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# German modern dance of the early twentieth century and Italy. The case of Aurel Milloss (1906-1988).

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The mournful *Café Müller* was performed on 16<sup>th</sup> January, 1981 at the Teatro Due in Parma (and after a few days was presented in Turin), with Pina Bausch appearing for the first time in Italy as a choreographer. From the following year onwards, when her *Café Müller* and *1980* finishing off a series of *Tanztheater*<sup>1</sup> performances in October which were a whole new genre for us, the enthusiasm for her theatrical and choreographic style was to keep on growing. Her performances in Italy had the effect of a revelation, awakening an enormous interest in modern dance that had developed in Germany in the early twentieth century and about which little was yet known and which Bausch was connected to in some aspects. Her style was publicised and received by us as a direct legacy of the main protagonists of the decades leading up to the Second World War, Kurt Jooss and Mary Wigman, as well as Rudolf Laban's thinking – the so-called “expressionist”<sup>2</sup> dance.

<sup>1</sup> The event was promoted by the Department for Culture in Rome and by the Goethe Institut and was to start from the month of April (in the “Project Germany” created by Franco Quadri), in Spazio Zero, directed by Lisi and Silvana Natoli: in addition to Pina Bausch it included the dancers and choreographers Reinhild Hoffmann and Susanne Linke. The latter performed in smaller shows in Spazio Zero which was a marquee erected in Testaccio. Pina Bausch and her large troupe debuted at the Teatro Argentina.

<sup>2</sup> Born in 1940, Pina Bausch began studying dance at the age of fifteen with Kurt Jooss in the Folkwang Schule Essen, which Jooss, one of Laban's leading students, had founded in 1927 and had abandoned when he fled with his troupe in 1933. The exhibition of documents which was set up in Venice in 1982 in the Festival Venezia Danza Europa '81 bears witness to the curiosity that Italy felt about Jooss as well. That documentation was later the subject of a large exhibition (*Jooss Dokumentation* by Anna and Hermann Markard, Ballett-Bühnen-Verlag, Cologne 1985). Bausch had already performed as a dancer at the Teatro Sistina in Roma in 1966 with the Folkwangballett (with whom she was working at the time), and then at the Spoleto Festival together with Jean Cébron three years later.



From the first decade of last century, Germany had represented a crucial crossroads at which, in the context of a general epistemological crisis as well as an artistic and socio-political one and through intense seasons of experimentation, the practical and theoretical knowledge of dance found a new formula. It was mainly on German soil that the stimuli towards a new conception of dance, which came from individual creative experiences (the name of Isadora Duncan must be mentioned, an American lady who had been in Europe since 1900) and from new physical practices both gymnastic and related to musical education, were the focus of a powerful work of reflection and systematization. This is mainly due to the Hungarian theorist, choreographer and dancer Rudolf Laban (who had already been active in Germany in 1910 and then permanently in 1919), a figure who had been the centre of debates on dance and on its organisation up until 1936 when he left the country.<sup>3</sup> In the twenties in Germany the new dance came to enjoy a dissemination (in terms of schools, students, both amateur and professional dancers and indoor and outdoor productions in civic theatres) that had no comparison in any European country. The questioning of the language of the classic-academic dance which was exclusive until the twentieth century encouraged experiments (think of the importance of body movement in the productions by Max Reinhardt or in the *Triadisches Ballet* by Schlemmer) and encouraged exchanges and speculation which were common among artists and theorists.<sup>4</sup> At roughly the same time as the start of Expressionism in music and in the arts, the first dance of German Expression (*Ausdruckstanz*) rejected the classic-academic code of the movements, demanding the freedom

<sup>3</sup> Despite the numerous publications on the figure of this initiator, a study analysing all of the theoretic and historic problems that surround his work is still lacking. The now classic study by Vera Maletic retains its own validity and includes an updated bibliography (*Rudolf Laban. Spazio tempo espressione*, Italian edition by Francesca Falcone, Palermo, L'Epos, 2012; I edition. 1987).

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Mann was leading the Honorary Committee of the third Tänzertag, which was held in Monaco in 1930 (*3. Deutscher Tänzertag. Deutsche Tänzertage München 1930. Eine Dokumentation zusammengestellt von Hedwig Müller*, in «Tanzdrama», (1990), 13, pp. 17-29).



necessary to express inner visions and the challenges of thought.<sup>5</sup> The harmony with the anti-academic aspiration of plastic arts and music are evident.<sup>6</sup>

The person who acted as the mediator in the Italian context and the thinking of German modern dance was the Hungarian choreographer Aurel Milloss who arrived in Rome in 1938 at the age of 32. The hegemony in classic-academic dance<sup>7</sup> in our country and the resistance of fascism posed huge obstacles to the development of the wealth of experience Milloss had when he arrived. The choreographer worked uninterruptedly at the Teatro Reale of the Opera of Rome for seven seasons until the end of the war. His stay in Italy then became intermittent as he was offered various positions in foreign theatres,<sup>8</sup> thus limiting his opportunity to have an effect in a context that was still strongly influenced by the classic-academic heritage in terms of education, productivity and taste.

Milloss was born in Hungary and had been the pupil of the Italian master Nicola Guerra in Budapest and then of Laban in Berlin (in one of the schools in which he had also taught). He debuted as

<sup>5</sup> In this text I will consider the denomination 'modern dance' equivalent to 'dance of expression', although the latter is most correctly used with reference to before 1945

<sup>6</sup> It is customary to cite the school that Laban founded in Ascona, on Monte Verità in 1910 as being the first place where body movement was subject to an intense phenomenological exploration, and in which, through the experimentation of the body, Laban aimed to establish a new and comprehensive theoretic system of movement. The almost simultaneous processing of the *Die Brücke* movement (the first exhibition was in 1905), and those which came from the *Blaue Reiter*, the experiences of Arnold Schönberg in directing a progressive emancipation of dissonance and their common desire to innovate the dominant royalties explain why German modern dance was, for a long time, known as "expressionist".

<sup>7</sup> The dance of art which is used by started up in the Italian renaissance courts, with the early essays being written around it, but its roots came from sixteenth century France where a tradition of teaching started up which led to the crucial objective of a code of movements (the *danse d'école*) in baroque times. Until the twentieth century the French school and the classic school of dance fought for supremacy in the Western world with compositions, schools, teachers, operas and ballerinas. All of this until the start of modern dance questioned the exclusivity of the code in use.

<sup>8</sup> Milloss worked in Argentina, France, Sweden, Brazil, Germany (he was in Cologne from 1960 to 1963) and Austria (1963-66; 1970-73). His collaboration with Maggio



a soloist in 1928 in the art gallery *Der Sturm* in Berlin and then took on various positions as a dancer and choreographer in several German theatres. Those years were marked by the figure of Laban as an organizer, theorist and teacher. Two of his first students were Kurt Jooss, (who had been directing the Folkwang Schule Essen since 1927) and Mary Wigman (whose school in Dresda had several different branches in Germany in the twenties.) They resented the cultural *koïnè* and came from a matrix of freedom of technique which was improvised, dramaturgical and spectacular. The styles of Jooss and Wigman were differentiated by their technical and stylistic choices, as well as by a vision of dance which, for Wigman, was linked solely to the manifestation of the inner being. At the end of the twenties Jooss accepted the classic-academic technique to a certain extent whilst Wigman kept it at a distance. Involvement in social problems made Jooss more attentive to the dynamics of life of the metropolis and political conflicts, while the tendency to visualise the psychological dimension brought Wigman to explore an esoteric dimension, also in the connection with the mythicizations which regarded belonging to the German nation and that which was hypostasized as its unalterable essence, the *Volk*. Belonging to a that came after the first *Ausdruckstänzer* and to Wigman, Milloss was very sensitive to the achievements of technique and was therefore closer to Jooss. In 1931 he wrote the most important forum of the dance of that time in the monthly «Der Tanz»:

The truth, in itself, is not enough to create a work of art; the same thing regards an aesthetic expression of quality which is not impregnated with truth. The culture of the old ballet is essential, it only has to be enriched ...Ballet - its structure, its meaning, its way of educating the joints to allow the greatest possibility of

Musicale Fiorentino had a definite continuity. Consider that the transmission of a style requires time and a coherent educational context for a considerable length of time. Cf. Patrizia Veroli. *Milloss. Un maestro della coreografia tra espressionismo e classicità*, with a written piece by Roman Vlad, The Italian Music Library, Lucca 1996.



movement, must be considered the basis of the creation of modern dances.<sup>9</sup>

His body with his long, slim limbs, his face ready to light up dramatically thanks to his slightly protruding large blue eyes (which were even greater on the stage with make-up on), his agility and his dramatic temperament made him a great grotesque dancer.<sup>10</sup> As a choreographer in the thirties, Milloss worked on developing a style in which expressive freedom made use of certain formal attributes of ballet. The rise to power of Hitler found him *Leiter des gesamten Tanzwesens* in Augusta. He not only oversaw the training of the dancers but also held theoretical and historical courses, as well as dancing and creating his own choreography. In the 1934/35 theatre season he was working in the same position in Düsseldorf, but fled to Budapest suddenly in the December of 1935. The political situation in Hungary was worsening but Milloss was lucky enough to be hired as the primo ballerina and choreographer for the Teatro Reale of the Rome Opera which he started in the autumn of 1938. His contract was then renewed for another six years until the end of the 1944/45 season.

Milloss was at that point the only, or rather the most important person, representing our country in the formidable season of German modern dance in the early twentieth century.<sup>11</sup> Neither the 1924 tour by Rudolf Laban in Rome, nor the two tours by Mary Wigman (Turin, 1925 and Florence, 1930) had aroused such lasting echoes in

<sup>9</sup> Aurel von Milloss, *Ist die Verbindung beider ein Kompromiß?*, in «Der Tanz», IV (1931), no. 9, p.5. The name of the choreographer of noble birth was, in actual fact, Milloss Miholyi Aurél: he was known in Germany as Aurel von Milloss, while with us in the fascist era he was Italianised with Aurelio Milloss or Aurelio M. Milloss. He remained as such for a long time, also for his naturalisation which was obtained after the war.

<sup>10</sup> Klaus Mann, who was stationed in Italy with the American troops, was also struck by him. (cf. *La svolta. Storia di una vita*, Italian translation by Barbara Allason, Il Saggiatore, Milan 1962 (I ed. 1958), p. 41.

<sup>11</sup> Other personalities of the German school (e.g. Traut Streiff Faggioni and Raja Markmann Garosci) were active in Italy during the fascist period, but kept a lower profile than that of Milloss, staying connected to teaching in a mostly private form and remaining peripheral to the cultural life of the country.



Italy. The few published accounts about shows produced in Germany of schools and of artists who were active there betrayed the strangeness of the Italian dance culture, founded on paradigms evolved from the classic academy and an idea of ballet as an art of entertainment. These accounts were often overheard and even became the fruit of invention. The school and the company founded in 1933 in Florence by Angiola Sartorio, the daughter of the painter Giulio Aristide and Laban's pupil, lasted until 1938, when the promulgation of the laws for the "defence of the race" forced Sartorio to emigrate to the United States. He was never to return.<sup>12</sup>

A lively, intellectual and very cultured man, Milloss had been very active in Germany in the twenties and thirties in the theoretical debate on dance. In 1942 in our country he wrote a text, *Coreosofia-Coreologia-Coreografia*, with the subtitle, *Breve introduzione accademica all'arte della danza*, (*A brief academic introduction to the art of dance*) revealing the will to stand as a theorist of his art. Published in one volume, *Musica*, in which some of the more open personalities in the musical and theatrical environment collaborated (from Mario Labroca to Guido M. Gatti, Enrico di San Martino Valperga, Alfredo Casella, Enrico Prampolini to the young Fedele d'Amico), the long piece was strongly inspired by the theories of Laban, whose name, however, was not mentioned except for once as the inventor of the notion which at the time was called cinetografia (and today is known as *Labanotation*). With the term "coreosofia", invented directly by Laban, Milloss listed (as his master had done in 1920 in *Die Welt des Tänzers*, the veritable bible of the dancers who were active on German soil in the twenties), all of the reflections made over the centuries on a supposed "essence" of dance and on its role in the cosmos, of whose rhythm it was considered the reflection. His: «Every dreamer, thinker and artist is a dancer»<sup>13</sup> comes directly from the slogan by

<sup>12</sup> On the tour of Mary Wigman, described by a renowned Italian music critic of the thirties as "The white negro", and on the waning fortunes of both German and American modern dance in Italy, cf. Patrizia Veroli, *Baccanti e dive dell'aria. Donne danza e società in Italia 1900-1945*, Edimond, Città di Castello 2001.

<sup>13</sup> Aurelio M. Milloss, *Coreosofia-Coreologia Coreografia. Breve introduzione accademica all'arte della danza*, in *Musica*, vol. I, Sansoni Firenze 1942, p. 213.



Laban which was so famous at the time and still today is often quoted: «Jeder Mann ist ein Tänzer».<sup>14</sup> Deductions were made with echoes of Nietzsche and all of the koinè from the late nineteenth century-early twentieth century which, as well as Freud and much esotericism, had nourished the first *Ausdruckstanz*:

Every movement, every action and every event is dance. Each existing attitude is the harmonious product of a process of dance. Through dance we are transported to dreams, through dance we have known the secrets of our dreams, through dance we have found the path to conscious creation and at the same time to the knowledge of ourselves, to humiliation, to faith.<sup>15</sup>

Like Laban and many members of the *Ausdruckstanz*, Milloss supported the centrality of improvisation and of ecstatic dimension. However, in his view it was necessary to overcome the thrill of ecstasy in favour of a «controlled» dance in which the dancer could be «lifted up with the superiority of the intellectual and spiritual barrier, beyond the fictitious beauties of unconscious intoxication towards the divine ones of order»<sup>16</sup>. The real «magical» dance was, for Milloss, that which, while staying in touch with «the driving force of the dance, still offers the ultimate joy, that of its own harmonic order».<sup>17</sup> By the term ‘coreologia’ (also coined by Laban), Milloss meant instead the scientific analysis of dance, understood as a «game deriving from the mutual relationship between force and space carried on over a period of time dependent on the power of the relationship of these elements». This is what his teacher had studied and taught and that which included the theory of the icosahedron as a figure that could show the twelve basic directions of bodily movement in the space. According to Milloss the study of the quality of movement (which Laban had indicated with the term ‘*Eukinetik*’) was also part of ‘coreologia’. For ‘choreography’, then, once again as

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 214.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 215.



Laban had already theorized, Milloss meant the science of the composition and of its implementation, both interpretive and graphic. With some slipping between areas and their names, Milloss published in *Musica* a small regesto of the Labanian thinking and emphatically and vehemently represented a world – which had, however, now been silenced by Nazism,<sup>18</sup> – of which he still declared himself a convinced follower. At that point, no one in Italy knew anything about Laban, of his ideas or the role which he had played in the Germany of the first decade, of the twenties and thirties, nor his biographical details. It is also worth considering what possibility that a book such as that by Milloss had of being understood, in conformity with the cultural paradigms which, except perhaps in certain esoteric circles, were quite alien to the Italian context. One can doubt that it was really understood by the musicologists and artists who had contributed to the two volumes of *Musica*, and it certainly did not reach the Italian dance environment, even though, in its last lines, Milloss stated that ballet could offer «an almost exhaustive technical education», thus explaining the option of ballet which had been underlying throughout the entire book.<sup>19</sup> Milloss made no mention of his personal story nor of his notable career before he came to Italy. He was haunted by a past that he kept going over in his mind,<sup>20</sup> during fascism Milloss had no need to recount or defend his activity in Germany, even after 1933. The programmes in the Teatro Reale from

<sup>18</sup> He became unpopular with the Nazis despite the zeal with which he had accepted their guidelines, Laban emigrated to England in 1938, whilst Wigman, whose fame as a dancer and choreographer in Germany (and abroad) was now huge, was able to carry on with her work after the outbreak of the war, but only to a very limited extent. See *Biografia*, in Susan Manning, *Ecstasy and the demon. The dances of Mary Wigman* (going to press).

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 230.

<sup>20</sup> In Milloss's archive, which is now housed at the Cini Foundation, a typewritten text in German of about a hundred pages is kept, dated 1940, in which the choreographer, using the first person, retraced all of the stages of his career up to that moment, but not including the comments relating to the ideological tensions which had accompanied the development of *Ausdruckstanz* in Germany, nor the changes introduced by the *Gleichschaltung* of Hitler, nor the reasons for his escape. Did his narration intend to stabilise his memories or cancel them, limiting them only to those which were written



those years only rarely contained information about him and when there was something about him, it was very vague. The international experience of Milloss was evident, as was his extraordinary musical, theatrical and artistic knowledge. All of this might have seemed enough, and in fact had allowed him to create connections with intellectuals, musicologists, composers and artists who sought to make the musical and theatrical culture less provincial.<sup>21</sup> The young choreographer felt confident in the trust that he had been given and tried to mould the classic training of the Roman ballerinas to the needs of expressivity. It was not a question of using the classic code to give their movement a more distinct form, sometimes more elegant, as he had done in Germany, but to render the ballerinas more flexible in terms of their poetic intentions so that they could aim for a particular rhythmic complexity, for a range of dynamic inflections or pay greater attention to gravity and weight. These were things that typically required a quality of movement in terms of energy, fluency and times that had to meet an unconventional use of space. Unlike the Germany of the twenties and the freedom to experiment that had taken place, there were clear limits here. Complete freedom of poetic intentions and choreographic creation was neither accepted nor understood. Dance had to entertain and distract with the beauty of the body shapes and with uncomplicated subjects, which explains the irritation that greeted the *Coro di morti*, choreographed by Milloss in wartime with the music of Goffredo Petrassi.<sup>22</sup> With a strategy reminiscent of that adopted by Serge Diaghilev with his Ballets Russes, Milloss used great music, preferring that by Igor Stravinskij, he entrusted the scenery to painters with easels and often asked some

down. To which identity did the use of the German language correspond? Did he feel more German than Hungarian? Was he preparing to provide proof of a German identity in case the war brought a greater German presence in Italy?

<sup>21</sup> Among them was the composer Alfredo Casella who deserves the first mention.

<sup>22</sup> *Coro di morti* was inspired by *Dialogo di Federico Ruysch e delle sue mummie* by Giacomo Leopardi, included in the *Operette morali*. The music by Goffredo Petrassi had already been composed whilst the scenery, the costumes and the masks which covered the faces of the ballerinas were designed by Mario Mafai. The dance premiered on 10th November in 1942. Milloss created a kind of macabre dance that was attacked and ridiculed by the press.



of the greatest Italian composers and artists of that time to work with him.<sup>23</sup> In just a short time he had created a repertoire, given dance a status equal to melodrama and, thanks to a censorship of music that was much blander than in other areas of cultural life, he managed to stage his choreographic version of *Sagra della primavera* on 27<sup>th</sup> March, 1942. In this way Italy was the only country in Europe in which this ballet, revolutionary par excellence since its inception (1913), and not appreciated by the Germans,<sup>24</sup> could be staged in a theatre after 1933. In 1942 together with Alfredo Casella, Goffredo Petrassi, Roman Vlad and Tullio Serafin, Milloss managed to perform *Wozzeck* by Alban Berg who also directed it. The morose and militaristic subject, as different as possible from the gay patriotism that the fascist propaganda wanted to promote, made this opera and its tragic lyricism, along with its author who had died young a few years earlier – but had been blacklisted in 1938 by the nazis in the exhibition in Düsseldorf on the *Entartete Musik*<sup>25</sup> – a kind of symbol of human values crushed by history, and of the resistance not only to the conflict but also to the now close alliance of Italy with Germany. Several exiles came to Rome to see or revisit Berg's work.

<sup>23</sup> Among the composers Alfredo Casella and Goffredo Petrassi must be mentioned and among the painters, Orfeo Tamburi, Enrico Prampolini, Giorgio de Chirico, Mario Mafai, Filippo de Pisis, Cipriano Efisio Oppo, Gino Severini and Toti Scialoja. Many other great Italian (and foreign) composers and artists were to be involved by Milloss after the war.

<sup>24</sup> Stravinsky and the Hitler regime were not on good terms. Like most of the Russian *émigré*, the composer had conservative ideologies and never spoke against Hitler. On the other hand, the adversity of the Nazis had an effect on the *Histoire du soldat* and the "barbaric" *Sagra della primavera*, which was no longer performed after 1931 and no longer seen after 1934. In the context of the exhibition on *Entartete Musik* of Düsseldorf, it was possible to listen in a cabin to some recorded fragments (the author's interview with the musicologist Heinrich Lindlar, Bonn, 1993). Cf. Joan Evans, *Stravinsky's Music in Hitler's Germany*, in «Journal of the American Musicological Society», 56 (2003), n.3, pp. 525-594.

<sup>25</sup> *Entartete Musik. Zur Düsseldorfer Ausstellung von 1938. Eine Kommentierte Rekonstruktion*, edited by Albrecht Dümmling and Peter Girth, catalogue of the *Entartete Musik* exhibition, Tonhalle Düsseldorf, 16<sup>th</sup> January-28<sup>th</sup> February 1988, Service-Druck Kleinherne GmbH, Düsseldorf 1988.



The Italian activity of Milloss during the last years of fascism is, with the exception of a few titles, a long list of triumphs which show the victory of a musical frond on the more conservative components of the regime. It was a success which was made possible by the complicity of the more tolerant wings of the National Fascist Party. Milloss contributed greatly to saving a certain freedom of musical theatre in Italy, giving life to an oasis of nostalgia where you could breathe a little air of experimentation that had characterised Europe before dictatorships. The survival of this oasis was permitted by its limitations and by the fact that the choreographic style of Milloss was, to a certain extent, neoclassic, in other words a modernised classicism. Its style and classic rhetoric were after all in line with the way in which fascism used its topos of the Roman world to propagate its own “revolutionary”, modern mission. Classic and modern: fascism was represented by an oxymoron which was essential to its «violent reign of the word».<sup>26</sup>

After the end of the war German modern dance was the object of an actual removal. Europe was eager to know about developments over the Atlantic, especially the ballets of George Balanchine who had put some great innovations into action on the solid base of the Russian classic-academic school.<sup>27</sup> In the times of the ‘cold war’, the United States launched a strategy of cultural penetration with an anti-soviet function with tours in Europe of the American Ballet and the New York City Ballet, the company created by Balanchine in New York, the practical instrument of his choreographic work. The identification of modern dance in Italy came about in this context with the so-called *modern dance*, in other words, with American modern dance. The rich fabric of invention and subsidiaries which, with their ideological implications, had developed in Germany, had been

<sup>26</sup> Barbara Spackman, *Fascist Virilities. Ideology and Social Fantasy in Italy*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis-London 1996, p.116.

<sup>27</sup> Balanchine, Russian by birth, had been the last choreographer of Serge Diaghilev anf his Ballets Russes. For the history of this company which played a vital role in renewing the theatrical arts of the twentieth century, refer to *I Ballets Russes di Diaghilev tra storia e mito*, edited by Patrizia Veroli and Gianfranco Vinay, Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Roma 2013.



all but been ignored by us. Moreover, in the fifties, all modern dance was regarded with a certain irritation in Europe. The *danse d'école*, with its predictable and harmonious language and its idealized bodies, seemed to offer a vision of reconciliation and Utopia, the much needed solid ground and which was open to recognising artistic stature. In 1954 the tour in Florence of one of the pioneers of *modern dance*, Martha Graham was harshly criticized. Even the most informed intellectuals counterpoised a classicism perceived as a custodian of values which were considered eternal, unchangeable and irreplaceable.<sup>28</sup>

In 1964 the Maggio Musicale Fiorentino, the most important Italian music and musical theatre festival, dedicated its twenty-seventh edition to Expressionism. It was supported by the Mayor of Florence, Giorgio La Pira, by the Councillor for Culture and Fine Arts of the city, Raffaello Ramat and the composer Roman Vlad<sup>29</sup> who resisted against the attacks made by most of the press mainly due to the German roots of Expressionism.<sup>30</sup>

In the programme, in order to paint a broad historical picture, some works by the School of Vienna were put together with other participants which had the similar atmosphere of the coming to the end of the traditional harmonic structures and to scores which were in the new style, as well as some which were more recent. Several exhibitions were organised, one of paintings, sculptures, graphics and architecture (with more than five hundred works), one of paintings

<sup>28</sup> Susanne Franco, *Identità artistiche e nazionali a confronto. La prima tournée italiana della Martha Graham Dance Company (1954)*, in *L'Italia e la danza. Storie e rappresentazioni, stili e tecniche tra teatro, tradizioni popolari e società*, Proceedings from the International convention of studies (Rome, 13th-15th October 2006), edited by Giannandrea Poesio and Alessandro Pontremoli, Aracne, Roma 2008, pp. 21-35.

<sup>29</sup> Rumanian born Vlad had moved to Roma in 1938, where he had continued his musical studies with Alfredo Casella in the Santa Cecilia Conservatory. During the years of fascism, especially in the post-war period, he was the main propagator of the principles of the expressionist musical school, along with Luigi Rognoni. Cf. Luigi Rognoni, *Espressionismo edodecafonìa. La Scuola musicale di Vienna*, Einaudi, Turin 1954; Roman Vlad, *Modernità e tradizione nella musica contemporanea*, Einaudi, Turin 1955.

<sup>30</sup> Tuscany had notoriously been the scene of several massacres perpetrated by the nazi troops after 8th September 1943.



and drawings by Schönberg, one of set design and directing, a documentary exhibition on Expressionist literature and finally two reviews on Expressionist cinema. In addition to a rich programme of shows and concerts, the Festival organized an international convention in Palazzo Vecchio with writers, musicologists, artists and historians of various arts taking part. Almost half a century on from those days, the audacity of Vlad's choices might go unnoticed but it is the horrified comments of many of the critics which are indicative. There are those, like Enzo Borrell in the «Nazione-Sera», who attacked the vain desire to “inflate and lift [Expressionism] to cosmic and metaphorical meanings», and others, like Renzo Rossellini in the «Messaggero», who wept over the fate of the Tuscan capital: «Poor Florence: but where have its inhabitants gone? In the cellars, in the basements, in the sewers...? Does the beautiful and Italic city have to suffer another ruthless Nordic invasion?».<sup>31</sup>

The Maggio Musicale Festival bestowed the greatest recognition hitherto given in the world of theatre to an artistic movement which was still little known, due to various circumstances. Among these was the tragic German occupation followed by the armistice of 8th September 1943, and more generally the old status of Germany as the “enemy” (the alliance between Mussolini and Hitler having only been a brief period in a long history of hostility), as well as the lack of familiarity in some circles with the German culture, at least compared to the French one. The cultural circles of the fifties in Italy had been marked by a left wing ideology, which was believed to be the cause of Soviet social realism in painting and that of a serialism in music which was felt to have come directly from the decomposition of the harmonic structures experimented by the School of Vienna, a tendency which, however, was only still familiar to an élite.

The guiding idea of the Maggio Festival of 1964 was instead to recreate, as far as possible and for a wide audience, the complexity of the cultural landscape of the early decades of the twentieth century. However, this did not come about as far as the dance of that pe-

<sup>31</sup> Cit. in Leonardo Pinzauti, *Storia del Maggio. Dalla nascita della Stabile Orchestrale fiorentina (1928) al Festival del 1993*, The Italian Musical Bookshop, Lucca 1994, p. 161.



riod was concerned. The organisers made use of Milloss's advice.<sup>32</sup> He was responsible for the choice of *Der grüne Tisch* (The Green Table) which Kurt Jooss had choreographed in 1932. The historical and stylistic difference between dance and the other arts which were presented at the Maggio Festival is evident. Even though it got its expressive power from the most innovative period of German dance, *Der grüne Tisch* shows Jooss's support of a synthesis of modern technique and classic technique, a stylistic choice that went beyond the times of early expressionism (to which several of the musical works and paintings, respectively performed and exhibited in Florence, were connected). Jooss's stylistic choice was similar to that made later on by Milloss, whose *Mandarino meraviglioso* (created in 1942 in Rome based on the homonymous music by Bartók) was the other ballet presented at the Festival. The failure to present choreography which was capable of showing the wealth of the German choreographical scene of the twenties and thirties, and the absence of many of its protagonists, is sensational. Many of the artists who were active at that time were still alive, primarily Mary Wigman.<sup>33</sup> The combination of the *Grüne Tisch* and the *Mandarino meraviglioso* in a festival which was dedicated to Expressionism had, on the other hand, the effect of placing on the same level *Der grüne Tisch*, which at its debut had been a dramatic allegory of the war which was clamorously farseeing, together with the *Mandarino meraviglioso*, animated by very different poetic concerns which were more generally universal. There were also two choreographers, Jooss, a voluntary exile from Germany in 1933 and Milloss, who, after having adapted to Nazism for some time, had fled for reasons which were almost certainly personal. German modern dance, of which Jooss and Milloss

<sup>32</sup> Since the fifties, Milloss had also worked as an advisor of the *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo* (Editor Le Maschere-Sansoni, Firenze-Roma, voll. I-IX, 1954-1962), an editorial company that was the authority on the history of theatrical arts for many years and not only in Italy. Rumours about Laban and Jooss (vol. VI, 1959), as well as about Wigman (vol. IX, 1962) were written by a relatively unknown Ingrid Kahrstedt, and there is no doubt that Milloss contributed to them. The relations with Nazism of the three choreographers, especially Laban and Wigman, were not mentioned at all.

<sup>33</sup> In 1957, Wigman had created an important choreographic version of the *Sagra della primavera* at the *Städtische Oper* in Berlin.



were the only two followers to be invited, was essentially represented throughout as an opponent of the Nazi regime and as its victim. At the international congress of the Festival, Georg Zivier and Millos were in charge of the dance. Zivier was a German writer and theatrical journalist and offered an overview of the *Ausdruckstanz* that had been invalidated by a partisan behaviour regarding the strife and the problems of the twenties. He was derogatory about Laban's work but enthusiastic about Wigman's and he had a dismissive attitude about the freedom of expression of the twenties, which he declared as being over and of little interest. It is difficult today to understand whether the considerable gaps which stand out in his report are due to lack of facts or just a poor understanding of them, or indeed the desire to keep them quiet. As for Milloss, his report claimed that the legacy of Expressionism did not consist in the discovery of freedom in dance and in the bad use that could be made of it if the forms were not governed by the *danse d'école* and by its unchangeable laws. The legacy of modern dance had to be, in short, according to Milloss, saved from classicism or rather from neoclassicism. In the theoretic emphasis, the energy of remembering moved continually from emotions to linguistic formulations. To this "heir of expressionism", any emotional tie with the past and with the colleagues with whom he had experienced harmonies and battles seemed to have been denied. The fire of experience had gone out and had been cancelled from that which had only wanted to be instructive. Milloss wrote and read his report in German. Did he want to confirm his having been elected to belonging to the culture of Expressionism in front of the élite who were gathered for the Maggio Festival? Was he addressing the audience that he still believed he had in Germany?<sup>34</sup> Nor did he think of having his speech translated, of opening it up to a wider circulation when, a good twenty-two years later,

<sup>34</sup> His report was published in Germany the following year. Cfr. Aurel von Milloss, *Das Erbe der Expressionismus im Tanz*, in «Maske und Kothurn», XI (1965), no. 4. Between 1960 and 1963 Milloss had been the director of ballet and the choreographer of the Opernhaus di Cologne, whose *Generalintendant* was a great man of the theatre, Oskar Fritz Schuh.



the proceedings were published.<sup>35</sup> Recognition of Laban's work was not missing from his report, but it was limited to his choreography, his analysis of movement and to his system of notation. The important positions held by Laban in the early years of Nazism and his experience working in Germany between 1928 and 1935 were not mentioned.<sup>36</sup> Nor was Nazism mentioned at all. In a Festival which was such a revelation for visual arts and music, modern dance was an art without a history, a real "black hole" in German and European culture. It is not by chance that in the summary table (1891-1933) attached to the proceedings of the conference under "Dance", the vast majority of the very few events mentioned were ballets produced (and not in Germany) by Serge Diaghilev, the great entrepreneur of the Ballets Russes, whose artistic adventure had always taken place outside of Expressionism: there were also two "cycles" of dances by Wigman (*Exstatische Tänze* and *Tänze des Schweigens*), the debut of Laban's *Gaukelei*, of which Milloss had created a new choreographic version in Düsseldorf (it had been his last ballet before his flight from Germany), the first representation in the form of a pantomime of the *Mandarino meraviglioso* by Bartók (Cologne, 1926), and the debut of the *Grüne Tisch* by Jooss. In other terms, they had been listed as manifestations of Expressionism, as well as a few pieces by Wigman, others belonging to Jooss and to Milloss (authors of the only two choreographies presented at the Maggio Festival), together with a series of ballets produced by Diaghilev in a completely different cultural context, which should have, one supposes, been a point of comparison with real expressionistic choreographies which were not mentioned. As for the precious rational bibliography which enriched the volume, not one text of dance was mentioned. It is impossible to know when the syn-

<sup>35</sup> Aurelio M. Milloss, *Das Erbe der Expressionismus im Tanz*, in *Expressionismus. Una enciclopedia interdisciplinare*, edited by Paolo Charini, Antonella Gargano and Roman Vlad, Bulzoni, Roma 1986, pp. 445-463. Even the report by Ziegler (*Der Expressionismus im Tanz*, in *Expressionismus*, cit., pp. 433-443) was published in the German language.

<sup>36</sup> Perhaps unsurprisingly in his preface, Gargano presented Milloss solely as a "collaborator in the 'thirties' of the "National Hungarian Theatre" of Budapest and the author of the choreography for the *Mandarino meraviglioso* by Bartók" (*L'Espressionismo a Firenze. Documenti e testimoni*, in *Expressionismus*, cit., p. XIX)<sup>37</sup> Roman Vlad, *Come nacque il Maggio Musicale Fiorentino dedicato all'Espressionismo*, in *Expressionismus*, cit., p. XI.



optic table and the bibliography of the proceedings, which were published so long after the conference, were drawn up. What is certain is that the «conspicuous gap» in the knowledge, which the Maggio Festival had dedicated to Expressionism had hoped to fill,<sup>37</sup> as well as the court of historical-critical interdisciplinary reflection that it had intended to offer left a great void in dance. However, no one noticed it: the lack of knowledge about German modern dance in Italy was more or less general and there was little or no interest in it.

The same report by Milloss would not be translated into Italian until after his death.<sup>38</sup> Seventeen years were to pass before Pina Bausch and her company performed in Parma in 1981. The references of her new way of doing theatre, initially looked for in Tadeusz Kantor and in Bob Wilson, were quickly identified in German Expressionism and were the legacy of that tradition which Bausch presented in Rome the following year.<sup>39</sup> An international convention was organised at the Goethe Institut, the proceedings of which were presented during Pina Bausch's tour in Rome as it closed the small series

<sup>37</sup> Roman Vlad, *Come nacque il Maggio Musicale Fiorentino dedicato all'Espressionismo*, in *Espressionismus*, cit., p. XI.

<sup>38</sup> Aurelio Milloss, *L'eredità dell'espressionismo nella danza*, in «Teatro contemporaneo», VIII (1988), n.19, pp. 17-34. Four years after the Maggio Festival, Milloss shared a few personal memories, though limiting himself to the aesthetic and without explaining why he had been «obliged to leave Germany» (Leonardo Pinzauti, *A colloquio con Aurelio Milloss*, in «Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana», (1968), 6, p. 1139).

<sup>39</sup> In truth, at that time, Bausch came under this label. «Looking back I can see no references to Expressionism in my ballets [as I do not see them in the new German dance]: only you who are not in Germany have this idea» (quoted in Paolo Cervone, *Arriva la Bausch con il nuovo «1980»*, in «Corriere della Sera», 28th September, 1982). «It is crazy letting yourself be catalogued. I do not want to belong to any category. Of course, I worked with Kurt Jooss who was an expressionist choreographer whom I loved very much...I fear words. If you really have to use a category, then speak of *Tanztheater*», quoted in *Si danza, si recita o si suona? Intervista alla coreografa Pina Bausch*, edited by s.n., in «Rinascita», (1982), 35, pg33. The protagonists of *Tanztheater* who had been invited to Rome had naturally absorbed the *koinè* which had been experienced in the theatre after the war. (deriving the presence of strong theatrical connotations, the use of words etc.), both in Germany and in the United States, but the subsidiaries spoke clearly: both Reinhild Hoffmann and Bausch had studied with Jooss. Even Hoffmann and Susanne Linke had trained at the Folkwang Schule in Essen with Hans Züllig, one of Jooss's pupils. As far as the term *Tanztheater* is concerned, it had been coined



of shows of the *Tanztheater* which had begun in April. The title of the volume *Tanztheater. Dalla danza espressionista a Pina Bausch*, already revealed the debt that its editor, the dance critic Leonetta Bentivoglio had towards processing of Germany's past which was taking place in Germany. A new generation of critics and scholars were asking themselves new questions. Why had 1933 not constituted the caesura which was valid for the other arts but not for dance? Why had many of the greatest choreographers and dancers of *Ausdruckstanz* accepted the Nazi leadership? How could they have lived unfeelingly with the transition from Weimar to the Third Reich and continued to work, giving their flesh and bodies to a liberticidal ideology? In their intervention, Hedwig Müller, Norbert Servos and Jochen Schmidt, apart from highlighting the untimeliness of calling the *Ausdruckstanz* 'Expressionist', given the specific semantic density of both of the terms, identified in it the forerunner of *Tanztheater* under some aspects, such as the themes drawn from everyday life, attention paid to social issues and the freedom of technique. They confirmed the «almost underground» continuity of *Ausdruckstanz* after 1933, as well as a certain degree of assimilation by the Nazi ideology of its revolutionary component, which had, according to them, mostly run out even before the war.<sup>40</sup> In the text by Milloss entitled *Laban: l'apertura di una nuova era nella storia della danza*, which appeared at the beginning of the book, the new way in which he took on his relation with his memory of the German past was broadly and explicitly evident. There was no longer silence and reticence, but there was the dignified speech of mythicization. Making a monument of the figure of Laban (and only of him), Milloss in a certain sense was making the burden of his memories lighter: remembering, moreover, in

by Laban in the twenties to indicate a genre of dance that was measured by its format and the variety of its characteristic intents of the theatrical dimension. The opposite, *Theatertanz* had indicated a genre dominated by the ritual aim, often distinguished by a mystic-ecstatic atmosphere and unconnected to the theatrical environment.

<sup>40</sup> Hedwig Müller and Norbert Servos, *Espressionismo? L'Ausdruckstanz e il nuovo Tanztheater in Germania*, in *Tanztheater. Dalla danza espressionista a Pina Bausch*, edited by Leonetta Bentivoglio, Di Giacomo, Roma 1982, pg. 58. Susan Manning had written critically about this theme in the chapter *Dall'Ausdruckstanz al Tanztheater* in her monography *Estasi e demonio. Le danze di Mary Wigman*, cit.



a heavily theoretical form, was in substance a strategy of oblivion. The explanation of the theories, of the experimentations and of the «immeasurable importance»<sup>41</sup> of Laban was still anchored in an aesthetic world and separated completely from the ways in which the Third Reich had directed the practice and thinking of dance. Once again there was no sign of his own trials and tribulations. When, in 1985, Leonetta Bentivoglio re-published an already revised and broadened version of her book *La danza moderna* (1977), under the title *La danza contemporanea*, she was finally able to include German dance into the genealogy of modernism.<sup>42</sup> Her approach nevertheless remained aesthetic and did not take into account just how much the ideological and political history of the Third Reich had influenced *Ausdruckstanz*.

In the last few years of his life (he died in 1988), Milloss became the sought-after witness of a German modern dance which had begun to generate great interest in Italy. The interviews he gave on it did not mention that only in his library could there be found pictures which would allow faces to be put to the names of the artists who were starting to become familiar to us<sup>43</sup> From the “heir of Enrico Cecchetti”, the master of ballet whose courses he had occasionally attended in the twenties and whose figure he had so exalted in the past,<sup>44</sup> he became for everyone the “heir of Laban”, a definition that corresponded to the new flow of his memories and to the way in which now his me-

<sup>41</sup> Aurelio M. Milloss, *Laban: l'apertura di una nuova era nella storia della danza*, in *Tanztheater*, cit., pg. 18.

<sup>42</sup> *La danza contemporanea*, Longanesi & C., Milano 1985.

<sup>43</sup> It is almost certain that no one took on the challenge again of reading the books on dance published in Germany in the first decades of the century. The language they were written in is difficult to understand and is full of neologisms.

<sup>44</sup> Cecchetti had been a teacher at Diaghilev's in order to train his partner's children. In an Italy that was not resigned to losing the leading role in the history of dance, Cecchetti's classical teaching was understood, from the twenties, as being essential to the rise of the Ballets Russes, the company that was reforming ballet in a decisive way. The role of Milloss was positioned within this false consciousness. Being himself a follower, in certain aspects, of Diaghilev's strategies, his stand as “a pupil of Cecchetti” strengthened the modernity of his choices. Cf. Aurelio M. Milloss, *Introduzione*, in Luigi Rossi, *Enrico Cecchetti. Il maestro dei maestri*, Edizioni della danza, Vercelli 1978, pp. 9-32.



mory made sense of his past and rebuilt his identity.<sup>45</sup> As a citizen from a country that had become a part of another nation<sup>46</sup> with the Trianon Treaty, and then a citizen by choice of Weimar's Republic and active in the Third Reich and then Italian through necessity, Milloss had always been looking for a definitive homeland and his paths and revisiting of his memory had always answered to his need to replenish the identity which was more suited to the circumstances in which he lived. It was in the eighties when his past seemed to emerge from the archives and he was seized by the need to give a coherent and definitive public representation of himself. The time had come to reclaim, both in Italy and in Germany, that role of being strongly against the Nazi power, which until then he had never declared. In his biography he wrote about himself, entrusting a friend who was a critic with claiming to be its author, he described his own ballet *Gaukelei* (Düsseldorf, 1935) as an allegory of Hitler's tyranny. It was because of this work, he explained, that he had had to escape from Germany.<sup>47</sup>

The choreographer died aged 82 in 1988 at the same time as a vivid exploration of the first modern dance was taking place. The image of Ausdruckstanz was considered more and more inadequate, a victim of the regime and obliged to adapt, surviving se-

<sup>45</sup> In this context one must read *Colloquio con Aurelio Milloss* by Placida Staro, in *Rudolf Laban. Dalla danza libera agli anni Ottanta*, proceedings from the round table of the same name coordinated by Eugenia Casini Ropa in September 1989, edited by Susi Davoli, Tecnostampa s.c.r.l. 1990, pp. 25-45. Even the research by Eugenia Casini Ropa, which was part of the rediscovery of the avant garde theatre of the early twentieth century and carried on by Fabrizio Cruciani, was heading in this direction (*La danza e l'agitprop. I teatri non teatrali nella cultura tedesca del primo Novecento*, Il Mulino, Bologna 1988). It is in this period that the roots of dance studies began in universities, along with the transformation of the scholar from a critic tied primarily to reporting and collaborating with periodic journalistic works, to a researcher who works in a scientific context.

<sup>46</sup> Banat was the region in which Milloss was born and which then became part of Serbia in 1919.

<sup>47</sup> Aurel Milloss [sub nomine Lorenzo Tozzi], *Aurelio M. Milloss (1906)*, in Lorenzo Tozzi, *I grandi coreografi del Novecento*, in AA.VV, *Il balletto nel Novecento*, edited by Lorenzo Tozzi, ERI, Torino 1983, p. 81. The attribution to Milloss in its long and detailed form is possible through the existence in the choreographer's archives of the carbon copy of a letter from him to Tozzi that contained it. Milloss had the same version of the



cretly until it found its own organic place, even though it was in a new, more complex formula, with Tanztheatre. The death of Mary Wigman in 1973 coincided with Pina Bausch becoming the artistic director of the Tanztheater Wuppertal, but this was a sign of a transmission which affected only some formal aspects of the Ausdruckdanz inheritance. It certainly was not able to explain the philosophical roots and its historical transformations.

1986 was a year of the founder: an exhibition and a conference on Mary Wigman at the *Akademie der Künste* in West Berlin<sup>48</sup> accompanied the foundation of the Mary-Wigman Gesellschaft e.V., which, led by Wigman's biographer Hedwig Müller<sup>49</sup> and by Patricia Stöckemann, started the four months of study «Tanzdrama». With its 67 numbers, from 1986 to 2002, this publication would offer a crucial collection point for research and oral history.<sup>50</sup> On these two tracks, often considered non-negotiable truths by their protagonists, dance as a practice that resides in the body makes it fleeting and difficult to explain, a practice entrusted to memory and subject to its execution and questioning in the years to come. Milloss's reticence about his past and that of his colleagues in the Germany of the twenties and thirties, and perhaps its removals,

facts which occurred in 1935 circulated a few years later in Germany: Leonetta Bentivoglio, *Interview Aurel von Milloss*, in «Ballett International», (1986), no. 5, p. 16. Milloss's words did not find confirmation in the favourable reception of the ballet, in which none of the critics found even the slightest allusion to the contemporary. Even though *Gaukelei* was open to complaints of a political nature, it is certain that Milloss's weak position had something to do with his homosexuality and that it was this that was the main reason he fled from Germany as he feared deportation. Cf. Patrizia Veroli, *Milloss*, cit., pp. 146-150.

<sup>48</sup> *Ausdruckstanz. Eine Mitteleuropäische Bewegung der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*, edited by Gunhild Oberzaucher-Schüller, Florian Noetzel Verlag, Wilhelmshaven 1992 (II ed. 2004).

<sup>49</sup> Hedwig Müller, *Mary Wigman. Leben und Werk der grossen Tänzerin*, Herschel, Berlin 1986.

<sup>50</sup> The exhibition «...Jede Mann ist ein Tänzer». *Ausdruckstanz in Deutschland zwischen 1900 und 1945*, edited by Hedwig Müller and Patricia Stöckemann, Berlin, Akademie der Künste, 2nd May-13th June 1993, Anabas, Gießen 1993 served as a summary in this early stage of rediscovery. The exhibition was produced by the *Akademie der Künste* in collaboration with the *Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln* (the first public archive of dance came



have constituted a case which is not uncommon in the history of those times and the ways in which they continued to live, more or less in silence, more or less consciously, in the memory of the survivors. Some important studies undertaken in the nineties – when the fall of the Berlin Wall pushed people to question the past and the false interruptions of history – have used new epistemological and heuristic tools to focus on the common socio-cultural tissue which formed both the visionary and multifaceted phenomenon of *Ausdruckstanz* and the representations and socio-political anxieties that animated Nazism.<sup>51</sup> It was on the basis of a longing for Utopia of a pre-industrial society, in the myth of a nature which was free from the constraints of culture, in the desire to find itself in a primeval community removed from history, it was, in other words the in common Utopia of a “new man”, primordial and uncorrupted that *Ausdruckstanz* and Nazism took shape and found the shapes with which to try to give life to Utopia. This could explain how, as in many cases, a common way forward was possible.

out in 1986 in the German Federal Republic of that time), the *Theaterwissenschaftliche Sammlung* of Cologne university and the *Mary Wigman-Gesellschaft*.

<sup>51</sup> Among the greatest contributions published cf. Inge Baxmann, *Mythos: Gemeinschaft. Körper- und Tanzkulturen der Moderne*, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, München 2000; Laure Guilbert, *Danser avec le IIIe Reich. Les danseurs modernes et le nazisme*, Editions Complexe, Brussels 2000. A very accurate summary on the various contributions which effected the history of modern German dance can be found in Susanne Franco, *Ausdruckstanz: tradizioni, traduzioni, tradimenti*, in *I discorsi della danza. Parole chiave per una metodologia della ricerca*, a cura di Susanne Franco and Marina Nordera, Utet Università, Turin 2005, pp. 91-114. In an afterword of the new edition (2011) of her *Danser avec le III Reich*, Laure Guilbert has, in a broad, detailed and critical way, gone over the ways in which *Ausdruckstanz* was interpreted after the second world war both in the Federal German Republic and the Democratic German Republic until the contributions made to it up to 2011; all of this is also in relation to the developments of the historiography on Nazism. This French scholar has also looked into the various ways in which knowledge of *Ausdruckstanz* was transmitted and was received and analysed in other countries. (Laure Guilbert, *Postface. Les constructions de l'oubli*, in Id., *Danser avec le III Reich. Les danseurs modernes et le nazisme*, Versaille Editeur, Brussels 2011, pp. 403-444).

The daily dilemma of dealing with that which, in your memory and in the infinite horror, had been the “the banality” of evil”<sup>52</sup> in the violence of ideological constraints and of persecution, in the ashes of the war and of the Holocaust which would stay with the survivors for a long time. That is what Milloss had lived through.\*

*Translation from the Italian: Katharine Ludlow*

<sup>52</sup> The relationship which tied Milloss to Fritz Böhme until the postwar years is significant. It has been looked into by Laure Guilbert, *Aurel Milloss e Fritz Böhme. Storia di un'amicizia*, in «Biblioteca Teatrale», no. 78 (monographic: *Ausdruckstanz: il corpo, la danza e la critica*, edited by Susanne Franco), April-June 2006, pp. 185-225. The career of Böhme, who was one of the greatest German critics in the early twentieth century, began in the first years of that century and continued throughout the Nazi period with his directives contributing with decision and enthusiasm to transmission. Milloss was always a great admirer of his.

\* This text constitutes a revised and broadened version of an intervention by the Authoress during the day of studies *Autour de l'historiographie de la danse moderne allemande. Etat de lieux et perspectives*, organised on 29<sup>th</sup> March 2012 at the University of Nice Sophie Antipolis by the *Centre Transdisciplinaire d'Epistémologie de la Littérature et des Arts vivants* (CTEL 6307) and by the *Programme Erasmus Mundus Etudes du spectacle vivant*, coordinated by Laure Guilbert and Marina Nordera. Thanks go to Leonetta Bentivoglio and Francesca Falcone for providing information and their expertise.