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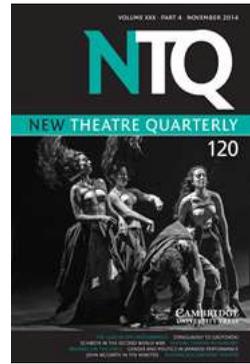
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## Appia, Jaques-Dalcroze, and Hellerau, Part One: 'Music Made Visible'

While Appia's name is dutifully linked in our theatre histories with the full realization of the revolution in stage lighting wrought by electricity, the nature of his broader scenographic philosophy has remained little understood, and his own writings are not readily accessible in English. Still less have English-speaking theatre people given due attention to the work of Emile Jaques-Dalcroze, creator of the system of eurhythmics – and virtually nothing has previously been written about the unique collaboration between these two innovators, which began in 1906, and eventually flourished in the unlikely setting of a German 'garden city', dedicated to the humanization of modern industrial practices – Hellerau, or 'the bright meadow'. Here, Richard Beacham, who has published a study of Appia's earlier work in *Opera Quarterly* (Autumn 1983), describes how the two men came to meet and to plan for the possibilities offered by the projected Hellerau festivals: in a subsequent article, he will assess the extent and nature of the work they achieved there.

IN THE last decade of the nineteenth century, the Swiss designer Adolphe Appia, working virtually in isolation, laid out both the theoretical and practical foundations for a fundamental and permanent change in theatrical art. Through his extensive commentary, detailed scenarios, and unprecedented designs – all inspired by his analysis of Wagnerian opera – Appia first provided a complete and devastating critique of the disastrous state of theatre practice, and then, with quite astonishing foresight, suggested the solutions which, in time and frequently at the hands of others, would re-establish it upon an entirely different basis.

Appia stipulated that setting and performance must express a carefully unified and meticulously coordinated effect, which would faithfully convey the intentions and ideas of the original creative artist. He called for three-dimensional elements, a careful evocation of psychological nuance, 'living light', symbolic colouring, and a dynamic, sculptured space, with all these expressive elements harmoniously correlated to the music and dramatic action.

He demanded that the actor be set free from the mockery of flat, painted settings in order to practice a purified craft within a supportive and responsive scenic space. The audience, benefiting in turn from such reform, should no longer be

thought of as mere passive spectators, for Appia believed that experiments along the lines he suggested could more fully involve them in the theatrical act in order to experience directly a vital and uniquely effective new form of art.

Appia's audacious ideas were compelling and his goals admirable, but his means for realizing them were woefully inadequate. Bayreuth was the obvious venue for the reforms over which he'd laboured so long and with such passionate dedication, but his designs and scenarios had been ridiculed and contemptuously rejected by Wagner's widow, Cosima, who was implacably hostile to anything deviating from the practice laid down by the Master.<sup>1</sup> Thus, at a crucial moment, Appia encountered the innate conservatism and inertia of the conventional theatre. With cruel irony, Bayreuth itself, once revolutionary and in the vanguard of reform, had become part of the theatrical establishment.

Appia lacked powerful or influential friends, as well as the ability to organize and direct the talent and energy of other potentially allied artists. An inspired but extraordinarily reclusive genius, intensely shy and temperamentally unsuited to direct collaboration, his situation was made still more desperate by the sheer magnitude and thoroughness of the reforms he envisaged and prophesied. To destroy one

theatre and create another in its place from the ground up was what Appia had accomplished with such magnificent results, *imaginatively*, as a wonderfully detailed theory; to carry out such a project in practical terms was more than one man – certainly more than Appia – could do.

### Appia Encounters Dalcroze

In an unpublished essay of 1905, Appia wrote 'I become ever more isolated, ever more alienated from the theatre, and from artists in all fields...my work and my ideas are virtually unknown'.<sup>2</sup> Help came the following year, when Appia first encountered Emile Jaques-Dalcroze and the system of rhythmic exercises which he devised and taught – eurhythmics.

Dalcroze had developed his theories and the exercises contingent upon them over several years, whilst working as an instructor in music at Geneva, where he taught harmony. He discovered in his pupils difficulties 'which result from insufficient coordination between the mental picture of a movement and its performance by the body'.<sup>3</sup> Gradually he composed first 'gesture songs', which used physical movement to accompany short pieces of music, and later an entire set of exercises designed to create simultaneously greater muscular and nervous coordination, and a keener sensitivity to musical rhythm and tempo.

To do this, it was necessary to enhance not only his pupils' perception of musical nuance, but their awareness of the responsive movement of the body in space as well. In effect, he taught them to translate musical composition directly into space through the reactive medium of their own bodies. Bodily movement and mental perception had to be integrated and harmonized to respond to music, and the exercises trained students until this occurred almost automatically.

In May 1906 Appia attended one of Dalcroze's sessions in Geneva, and was astounded. '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.'<sup>4</sup>

Appia perceived at once that eurhythmics offered the key to a problem stated but not solved in his earlier work. Wagner himself had called for the regeneration of music by emphasizing what he termed the basis 'of all pure human art; the plastic bodily movement expressed through musical rhythm'.<sup>5</sup> Building upon this notion, Appia had asserted theoretically that, in effect, music was the measure of all things; that it alone must motivate the actor, and through his movements determine the nature of the scenic environment. But he had not suggested (nor yet determined) any formal means, method, or mechanism whereby this musically motivated movement was to be controlled and measured in space.

As he noted later, 'In the course of composing *Musik und die Inszenierung* I felt the necessity for the actor to be trained in rhythmic gymnastics. The method...was revealed to me by Dalcroze in 1906. Without changing my orientation, eurhythmics freed me from too inflexible a tradition, and, in particular, from the decorative romanticism of Wagner...From that day on, I saw clearly the route my development was to take. The discovery of basic principles for the *mise en scène* could only be a point of departure; eurhythmics determined my future progress.'<sup>6</sup>

Eurhythmics thus helped Appia to extend the application of his theories for reform beyond Wagner's operas into other works of music drama: 'I became aware how far my theory had detached itself from Wagner's work in order to treat the subject in all its fullness and general scope'.<sup>7</sup> He had sensed, albeit as yet imprecisely, that eurhythmics could provide the solution to the problem he faced earlier: how to systematically physicalize the temporal; how to transfer musical time and consequent bodily movement into three-dimensional space. Appia wrote at once to Dalcroze introducing himself and announcing that 'the externalization of music (which is to say, its rehabilitation) is an idea which I have desired for many years... Nothing can save music from sumptuous decadence except externalization. It must expand in space, with all the salutary limitations which that must have for it. On the other hand, the life of the body tends toward anarchy and therefore towards grossness. It is music which

can liberate it by imposing its discipline upon it'.<sup>8</sup>

### First Fruits of Contact

Dalcroze recalled many years later this first contact with Appia – 'a long letter in which... in the very clearest fashion he identified the future course of my efforts'.<sup>9</sup> In response to this letter, Dalcroze invited Appia to his home, after which he in turn wrote to Appia proposing the friendship and collaboration which in fact came to pass: 'I am happy to know you and hope with all my heart that we may see each other often.... I am again fresh and well, and work with zest, supported by your sympathy and complete understanding for my work... the future belongs to us, while we live, and we have the duty to explore it'.<sup>10</sup>

Appia enrolled in a summer course in eurhythmics, and as his first contribution persuaded Dalcroze to vary the flat area in which the exercises were performed through the addition of some stairs and platforms. By adding a vertical element to the students' work, Appia increased their awareness both of space and of their own mass, and encouraged them to create dynamic three-dimensional exercises in place of mere moving tableaux. Gradually, over the next several years, during which Dalcroze and he worked closely together experimenting and enlarging their vision of eurhythmics, Appia began to realize the full potential of the system for fundamental theatrical reform. Eurhythmics, he wrote,

*accords a natural harmony to the body, which will benefit the purity and flexibility of acting and will give it the sensitivity necessary for any style. The training through rhythmic gymnastics will make the actor especially sensitive to dimension and distance in space, corresponding to the infinite variety of sound. Involuntarily he will bring these to life on the stage and will be bewildered by the injustice done to him, three-dimensional and living, among dead paintings on vertical canvases. He will try to claim his rights and, realizing the reasons, he will participate in the dramatic and scenic reform. But the author, the poet, and the musician too will stress the importance of the body, which has been neglected for centuries. The point of contact between body and*

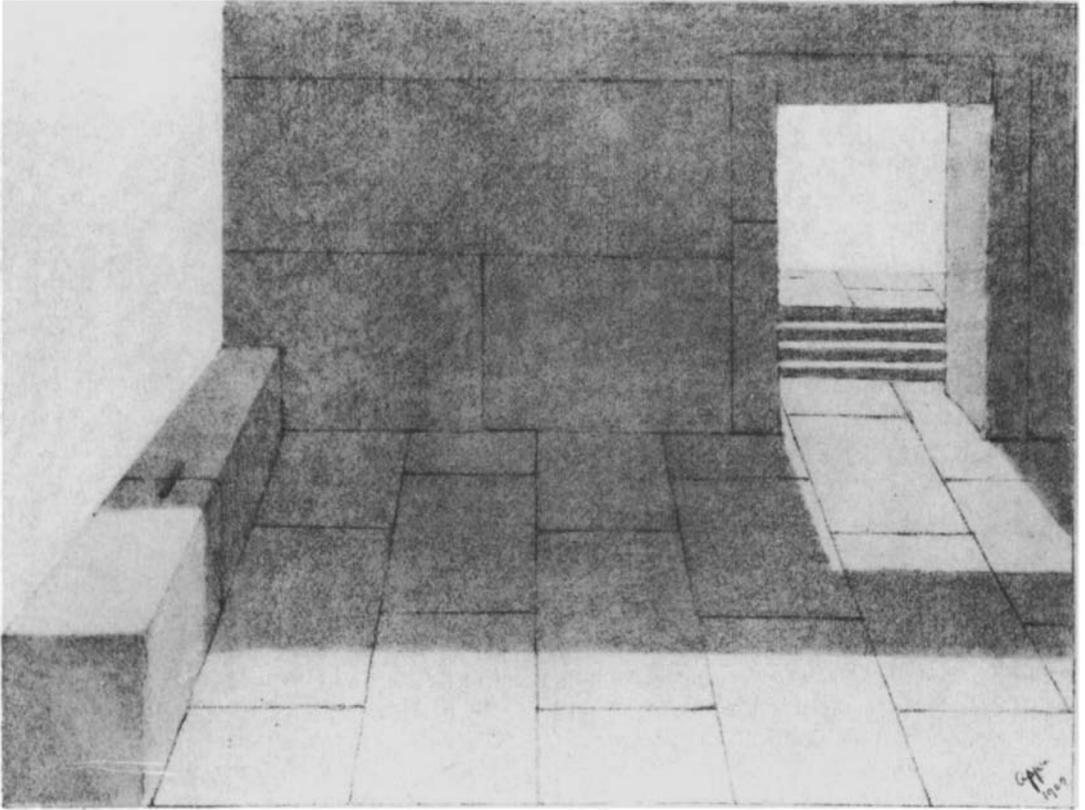
*mind, which alone can create harmony, has become lost: eurhythmics will try to find it again. This is its great significance for the theatre.... The awakening of rhythm in ourselves, in our own flesh, is the death-knell of a great part of our contemporary art, particularly the scenic art.*<sup>11</sup>

Having recognized some of the implications of Dalcroze's work, both for individual performance and for furthering general reform of dramatic art, Appia for a time was perplexed over exactly how to translate these into actual production. His first attempts to compose designs appropriate as settings for eurhythmic exercises were disappointing. He tried simplifying the lines of his earlier Wagnerian scenes, but, in the absence of any score, found it difficult to conceive abstractly of suitable settings.

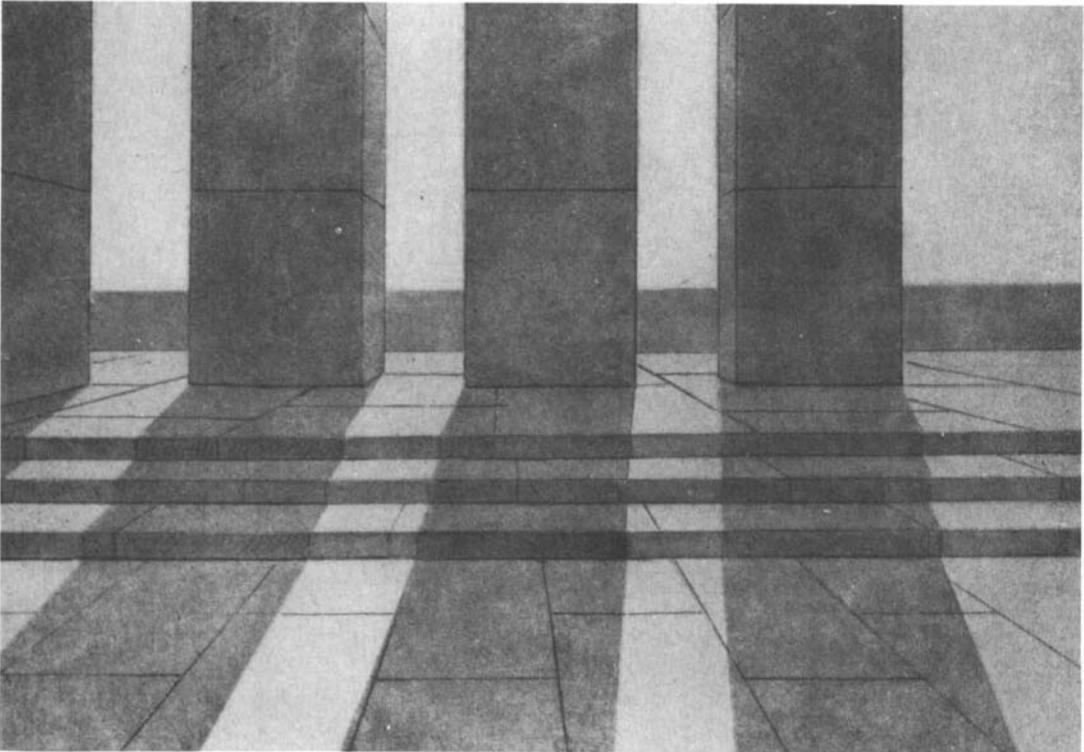
Then he realized that what was essential was the very quality of three-dimensionality itself – an element which, although demanded in his earlier settings, was not always unequivocally manifested in the drawings themselves. Now he saw the need for sets which established and emphasized their mass and volume unambiguously for the viewer, because only within the context of such an arrangement could the actor's body itself be seen to occupy and require space rhythmically – that is, to be engaged in active and living movement which could be perceived and measured in terms of the static objects around it. 'Whenever the pencil touched paper it evoked the naked body, the naked limbs... the quality of the space rendered the presence of the body indispensable.'<sup>12</sup>

### Putting Theory into Practice

In the spring of 1909 Appia created about twenty designs which he termed 'Rhythmic Spaces', and submitted them to Dalcroze, who received them with great excitement. Appia perceived that the way to bring these settings to life was by contrasting them with the human body. Their rigidity, sharp lines and angles, and immobility, when confronted by the softness, subtlety, and movement of the body, would, by opposition, take on a kind of borrowed life. The spectator himself could imaginatively sense the physical quality of the designs as the body of the performer moved amongst them, and,



Two of the 'rhythmic designs' created by Appia in 1909.



moreover, because of the qualities of architectural harmony and proportion with which Appia imbued them, they could, though lacking any element of time or movement themselves, provide visually as the eye surveyed them, a strong sense of rhythm.

These designs, moreover, suggested far more than merely a series of settings for eurhythmic exercises: they could help clarify the relationship between music, time, space, and movement, and ultimately revolutionize stage performance and design. Appia and Dalcroze worked together with growing conviction to develop spaces which successfully embodied this relationship.

Together they laid plans for mimes and operas to be directed by Dalcroze and designed by Appia. In 1907 Dalcroze asked Appia to create settings for his opera *Les Jumeaux de Bergame*. Delighted with the results he tried, unsuccessfully, to arrange a production in Brussels, while expressing profound sympathy for the frustration which Appia felt in not being able to put his ideas into practice: 'How terribly you must suffer in seeing theatre continue as it is, when you possess the means to make it something else: living, real, and beautiful... I want to sustain your ideas and propagate them'.<sup>13</sup>

In 1909 they collaborated extensively on plans for a production of *Prometheus*. Appia prepared a scenario and series of designs for which Dalcroze expressed immense admiration. He hoped to present a portion of Appia's work as part of a summer fete to be held in Geneva using the foremost dancers of the day, including Isadora Duncan, Maud Allan, Ruth St. Denis, and Olga Desmond.

Once again, however, nothing came of these plans, although through their collaboration Appia grew ever more deeply involved in the theory and creation of eurhythmic stage designs. He announced that henceforth it was necessary to take 'the human body resolutely as a point of departure for both music and settings – and this means no less than a change in the very conception of the drama, including all the consequences that will follow'.<sup>14</sup>

Appia now hoped and could foresee that 'eurhythmics will in its normal development create for itself a setting that inevitably emanates from the three-dimensional form of

the human body and its movements, idealized in music', and that eurhythmics had thus 'taken a positive step toward a complete reform of our scenic and dramatic conceptions'.<sup>15</sup>

Finally, in 1910, Dalcroze and Appia had a decisive opportunity to make practical progress towards such basic reform. In October of the previous year, Dalcroze had given a demonstration in Dresden with some of the students trained by him in eurhythmics. It was attended by a 32-year-old, well-to-do gentleman named Wolf Dohrn, who had studied economics and had been active for a time in liberal politics, becoming the General Secretary of the German Werkbund, which he had helped to found in the summer of 1908.

The Werkbund was an enlightened organization devoted to the development and promotion of the applied arts in German light industry, and Dohrn worked as a tireless supporter of its projects, lecturing widely, serving on planning committees, and acting generally as its spokesman and publicist. He was a man of very substantial gifts – an enormous capacity for enthusiasm and hard work, a talent for communicating his ideas and firing others with them, and, most significantly, a deeply felt idealism and consequent espousal of the Werkbund's goals, high amongst which was enabling workers to overcome the threat of dehumanization in modern industry, and to regain a sense of satisfaction and pride in their work and its products.

### The Hopes for Hellerau

Together with his colleague in the Werkbund, Karl Schmidt, Dohrn had established in the outskirts of Dresden a small factory dedicated to this ideal. Around it, in an idyllic hilltop site on the heath at the edge of a pine forest, they founded a small settlement modelled on the English concept of the 'garden city' – the first such town in Germany.

The project was pursued as a noble social experiment. Dohrn, Schmidt, and their supporters hoped that within a harmonious natural surrounding a new utopian community could be established and nurtured, based on principles of social equality, liberal and universal education, and the revival of unalienated art and labour.

The settlement took its name from its site: 'Hellerau', the 'bright meadow'.

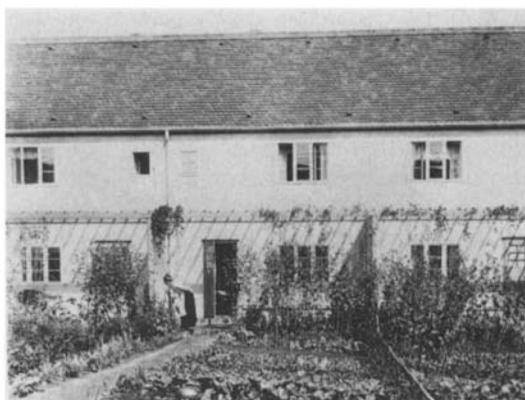
By the autumn of 1909, when Dohrn encountered Dalcroze, the factory and first 24 homes had been built, with a population of 2,000 projected for the summer of 1911, to rise ultimately to a maximum of 12,000. The construction and arrangement of Hellerau was scrupulously overseen by a commission, which approved every building and generally safeguarded conditions – maintaining, for example, a ratio of one to five between developed and open land to ensure that Hellerau's inhabitants would be free from the squalid and cramped conditions prevalent in the industrial quarters of most cities, including neighbouring Dresden.

The community had become a zealous mission for Dohrn, who was determined, as Dalcroze remarked later, that 'it was not enough to build nice houses with pretty gardens...but crucial above all to imbue the children of Hellerau with an intellectual and aesthetic culture'.<sup>16</sup>

For Dohrn, the discovery of eurhythmics was a revelation. He seized upon it at once, convinced that, through it, Hellerau could become 'the future centre for a spiritual and physical regeneration, out of which a broad social renewal would follow'.<sup>17</sup> The establishment of eurhythmics as the defining and motivating spirit of the Hellerau experiment became Dohrn's primary goal, 'and from that moment on he devoted to this idea all his strength, extraordinary personality, confident will, and great perseverance'.<sup>18</sup>

Barely a month after first meeting Dalcroze, Dohrn invited him to found an institute at Hellerau to become the primary site for the practice, further investigation, and propagation of eurhythmics. He offered to set up such an institute, and construct it exactly according to Dalcroze's specifications. Dalcroze in turn suggested that Appia be directly involved from the start in all aspects of planning relating to the proposed institute and its building, and should join its faculty and board of directors.

In March 1910, Dalcroze wrote an exuberant and optimistic letter to Appia, announcing that generous finance for the project was available, and rejoicing that their mutual dream of establishing a genuinely popular aesthetic



One of the small workers' cottages at Hellerau designed by Tessenow in 1910.

enterprise seemed about to be fulfilled. This new, non-elitist activity would be created and sustained by its broad appeal, and would directly reflect and respond to society's needs and aspirations. He concluded, 'take heart, my dear collaborator...for our efforts and plans are almost realized'.<sup>19</sup>

Two weeks later Dalcroze met Dohrn again, and reported the same day to Appia that he had shown some of his designs to Dohrn, who received them enthusiastically and, moreover, seemed in perfect accord with Appia's advanced ideas and plans: 'He thinks of you as already being at Hellerau'.<sup>20</sup> On 24 April 1910 the scheme was formally approved by the Dresden City government, which agreed to donate the necessary land and underwrite the costs of construction.

Throughout the summer plans and consultations continued among Appia, Dalcroze, and Dohrn. The 34-year-old architect Heinrich Tessenow was engaged to execute the design and building, and a Russian painter, Alexander von Salzmann, was brought in to oversee arrangements for lighting, which, given Appia's detailed but largely untested theories, promised to be complex and unprecedented.

### The Full Potential of Eurhythmics

It was Appia's gift of a far-reaching and visionary imagination which made this collaboration so productive. Originally Dalcroze conceived of eurhythmics almost exclusively as a basis for musical training and consequent

reform. Only gradually, under Appia's influence, did he come to recognize and accept that what had begun as training in musical sensitivity had vast implications for theatrical reform, an area which, initially, had held little interest for Dalcroze. He continued to insist that 'eurhythmics is not an art form – I want to shout that from the rooftops – but a path towards art',<sup>21</sup> whilst gratefully accepting the help provided by Appia along that path.

Dalcroze resisted thinking of eurhythmics either as a technical method on the one hand, or as a spectacle on the other. It was meant to enable the student to react to and express whatever music he applied it to, without lapsing into the purely abstract or improvised creation of pleasing visual effects. At the same time, Dalcroze hoped and expected that its practitioners would move beyond a totally mechanical relationship to the music, to use it so that its expression through the body became a deeply personal and liberating experience.

Motivated in part to recreate the ancient Greek *Orchēsis* – to express inner emotion through the union of music and movement in dance – his work was one more expression of a Greek-inspired movement for artistic reform which had long been evident and influential in European culture. Indeed, many years earlier, Friedrich Nietzsche had seen the potential for such reform in Wagner's music itself, noting that music demanded 'her equal sister, gymnastics, for her necessary embodiment in the real world of the visible', and that the new type of dance thus formulated would act as 'judge over the whole deceitful contemporary world of show and appearance'.<sup>22</sup>

Dalcroze had a remarkable talent both for effective pedagogical work and for expressing and publicizing his methods enthusiastically and articulately to others. But he lacked autonomous inspiration and imagination: he needed theoretical and aesthetic support and structure for his work, as well as the identification and definition of ultimate goals.

Appia, who was extremely shy, introverted, and quite incapable himself of publicly presenting his ideas, provided Dalcroze with the creative analysis, the ability to formulate new objectives, and, above all, the inspired vision of the possibilities for a new scenic art which were

essential if eurhythmics were ever to become more than a species of refined gymnastics. Just when it was threatened with stagnation as *music* reform, Appia gave it new relevance and purpose by recognizing its potential for the *stage*.

It was Appia who helped Dalcroze to glimpse the ultimate implications of eurhythmics: that if the necessary connections could be made, it provided not simply a means toward greater sensitivity to music, or even, at best, to a Greek-inspired reintegration between body and mind through dance, however worthy such an achievement might be. It was, Appia became firmly convinced, potentially an independent creation, born out of elements of music, dance, and drama, but capable of maturing finally into a wholly new and wondrously expressive art form.

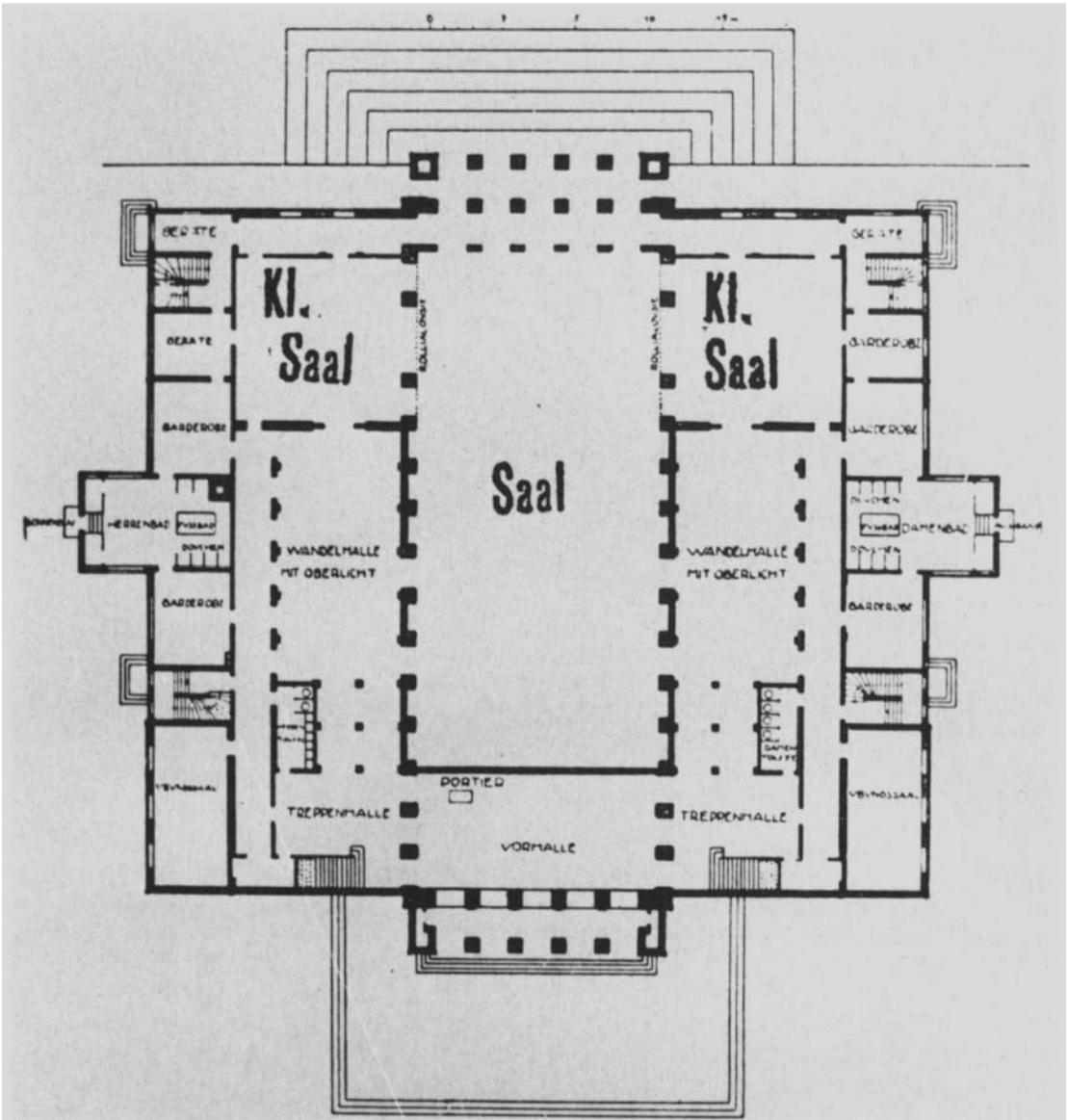
Gradually the conception and generation of this new art became the guiding principle and chief goal of the Hellerau Institute. Although Appia was extremely modest about his own role, and always generous in the praise and credit he gave to Dalcroze and others, in the course of the Institute's work Appia clearly became the motivating, somewhat mysterious but always benevolent genius of the place. Reticent, sometimes remote, and rarely seen, he determined and guided its development.

Dalcroze was cautious, and tended to cling to his original pedagogical principles and goals. Of rather conservative taste aesthetically, he displayed a certain Calvinistic scepticism toward the theatre in particular. Initially he was disinclined to present theatrical activity at all, still less to undertake any radical reform of existing stage practice.

'I certainly have no intention of establishing a theatre at Hellerau', he wrote, 'I am no friend of the theatre, this playing, which – usually with no conviction – is served up to blasé spectators'.<sup>23</sup> But Appia's ideas and enthusiasm, the force of his convictions, and the prophetic, inspired quality of the written expression he gave them proved irresistible in the end.

### Planning the Performance Space

At the beginning of October 1910, Dalcroze and his family moved to Dresden, where his



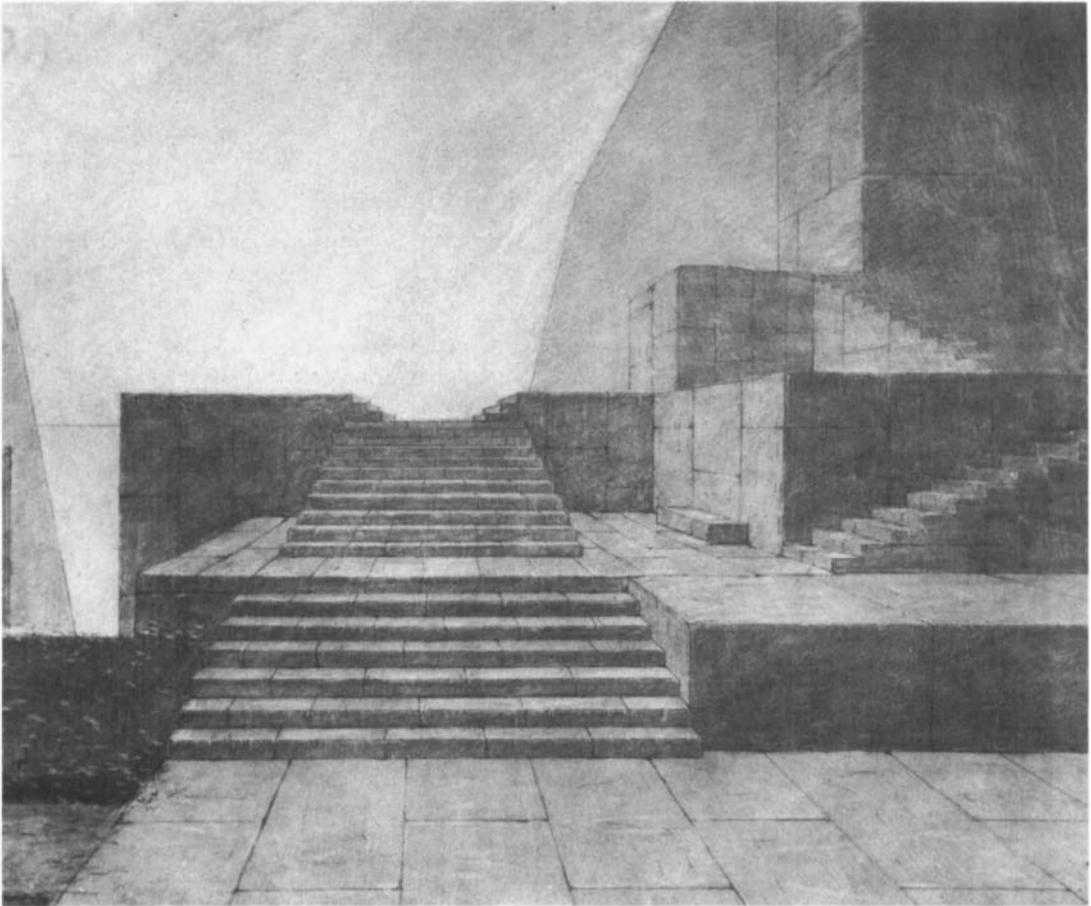
Ground plan for Hellerau Hall, including main hall, two smaller rooms for work and exercises, cloakroom, changing rooms, technical areas, etc.

Institute opened in temporary quarters on 17 October. During the first year thirteen courses were run, including two for student actors and one especially designed for members of the Dresden Royal Opera. In addition a course was offered at Hellerau itself, both for adult inhabitants and to children in its 'Volkshule'. The normal course comprised eight subjects: *soffeggio*, improvisation, anatomy, choral music, *plastique animée*, dance, gymnastics, and eurhythmics. In all, over 500 students participated.

Dalcroze constantly sought advice from Appia (who remained in Switzerland), particularly

in regard to using the 'practicables' – rostra, platforms, stairs, podia, and the like – which made up his designs for rhythmic spaces. In addition, Appia advised about the crucial role of lighting and the influence it should have upon the expressive quality of the musically co-ordinated exercises.

On the Institute's temporary site at Dresden there was little scope for creating the lighting depicted in Appia's designs, which Dalcroze had therefore to encourage his students to *imagine*, although Salzman provided some rudimentary effects. As the year passed, much of the



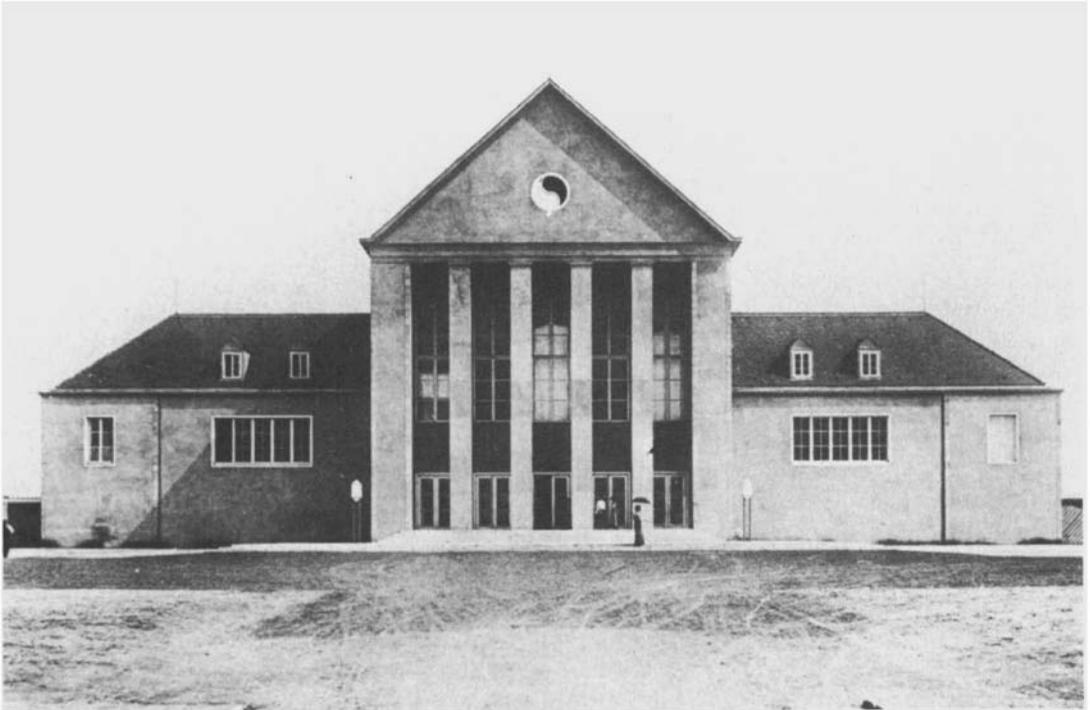
Above: a further 'rhythmic design', conceived by Appia in 1909–10 for Schiller's *Le Plongeur*. Compare the stairway actually built for the hallway off the main entrance to the Institute, bottom of opposite page. Opposite page, top: the main entrance to the Institute, 1912 (note the Ying-Yang symbol on the pediment).

correspondence between Appia and Dalcroze was increasingly concerned with the subject, in regard not only to work already in progress at the Institute but also to the elaborate experimental apparatus envisaged for use in the Hall at Hellerau, for which plans were now well advanced.

Appia had for some time conceived a building which would help to abolish what he increasingly considered to be the unacceptable distinction between spectator and performer. For this to take place, he needed an entirely new theatrical architecture, and at Hellerau he achieved it for the first time. He designed a large open hall, 50 metres in length, 16 metres wide, and 12 metres high, which would enclose both performers and audience without any barrier or obstacle between them. The orchestra and its light was also hidden from view.

Thus he abolished the proscenium arch and raised stage, using a completely open performance area for the first time since the Renaissance – a critical step which had been anticipated by his earlier theory, and which was constantly reinforced and substantiated by everything he did or wrote afterwards. For Appia it was not merely a practical step, but a deeply philosophical and social gesture as well, since it implied a wholly different attitude towards the function of art and the way in which men respond to it.

Indeed, it predicated a new definition of art itself. Henceforth, everything which Appia wrote was based upon a fundamental and irreversible change in attitude. Art was not to be contemplated passively, but engaged in actively. Theatre was not an illusion which one observed, but a real event which one experienced. The attitude and habit of being an 'eternal

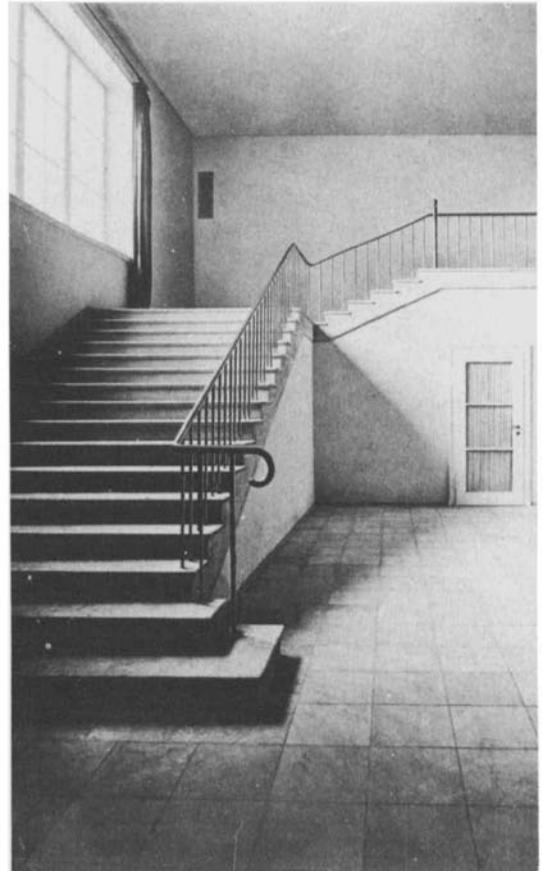


spectator'<sup>24</sup> was to be transformed by every available artistic means of expression into a new and dynamic perception of art as immanent within the life and experience of everyone.

The hall at Hellerau, which had seating for 560 spectators, and space for about 250 performers, was constructed exactly according to Appia's plans. In addition to the large hall, the building contained classrooms, changing and shower rooms, and areas for small-scale exercises, comprising what one critic characterized as 'an amalgamation of Temple and Palaestra'. The front of the building 'was in the form of a temple facade, formed by four massive rectangular pillars, supporting the high roof. To the left and right were side wings running parallel to the main hall. To the rear was an enclosed court, laid out with arcades, where open-air exercises took place.'<sup>25</sup>

The building was approached through a large open square, which both set it off properly and complemented its great size. As one drew near, the 'eye' of Hellerau gazed down: the Ying-Yang symbol placed in the centre of the building's pediment.

The simplicity, purity, and harmonious proportions of the structure impressed virtually every visitor, and greatly pleased Dalcroze.



Above all, he admired the performance space within, whose 'collaboration' he considered 'absolutely essential for the art which I hope to renew; a collaboration which deprives that art of neither freedom nor originality; a space which indeed lends it new stimulus without absolutely determining it, or making it dependant upon itself'.<sup>26</sup>

On 22 April 1911, in the presence of invited dignitaries, the residents of Hellerau, and students representing fourteen nations, the cornerstone was laid, the first blows being struck by the youngest of the students, a five-year-old boy. In his speech marking the occasion, Wolf Dohrn hoped that the Institute might replace 'the unproductive intellectualism as well as the joyless athletic training' of the age with a new system dedicated to the 'spiritual development of the body, or if you prefer, the physicalization of mental and spiritual exercises'.

He went on to suggest, prophetically, that after a few years at Hellerau 'we shall witness how its people will present celebrations and festivals, for themselves and others, of a type which no other place can offer, because nowhere else will there exist a population so widely and equally educated, and invigorated by such a sense of community'.<sup>27</sup> It had been decided that in the following summer of 1912 the Institute would hold the first of annual *festspiels* displaying examples of its work to the general public.

A few weeks after the cornerstone was laid, Dalcroze wrote to Appia upon the completion of the first year's courses: 'The year has been excellent for *our* art. We have made undeniable progress, following our path precisely, and with a single gesture have lifted the veil from the Unknown; an Unknown which we love, and hope to overcome.'

Dalcroze felt that, after years of preparation and of painstaking collaboration with Appia, they stood on the verge of extraordinary discoveries. He was filled with optimism and ideas – particularly that of 'working out with you our first programme of festivals. It is entirely in my head: I know, understand, and see everything which we'll present to the public.'

He looked forward to working through the winter with Appia, to 'make the buds of our joint nurture blossom in the sun. Be assured, my

friend, that you are intimately associated with this work...and that the festivals of Hellerau shall be signed with your name beside that of your faithful and affectionate, E. J. Dalcroze.'<sup>28</sup> 'The birth of the modern stage' was at hand.<sup>29</sup>

## Notes and References

1. For a full account of Appia's earlier work, see Richard C. Beacham, 'Adolphe Appia and the Staging of Wagnerian Opera', *Opera Quarterly*, Autumn 1983.
2. Appia, 'Introduction to my Personal Notes', unpublished essay of 1905, trans. Walther Volbach, Appia Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale University, typescript p. 35.
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4. Appia, 'Theatrical Experiences and Personal Investigations', unpublished essay of about 1924, trans. Walther Volbach, Appia Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale University, typescript p. 383.
5. Wagner, 'The Art Form of the Future', in *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 90.
6. Appia, 'Theatrical Experiences', op. cit., p. 378.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 376.
8. Appia to Dalcroze in a letter of May 1906, quoted by Edmond Stadler, 'Adolphe Appia et Emile Jaques-Dalcroze', in Frank A. Martin, ed., *Emile Jaques-Dalcroze* (Neuchatel, 1965), p. 417–18.
9. Quoted by Edmund Stadler, 'Adolphe Appia und Emile Jaques-Dalcroze', *Maske und Kothurn*, X (1964), p. 662.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 664–5.
11. Appia, 'Eurhythmics and the Theatre', 1911, trans. Walther Volbach, the Appia Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale University, typescript p. 71.
12. Appia, 'Theatrical Experiences', op. cit., p. 379.
13. Dalcroze to Appia, 1907, quoted in Stadler, 'Adolphe Appia et Emile Jaques-Dalcroze', p. 423.
14. Appia, 'Eurhythmics and the Theatre', p. 71.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
16. Dalcroze, in a tribute at Dohrn's funeral, 11 Feb. 1914, printed in E. Feudel, ed., *In Memoriam Hellerau* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1960), p. 32.
17. Giertz, *Kultus Ohne Gotter*, p. 119.
18. Karl Scheffler in a tribute at Dohrn's funeral, *In Memoriam Hellerau*, p. 49.
19. Dalcroze to Appia in a letter dated 28 Mar. 1910, quoted in Stadler, 'Adolphe Appia et Emile Jaques-Dalcroze', p. 429.
20. *Ibid.*, 11 April 1910, p. 430.
21. Dalcroze in an undated letter to Appia, in the Appia Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale University.
22. Friedrich Nietzsche, 'Richard Wagner in Bayreuth', *Werke*, II (Leipzig, 1922), p. 376.
23. Quoted in Giertz, *Kultus Ohne Gotter*, p. 142.
24. Appia, 'Eurhythmics and the Theatre', p. 72.
25. Giertz, *Kultus Ohne Gotter*, p. 123.
26. Karl Storck, *E. Jaques-Dalcroze* (Stuttgart, 1912), p. 88.
27. Quoted in Giertz, *Kultus Ohne Gotter*, p. 131.
28. Dalcroze to Appia, 3 June 1911, quoted in Stadler, 'Adolphe Appia et Emile Jaques-Dalcroze', p. 439.
29. A proposition to be defended in a subsequent article. The work at Hellerau has been thus characterized by, for example, Nicholas Hern, 'Expressionism', in Ronald Hayman, ed., *The German Theatre* (London, 1975), p. 116.

Unless otherwise indicated, translations from German are the author's own; those from French are by Mr N. Monro-Davies.