser. Ruth Nanda Anshen, gen. ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1967.

Miller, Hugh M. History of Music. Fourth ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.

---. Introduction to Music: A Guide to Good Listening. Second ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1978.

Moderwell, Hiram Kelly. The Theatre of Today. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1928.

Moholy-Nagy, Laszlo. Vision in Motion. Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1969.

Morris, Gay. "la loie." Dance Magazine, August 1977: 36-41.

New Oxford Dictionary of English. CD-ROM. SelectSoft Pub., 2002, Oxford U P, 2001, iFinger Ltd., 2001

Nietzsche, Friedrich. The Birth of Tragedy. Trans. Clifton P. Fadiman. New York: Dover Thrift, 1995.

Nijinska, Bronislava. Bronislava Nijinska: Early Memoirs. Ed. and trans. by Irina Nijinska and Jean Rawlinson. Intro. Anna Kisselgoff. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981.

Nijinsky, Romola. Nijinsky. Foreword by Paul Claudel. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1934.

Nijinsky, Vaslav. The Diary of Vaslav Nijinsky. Ed. Romola Nijinsky. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1936; Berkeley: U of CA P, 1968.

---. The Diary of Vaslav Nijinsky. Ed. Joan Acocella. Trans. Kyril Fitzlyon. New York: FSG, 1999.

Odom, Maggie. "Mary Wigman: the Early Years,1913-1925." The Drama Review 24:4 (December 1980) : 81-92.

Odom, Selma Landen. "Suzanne Perrottet: Writing a Teacher's Career." American Dalcroze Journal 29:1 (Fall/Winter 2002) : 4-6.

---. "Wigman at Hellerau." Ballet Review 14:2 (Summer 1986) : 41-53.

Oxford English Dictionary. Compact Ed. Oxford: Oxford U P, 1971.

Piaget, Jean. The Child's Conception of the World. Trans. Joan and Andrew Tomlinson. Totowa, NJ: Littlefield, Adams, 1972.

Poplawski, Thomas. Eurythmy: Rhythm, Dance and Soul. Hudson, NY: Anthroposophic P, 1998.

Pötschke, Margot. Zeige, was du hörst: Spiellieder aus der Praxis der rhythmisch-musikalischen Erziehung fur Kindergarten und Grundschule. Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1960.

Raffé, Marjorie, Cecil Harwood, and Marguerite Lundgren. Eurythmy and the Impulse of Dance. Bristol, GB: Rudolf Steiner P, 1974.

Rambert, Marie. Quicksilver: The Autobiography of Marie Rambert. London: Macmillan, 1972.

Richards, Thomas. At Work with Grotowski on Physical Actions. London: Routledge, 1995.

Reinhardt, Gottfried. The Genius: A Memoir of Max Reinhardt. New York: Knopf, 1979.

Roach, Joseph. "Reconstructing Theatre/History." Theatre Topics 9.1 (March 1999) : 3-10.

Rudolf Steiner Press, George Adams, John Davy, et al. A Man Before Others: Rudolf Steiner Remembered. Bristol, GB: Rudolf Steiner P, 1993.

Ruyter, Nancy Lee Chalfa. The Cultivation of Body and Mind in Nineteenth-Century American Delsartism. Contributions to the Study of Music and Dance Ser., No. 56. Westport, CT: Greenwood P, 1999.

Le Rythme. 1:1 (Juin 1916). Geneva: l'Institut Jaques-Dalcroze.

Schall, Janice Joan. Rhythm and Art in Germany, 1900-1930. Diss. U. of Texas at Austin, 1989. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1989. 8920833.

Schlundt, Christena L. The Role of Ruth St. Denis in the History of American Dance, 1906-1922. Diss. Claremont Grad. U., 1959. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1959. 5904428.

Schmidt, Paul, ed. Meyerhold at Work. Trans. Paul Schmidt, Ilya Levin, and Vern McGee. New York: Applause, 1996.

Schnebly-Black, Julia, and Stephen F. Moore. The Rhythm Inside: Connecting Body, Mind, and Spirit Through Music. Portland, OR: Rudra P, 1997.

Schrade, Leo. Tragedy in the Art of Music. Cambridge, MA: Harvard U P, 1964.

Schwartz, Hillel. The Culture of the Copy: Striking Likenesses, Unreasonable Facsimiles. New York: Zone Books, 1996.

Searle, Humphrey. Ballet Music: An Introduction. Second Ed. New York: Dover, 1973.

Seidel, Arthur. Die Hellerauer Schulfeste und die Bildungsanstalt Jaques-Dalcroze. Deutsche Musikbücherei, Vol. 2. Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, n.d.

Selden, Elizabeth. Elements of the Free Dance. New York: A.S. Barnes, 1930.

Shaw, [George] Bernard. Collected Letters 1911-1925. Ed. Dan H. Laurence. New York: Viking, 1985.

Shawn, Ted. Every Little Movement, Second Edition. Pittsfield, Mass: Eagle Printing, 1963.

Sherman, Jane and Norton Owen. "Martha Graham & Ted Shawn." Dance Magazine 69:7 (July 1995) : 42-45.

Siegel, Marcia B. The Shapes of Change: Images of American Dance. Berkeley: U of CA P, 1979.

Sokolova, Lydia. Dancing for Diaghilev. London: John Murray, 1960. San Francisco: Mercury House, 1989.

Spector, Irwin. "Bring Back Dalcroze." The American Music Teacher (June-July 1972) : 19-21.

Stanislavski, Constantin. An Actor Prepares. Trans. Elizabeth Reynolds Hapgood. 1936. New York: Routledge/Theatre Arts, 1989.

---. Building a Character. Trans. Elizabeth Reynolds Hapgood. 1949. New York: Routledge/Theatre Arts, 1977.

---. Creating a Role. Trans. Elizabeth Reynolds Hapgood. 1961. New York: Routledge/Theatre Arts, 1989.

---. My Life in Art. Trans. J.J. Robbins. 1924. New York: Routledge/ Theatre Arts, 1996.

Stebbins, Genevieve. Delsarte System of Expression, Third Edition. New York: Edgar S. Werner, 1889.

---. Dynamic Breathing and Harmonic Gymnastics, Second Edition. New York: Edgar S. Werner, 1892.

Steegmuller, Francis. "Your Isadora" . the love story of Isadora Duncan and Gordon Craig. New York: Random, 1974.

Stokesbury, James L. A Short History of World War I. New York: Morrow Quill, 1981.

Strasberg, Lee. A Dream of Passion: the Development of The Method. New York: Plume/Penguin, 1988.

Stravinsky, Igor, and Robert Craft. Conversations With Igor Stravinsky. Garden City: Doubleday, 1959.

---. Igor Stravinsky: An Autobiography. N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, 1936; Steuer, 1958.

Storr, Anthony. Music and the Mind. New York: Ballantine, 1992.

Taxidou, Olga. The Mask: A Periodical Performance by Edward Gordon Craig. Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998.

Terry, Walter. The Dance in America. Rev. ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1971.

---. Miss Ruth: the "More Living Life" of Ruth St. Denis. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1969.

Thomas, Nathan. Dalcroze Eurhythmics and Rhythm Training for Actors in American Universities. Diss. Michigan State U., 1995. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1996. 9605956.

"To Make Our Lives Rhythmic." The Literary Digest 47:21 (Nov. 22, 1913) : 1006-07.

Tomko, Linda J. Dancing Class: Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Divides in American Dance, 1890-1920. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1999.

Tuchman, Barbara W. The Guns of August. New York: Bantam, 1976.

Ustinov, Peter. Dear Me. New York: Penguin, 1978.

Vaganova, Agrippina. Basic Principles of Classical Ballet: Russian Ballet Technique. Trans. Anatole Chujoy. 1953. New York: Dover, 1969.

Van den Toorn, Pieter C. Stravinsky and *The Rite of Spring*: The Beginnings of a Musical Language. Berkeley: U of Cal. P, 1987.

Vanderspar, Elizabeth. Dalcroze Handbook: Principles and Guidelines for Teaching Eurhythmics. London: The Dalcroze Society, 1992.

Vendrovskaya, Lyubov, and Galina Kaptereva, compilers. Evgeny Vakhtangov. Trans. Doris Bradbury. Moscow: Progress P, 1982.

Volbach, Walther R. Adolphe Appia. Prophet of the Modern Theatre: A Profile. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan U P, 1968.

Wagner, Richard. The Ring of the Nibelung. Trans. Andrew Porter. New York: Norton, 1977.

Wangh, Stephen. An Acrobat of the Heart. New York: Vintage, 2000.

Wax, Edith E. Dalcroze Dimensions. Roslyn, NY: n.p., n.d.

Webster's New World Dictionary. Second Coll. Ed. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.

Welsford, Enid. The Fool: His Social and Literary History. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1936.

Wigman, Mary. The Language of Dance. Trans. Walter Sorell. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan U P, 1966.

Willett, John. The Theatre of the Weimar Republic. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1988.

Woodward, Ian. Ballet. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1977.

Zorn, John. The Essential Delsarte. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow P, 1968.

APPENDIX A
SOME NOTES ON SOURCES

I had the good fortune to speak several times with Dr. Stephen F. Moore of the Oberlin Conservatory of Music in the summer of the year 2000. I encountered him at both the Dalcroze Society of America national conference in Ohio, and at the Carnegie Mellon University Dalcroze Summer Workshops in Pittsburgh. Dr. Moore is a licensed Dalcroze teacher and at the time of our meetings was the outgoing president of the Dalcroze Society of America. His doctoral dissertation was on Dalcroze's writings. [Stephen F. Moore, "The Writings of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze: Toward a Theory for the Performance of Musical Rhythm." Diss. Indiana U, 1992.]

When I talked with Dr. Moore about the breadth of my topic he suggested that I consult several collections of Dalcroze's textual work that had been compiled and published between 1940 and 1950. I told him that I had set the historical limit of 1915, and he assured me that, in spite of their late compilation, Dalcroze's writings included philosophical and biographical notes in addition to theoretic and critical reflections back to the early years of the development of *la rythmique.*

I also visited the Irwin Spector Collection at the Lawrence and Lee Performing Arts Library at The Ohio State University. I found that many of the materials recommended by Dr. Moore had been collected by Spector for his 1992 book on Dalcroze. However, due to the abundance of material, it was impractical either to stay there long enough either to read or to copy everything that seemed to bear on my research. There were German sources in the Spector papers that I secured copies of, and I also bought enough pages of several of the French sources to be able to start on the job of primary research.

Using the recommendations from Dr. Moore and having seen the books Spector had used, by searching on the worldwide web I found several of Dalcroze's out-of-print and rare titles through French, German, and Swiss book dealers. I found other publications and books by Dalcroze students, colleagues, and critics in Germany, Australia, England, and the United States. Some books were even available as new, including uncut copies of Brunet-Lecomte's biography of her brother at *l'Institut Jaques-Dalcroze* in Geneva.

The age and relative scarcity of the books made their acquisition difficult, but the major impediment to their access was the fact that most had never been commercially translated into English.

Translations of some material was in dissertations, but could be at variance with one another in the same passages (Moore, Hecht and Abdul-Latif). A dissertation from the 1960's (Rogers) had simply transcribed the French citations and offered no other meaning except what could be gathered from the English context. These experiences led me to two conclusions: I decided to do my own translations and I also decided to include the original passages for the sake of future scholarship. After completing my translations, for verification, I then compared my sense with some other dissertations' translations, and also with my committee chair's fluent opinion.

Following are mostly biographical sources. Prospective authorial biases have been noted, and an effort has been made to ascertain that no source is cited with uncritical acceptance.

Rhythm and Life: The Work of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze is the only full-length Émile Jaques-Dalcroze biography in English. Irwin Spector was originally inspired by the Dalcroze centenary in 1965, and worked on his book for nearly twenty-five years. During his term of writing he consulted with the eurhythmics and rythmique establishments, met and corresponded with administrators and teachers who had been

trained by Dalcroze, and even made contact with some original students and teachers who are distinguished by having worked with Dalcroze in the period of 1900-1914, in Switzerland and/or Germany.

However, *Rhythm and Life* features abundant editorial errors, creating a radiating lack of trust in Spector's claims of fact. I found only one obvious factual error, based on my previous knowledge of a figure whose work is prominent in acting theory. However, that error called my attention to important and previously unconsidered truths: I knew nothing more about Dalcroze than I was being told, and I had no independent gauge of what actually was a fact.

My reservations about Spector compelled me to investigate the other, mostly French, sources. Spector readers must consistently, if not constantly, cross-check facts to assure that references are firm, and that any unsubstantiated claims are verified through multiple other sources.

That said, *Rhythm and Life* is the first book that I read about Dalcroze, and Spector must receive the credit for calling my attention to Dalcroze, and making me aware of the possibility that his work was more than just a one hundred year old art fad. *Rhythm and Life* is the only book-form compendium in English calling attention to previously little-known musical connections with the modern performing arts.

In a process reminiscent of Hollywood bio-pics of the 1930s and 1940s, hindsight seems to imbue all recollected moments with a disproportionate significance. Especially near the end of a great, impressive, or notable person's life, each cited incident is seen as an essential milestone in the journey of the figure towards their already obvious fame. Each strength for which Émile came to be known has been enshrined by his biographers as a pivotal point in his life.

Other, possibly more definitive biographic materials on Émile Jaques-Dalcroze (some of them also used by Spector) are found mostly

in French (*la Suisse romande*, or *la romande* The term also applies to the regions of Switzerland where that dialect or language is spoken.)

Most prominent among these sources are: Brunet-Lecomte, H. *Jaques-Dalcroze: Sa vie, son oeuvre*. Édition Jeheber, Genève, Paris, 1950, written by Dalcroze's younger sister, Hélène Brunet-Lecomte; and *Émile Jaques-Dalcroze: l'homme, le compositeur, le createur de la rhythmique* (1965), a six-author compilation, which was devised for the Dalcroze centenary celebration in Switzerland. This weighty volume, only partly biographical, was introduced and edited by Frank Martin, then the president of Geneva's Institut Jaques-Dalcroze. The narrative biography included in the Martin book, and published on its own in 2000, is *Émile Jaques-Dalcroze et son Temps* by Alfred Berchtold.

Brunet-Lecomte's book contains many tales of E.J-D's childhood (some stories repeated from their parents' accounts), letters to his sister, reflections on his and their travels, and other memoirs. This is not an indifferent account of E.J-D's personal and professional development. His sister took part in his various projects, and clearly held great awe, affection, and admiration for her elder brother. This view of Émile was to persist throughout their lives and their numerous collaborations.

Nonetheless, *Jaques-Dalcroze: Sa vie, son oeuvre* is a helpful source for learning about events in which his sister was personally involved, or of which she received reports (including several sensitive letters) directly from him. Her personal insights, though biased, are supplied nowhere else, save in Spector and Berchtold's citations of her work, and some of Dalcroze's observations of himself.

Stylistically, Brunet-Lecomte writes with a construction trying to both chronology and patience. She is conversational, and writes with something akin to a stream-of-consciousness. The stream seems to

apply only to her thought sequencing, since her paragraphs usually are dedicated to a complete thought. When writing a reminiscence she might, it seems quite literally, be reminded of other 'interesting' things without respect for event sequence or chronology.

She may recount an episode she experienced with her brother, and this memory, in turn, may put her in mind of a story her parents told of a time from before she was born. This pattern, combined with the necessity for translating much of the book from the French, makes her Dalcroze biography quite a challenge.

Émile Jaques-Dalcroze: l'homme, le compositeur, le createur de la rhythmique, is also a challenge, but has also become the central published repository of Dalcroze information. It runs to five hundred ninety-five pages, and encompasses the contributions of six authors in addition to the editor.

Alfred Berchtold, noted Swiss historian and author of *La Suisse romande au cap du XX^e siècle*, wrote the narrative biography. His contribution, *Émile Jaques-Dalcroze et son Temps*, now has become a central source for Jaques-Dalcroze biographical information. Berchtold relies heavily on Brunet-Lecomte's biography as a source of early familial and personal details. He quotes other authors, but does not always annotate or reveal the titles or the authors of his sources. In addition, he also uses several primary sources by Jaques-Dalcroze.

Berchtold's most useful contribution is a presentation of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze's artistic, social, and political contexts. Stylistically, Berchtold uses hindsight narrative when presenting information which will later become important. This device seems to be an attempt to produce a literary illusion of predestination. Berchtold, like Brunet-Lecomte, often assumes a reverential attitude towards his subject. In Berchtold's case, however, it is literal. He rhapsodizes on the fact that Émile Jaques-Dalcroze was descended from Calvinist ministers, and

his genes were replete with missionary zeal. A reverent tone and elaborate prose are not clear and present reasons to distrust the accuracy of the facts presented. Oratorical intonation is troubling, though, since it raises readers' suspicions in respect to the author's intent by using such rhetorical ornamentation.

At all times, with both sources, the reader must maintain some minimum level of objectivity, while appreciating the enthusiasm the subject has engendered in his biographers. Rather than disregarding the sources as hopelessly compromised, it must be realized that the claimed, demonstrated, or true zeal is further primary information, which is to be considered when attempting to recognize a subject's influence.

In addition to the major, full-length, post-mortem biographies, Karl Storck, a German music critic, biographer, editor, historian, and "very dear friend" of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze supplied some early (to 1912) biographical details in "Der Mann und das Werk," Chapter 1 of *E. Jaques-Dalcroze: Seine Stellung und Aufgabe in unserer Zeit* (Druck, 1912). Storck's style and citation of several non-facts give suspicion that his enthusiasm may be in excess of judgement and impartiality.

Dalcroze occasionally makes autobiographical references in his books which include: *Der Rhythmus: als Erziehungsmittel für das Leben und die Kunst,* (Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1907); *Rhythm, Music, and Education* (Putnam, 1921), and *Eurhythmics, Art, and Education* (Chatto & Windus, 1930). Only the last two are available in English, and consist mostly of articles published from 1898-1925 in such publications as *La Tribune de Genève, La Semaine Littéraire de Genève, Le Mercure de France, Le Monde Musical, Le Courrier Musical, Le Ménestrel,* and *The Grande Review.* Other notes and memoirs (in no obvious order) can be found in Dalcroze's *Souvenirs, Notes et Critiques*

(Attinger, 1942), *La Musique et Nous* (Perret-Gentil, 1945), and *Notes Bariolées* (Jeheber, 1948).

Ein Bewegtes Leben, something of an autobiography of Suzanne Perrottet, was published in German in 1995. It contains fascinating photographs and copies of memorabilia, letters, newspaper articles, postcards and itineraries. Her Dalcroze years are very prominent, as is her time with Laban in Ascona. Found among her memorabilia are handbills attesting to her participation with Laban, Wigman, Hugo Ball and Emmy Lessner at the Café Voltaire in Zurich during World War I.

Pertinent Scholarship

Music Studies:

Moore, Stephen F. The Writings of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze: Toward a theory for the performance of musical rhythm. Diss. Indiana U, 1992. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1993. 9301500.
Most of the dissertations on Dalcroze are in elementary and preliterate music education. As previously explained, I have used Dr. Moore's dissertation for biographical grounding, and for occasional translation comparison and verification.

Dance Studies:

Hansen, Martha Alice. Isadora Duncan: a Literary Inquiry into the Somatic Foundations of Her Art, Life, and Ideology During the Early Years--1900-1914. Diss. Temple U., 1988. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1988. 8818795.
Much of the dance-related information about Dalcroze is found in traces through various published dance biographies. I discovered no dissertations in dance which focus particularly upon Dalcroze. An animosity grew up between Dalcroze and Duncan, possibly due to his critical writings, and those of his adherents. Duncan's factual base is highly suspect and so I am assaying her ideology and body theory via Dr. Hansen's work.

Schlundt, Christena L. The Role of Ruth St. Denis in the History of American Dance, 1906-1922. Diss. Claremont Grad. U., 1959. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1959. 5904428.
Dr. Schlundt makes particular mention of St. Denis's European tours of 1906-1909, and Ted Shawn's inclusion of Dalcroze exercises in the training regimen of the Denishawn School.

Theatre studies:

Abdel-latif, Mahmoud. Rhythmic Space and Rhythmic Movement: the Adolphe Appia/Jaques-Dalcroze Collaboration. Diss. The Ohio State U., 1988. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1989. 8907181.
At the base of this study is the often unrealized fact that both of these collaborators were coming to their studies of performance from the same tradition: music. Abdel-Latif details attribution of who did what after Dalcroze and Appia met in 1906, and is of the opinion that Appia had received less than full credit from Dalcroze and his family.

Hecht, Patsy Ann Clark. Kinetic Techniques for the Actor: an Analysis and Comparison of the Movement Training Systems of Francois Delsarte, Émile Jaques-Dalcroze, and Rudolf Laban. Diss. Wayne State U, 1971. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1972. 7214569.
Hecht shows relationships between the Delsarte system of oratory and Laban's training of dancers. To some extent Dalcroze is the bridge. He encountered the Delsarte system as an acting student in 1880's Paris, and Laban apparently also had Delsarte classes in Paris around 1902. Laban was a visitor to the Dalcroze schools in the 1910's. Mary Wigman, a licensed *rythmique* teacher, and Suzanne Perrottet left Dalcroze to study with Laban after 1914.

Rogers, Clark. The Influence of Dalcroze Eurhythmics in the Contemporary Theatre. Diss. Louisiana State University and A&M College, 1966. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1967. 6701183.
The work of Dr. Rogers is solid support for the research I am doing relative to theatre. It is a valuable source of early Dalcroze commentary, though some historical sequencing is questionable and Dr. Rogers chose not to provide translations for the reader. Rogers made good use of periodic materials from the 1920's and 30's, and the 'new' work of the Dalcroze centenary (1965). His references include primary sources I learned of or developed with Dr. Moore's guidance.

Thomas, Nathan. Dalcroze Eurhythmics and Rhythm Training for Actors in American Universities. Diss. Michigan State U., 1995. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1996. 9605956.
Dr. Thomas's historical account is not particularly interesting, but he includes model lesson plans for the rhythm training of actors, and makes many suggestions for enhancing standard acting class concepts and exercises by recognizing and emphasizing their rhythmic elements.

Cultural Studies:

Schall, Janice Joan. Rhythm and Art in Germany, 1900-1930. Diss. U. of Texas at Austin, 1989. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1989. 8920833.
This work is a massive investigation, and offers an enlightening section on Dalcroze. Dr. Schall points out his interactions with some objective artists of his day, and also presents interesting threads of the Dalcroze influence that Mary Wigman and the Laban company may have taken into the Cabaret Voltaire during the World War (I).

APPENDIX B

DEFINITION OF THE LAWS OF RHYTHM

[All citations are from: Jaques-Dalcroze, Émile. *La Musique et Nous: Notes sur Notre Double Vie.* Geneva: Perret-Gentil, 1945.]

> Rhythmic gymnastics tries to establish connections between instinctive bodily rhythms and rhythms created by sensibility or by reasoned will[1] (158).

In the above-titled chapter in 1945's La Musique et Nous (155-66), Jaques-Dalcroze sets forth the principles shared by the various methods of gymnastics and then undertakes to define rhythm as applied to the human body.

"The goal of all gymnastics is to awaken and to develop, by means of repeated exercises, the living mechanism of the human object to which it is addressed"[2] (155). By extension, the goal of rhythmic gymnastics was to awaken and develop, through repetition of certain exercises, the complex natural rhythms of the human body.

Dalcroze defines a rhythm as a series of connected movements which form a whole and can be repeated, and he asserts that the fewest number of movements which can make up a rhythm is two.

Though the heart has a two-beat rhythm, the most fundamental two-beat rhythms which the average human can control by volition are breathing and walking. Survival breathing requires no educational intervention. In the instance of walking, however, parents induce the performance of that skill through a practice of "passive gymnastics," as Dalcroze refers to it. Walking on two legs may now be a genetically human aptitude, but it is also an ability which must be learned by observation, failing attempts, and repetition over time before it can become an automatic skill, an "*automatisme.*"

Dalcroze extrapolates/analogizes from this example that there is an entire series of rhythmic movements that humans cannot perform freely (automatically) without a corporal education to prepare and to encompass the whole human body. To Dalcroze, the common method of educating only a child's mentality had become further complicated since, ". . .following the creation of numerous mechanical devices of locomotion, [e.g. streetcars and automobiles] our legs no longer possess their full capabilities of jumping, of crawling, and of 'climbing'"[3] (156-57).

These inhibitions were compounded by the prevailing manner of dress and footwear which interfered with the flexibility of the feet, elbows, shoulders and hips. To Dalcroze, the resistances caused by these multiple cultural impediments had so distorted the mechanisms of the body that the possibility of a natural rediscovery of equilibrium or the sequencing of the muscular and nervous systems became difficult, and frequently had become impossible.

Hygienic and sporting gymnastics of the time helped to restore natural muscular mechanics and rhythms, but not all bodily reactions and sensitivities were centered in the bio-physics of musculature. He saw, for example, that even in everyday life, bad news or other strong emotions caused contractions of the diaphragm which, if persisting, alter cardiac rhythms, lead to mental distraction, and hinder the ability to take effective action. As Dalcroze put it, ". . . a natural rhythm properly executed in one state of mind loses its regularity and ease as soon as that state of mind finds itself altered"[4] (157).

This insight led Dalcroze to reflect that any spontaneous bodily rhythm necessarily must be completed through the collaboration of a synchronized mental rhythm. As a corollary: any change in a mental or physical rhythm requires a shift in the rhythm of the other in order to maintain the essential equilibrium of the twofold system. Failure of

these subsystems to be or to become increasingly synchronous was seen by Dalcroze as evidence of resistance within the nervous system; a frustrated mind contends with an intransigent body, and "from there a disorder in the entire organism, a disharmony of the various parts of the individual, which completely removes from the ensemble of psycho-physical faculties their freedom to function"[5] (157-58).

To Dalcroze, the ease and speed with which a relaxation of the diaphragm could be implemented was directly related to the recovery of all other natural bodily and mental rhythms. With this purpose in mind, eurhythmics exercises have multiple goals:

> 1) by means of . . . sudden commands . . . they provoke the release of spontaneous corporal rhythms in all parts of body;
> 2) by means of constant and diverse appeals to the concentration of the mind, they diminish the harmful action of certain inappropriate rhythms and reinforce the actions of useful rhythms, so as to establish a balance of the nervous centers and muscular dynamics;
> 3) by means of the harmonization of the bodily functions with those of the mind, and to the state of satisfaction and joyful peace resulting from it, they assure the imagination and the feelings their free blossoming.[6] (159)

The developmental procedure of the exercises is to keep the body and the mind "under pressure" to provoke movements, sudden stops, and unpredictable combinations of stops and activity. This ultimately is to condition the mind to choose within the musculature those muscles that are needed for a required action while leaving all others immobile and relaxed. A further purpose of the exercises is to make the nervous system adaptable so that mental commands are immediately and completely performed, with their rhythms combined or separated as required.

Though a student's preparation by exercise is highly disciplined, successfully infused physical and mental skill permits instantaneous evocation of a performer's inventiveness or ability to yield fully to the details of a given situation - and a spectrum of combinations of the two qualities. Both spontaneity and considered reaction are at hand through complete training in psycho-physical fluency. They are equally available ". . . to influence the mind by means of the irresistible impulse of instinctive [bodily] rhythm, as to influence the body by means of the energy of the centers of the will; in a word to penetrate subconscious strengths with conscious influx, and vice-versa[7] (159-60).

It is Dalcroze's premise that music is the supreme agent for a rhythmic education. It is both stimulating and refreshing while acting directly and simultaneously upon the neuro-muscular system and the emotions. To him, music is so fundamental both to the human spirit and experience that he holds it to be an actual rhythmic biography of the human organism's emotional and physical life through time. He even claims that

> The successive transformations of musical rhythms, from century to century, so perfectly correspond to the transformations of character, temperament, and customs, that it is sufficient to play a musical phrase of whatever type of composition to revive the entire mood of the era in which it was composed, and — by the association of ideas — to reawaken in our bodies today the muscular echo of the bodily movements imposed at that time by conventions or social necessities.[8] (160-61)

To put the human body in touch with a forgotten rhythmic past, it is not adequate simply to expose the student to what Dalcroze terms "wild music" (161). It is insufficient for music teachers simply to

introduce the percussion instruments of "the Negroes or the Indians" (161) and to fancy that the student is being put in touch with humanity's musical roots. In Dalcroze's estimation it is vital to study, re-initiate, and re-evolve the entire series of transformations undergone by elementary rhythms through time and its cultural mutations. This re-education is an extended and highly focused process which requires that music teachers know melody and harmony in depth, in addition to their connections with the dynamics of sound and duration. ". . . lessons by and for rhythm will need to be given by masters possessing musical instinct and knowing all the resources of this art"[9] (162). In Dalcroze's sense, the only competent teacher must be a "complete musician" (161).

In the early days of eurythmic presentations, beginning around 1905, various social controversies surrounded both the study and the students' public presentation of the exercises. Disputes ranged from the scandal of students' publicly bare feet, arms, and legs to pseudo-medical controversies claiming that the complexity of the mandatory exercises likely would provoke a cerebral fatigue in young students. Health-oriented discord was discounted for the most part or disproven in the early years of public demonstrations, but the contentions had led Dalcroze to several constructive educational conclusions. Though he asserted that attained equilibrium made fatigue impossible, he did seem to admit, through the following suggestions, to the possible risk of a degree of student weariness before reaching equilibrium. He did bring out particular psycho-physical teaching principals, developed with the help of his friend, the child psychologist Édouard Calparède

Dalcroze stated that the exercises should be metered and orderly, and that they be spread out so that the cerebral never predominated over the physical. Every attempted dissociation and

non-spontaneous movement association was to be preceded by exercises to develop the "automatisms."

He also argued, however, that the natural rhythms of children are so near the surface, and assert themselves so easily, that even at the start of their studies, quick rhythmic revival instills joy, exciting and refreshing the students during the process. Also, it was teachers' responsibility to present at least half of all exercises in the guise of games. Finally, teachers always have the obvious signs of yawning and inattention to prompt them to appeal to students' curiosity and imagination, or to provide them with "exercises of relaxation" (163).

> . . . it seems to me that the beneficial role of exercises, the goal of which is momentarily to interrupt all nervous, muscular, or spiritual activity, is still underestimated by a lot of educators. Exercises of "relaxation" are especially beneficial for adolescents and adults, who are generally hindered in their general studies by hostile nervous interference.[10] (163)

Nothing was more important to Dalcroze than to impress on his students the constant necessity to compare the state of inertia in each limb with that in all other limbs, in addition to sensing their differing levels of activity. The concept of relaxation was so important that Dalcroze held it was

> . . . by means of the frequent intervention of a complete state of relaxation that the close connections that exist between the dynamic muscular nuances and the various degrees of duration, like the various segments of space, will be able to be indicated.[11]

In adult classes, fully one-third of all exercises were done in the reclined position, and Dalcroze found that quick rhythmic movement impulses in adults were far more spontaneous and vigorous after the

relaxation sequences. He saw no value in continuing adult teaching using the failed traditions of their childhoods, and he decried the indoctrination that traditional music lessons had instilled in so many children who grew up to become musically and physically inhibited adults.

> It is, to my mind, completely useless to submit the minds of dilettante pupils to difficult operations of a mathematical order. Is not the important thing for them, as for children, to make the mind and the body interpenetrate? However, as soon as an adult's mind is solving a complicated problem, his body becomes an inert mass, completely separated from the mind. [12] (164)

According to Dalcroze, "musical rhythmics is made up of linkages of durations, the geometry of linkages of fragments of space, and the animated sculpting of these same linkages measured, stylized, and shaded[13] (164). He insisted that despite the efforts he had expended to establish the principles of *la rythmique*, essentially it remained simple to understand. To paraphrase Dalcroze: even the simple work that is done gives us an understanding of the various mechanisms which predispose the body to become involved in limitless investigation and many other kinds of work[14] (164). He continues to clarify the permutations:

> Every movement that we have to carry out in a given time demands another muscular preparation when we want to repeat it in a different time. Every line traveled through by a limb within a space and in a given time, becomes shorter and longer according to the degree of muscular energy that triggers the movement. Every length of time traveled by a limb in a given degree of muscular energy is either prolonged or shortened according to the length of the space to travel through. And, in addition, every modification of the space, the

> duration, or the dynamic exerts such influence on bodily equilibrium that it must necessarily be accompanied by a whole set of correction tasks entrusted to synergistic or antagonistic muscles. These tasks themselves need the collaboration of nerve centers informed of their power. Every mistake in transmission of cerebral intention introduces anarchy into the muscular system. Every resistance within the nervous system brings confusion into it.[15] (164-65)

Also in *La Musique et Nous*, in the chapter entitled "Gymnastics," (166-71), Dalcroze distinguishes the regimen at work in hygienic and sporting gymnastics from the characteristics of rhythmic gymnastics.

> It must be well recorded that in all common gymnastics, the various bodily manifestations are set in time and space according to certain immutable rules. . . gymnasts have two or three styles of runs, instead of having about twenty. . . the preparation of gestures attains a maximum of two or three degrees of speed or of force, if that! . . .[16] (167)

In addition, the dynamic and spatial nuances which, to Dalcroze, are central to the perceived vitality and resilience of muscular actions are not known to most gymnasts and specialized athletes. Since most gymnastic movements are intentional and practiced, they cannot be spontaneous, are not dependent on the lively interference of chance, and are not incited and individuated from moment to moment by the inherent antagonism of the individual's nervous and sensory systems. The anticipation required of gymnastic movements

> . . . deprives them of all humanity and removes from them (with regard to spontaneity) all artistic character. . . Finally, the study of antagonistic movement, the oppositions of contraction in one limb and relaxation in another, plays a very secondary, not to say nonexistent, role in the classic

> bodily education. From where it results that polyrhythm, which is the very essence of spontaneous motor manifestations. . .finds itself excluded from gymnastic studies. . ."[17] (167-68)

According to Dalcroze, eurythmics was not simply a method of musical instruction, a path to physical fitness, or a musical means to enhance and clarify routine and unexceptional classroom instruction. In semi-scientific terms, moving like Einstein from the special to the general, Dalcroze went on to extrapolate the principles he applied to music, and to see them reflected in all aspects of human artistic endeavor, and beyond.

> All the laws that govern the harmonization of our vital bodily rhythms also control the harmonization of specialized rhythms, establishing connections between the visual arts and acoustic arts, between architecture and mechanics, between mechanics and music, between music and poetry, between poetry and painting, between art and science, between science and life, and between life and society.[18] (165)

Reinforced by the Dohrns' utopianism balanced by the reality of his own experience, Dalcroze is alternately excited and sober in his exhortations and admonishments about the psychological, social, and artistic potential of eurhythmics.

> If we know that the science of Rhythm consists above all in determining the laws of equilibrium and economy, and if we make the necessary effort to humanize this science so that we sense it vibrate and palpitate in our body, like a living part of ourselves . . . we will know how to conserve and to balance our wills and our strengths, to establish connections among our strengths, time, and our wills.
>
> . . .We must cut down on our nervous expenditures which translate into mood

> changes, brusqueness, unsteadiness, impatience, depressions, and hypersensitivity. We must conserve our time, not to work to the point of fatigue, and to anticipate the moment when rest becomes necessary. We must ration our will to progress, to measure our appetites, to balance our desire to create with our means of realization . . . it is important that after getting lost in fantasy, we know how to rejoin reality. From this equilibrium of our active strengths self-confidence will be born and a greater aptitude to project efficiently outside of ourselves everything that can be useful to others.[19] (165-66)

In addition to producing narrative and analogized explanations, Dalcroze also itemized the principles which emerged while he conceptualized the origin and the implications of the discoveries he had made. He first presented his eight principles in July of 1905 to the Congress of Music Teaching at the Association of Swiss Musicians.

The principles were then published in 1906's *Méthode Jaques-Dalcroze* (Spector 117). Paul Boepple, a Dalcroze student and later a colleague, restated them in German in his foreword to *Rhythm as an Education Method for Life and Art: Six lectures by E. Jaques- Dalcroze on the basis for his method of rhythmic gymnastics* (1907) [*Der Rhythmus als Erziehungsmittel für das Leben und die Kunst: Sechs Vorträge von E. Jaques-Dalcroze zur Begründung seiner Methode der rhythmischen Gymnastik*] (Dalcroze, *Rhythmus* III-IV).

The principles have appeared several additional times in various forms: in *Rhythm, Music and Education* in 1920 (83-84), as only six principles in *Eurhythmics, Art and Education* in 1930 (208-09), and in the following representation in *La Musique et Nous* in 1945 (112-14):

> Placing ourselves at the purely musical point of view (in the Greek sense of the word, which applies itself to the union of the word and the movement) we arrive at the following conclusions:

1. All rhythm is movement.
2. All movement is material.
3. Every movement requires space and time.
4. Space and time are linked by matter which crosses through it in an eternal rhythm.
5. The movements of very small children are purely physical and unconscious.
6. It is physical experience which forms consciousness.
7. Perfection of physical abilities produces clarity of intellectual perception.
8. Controlling movements, is to develop rhythmic mentality.

Now, putting into practice these elementary principles leads us to formulate new conclusions:

I) Perfecting, controlling, and elastically connecting differently nuanced movements and forming a whole is to develop rhythmic mentality.

II) Perfecting the strength and suppleness of the muscles, while controlling the proportions of *time* in its connections with dynamism, is to develop *rhythmic musical sense* and the feeling of stature. More especially, perfecting the muscles of the respiratory apparatus is to promote the absolute freedom of the vocal cords, and creating sound in its various nuances controlled by breath, it is to supply to the sense of phrasing a supple and intelligent mechanical agent.

III) Perfecting the strength and suppleness of the muscles while controlling the proportions of space (movement combinations and stationary postures) is to develop the sense of *plastic rhythm*, which is itself a complement of musical rhythm.

It is necessary, therefore, that educators seek to develop muscular strength within the connections of power, time, and space.[20]

These fundamentals remain central to Dalcroze study, and they have become established conventions over the intervening years since their first publication. The Jaques-Dalcroze Institute in Geneva must

sanction all teachers and training which claim to be "Dalcroze" or "Eurhythmic." Of the three levels of Dalcroze teacher qualification, the certificate and the license can be granted by other approved institutions, but, as of this writing, the granting the diploma remains the exclusive province of the governing body in Geneva.

APPENDIX C
LUSSY AND LIZST AND DALCROZE

Le Rythme Musical of 1882 seemingly introduced Lussy's idea of the anacrusis. More than thirty years later, with encouragement from Dalcroze, Lussy published *l'Anacrouse* in 1903. A lexicon supplied in *l'Anacrouse* defines an anacrusis as "The note or notes that precede the first strong time of the rhythm to which they belong."[1] (Lussy, Anacrouse ix) One example of the anacrusis cited by Lussy and later repeated by Dalcroze is the first three notes of *The Marseillaise*.

Although Hélène reports that Lussy's ". . . book on the anacrusis had interested him [Dalcroze] strongly. He feels that this brilliant man opens up for him some new horizons that will influence his entire future career,"[2] (Brunet-Lecomte 54) it remains unclear when her brother Émile first became aware of Lussy.

On his first trip to Paris, Émile could have encountered Lussy's *Treatise on Musical Expression* [*Traité de l'Expression Musicale: Accents, Nuances et Mouvements dans la musique vocal et instrumental*, 1873]. Lussy's next work *Musical Rhythm* [*Le Rythme Musical: Son Origine Sa Fonction et Son Accentuation*, 1882] was in its second edition in 1884, the year Émile first arrived in Paris to study declamation.

If he missed Lussy's work in the period from 1884-1886, Lussy's *Treatise* also appeared in German as *The Art of Musical Presentation* [*Die Kunst des Musikalischen Vortrags: Anleitung zur ausdrucksvollen Betonung und Tempoführung in der Vocal- und Instrumentalmusik*) in 1886, one year before Émile began his studies in Vienna.

Dalcroze asserted that Lussy was ". . . the first to occupy himself with the laws of expression and rhythm. . . His counsels . . . set me on the path of my research and publications on Rhythmics. . ."[3] (Dalcroze

qtd. in Berchtold 46-47) By the time that Dalcroze met Lussy in 1889, Lussy had been addressing the condition of musicianship and music teaching methods for more than twenty-five years.

Two years before Dalcroze was born, Lussy published *Exercices de Piano* (1863). A letter from Franz Liszt on January 14, 1864 supports Lussy's *Exercices*, and is cited in promotional material found at the front of *Le Rythme Musical.*

Along with Lussy, Liszt condemned the soullessness of the players of his time, and seems to think that Lussy's piano method is more than a step in the right direction.

> One has had to suffer so much from the disadvantages of all kinds that the routine teaching of piano signifies, that it was advisable to find a remedy for it; and we know, moreover, that in return for the usual erring ways, one only succeeds in training legions of fastidious automatons, to which one can, without injustice, prefer the skill and the charm of *mechanical pianos* — a progressive invention — which, for my part, I would gladly recommend for the exclusive use of a lot of alleged pianists.
>
> To get less disappointing results, it will be necessary to appeal resolutely to the intelligence of the pupils and of the masters, *to conform themselves to your method . . .*[4]
> (Lizst qtd. in Lussy Rythme ii)

APPENDIX D

RE: STANISLAVSKY/DALCROZE CONNECTION

Dear Jason,

Good to hear from you and learn of your work. One of my Ph.D. students here started a school of eurhythmics in Moscow!

I took some time getting back to you in order to check my shelf... You date it correctly at 1911... In February 1911, Stanislavsky mentions in a letter that he wrote from Rome that he wanted to Dresden because he had heard there was a school that taught Dalcroze's methods there. (I can't tell if he got there or not.) [This is in Volume 7 of the Russian Edition of Stan's Collected Works Moscow 1960, p.506]

Turning to a better volume, in August 1911, the movement teacher S. M Volkonskii began to teach Dalcroze to the Moscow Art Theatre Troupe at the request of Stanislavsky (p. 300); Stanislavsky notes in his diary from Oct. 1911 that the lessons "took place from 10-11:30 in the mornings in the foyer of the theatre; " the actor N. Petrov notes that the entire cast of Hamlet and the whole troupe were "taken with these exercises", "observed with curiosity" (304); On January 22, 1912, Dalcroze and his students demonstrated the exercises (according the the "Journal of Performances" at the theatre (p. 322); in July 1914, Stan. visited the school in Hellerau (is that spelling correct? I'm taking it from cyrillic...) where he met many familiar people from Moscow and Petersburg, Kandinskii included [From a Letter dated July 22, p. 444] This last stuff is from I. Vinogradskaia, ed. "Zhizn' i tvorchestvo K. S. Stanislavskogo" which is a collection of documents on Stan's life and work, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1971) This is all I can find in my home resources. I fear that much more is not findable in the West, and would need archival work in Moscow. I hope the info makes sense to you. Let me know.

Sharon M. Carnicke
Professor of Theatre and Slavic
Associate Dean of The School of Theatre
[University of Southern California]

APPENDIX E

ORIGINAL TEXTS OF TRANSLATED MATERIAL

CHAPTER II

[1]. "Nous entendîmes *Aïda* de Verdi. . . .
En entrant dans la loge, maman nous avait dit:
— Regardez bien le chef d'orchestre, car c'est le grand Verdi lui-même. Vous pourrez raconter plus tard que vous l'avez vu diriger en personne son opéra.
Il est certain que nous n'avons jamais oublié cette tête sympathique avec sa barbe blanche."

[2]. "Les rues vides, notre pauvre maman si triste d'avoir quitté tous ses chers amis, notre père sensiblement désemparé, le manque de camarades, tout cela créait autour de nous une ambiance dont nous sentons encore, mon frère et moi, toute l'âpreté."

[3]. ". . . Le maître lui déclare qu'il ne sait « rien, rien, rien du tout » . . ."

[4]. ". . . je déjeune seul, tout seul. Toute la matinée je travaille, je déclame, et déjeune à midi. L'après-midi je re-travaille, re-déclame jusqu'à six heures et demie, et en fin, moment attendu avec impatience, le seul moment où j'oublie ma tristesse, je vais au Théâtre français. A côté de cela, le mal du pays me tient tellement que je ne sors que pour les repas, et encore avec répugnance, car je n'ai pas encore eu faim depuis mon arrivée."

[5]. ". . . Jaques se propose et remporte un gros succès en improvisant une musique savoureuse adaptée à un article de Francisque Sarcey, grand critique français, qui se trouvait justement dans la salle. Celui-ci après avoir ri aux larmes, lui consacra le lendemain dans son journal des éloges dithyrambiques."

[6]. "A quoi bon espérer, me dis-je, ne sais-je . . . pas que dans cette vie on ne peut compter sur rien, que tout est hasard ici-bas, que malgré le courage, malgré l'énergie, on ne peut arriver que par un coup de chance: l'imprévu! Il y a des compositeurs de soixante ans qui l'attendent encore . . .
Et on promet, promet toujours, et on me dit: « Cela viendra, que diable, Paris n'a pas été bâti en un jour... » Eh ! parbleu, je le sais bien, mais Paris avait le temps d'être bâti. Il y a des moments où je me

demande pourquoi j'entasse manuscrits sur manuscrits dans le carton aux oublis."

[7]. "Au sortir du foyer genevois mes première études à Paris m'ont révélé la nature primesautière de la jeunesse musicale parisienne, et mon contact avec elle a diminué ma réserve congénitale. Celle-ci n'est au fond qu'une forme de timidité créée par des traditions fort respectables."

[8]. ". . . il se mit en colère et la déchira en morceaux, s'étant aperçu que je ne plaçais pas les queues des notes exactement aux bons endroits! Il m'appelait « *Der dumme Franzose* »!"

[9]. "Jaques se demande s'il est au port ou en quarantaine: 'Ma musique se vend; l'aristocratie me sourit et la finance me salue. Tout cela me paraît grotesque !'"

[10]. "« Le Comité (...) trouve la personnalité de Jaques un peu, voire même très encombrante. » Est-il tolérable qu'il donne à l'Académie de musique (institution concurrente) un cours de diction lyrique?"

[11]. ". . . Les produits de ces ateliers devraient ouvrir les yeux des Allemands à la vraie beauté des formes fonctionnelles d'usage quotidien. Mais les ouvriers qui réalisent cette beauté, ne faut-il pas qu'ils vivent eux-mêmes dans un monde d'harmonie? Ne faut-il pas rendre aux travailleurs la joie au travail et cette fierté professionnelle qu'a détruite la grande industrie?"

[12]. "Théodore Heuss est assez décontenancé et sceptique . . . [il] n'a jamais eu l'impression de contribuer en dansant à résoudre les problèmes sociaux. . . . Frédéric Naumann, voyant évoluer des « masses animées », regrette que son collègue au *Reichstag*, le leader socialiste Auguste Bebel, n'assiste pas à ce spectacle; il verrait l'individu se dissoudre dans l'homme total; il verrait une foule articulée."

[13]. ". . . werde ich zurückkommen. Denn Sie wissen, mein lieber Harald, dass ich Ihnen treu bin und immer treu bleiben werde. Sie können auf meine aufrichtige Freundschaft rechnen . . . ."

[14]. "Nach dem Kontrakt mit der Anstalt. . . . .konnten Sie nicht ohne Zustimmung der Anstalt das Angebot von Ingham annehmen. Es war also rechtlich nicht möglich, solange die Anstalt nicht offiziell Ihnen mitgeteilt hatte, dass sie nicht in der Lage war, Ihnen das Gehalt zu bezahlen. . . .

Ich schreibe ihm vielmehr auch alle Gründe, die ich Ihnen aufzähle, warum Sie nicht nach England dürfen . . ."

[15]. "Une protestation Suisse contre le bombardement de Reims." Les soussignés, citoyens suisses, violemment émus par l'attentat injustifié contre la cathédrale de Reims, survenant après l'incendie volontaire des richesses historiques et scientifiques de Louvain, réprouvent de toutes leurs forces un acte de barbarie qui atteint l'humanité entière dans un des plus nobles témoins de sa grandeur morale et artistique: (folgen Unterschriften)."

[16]. ". . . Das Konservatorium in Lausanne wollte mich engagieren. Ich habe nein gesagt, um zu zeigen, dass ich immer Hellerauer bleiben will. Dem Genfer Konservatorium habe ich auch nein gesagt. Sie sehen, dass ich neutral bin."

[17]. "« Il y a des instituts à Londres, Pétrograd, Amsterdam, Stockholm, Bruxelles et dans toutes les grandes villes d'Allemagne. L'Amérique même a ouvert de nombreuses écoles. » Que fera Genève? « Il y a cinq ans nous avons laissé Jaques-Dalcroze nous quitter. Mais il est des fautes que l'on ne doit pas commettre deux fois. »"

CHAPTER III

[1]. ". . . A l'entr'acte, il s'approcha des parents du petit garçon et leur dit: — Cet enfant sera un grand musicien si vous le faites travailler."

[2]. "Dès six ans, il est initié à la technique pianistique par une demoiselle très laide qu'il déteste. « Je l'avais . . . entendue recommander à ma mère de m'empêcher de pianoter selon ma fantaisie et de m'obliger à ne jouer que des gammes et autres musiques insupportables. Je pense que c'est alors qu'a prise racine en mon petit subconscient cette conviction absolue que l'enfant ne doit commencer à jouer du piano qu'après avoir à soumis été une préalable éducation musicale basée sur le développement de la sensibilité et des facultés auditives. »"

[3]. ". . . je ne pensais qu'à la leçon de musique qui m'attendait à la fin de la semaine et je m'en réjouissais fort mais, hélas! quelle désillusion! . . . La musique était chiffrée et les rythmes étaient scandés par les mots Ta, Te, Ti constamment répétés. Pas un mot sur les sonorités musicales, sur les mélodies, les harmonies, les accentuations dynamiques et temporelles, pas d'émotion, pas de style,

pas de citations d'oeuvres belles; en un mot pas de musique. Je me refusai de chanter avec les camarades et comme le brave maître me demandait la raison de mon silence, je répondis mélodramatiquement: « Parce que ces exercices sont trop bêtes! » Je fus sévèrement puni et classé parmi les incapables. . ."

[4]. ". . . ne cherchaient pas à connaître l'état spirituel, nerveux ou émotif de leurs disciples."

[5]. ". . . professeur Émile Redard, qui savait obtenir de la discipline sans la solliciter et s'adresser sans calcul à la fois à nos esprits et à nos coeurs. C'est avec joie que chaque matin nous nous asseyions sur nos bancs et avec regret que nous les quittions."

[6]. ". . . je puis me rendre compte nettement de l'origine de mes tendances personnelles et aussi de ce que l'on me permettra d'appeler mes découvertes. . . je parle de celles qui consistent à humaniser le rythme. . . ainsi que mon amour pour les mesures irrégulières et les temps inégaux. . . J'eus la chance de retrouver ces rythmes en Algérie où j'entendis beaucoup de musique arabe et de pouvoir assister à une fête des Aïssaouahs . . . Leurs danses sont extrêmement violent, leurs sauts et contorsions d'une originalité extraordinaire et leur instinct de l'accélération est merveilleusement développé. Leur danse peu à peu s'anime, accompagnée d'un crescendo des tam-tams. L'accelerando devient intense et produit un effet diabolique complété par le silence subit qui le suit et pendent lequel les danseurs se laissent tomber à terre."

[7]. ". . . le plus original personnage que j'aie connu. Petit et gras, absolument chauve, il était habille en blanc, dans des vêtements trop larges, semblables à ceux du classique Pierrot. . . .Il grondait beaucoup, donnait des coups de poing, défendait aux élèves d'aller au théâtre et de s'intéresser à la littérature."

[8]. "On est carrément fichu à la porte . . . Il a le nez en corbin, et plus de dents du tout. Il prise constamment et n'a pas l'air de savoir s'occuper des détails les plus insignifiants de la vie matérielle. Avant qu'il ne sorte de la classe, nous lui refaisons son noeud de cravate."

[9]. " . . . Cependant, ses exigences me furent très utiles et je dois beaucoup à son enseignement. C'était un musicien incomparable."

[10]. ". . .compositeur de génie mais pédagogue brutal et entêté, exigeait de ses élèves un travail intense, mais ne s'intéressait guère à

leur personnalité et ne cherchait pas à développer leurs facultés animiques."

[11]. ". . . je conserve un bon souvenir de son enseignement extraordinairement sévère, insistant inexorablement sur l'observation des règles de la technique classique. Toutefois, l'oeuvre de Bruckner n'eut aucune influence sur mes aptitudes créatrices. . ."

[12]. "Pas si facile que cela; Prosnitz nous l'a jouée. Il a un touché divin comme je n'en ai jamais entendu.

...Tu ne peux te figurer . . . à quel point Bach me passionne. Il y a un feu, une fougue, une âme dans ces inventions, que je n'aurais pas soupçonnées il y a quelques mois. Au commencement, je jouais ces *Inventions* bêtement, mais Prosnitz est enthousiaste de Bach; il explique clairement, et sous ses doigts la plus petite de ces pages devient un long poème."

[13]. "Les pianistes actuels ont la manie d'interpréter les inventions et fugues de Bach en toute vitesse. . . . Beaucoup de musiciens se figurent qu'un style « noble » exige une métrique rigoureuse et se refusent à éclairer leur jeu avec la lampe de la fantaisie. Bach était bon père de famille et aimait à composer pour ses enfants de gais divertissements. Pourquoi faire de lui un maître solennel et sans fantaisie?"

[14]. "Mon délicieux et vénéré vieux maître Anton Prosnitz . . . avait coutume d'exiger de ses élèves qu'ils s'inspirent de l'émotion provoquée par l'interprétation d'une oeuvre pour la commenter librement en improvisant dans leur style personnel. Ainsi s'établissait une sorte de collaboration entre l'interprète et l'auteur qui animait l'interprétation d'un plus frémissant courant de vie."

[15]. "L'*anacrouse*, cette série de notes qui précèdent le premier temps d'un thème, joue un rôle très important dans le nuancé musical. Les trois croches qui préparent La *Marseillaise* ont une action dynamique aussi importante que les trois croches du thème de la symphonie en *ut mineur* de Beethoven. . . Toute action est précédée d'une préparation, dans l'art comme dans la vie. . . ."

[16]. "L'*anacrouse précède* . . . l'*ictus initial du rythme* don't elle fait partie. Cet ictus tombe toujours sur le premier temps, le temps fort, le *frappé* de la première mesure de ce rythme.

De là le nom: *ana*=avant, *crouô*=je frappe."

[17]. "Je suis consterné de devoir constater à quel point les pédagogues musiciens négligent aujourd'hui le développement des qualites créatrices de l'enfant et s'en tiennent aux exercices d'autrefois. . . . Matis Lussy constatait déjà il y a cinquante ans cette négligence et ses études des nuances agogiques ouvrent des portes nombreuses sur les connaissances des rapports étroits existant entre le corps, l'esprit et les émotions musicales."

[18]. ". . . séduit par sa vitalité, la force de ses convictions, son mépris pour les conventions et par l'ardeur de ses sentiments."

[19]. "Nous aurions pu nous sentir écrasés par le génie d'Ysaÿe, et découragés par sa grandeur. Il nous dépassait comme le Mont-Blanc dépasse une taupinière. Devant lui, plusieurs d'entre nous perdaient la parole.

Allions-nous tout abandonner? Non. Il nous avait communiqué autre chose que le trac: son rayonnement nous était parvenu; de sa flamme ardente et de son feu sacré, une étincelle avait jailli sur nous."

[20]. "A Berlin commencèrent nos répétitions et les études me parurent très ardues. Ysaÿe exigeait beaucoup de la part de ses accompagnateurs: La pénétration de deux tempéraments, des sacrifices mutuels, un rubato minutieusement ordonné, la recherche de sonorités soeurs et la plus grand respect pour le phrasé et les nuances indiquées par le compositeur. Il détestait toutes exagération dans l'interprétation émotive des oeuvres et s'appliquait à doser minutieusement les nuances, à équilibrer les accents. . ."

[21]. ". . .Si dans les passages mélodiques rubato le piano n'avait à jouer qu'un simple accompagnement, il me défendait de le suivre d'une façon méticuleuse dans les accelerando et ritenuto. « C'est moi seul » disait-il — qui dans ce passage puis me laisser aller à l'émotion suggérée par la mélodie; toi, tu m'accompagnes en mesure, car « un accompagnement doit toujours être mesuré ». Tu représentes l'ordre et ton devoir est de contrebalancer ma fantaisie. N'aie pas peur, nous nous retrouverons toujours, car lorsque j'accélère quelques notes, je rétablis ensuite l'équilibre en ralentissant les suivantes, ou en m'arrêtant un moment sur l'une d'elles »."

[22]. "En séjour chez Ysaÿe, Jaques-Dalcroze, un matin, entend des han han ! ininterrompus dans la chambre du maître. Inquiet, il frappe à la porte. Pas de réponse. Les han, han ! se poursuivant, Dalcroze entrouvre, prêt à porter secours et que voit-il ? Ysaÿe battait l'air de ses deux poings, se soulevant à chaque coup comme s'il voulait

enfoncer le plafond. « J'étudie la *Polonaise* de Vieuxtemps, dit Ysaÿe, il faut qu'elle me rentre dedans. »

. . . le rythme d'Ysaÿe avait un tel élan que, souvent, les auditeurs écoutaient debout."

[23]. "Il aimait travailler sa technique dans l'obscurité ou les yeux clos, pour mieux -disait-il -remonter à la source des mouvements physique. En chemin de fer il cherchait à imaginer des traits de violon en suivant les cadences et accents dynamiques des roues, et à exécuter des traits « rubato » en se retrouvant sur le premier temps chaque fois que nous passions devant un poteau télégraphique. Et je l'ai souvent surpris . . . dans sa chambre en train de se livrer à une mimique expressive mettant rythmiquement et plastiquement tout son corps en mouvement, tandis que le bras droit et les doigts gardaient toute leur légèreté pour l'exécution des traits de virtuosité. « La sonorité—disait-il—doit nous pénétrer entièrement jusque dans nos viscères et le mouvement rythmique doit animer tout notre système musculaire, sans résistance ni exagération »."

[24]. "En 1904, j'invitai les membres du Comité à une démonstration donnée au Casino de Saint-Pierre, et mon ami Gaspard Vallette, qui se trouvait par hasard dans leur grande loge, me raconta en riant l'indignation que les mouvements rythmiques de mes élèves éveillaient en leur âme timorée. [Par bonheur, je reçus, le lendemain, une grande lettre d'Adolphe Appia, que je ne connaissais pas encore, et dans laquelle il me témoignait sa confiance et entrevoyait de la façon la plus claire l'avenir de mes recherches. Ce fut pour moi une grande consolation et un puissant encouragement."] [Full citation provided to show dating conflict.]

[25]. " . . . à la suite de ma première démonstration, l'un des membres du Comité s'écria en pleine commission: "Vous êtes, monsieur Jaques, en train de ressusciter les pires spectacles de la décadence Latine!"

[26]. ". . . Votre lettre m'a causé une très grande joie et je vous en remercie de tout mon coeur — oui, je me rends compte depuis longtemps que la musique tend à devenir une simple spéculation de l'esprit, alors que mes expériences pédagogiques m'ont fait constater que la musique est *dans* l'homme et que le rôle du cerveau est de contrôler et de classer, d'harmoniser et d'équilibrer des fonctions *naturelles* dont on s'est désaccoutumé. Rendre au corps son eurythmie, faire vibrer en lui la musique, — comme faire de la musique une partie intégrante de l'organisme, jouer de ce clavier merveilleux qui est le système musculaire et nerveux pour rendre

plastiquement une pensée mesurée en l'espace comme dans le temps, voilà ce que je cherche depuis quelques années."

CHAPTER IV

[1]. "Les médecins reprochaient à mes exercices de provoquer une très grande fatigue; les chorégraphes, le manque de technique saltatoire; les musiciens, l'abus des temps inégaux et l'établissement de la carrure non sur la longueur de la durée, mais sur la pesanteur des éléments sonores... Les peintres se plaignaient du maillot noir de gymnastique et reprochaient à la Rythmique de tuer le sens de la couleur! Quant aux parents, ils jugeaient les costumes tout à fait inconvenants et les élèves devaient attendre leur majorité pour oser enlever leurs bas."

[2]. "Dieser Mangel an Takt-gefühl bei einer Dame, welche jahrelangen Instrumentalunterricht genossen, berechtigt wohl auch zu der Frage, ob das Klavierstudium einen Sinn habe, wenn dabei die Hauptbestandteile der Musik: Takt und Rhythmus, vernachlässigt werden."

[3]. "Il ne faut pas. . .confondre la Rythmique avec la danse. Celle-ci est l'art de devenir alerte et gracieux, ce qui naturellement constitue un grand avantage. Mais elle n'a aucun rapport avec notre caractère, notre tempérament et le développement de nos qualités générales. Elle spécialise certains mouvements corporels et assure un équilibre extérieur. Mais le plus éminent danseur ne devient plus intelligent que dans son domaine, tandis qu'une éducation complète de tous nos agents de compréhension et d'expression crée en nous un va-et-vient incessant d'activités diverses et organise des communications rapides entre les deux pôles de notre être."

[4]. ". . . ces jouissances sont-elles aussi d'ordre spirituel et émotif? Sont-elles bien le produit direct de sentiments profonds et sincères, et si complètement qu'elles puissent satisfaire notre besoin de plaisir esthétique nous imprègnent-elles de l'émotion génératrice de oeuvre?"

[5]. "Je voyais des peintres doués du jugement le plus sûr crier leur enthousiasme devant la splendeur des attitudes, le raffinement des gestes, la belle harmonie des groupements et la hardiesse des acrobaties; et . . . je n'arrivais malgré tous mes efforts à ressentir aucune émotion esthétique, me blâmant de ma froideur, m'accusant d'incompréhension et de béatisme...."

6. ". . . les danseuses . . . attaquaient l'attitude suivante, au moment du nouvel arrêt de marche, sans aucun *mouvement de préparation* [donnant ainsi l'impression hachée que produirait au cinématographe une série de gestes dont on aurait supprimé des pellicules essentielles.] Et, je compris que ce qui me choquait était le manque de liaison et d'enchaînement entre les attitudes, l'absence de ce *mouvement continu* que nous devrions constater en toute manifestation vitale animée par une pensée suivie."

7. "Dans plusieurs de ses interprétations plastiques, la grande artiste Isadora Duncan livre instinctivement son corps au mouvement *continu*, et ses interprétations son les plus vivantes and les plus suggestives."

8. ". . . la perception authentique du mouvement n'est pas d'ordre visuel, elle est d'ordre musculaire et la symphonie vivante des pas, des gestes et des attitudes enchaînées est créée et réglée non par l'instrument d'appréciation qui est l'oeil, mais par celui de création qui est l'appareil musculaire tout entier. Sous l'action de sentiments spontanés et d'irrésistibles émotions, le corps vibre, entre en mouvements puis se fixe en attitudes . . . le résultat direct des mouvements qui les séparent. . . ."

9. . . . Endlich war ich kräftig genug mir die Gartenstadt Hellerau und die Anstalt von Jaques Dalcroze anzusehen, und zwar an einem Tag an welchem für Künstler und Journalisten Vorproben der heutigen Festspiele, sowie Vorführungen von Unterrichtsstunden abgehalten wurden. . . .Eine enorme Kulturarbeit! Du weisst wie sehr ich mit Rhythmus und auch Tanz, Musik etc. vertraut bin. Hier ist dies alles zusammen schon zu direkt religiöser Gesamtwirkung gesteigert, und zwar unsere Religion, die der kommenden Zeit. Ich habe Jaques selbst, Lehrer, Lehrerinnen und Schüler kennen gelernt, und bin von den Möglichkeiten begeistert. . . .es war ein Erlebnis, das in meinem Werden eine Rolle spielt.

CHAPTER V

1. ". . . qui exerçaient sur mon frère et moi une intense fascination, car, à nos yeux, leurs habits chamarrés et leurs casques d'or flamboyant leur prêtaient une sorte de pouvoir magique. Celui-ci s'accentuait encore à l'appel impérieux de leur trompette qui sonnait toujours en un intervalle de quarte: do-fa. Cet intervalle se fixa si bien dans nos oreilles que, pour ma part, je n'hésitai jamais plus tard dans une leçon de solfège à réaliser sans accroc, mais avec orgueil, cet

intervalle, qui faisait aussitôt revivre à nos yeux l'exaltante vision d'une troupe d'hommes casqués d'or, s'élançant sur un char attelé de deux chevaux fougueux qui les emportaient au triple galop vers de lointaines destinées."

[2]. "Un jour, dans le feu de la création, Jaques convoque sa troupe. . . . leur dit-il, "nous jouons ce soir le *Tour du Monde en quatre-vingt jours* de Jules Verne.

Aucun etonnement n'accueille ces paroles du bouillant Émile, nulle hésitation ni doute ne semblent sourdre dans les yeux de ces jeunes visages, et pourtant aucun de ces enfants n'a lu ce livre. . . .

Il ne m'est pas resté grand chose de cette représentation sauf que, dans la scène de la caverne aux serpents Aouda était terrorisée par des reptiles qui ondulaient hors des battants d'une porte."

[3]. ". . . Le gamin aux joues rebondies, aux yeux pétillants, est un animateur. Il éprouve le besoin violent d'échapper à lui-même, de se déguiser, de jouer des rôles. . . ."

[4]. ". . . le prince hindou n'était autre qu'un étudiant facétieux de notre Université. L'homme-singe, averti, avait gaiement consenti à se prêter à la farce et à modérer ses coups."

[5]. "Jaques-Dalcroze hat die grösseren Arbeiten über Delsarte und die ganze Tätigkeit dieses hervorragenden Mannes erst viel später kennen gelernt, trotzdem er während seiner Studien am Pariser Konservatorium in den Kursen für Deklamation manche Bewegung eingeübte hatte, die als Desartesche Übung bezeichnet wurde."

[6]. ". . . le grand Mounet-Sully trop bruyant, trop « théâtral ». Et, payé pour applaudir, il siffle ses rugissements. On le congédie."

[7]. ". . . La mimique exagérée d'un Mounet-Sully, l'affectation et les minauderies d'une Sarah Bernhardt feraient éclater de rire le public d'aujourd'hui. Je me souviens des attitude ultra-dramatiques de Mounet dans Hamlet comme de véritable caricatures, et les modulations vocales, susurrements, hurlements et miaulements de la grande Sarah m'ont dès mon enfance horripilé."

[8]. "Un jour, il assiste à une représentation de *Tristan*. Cette 'révélation divine' le plonge dans le ravissement. 'Pas une note qui ne résonnât en moi des pieds à la tête, qui ne captivât mon esprit (...), qui ne fît battre mon coeur et ne m'arrachât des larmes; je pleurais pendant les actes et je restais, pendant les entractes, prostré à ma place, pleurant encore, dans ma joie immense.' Hélas, quelque temps

plus tard, le spectateur enthousiaste est transforme en analyste impitoyable. 'Et c'était pour moi une véritable souffrance d'entendre se succéder les notes, l'une après l'autre . . . sans que rien frémît en moi, sans que la vérité du drame me pénétrât. . . . Je sortis désespéré, doutant de mon amour pour la musique, doutant de la musique elle-même, doutant de tout, me maudissant. . ."

[9]. "Enthousiasmé par l'élan unanime et par cet oubli de soi joints au désir de collaborer sans souci de classe, ce qui caractérise le peuple suisse, Gémier essaya en France d'organiser la Fête du Vin[, mais] dut y renoncer, car telle société chorale ne voulait pas se rencontrer sur la scène avec telle autre société, telle dame se refusait à paraître aux côtés de sa couturière, enfin, brochant sur le tout, chaque amateur voulait être vedette."

[10]. "C'est au cours de la préparation du *Festival Vaudois* que j'eus l'occasion d'étudier à fond la question des rapports des mouvements corporels et évolutions dans l'espace et dans le temps."

[11]. ". . . L'avenir nous appartient tant que nous vivons et nous avons le devoir de l'explorer. Tant pis si nous nous trompons; nous nous tromperions davantage en vivant dans le passé uniquement."

[12]. "Nouvelle naissance de Wolkonsky. De retour en Russie, il fait à Moscou et à Saint-Petersbourg des conférences sur ce qu'il a vu. Il parle dans ses livres de Dalcroze et de la rythmique; il voue à celle-ci son temps, son travail et son argent. Pourquoi ? "(...) parce que, dit-il, je n'avais pas le droit d'agir autrement. J'avais compris que l'éducation rythmique développe l'homme entier, qu'elle représente un bienfait pour l'humanité."

[13]. "Nous montons à Hellerau l'Enfer d'*Orphée*."

[14]. ". . . réalisaient pour la première fois depuis le théâtre Grec la fusion parfaite de tous les moyens d'expression subordonnés étroitement les uns les autres."

CHAPTER VI

[1]. "Vous avez parmi vous un malfaiteur."

[2]. "Quant a la gymnastique rythmique... Nous touchons actuellement au seuil d'un art nouveau don je m'approche en tremblant, avec un frisson religieux et une crainte solennelle. Oh, ce

ne sera pas moi qui résoudrai le problème et écrirai les oeuvres nouvelles . . ."

3. "Il importe peu que les serveurs d'idées ne récoltent rien ou très peu personnellement, il suffit qu'ils aient aidé la récolte à se produire. La récompense de celui qui a planté est de sentir qu'il a planté de bons grains et qu'il a fait le nécessaire pour les faire germer. . . "

APPENDIX B: "DEFINITION OF THE LAWS OF RHYTHM"

1. "La gymnastique rythmique cherche à établir des rapports entre les rythmes corporels instinctifs et les rythmes crées par la sensibilité ou par la volonté raisonnée. . ."

2. "Le but de toute gymnastique est d'éveiller et de développer, grâce à des exercices répétés, le mécanisme vivant de l'objet humain auquel elle s'adresse. . ."

3. "A la suite de la création de nombreux engins mécaniques de locomotion, nos jambes ne possèdent plus ensemble de leurs facultés de saltation, de reptation, et de « grimpement »."

4. ". . . un rythme naturel convenablement effectué en tel état d'esprit perd de sa régularité et de son aisance dès que cet état d'esprit se trouve altéré."

5. "De là un désordre dans tout l'organisme, une inharmonie des diverses parties de l'individu, qui enlèvent à l'ensemble des facultés psycho-physiques leur liberté entière de fonctionnement."

6. "1) grâce aux . . . commandements inopinés . . . ils provoquent le déclenchement des rythmes corporels spontanés dans toutes les parties du corps;
2) grâce à des appels constants et divers à la concentration d'esprit, ils diminuent l'action néfaste de certaines rythmes intempestifs et renforcent celle des rythmes utiles, de façon à obtenir un équilibre des centres nerveux et des dynamismes musculaires;
3) grâce à l'harmonisation des fonctions corporelles avec celles de l'esprit, et à l'état de satisfaction et de paix joyeuse qui en résulte, ils assurent à l'imagination et au sentiment leur libre épanouissement."

7. ". . . d'influencer l'esprit grâce à l'élan irrésistible de la rythmique instinctive, comme d'influencer le corps grâce à l'énergie des centres de volition; en un mot de pénétrer les forces subconscients d'afflux conscients, et vice-versa."

[8]. "Les transformations successives des rythmes musicaux, de siècle en siècle, correspondent si parfaitement aux transformations de caractère, de tempérament et de coutumes, qu'il suffit de jouer une phrase musicale de telle composition-type pour faire revivre tout l'état d'âme de l'époque où elle a été composée, et -- par association d'idées -- pour réveiller en nos corps d'aujourd'hui l'écho musculaire des mouvements corporels imposés à cette époque par les conventions ou les nécessités sociales."

[9]. ". . . les leçons par et pour le rythme auront besoin d'être données par des maîtres possédant l'instinct musical et connaissant toutes les ressources de cet art."

[10]. ". . . il me semble que le rôle bienfaisant d'exercices ayant pour but d'*interrompre* momentanément toute activité nerveuse, musculaire au spirituelle, est encore méconnu par beaucoup d'éducateurs. Les exercices de « décontraction » sont particulièrement bienfaisants pour les adolescents et pour les adultes, généralement entravés en leurs études générales par des innervations ennemies."

[11]. ". . . grâce à l'intervention fréquente de l'état complet de décontraction que pourront être indiqués les rapports étroits qui existent entre les nuances dynamiques musculaires et les divers degrés de la durée, comme les divers segments de l'espace."

[12]. "Il est, à mon sens, complètement inutile de soumettre l'esprit des élèves dilettantes à des opérations difficiles d'ordre mathématique. L'important pour eux, comme pour les enfants, n'est-il pas de faire se pénétrer réciproquement l'esprit et le corps ? Or, dès que l'esprit d'un adulte est en train de résoudre un problème compliqué, son corps devient une masse inerte complètement séparée de l'esprit."

[13]. "La rythmique musicale est faite d'enchaînements de durées, la géométrie d'enchaînements de fragments d'espace, et la plastique animée des mêmes enchaînements mesurés, stylisés, et nuancés."

[14]. ". . . le simple travail que nous effectuons pour nous rendre compte des divers mécanismes dont dispose notre corps comporte lui-même des recherches nombreuses et toute une série de travaux d'ordre différent."

[15]. "Chaque mouvement que nous avons à effecteur dans un temps donné demande une autre préparation musculaire lorsque nous désirons le répéter dans un temps différent. Chaque ligne parcourue

par un membre dans un espace et dans un temps donnés, devient plus courte et plus longue selon le degré d'énergie musculaire qui déclenche le mouvement. Chaque durée de temps parcourue par un membre dans tel degré donné d'énergie musculaire se trouve prolongée ou raccourcie selon la longueur de l'espace à parcourir. Et, de plus, chaque modification de l'espace, de la durée ou de la dynamique exerce une influence telle sur l'équilibre corporel qu'elle doit être forcément accompagnée de toute une série de travaux de rectification confiés aux muscles synergiques ou antagonistes. Ces travaux eux-mêmes ont besoin de la collaboration de centres nerveux instruits de leur pouvoir. Chaque erreur dans la transmission des vouloirs cérébraux introduit l'anarchie dans le système musculaire. Chaque résistance dans le système nerveux y introduit le trouble. . . ."

[16]. "Il faut bien constater que dans toute gymnastique usuelle, les diverses manifestations corporelles sont fixées dans le temps et dans l'espace d'après certaines règles immuables. . . les gymnastes ont deux à trois modes de course, au lieu d'en avoir une vingtaine. . . la préparation des gestes atteint tout au plus un maximum de deux ou trois degrés de vitesse ou de force — si elle l'atteint! . . ."

[17]. ". . .les prive de toute humanité et leur retire (en ce qui concerne la spontanéité) tout caractère artistique. . . Enfin, l'étude des mouvements contraires, des oppositions de contraction dans tel membre et de décontraction dans un autre, joue un rôle très secondaire, pour ne pas dire nul, dans l'éducation corporelle classique. D'où il résulte que la polyrythmie, qui est l'essence même des manifestations motrices spontanées . . . se trouve exclue des études de gymnastique. . ."

[18]. "Toutes les lois qui régissent l'harmonisation de nos rythmes corporels vitaux régissent aussi celle des rythmes spécialisés, établissant des rapports entre les arts visuels et les arts sonores, entre l'architecture et la mécanique, entre la mécanique et la musique, entre la musique et la poésie, entre la poésie et la peinture, entre l'art et la science, entre la science et la vie, entre la vie et la société."

[19]. "Si nous savons que la science du Rythme consiste avant tout à fixer les lois de l'équilibre et de l'économie, et si nous faisons l'effort nécessaire pour humaniser cette science de telle sorte que nous la sentions vibrer et palpiter en notre corps, comme une partie vivante de nous-même . . . nous saurons économiser et équilibrer nos vouloirs et nos forces, fixer les rapports entre nos forces et le temps et nos vouloirs. . .

Il nous faut économiser nos dépenses nerveuses, qui se traduisent par des sautes d'humeur, des brusqueries, des irrégularités, des impatiences, des dépressions, des hypersensibilités. Il nous faut économiser notre temps, ne pas travailler jusqu'à la fatigue, prevoir le moment où le repos devient nécessaire. Il nous faut économiser nos vouloirs de progrès, mesurer nos appétits, équilibrer nos désirs de création et nos moyens de réalisation . . . il importe qu'après nous être égarés dans la fantaisie nous sachions rejoindre la réalité. De cet équilibre de nos forces actives, naîtra la confiance en nous-mêmes et une plus grande aptitude à projeter efficacement hors de nous tout ce qui peut être utile aux autres."

[20]. "Nous plaçant au point de vue purement musical (dans le sens grec du mot, qui s'applique à l'union du verbe et du mouvement), nous arrivons aux conclusions suivantes:

1. Tout rythme est mouvement.
2. Tout mouvement est matériel.
3. Tout mouvement a besoin d'espace et de temps.
4. L'espace et le temps sont reliés par la matière qui le traverse dans un rythme éternel.
5. Les mouvements des tout petits enfants sont purement physiques et inconscients.
6. C'est l'expérience physique qui forme la conscience.
7. La perfection des moyens physiques produit la clarté de la perception intellectuelle.
8. Régler les mouvements, c'est développer la mentalité rythmique.

Or, la mise en pratique de ces principes élémentaires nous amène à formuler de nouvelles conclusions:

I) Perfectionner, régler et enchaîner avec élasticité des mouvements différemment nuancés et formant un tout, c'est développer la mentalité rythmique.

II) Perfectionner la force et la souplesse des muscles, en réglant les proportions du temps en ses rapports avec le dynamisme, c'est développer le sens rythmique musical et le sentiment de la carrure. Perfectionner plus spécialement les muscles de l'appareil respiratoire, c'est favoriser la liberté absolue des cordes vocales et créer la sonorité en ses diverses nuances réglées par le souffle, c'est fournir au sens du phrasé un agent mécanique souple et intelligent.

III) Perfectionner la force et la souplesse des muscles en réglant les proportions de l'espace (mouvements combinés et attitudes stationnaires), c'est développer le sens du rythme plastique, qui est lui-même un complément du rythme musical.

Il est donc nécessaire que les éducateurs cherchent à développer les forces musculaires dans les rapports de force, de temps et d'espace."

[1]. "Note ou notes qui precèdent le premier temps fort du rythme auquel elles appartiennent."

[2]. ". . . livre sur l'anacrouse l'avait vivement intéressé. Il sent que cet homme génial lui ouvre des horizons nouveaux qui influenceront toute sa carrière future."

[3]. ". . . « le premier à s'occuper des lois de l'expression et du rythme ». « Ses conseils, ecrit-il, me mirent sur la voie de mes recherches et publications sur la Rythmique. . . . »"

[4]. "On a eu tant à souffrir des inconvénients de toute espèce qu'importe la routine dans l'enseignement du piano, qu'il était opportun d'y remédier, et nous savons de reste que, moyennant les erements d'usage, on ne réussit qu'à former des légions d'automates fastidieux, auxquels on peut, sans injustice, préférer l'habileté et le charme des *pianos mécaniques*, — invention progressive — dont, pour ma part, je recommanderais volontiers l'emploi exclusif à beaucoup de prétendus pianistes.

Pour obtenir des résultats moins décevants, il faudra résolument en appeler à l'intelligence et des élèves des maîtres, *se conformer à votre méthode* . . ."