# Eurythmy and the "New Dance"[1]

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The emergence of eurythmy is an important episode in the history of dance, but it has barely rated a mention within the scholarly literature.[2] The few references that can be found, even within otherwise admirable studies, are usually a sentence or two at most, obviously tossed off in haste, and invariably wrong-headed.[3] Nor has there been much movement in the other direction: It has not helped that so many anthroposophical writings on eurythmy in English take such pains to distinguish it fundamentally from all other forms of movement, or try to bolster it with unsupportable claims of uniqueness.[4] Eurythmy cannot be unrelated to the history of dance and yet simultaneously its "apotheosis."[5]

*My own contention challenges both narratives. I shall argue that eurythmy is the continuation of an aesthetic revolution that began not in Europe but in America, that the original impulses leading to the "new dance" were deeply spiritual, and that eurythmy is the fulfillment of that original impetus.*

My counter-narrative about the pre-history of eurythmy within the history of dance should be of particular interest to English-speaking anthroposophists, because it identifies as the all-important immediate context for the development of eurythmy the pioneering work by *three American women*: Loie Fuller, Isadora Duncan, and Ruth St. Denis.[6] No argument is needed to establish the centrality of their roles in the emergence of the "new dance"; scholars are in full agreement in that regard. But to my knowledge nobody has ever noted the relationship between eurythmy and the new art of movement this trio sought to inaugurate. The task of this introduction will be to persuade both anthroposophists and mainstream dance historians that there are deep but largely unapprehended affinities between the "new dance" and eurythmy. Moreover, I shall argue that it is not the "modern dance" of Wigman, Jooss, Graham, and Humphreys but rather Rudolf Steiner's eurythmy that is the rightful heir of Fuller, Duncan, and St. Denis.

**The original impulses leading to the "new dance" were deeply spiritual, and eurythmy is the fulfillment of that original impetus.**

Eurythmy and the "new dance" share at least three separate roots. As a shorthand, let me call them "spiritual science," "Greek drama," and "Oriental spirituality."[7] Loie Fuller was more than just a dancer: Like Goethe and Steiner—indeed, like Professor Strader in Steiner's *Mystery Dramas*—she was a "spiritual scientist" who invented and patented a kind of perpetual motion machine, collaborated with Marie and Pierre Curie,[8] and was elected to the French Astronomical Society. Like Steiner, Isadora Duncan went back to Greek drama via Nietzsche, and to Nature itself via Greek art.[9] Where Duncan was more instinctive and more in tune with the older consciousness, Steiner was more conscious and forward-looking. But as my account will attempt to show, Duncan was far more reflective and even erudite than her image in the popular culture of her day and ours. Like Steiner, Ruth St. Denis sought to bring the spiritual wisdom of the Orient to the West, and to revive the ancient Mysteries in a new, artistic form. Here as elsewhere, Steiner seldom cites or refers to contemporaries who influenced him; like

many other great thinkers and artists, Steiner was consumed by a passion to create something new and did not pause to acknowledge predecessors.

Like most other European intellectuals, Steiner was allergic to America, which may have gotten in the way as well. But the parallels between eurythmy and the arts of movement these three American women brought to Europe are profound, and he simply must have known all about them. After all, Steiner himself was deeply immersed in avant-garde artistic circles at the turn of the century; the American women were great sensations; and in 1904 Isadora Duncan started a school in Grunewald, only a few miles from Steiner's apartment at Motzstrasse 17 in Berlin—the same city where Ruth St. Denis enjoyed the greatest acclaim and collaborated with the renowned director Max Reinhardt.

**Eurythmy and the "new dance" share at least three separate roots: spiritual science, Greek drama, and Oriental spirituality.**

The great ferment in the dance world of Central Europe during the early 'teens of the last century is a well-known story.[10] Dalcroze[11] moved from Switzerland to the new garden city of Hellerau, outside Dresden, and established a school where he taught a new and highly disciplined approach to music that he called "eurythmics." Most of the important European innovators of the nascent "new dance" came to study with him, only to move on fairly quickly, put off by the rigidity of his system. Steiner knew all about Dalcroze, but aside from their names, eurythmy and eurythmics have little in common. Many of the innovators also spent time at the utopian community at Monte Verità. But Monte Verità was a short-lived phenomenon that gave rise to no ongoing institution or distinctive style of performance. Steiner did not participate in either of those nurseries of European "modern dance." Hence it is tempting to conclude that eurythmy and modern dance arose entirely independently, with no influence flowing in either direction, but, aside from the Americans, there was a Central European player in that early history who had significant connections to Steiner and his work.

Indeed, it was by far the most important player in that history: Rudolf Laban, a "Michaelic" figure if ever there was one, born in the Michaelic year 1879.[12] Steiner and Laban were together in Munich during the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the First World War, and they moved within the same avant-garde milieu. Laban was peripherally connected with the Blue Rider, which was heavily influenced by Steiner.[13] Surely Laban heard Steiner lecture during those years, and it is very likely that they met. If not directly, Steiner would have learned about Fuller, Duncan, and St. Denis indirectly through Laban, who was intensely engaged in all the new developments across the entire field of dance.

## A "spiritual scientist" of the dance

It seems that the "new dance" began inconspicuously, with a casual experiment:

> It was while rehearsing in a comedy, *Quack, MD*, that she accidentally discovered her dance—or so says the legend. Offstage one day a beam of sunlight caught a piece of silk she was draping on herself and in the mirror she was transformed. Being of a scientific turn of mind, she began to experiment with ways to move the silk around in the sunlight, and she perfected a number of motions—twirls, waltz steps, little skips—that made the silk swirl.[14]

Born in a suburb of Chicago, Loie Fuller[15] followed in the footsteps of Kate Vaughn, who introduced the "skirt dance" to London in 1876. But one should not be fooled: Although they had become a staple of vaudeville, skirt dances have a distinguished pedigree. The oldest dances of which we have images may well be Cretan "skirt dances,"[16] and "dances…associated with the 'mystery' plays or ceremonies were well

known in Crete; in fact, the Greeks believed that the Cretans had 'invented' such rituals. Some of these rites may have been part of solemn and secret initiations…."[17] Was the law of spiritual evolution so often described by Steiner at work here, whereby the new can arise only after a quick, symbolic revival of the old—ontogeny recapitulating phylogeny?

Fuller saw the aesthetic potential of staging flowing movement as such, immersed in a flood of colored lights. After experimenting with movement and electric lighting, she took her innovative act to New York City in 1892, where she debuted her "Serpentine Dance" at the Madison Square Theater. Emboldened by the accolades, she decided to bring her dances to the front lines of the avant-garde: That same year, she sailed for Paris, where she was hired by the Folies Bergère and took the town by storm with her "Fire Dance," "Lily Dance," "Butterfly Dance," and of course the "Serpentine Dance," now further transformed by a wide range of technological innovations.

Fuller metamorphosed the skirt dance in multiple important ways. The skirt became a huge veil, controlled by long wands—a method that she even patented. She kept the veils in continuous motion; there were no pauses and no poses. More important, she used them to emulate and explore natural phenomena, and that was what attracted so many great artists, poets, and even scientists to her performances. She seemed to have conjured forth, and presented directly, real living form—the "life body" of living organisms that Steiner calls the "etheric."[18] But even just as a purely aesthetic experience, her dances were overwhelming.

**Like eurythmy, Fuller's dance was an experience that appealed directly to the imagination rather than the senses.**

Most important of all, she worked in entirely new ways with light itself, inventing—and patenting—ever more elaborate stagings that involved a whole team of electricians beneath the stage, changing out specially colored gels continuously as she performed. Bathed in colored light upon an otherwise darkened stage, her body itself hidden by the swirling veils, she seemed to float in mid-air as "an apparition" like "a sylph from another world."[19] The body of the dancer was completely de-materialized, dissolved in an aura of colored light.[20] Like eurythmy, it was an experience that appealed directly to the imagination rather than the senses.

Steiner was of course also a great pioneer in the use of colored lighting to stage dance and drama. The importance of color and light for a eurythmy performance has been described eloquently by Wolfgang Veit, who reminds us that Steiner even spoke of a "light eurythmy."[21]

> As the presentation progresses, the stage is again and again plunged into richly contrasting color moods. It is suffused with a flood of colored light and transformed ever anew by gentle, fluid lighting transitions. This changing tapestry of light is itself the eurythmist's stage scenery. With her gestures the eurythmist dips into it, taking up the flooding light.

There exists, amazingly, a film made by the Lumière Brothers in 1897 of Loie Fuller performing, and it is available on YouTube.[22] Even more amazing, and a testament to the importance of Loie Fuller, is the fact that they hand-tinted the black-and-white-film, frame by frame, so that one gets some sense of the color dynamics. But the best sense of Fuller's dances is to be had from the drawings and paintings they inspired by great contemporary artists such as Toulouse-Lautrec's rendition of her "Dance of the Veils" (1893). As eurythmy would eventually undertake to do much more systematically and insightfully, Fuller sought to make the spiritual motions of musical *melos* immediately visible in a form that she called "visionary music or music for the eye."[23]

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Loie Fuller was the great pioneer, and she passed the torch to the next of the American women. She recognized immediately the greatness of Isadora Duncan, invited her to tour Germany with her, and sponsored her trips to Budapest and Vienna.

## The gift of Isis

Angela Isadora Duncan was born in San Francisco in 1877. From an early age, she displayed an extraordinary talent for movement of every kind. Repelled by what she saw as artificiality in ballet, she soon developed her own distinctive, "natural" style of dance, imitating the waves along the beach beneath Cliff House.[24] Right when Madame Blavatsky began unveiling the secrets of the goddess, Duncan chose to go by her middle name because it means "gift of Isis." Like most American women of her generation, she had little formal schooling; unlike most, she became an autodidact who read widely and thoughtfully. In her most formative years she received and followed the sophisticated guidance of Oakland's chief librarian, Ina Coolbrith, who would go on to become the Poet Laureate of California. At a time when there was as yet little or no scholarship on the history of dance,[25] she knew enough about the cultural anthropology of dance to claim she had "awakened" an art that had "slept for 2000 years."[26]

Duncan's ambitions took her to New York, where she performed programs called "The Dance and Philosophy" in the salons of the wealthy. Like Steiner, Duncan broke new ground by moving to poetry and "serious" music, including a full performance of *The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. Her dancing was well received in private circles, but the public response was tepid, so in 1899 she set sail for Europe, and there she found the enthusiastic reception she had sought. In London, she quickly gained access to the innermost circles of the artistic and intellectual elites; a famous Classics professor even recited ancient Greek verse at her performances. Surprisingly, the young Americans Loie Fuller and Isadora Duncan were lionized not by the New World but by the Old.

Isadora Duncan was a free spirit who lived large: Her imagination was completely unfettered, and her personal motto was "*sans limites*." But she also practiced real spiritual discipline, moving from Delsarte's[27] scientific exercises to yoga to what can only be described as intense meditations on the real inner springs of movement. Her own description of such meditations—and their outcome—will sound surprisingly familiar to any student of Steiner:

> I spent long days and nights in the studio seeking the dance which might be the divine expression of the human spirit through the medium of the body's movements. For hours I would stand quite still, my two hands folded between my breasts, covering the solar plexus. My mother often became alarmed to see me remain for such long intervals quite motionless as if in a trance—but I was seeking and finally

discovered the central spring of all movement, the crater of motor power, the unity from which all diversities of movements are born, the mirror of vision for the creation of the dance—it was from this discovery that was born the theory on which I founded my school.

The ballet school taught the pupils that this spring was found in the center of the back at the base of the spine. From this axis, says the ballet master, arms, legs, and trunk must move freely, giving the result of an articulated puppet. This method produces an artificial mechanical movement not worthy of the soul. I, on the contrary, sought the source of the spiritual expression to flow into the channels of the body filling it with vibrating light—the centrifugal force reflecting the spirit's vision.

**"The dance of the future will have to become again the high religious art as it was with the Greeks, for art which is not religious is not art; it is mere merchandise."**

After many months, when I had learned to concentrate all my force to this one Center, I found thereafter when I listened to music the rays and vibrations of the music streamed to this one fount of light within me—there they reflected themselves in Spiritual Vision not the brain's mirror but the soul's, and from this vision, I could express them in Dance.[28]

Duncan felt strongly that "the dance of the future," as she called her ideal, would arise out of "spiritual intuitions" rather than inherited techniques.[29] Intense meditations on movement led to the development of a powerful imaginative faculty that she herself termed a kind of clairvoyance.[30] When listening to music, she inwardly saw "lines" to which she then adapted the movements of her body.[31] She claimed that in her dances, "the great Rhythms of Life are enabled to play through the physical instrument, the profundities of consciousness are given a channel to the light of our social day. These profundities of consciousness are in us all."[32] Her seeming simplicity has been called "oceanic in its depth" and a recovery of ancient modes of cosmogony and magic.[33] Much as Steiner rendered the life-world as such visible through eurythmy, her dancing conjured up "a three-dimensional world in which invisible presences or aspects of the musical climate drew and repelled her."[34] She even spoke openly of her belief in reincarnation.[35]

Meditation and spiritual study led to profound theories. It has been claimed that Isadora Duncan was not only the first American dancer to develop a theory of the dance, she was also the first "to define movement based on natural and spiritual laws rather than on formal considerations of geometric space," and the first to argue for dance as a "high art" on the basis of a rigorous comparison with the other, canonical art forms.[36] In all these ways, she anticipated Rudolf Steiner's later development of eurythmy. Moreover, some of the main inspirations of her theories were thinkers who had influenced Steiner profoundly as well. In Germany she discovered Nietzsche, and *The Birth of Tragedy* became, as she said, henceforth her Bible. She also read Ernst Haeckel in the original and, like Steiner, was inspired by Haeckel to develop her own spiritual view of evolution. Like Steiner, she echoed Schiller's *Aesthetic Education* in envisioning a new social order based upon a *philosophy of freedom*: "The 'law' was irrelevant to Duncan's politics, in which freedom was performed through the body, through expression. Freedom was agency erupting from within the individual, rather than being gifted en masse from without, by the state."[37]

Duncan laid out her theories most rigorously in *The Dance of the Future*, a manifesto of 1903 delivered before the Berlin Press Club and then published in Germany in both German and the English original. Although the book is quite rare now,[38] it is inconceivable that Steiner, who had

been thoroughly immersed in the avant-garde arts scene in Berlin before the turn of the century, did not read this booklet intently. She ended her speech by stating that "the dance of the future will have to become again the high religious art as it was with the Greeks for art which is not religious is not art, it is mere merchandise."

Duncan began as a solo performer, but gradually the *dramatic* side of her art came forth: Laura Jacobs has described her mature productions as "thespian" rather than "terpsichorean." When Duncan returned to the United States in 1908, there was great resistance to her dancing interpretations of symphonic music and whole operas by Gluck. But gradually she won over audiences. She staged a dance-drama based on *Oedipus Rex*, with lyric choruses penned by the anthroposophist Percy MacKaye (son of Delsarte's protégé Steele MacKaye, father of Arvia MacKaye Ege and Christy Barnes), who translated and collaborated with Albert Steffen. She captured the Greek archetype of *systole* and *diastole*—"tension" and "release"[39]—that is fundamental to the cathartic effect of Greek tragedy and the liveliness of Greek architecture, in which the columns seem to flex like muscles under the weight of the loads they bear. "These tension-and-release sequences are one of the fundamental ways in which the Duncan technique produces kinesthetic contrast, in order to suggest drama."[40] By the time she returned to Europe in 1909 she was world-famous.

Like Steiner, Isadora Duncan understood the profound *pedagogical* implications of a renewed art of movement. Echoing the Froebel reformers she had heard in San Francisco, she talked about the importance of dance for the "character formation" of children.[41] Her utopian vision was to create a worldwide school movement, centered on a new kind of dance. She founded several small schools, but she dreamt of founding "a big School, with 1000 children in spacious surroundings," including a school for the children of workers in New York City. "…Not one of Isadora's biographers has mentioned the efforts of Juliette Poyntz, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in New York, in 1915, to establish a school for working-class children under Isadora's direction."[42] Because the Bolsheviks resonated with her vision and were willing to fund her when nobody in the West would, Duncan accepted an invitation to found a school in Moscow. Shortly before her death she predicted that "the day is coming when a grand international school of children … will open the doors of the future to a new humanity."[43] And of course Duncan's vision has been realized—by Steiner's Waldorf schools, now the fastest growing independent school movement in the world, featuring eurythmy as an integral part of the curriculum.

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Even Lincoln Kirstein, whose sympathies ultimately lie elsewhere, credits Isadora Duncan with having been, together with Fokine, the great pioneer of modern dance. She certainly was that, but she was more besides. Like Rudolf Steiner, she cultivated a spiritual vision of the arts as a path of personal and social transformation. In that sense especially, eurythmy is the rightful heir of her legacy.

## Seeking the spirituality of the Orient

Another figure Steiner would have termed "Michaelic," Ruth St. Denis (née Ruthie Dennis, canonized by the impresario David Belasco, "Miss Ruth" to her students and friends), was born in Newark, New Jersey, in 1879. Her mother, a strict Methodist, held a degree from the University of Michigan's medical school, and she had the kinds of eclectic spiritual interests that spread throughout the U.S. around the turn of the

twentieth century. So in addition to the Bible, she encouraged her daughter to study Mabel Collins Cook's theosophical *Idyll of the White Lotus* and Mary Baker Eddy's *Science and Health*. Both mother and daughter were caught up in the wave of enthusiasm for François Delsarte.[44] As a young woman, Ruth moved quickly from bicycle racing to acrobatics to vaudeville dancing, but then while touring with one of Belasco's gaudy spectacles, she had a profound epiphany as she walked past a drugstore in Buffalo. In the window was a poster advertising Egyptian Deities cigarettes, with "a bare-breasted woman, who was supposed to be the goddess Isis, seated in state amid pillars and lotus blossoms." Seeing that image persuaded her instantly to become a second Isadora, another devotee of the goddess Isis, and she later described her reaction to the poster in terms appropriate to a religious conversion:

> Here was an external image which stirred into instant consciousness all that latent capacity for wonder, that still and meditative love of beauty which lay at the deepest center of my spirit. …I identified in a flash with the figure of Isis. She became the expression of all the somber mystery and beauty of Egypt, and I knew that my destiny as a dancer had sprung alive in that moment. I would become the rhythmic and impersonal instrument of spiritual revelation rather than a personal actress of comedy or tragedy. I had never before known such an inward shock of rapture.[45]

Her vision arrived in 1904—the same year that Rudolf Steiner published two treatises that have come to be considered basic books of anthroposophy: *How to Know Higher Worlds* (1904) and *Theosophy* (1904). Like Steiner during his tenure as the head of the Theosophical Society in Germany, St. Denis made it her mission to bring the wisdom of the Orient to the West. Like Steiner, she described a path of inner development on which we "learn to withdraw the searching antennae of the mind from the circumference of outer activity to the inner and upper place of spiritual consciousness," where "we may begin to realize our harmonious relationship with the causal rhythm of the universe."[46]

While still on tour, she began devouring every book she could find on Ancient Egypt in the local libraries. In San Francisco she paid a Japanese photographer $5 to make a now-iconic

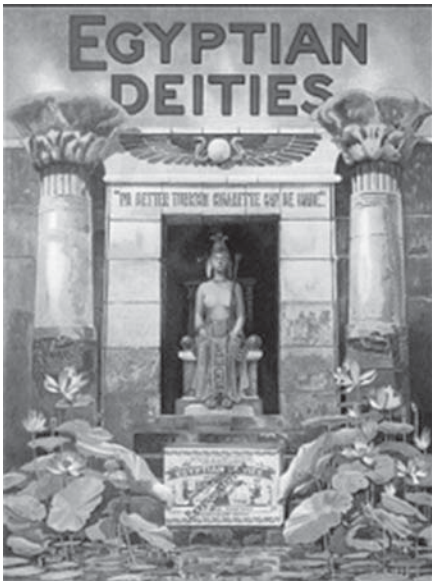


image of her posing as the goddess Isis. Further inspired by a Hindu dance troupe that was performing at Coney Island, she choreographed an extraordinary mystery drama called *Radha*, first staged in 1906; later she would describe it as "a first gesture towards a new use of the dance as a means of spiritual expression."[47] In the way that Steiner and Duncan looked back to Ancient Greece via Nietzsche, St. Denis looked back to the ancient arts of Egypt, Japan, and India.

St. Denis' dances had little to do with the superficial Orientalism that had become so fashionable in her day. As Deborah Jowitt has put it so eloquently, "A spiritual journey to India—to all regions of the East—was her means for furbishing an ideal image of herself onstage, through which she hoped to guide herself and her audiences to spiritual fulfillment, and to revitalize dancing by so doing. 'I demand of the dance,' she wrote, '…that it reveal the God in man'."[48]

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The collection *Wisdom Comes Dancing* includes St. Denis' own synopsis of the dance-drama starring the milkmaid-consort of Krishna, based on a passage from the Gita. This key to St. Denis' mini-drama of what Steiner would theorize as the evolution of consciousness deserves to be quoted at length:

> After a short interval, Radha, partially hidden from view by the heavy clouds of rising incense, descends from her pedestal and, standing at the foot of it, gazes with benign countenance on the worshippers who draw back and prostrate themselves before her.
>
> Radha then signifies that for a short time she has taken this form in order to give them a message. She bids them rise and receive this, which she then conveys through a mystic dance, the meaning of which is that they must not seek for permanent happiness in an impermanent world; that the quest for pleasure through the five senses always ends in unfulfillment; that peace is only to be found within. …
>
> The second figure dances on a square representing, according to Buddhistic theology, the fourfold mysteries of life, and is done with writhings and twistings of the body to portray the despair of unfulfillment. At the end of this figure Radha sinks to the ground in darkness.
>
> After a short interval a faint light discloses her in an attitude of prayer and meditation. This light, coming from a hanging lamp of lotus design, is first concentrated on her figure, then diffused with increasing power over the entire stage. Radha now rises from a kneeling posture, her face illumined with the light of joy within, and, holding the lotus flower, begins the third figure of the dance, which follows lines of an open lotus flower, the steps leading from the center of the flower to the point of each petal. She dances on the balls of her feet, thus typifying the ecstasy and joy which follow the renunciation of the senses and freedom from illusion. …[49]

Shawn describes *Radha*'s difficult birth, but it went on to be performed more than 1500 times, and he rightly claims that it "marked an epoch in the world of dance."[50] The success of *Radha* led to a whole cycle of "Oriental" dance-dramas. St. Denis always meditated before performing her sacred dances, but, like Isadora Duncan before her and Rudolf Steiner after her, St. Denis sought to imbue the arts of movement not just with spiritual moods and motifs: They all brought to bear a profound spiritual *thinking*. "We all need to be conscious of the eternal rhythm of life, that rhythm of spirit through which we may learn to move harmoniously and beautifully. I believe this rhythm is to be known and felt only as we spiritualize our thinking."[51] Like Isadora Duncan,

she studied Cartesianism[52] and rejected its central philosophical tenets: "For a long time we have lived constantly in two worlds, or supposed we did, in body and in spirit. But the new waves of vision that have come over the earth have shown us that in reality there are not two warring substances but only one, which is consciousness or mind."[53] She sought to lift dance up out of its degradation as "conventionalized sex-expression" and "the tired business person's amusement"; for her it was "a language and a hieroglyphic of divinity" that needed to be studied like a sacred text.[54]

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Having succeeded in New York, St. Denis decided to follow in the footsteps of Loie Fuller and Isadora Duncan by sailing for Europe in 1906. The reception in London and Paris was polite, but, as had been the case with Isadora Duncan, it was Germany, and above all Berlin, that received her enthusiastically.[55] Just as Loie Fuller and Isadora Duncan had turned the heads of the intellectual and artistic elites in Paris, Ruth St. Denis recruited the likes of Hugo von Hofmannsthal as friends and allies.[56]

Upon returning to the U.S., St. Denis teamed up with Ted Shawn in 1915 to found a school in Los Angeles that they called "Denishawn." It was small, but much more than a "dance school"; really, it was a kind of proto-Esalen at which many sacred arts and contemplative practices were cultivated, including "music visualizations"[57] that remind one very much of eurythmy:

> We held steadfastly to the belief that Denishawn should be more than an institution, that it should be a philosophy. We wanted the school to be a stream of ideas. There were classes in music visualization and in the dance techniques of India, Japan, Egypt, North Africa, Java. We studied plastiques and dramatic gesture, based on Delsarte… .[58]

Shawn and St. Denis also co-founded Jacob's Pillow in New York. Their students, notably Martha Graham and Doris Humphreys, would become the leaders of the next generation of American dance. But they would lead dance in a fundamentally different direction.

Back in New York, now separated from Shawn, St. Denis founded a Society for Spiritual Arts. The group attracted many important spiritual thinkers of the day, including Nicholas Roerich and Rabindranath Tagore. The great Sufi teacher Pir-o-Murshid Hazrat Inyat Khan shared the stage with her during one of her performances of *The Yogi*. Like Steiner, she believed that because "a human being is indeed the microcosm, the universe in miniature, the Divine Dance of the future should convey with its slightest gestures some significance of the universe."[59] In 1938 she accepted an invitation to create one of America's first dance departments at Adelphi College on Long Island—the same institution where a Waldorf Demonstration School opened in 1947, since renamed and now thriving as The Waldorf School of Garden City.

In later years leading up to her death in 1968, St. Denis gravitated towards a kind of spiritual drama that was increasingly (but never exclusively) Christian.[60] The Society of Spiritual Arts was renamed The Church of the Divine Dance, and there are many photos of her posing as the Virgin Mary. She created a "Rhythmic Choir" and sought to introduce dance into the rituals of the churches. What seemed like an innovation was—as Isadora Duncan and Rudolf Steiner and the other "R.S.," Ruth St. Denis, understood profoundly and consciously—actually a return to the roots of religion in the ancient Mysteries and other forms of Oriental spirituality, all of which can be traced back ultimately to forms of ritual dance.

## The second root

Greek drama is the second of the three roots shared by eurythmy and the "new dance." Following Nietzsche's supposedly unscholarly lead, Duncan, St. Denis, and Steiner intuited what mainstream scholarship has now belatedly confirmed: *They built their "new dances" upon the ruins of ancient dramas, because they understood that ancient drama had been founded upon ritual dance*. All four of these pioneers saw the clearest evidence of that ultimate foundation in the ancient tragic choruses. Hadn't Aristotle himself asserted specifically that "tragedy originated with the improvisations of the 'leaders of the dithyrambs' [i.e., the dithyrambic dances]"?[61] Nor did they fail to note that memories of those primordial choruses are present even in the modern language of theatrical dance: The dancers of the dithyrambs were trained by a *choragus* (whence the term "choreographer"), and they performed in the *orchestra*.[62]

It is a testimonial to Isadora Duncan's keen artistic and philosophical intuition that she insisted on dancing not the roles of the protagonists in her recreated ancient tragedies, but rather the roles of the chorus.[63] She followed Nietzsche in honoring Euripides' last drama as having finally recaptured the original spirit of ancient tragedy, which Euripides' earlier dramas had mistaken and very nearly destroyed. Duncan carried with her on her travels a copy of *The Bacchae*, and surely it is no accident that she had bookmarked a choral dithyramb celebrating unfettered movement:

> Oh, they like a colt as he
> Runs by the river,
> A colt by his dam
> When the heart of him sings,
> With the keen limbs drawn
> And the fleet foot aquiver
> Away the bacchanal springs![64]

Contrary to the popular image of her as self-involved, Duncan's approach to the revival of ancient tragedy was remarkably detached and objective. She felt no desire to dance the part of the suffering individual; "I do not try to represent Orpheus or Eurydice," she wrote, "but only the plastic movements of the chorus."[65]

## Balancing the Apollonian and the Dionysian

My contention is that the insights and ideals generated by this search for a deeper understanding of Greek drama are the defining characteristics of the "new dance" that was inaugurated by Laban, Steiner, and the three American pioneers, and I see them as the characteristics that distinguish it most sharply from the various forms of "modern dance" that followed. The most important of those ideals was a desire to balance the two archetypal principles that Nietzsche had identified in *The Birth of Tragedy* as "the Apollonian" and "the Dionysian."[66]

Duncan and Steiner refer to Nietzsche's archetypes explicitly, but the same balanced tension between the extremes of Socratic—which is to say, excessively rational—detachment and chaotic, unfettered Dionysian subjectivity was an ideal cherished by all of these figures, even if they chose a different idiom by which to express it. It is telling that the earliest Central European experiments failed to take hold longer term because they fell into one extreme or the other: Dalcroze's school at Hellerau into a pedantic, almost mechanical set of drills, on the one hand (too Apollonian), and, on the other, the (literally) naked self-expression encouraged at Monte Verità (too Dionysian). It was only when the more balanced and more spiritual visions arrived from America that the "new dance" began to take hold, and to ripen theoretically in the minds of Laban and Steiner.

**The most important of those ideals was a desire to balance the two archetypal principles that Nietzsche identified as "the Apollonian" and "the Dionysian."**

Like the Enlightenment's Apollonian view of the Greeks that Nietzsche criticized as one-sided, the great European tradition of stage dancing had been reduced to the exclusively Apollonian traditions of ballet. Laban is explicit in rejecting ballet as inauthentic, as something detached from reality like the one-sided, floating, disembodied dream-world of the eighteenth-century Olympus derided by Nietzsche as a caricature of Greek culture: "Movements performed in ballet have lost their connection with the primitive drives of man to such a degree that we relegate them to a realm akin to that of a dream state"; ballet is like a harmonious dream in which "all fear of the struggle of life is dissolved into a smooth flow of effort as in elevation, floating or flying."[67] Hence "we must recover lost territory, and regain the knowledge possessed by our ancestors centuries ago."[68] Laban reminds us that it was only because Napoleon's armies brought back from Russia a Dionysian "feature of the dances of Tcherkess warriors"—toe dancing!—that classical ballet was "rescued… from the danger of sickly sentimentality, and from a meaningless display of softly interwoven linear embellishments."[69]

And so it was that the rebellion against ballet necessarily began as a search for the missing Dionysus. A late poem by Isadora Duncan ends with an explicit evocation of Dionysus as her muse:

O Dionysos, Porte-Flambeau,
Light me the way in flames —I S A D O R A[70]

And was not Loie Fuller, who might seem the odd woman out here, really a kind of modern, whirling maenad? Was that not one source of her mesmerizing energy? In the short run, the search led many to Dionysian excess, to one or another extreme, to Salomes and skirt dances and Monte Verità, but the great pioneers of the "new dance" quickly found their equilibrium again. Loie Fuller was a whirling maenad, but she was a *scientific* maenad—"*electric* Salome," as Garelick has described her so memorably. St. Denis' *Radha* displays the process in nuce: Olympian detachment gives way to the sensuous riot of individuality, after which a new balance is achieved at a higher level. St. Denis found the balance in the precepts of ancient Hinduism. But it was also the secret of Greek tragedy that Nietzsche had rediscovered.

Again, it was Duncan and Steiner who pursued the balance between the Apollonian and the Dionysian most deliberately and most consciously. Hence I shall focus on them to clinch my argument that eurythmy is the rightful heir of the "new dance."

Isadora Duncan celebrated Zarathustra, Nietzsche's dancing Dionysus of a philosopher, and she adopted *The Birth of Tragedy* as her Bible, but, as we have seen, she was also exceptionally reflective and disciplined. Her personal life may have become scandalous after

a certain point, but her artistry was balanced at all times. That was the secret of her power. Steichen's famous photos of her on the Acropolis tell the whole story: maenad poses framed within the Apollonian temple; energy bound by order. By embodying fully the Classical ideal, she became a classic within her own lifetime.

Duncan wanted to create a counterpoise to modern subjectivity by rediscovering the macrocosmic perspective of the ancient chorus, which Nietzsche had identified as the balance between the Dionysian agon of the protagonist and Olympian detachment. The chorus expresses directly, and directs the audience in their need to express, the cathartic emotions of pity and fear aroused by the spectacle. For Isadora Duncan, "dance is not about mere self-expression; it is about expression of the transcendent ('something out of another, a profounder world') through the self, which she conceptualized as not just the individual but the individual as interconnected with the cosmos."[71] Daly is eloquent in describing the secret source of Duncan's fascination: "She presented to her audiences as an oxymoron: precise abandonment. She was 'Art' *and* 'Nature,' restraint and abandon—her very movement style was based upon control at the center and freedom of the limbs. Even the furies and the bacchantes, for all their passion, remained within a circumscribed vocabulary and floor plan."[72] The secret of her art, the reason she struck everyone as uncannily chaste and archetypal in her dancing, was her ability to balance the Apollonian and the Dionysian.

Nearly every history and every aesthetic treatise on the dance somewhere quotes Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*. "Zarathustra is a dancer"; he is an ancient Greek reborn; for him, philosophy must learn to dance again, become itself a dance, and celebrate only gods who are dancers:

> I would believe only in a god who could dance. And when I saw my devil I found him serious, thorough, profound, and solemn: It was the spirit of gravity—through him all things fall.
>
> Not by wrath does one kill but by laughter. Come, let us kill the spirit of gravity!
>
> I have learned to walk: Ever since, I let myself run. I have learned to fly: Ever since, I do not want to be pushed before moving along.
>
> Now I am light, now I fly, now I see myself beneath myself, now a god dances through me.[73]

**To a degree that even Duncan and Laban could not manage, Steiner really became Nietzsche's dancing philosopher.**

As a young man, Steiner was drawn to Nietzsche, and the clearest reflection of that early attraction is his book of 1895, which begins with a surprisingly positive exposition of Nietzsche's philosophical development.[74] But as his own career progressed, Steiner became, paradoxically, both a critic of Nietzsche *and himself the embodiment of Zarathustra*. By inventing eurythmy, Steiner transposed his earlier philosophical teachings into art. *To a degree that even Duncan and Laban could not manage, Steiner really became Nietzsche's dancing philosopher.*

The story of the earliest eurythmy lessons, given by Rudolf Steiner to Lory Maier-Smits, has been recounted well in English by Siegloch's booklet, and even more concisely by Wolfgang Veit's article in *The Journal for Anthroposophy*. The relevant documents and reminiscences are now available in English.[75] Hence there is no need to retell that story, but it is important to underscore the degree to which the birth of eurythmy was animated by the spirit of *The Birth of Tragedy*.

As part of the very first eurythmy lessons, Steiner gave Czerwinski's history of dance to Lory Maier-Smits, and asked her to study the first chapter, which focuses principally on the dances

of the ancient Greeks.[76] Moreover, he asked her to pay particular attention to the drawings in the text, which seem quaint to us, but obviously spoke volumes to Steiner. The only way in which Steiner could have drawn so much from so little is because he had already assimilated Nietzsche's insights so fully.[77]

One key to understanding Steiner's first steps in eurythmy, as it were, is to note that he divided the first two sets of lessons into a Dionysian course that brought the needed counterweight to ballet, followed by an Apollonian course to reestablish the balance at a higher level. And it is no accident that right from the beginning, Steiner employed eurythmy to represent otherwise unrepresentable scenes from Goethe's *Faust* and Steiner's own *Mystery Dramas*, scenes in which metaphysical forces contend with each other, or act upon or interact with humans in the spiritual world, because the central agon of those works is so much about balancing opposing forces, be they the red and the black sides of Mephistopheles in *Faust*, or Lucifer and Ahriman in Steiner's *Mystery Dramas*.[78] Eurythmy is ideal for depicting those struggles to maintain the golden mean so central to human nature itself, not just because it is sensory-supersensory, and not just because it is meant to be a direct representation of metaphysical forces, but also because eurythmy was itself born of a striving to achieve active balance between two extremes.

**Eurythmy is ideal for depicting those struggles to maintain the golden mean so central to human nature itself, because it was itself born of a striving to achieve active balance between two extremes.**

## The center that held

The vital centering of the "new dance" we have described as the striving to balance the Apollonian and the Dionysian could not hold in the long run, and the original impetus was largely dissipated. A telling anecdote from the earliest phase of Laban's career as a choreographer already reveals one of the powerful centrifugal forces that would prove to be the undoing of the "new dance." Mary Wigman was still Laban's student at Hellerau, but right from the start it was clear that she wanted to take dance in a different direction that was far more subjective. She herself recounts her execution of one exercise and Laban's heated reaction:

> To point out the dynamic value of these movements they were given by him names like pride, joy, wrath, and so on. I needed little more than to hear the word "wrath" and I immediately threw myself into a colossal rage. The swinging virtually exploded in space. The endlessly repeated movements became more or less mechanical. I was simply delighted to do them once in a different, more personal way. Laban's wrath was even more vehement than mine. He jumped up as if bitten by a tarantula, hammered with his fists on the table so that the papers whirled around the room. He shouted: "You clown, you grotesque monster, with your terrific intensity you ruin my whole theory of harmony!" He was furious about what he called my super-self-expression, declaring that the movement itself was wrath and needed no individual interpretation.[79]

Soon Wigman broke away from Laban, to pursue without constraint precisely the impulse Laban had criticized so harshly. She called it *Ausdruckstanz*, and she succeeded in displacing Laban's centered vision; soon she was the star, and Laban himself was eclipsed. Her iconic piece would be "The Witch's Dance," which she performed in a grotesque mask, and seated on the ground. Eventually Martha Graham and Doris Humphreys would rebel against their teacher Ruth St. Denis in similar ways. All three chose to plumb Dionysian depths, and the "modern

dance" they inaugurated gradually became something fundamentally different from the original impetus of the "new dance."

For his part, Laban retreated from performance, and became more and more exclusively a movement *theorist* who sought to discover an almost Pythagorean conception of the dance as pure mathematical harmony. Schlemmer at the Bauhaus also gravitated towards the purely Apollonian pole. Inexorably, the center lost its hold: "On the one hand, in Oskar Schlemmer's work at the Bauhaus, precedence was given to the exploration of space, the geometry of the body and clarity of movement, while rapturous Dionysian performances were evident in the self-expressive work of the vast number of amateur dancers and some of the *Einzeltänzer*. These were solo dancers who, especially in the pre- and immediate post-war period, toured Germany with work in their own style, some with little or no training."[80] Later in his career, Laban's principal interest became utterly Socratic: to *rationalize* movement—even in the industrial sense of that term.[81] Laban's other star student, Kurt Jooss, eventually retreated back towards the preponderantly Apollonian precincts of traditional ballet.

**Eurythmy represents an important episode in the history of dance because eurythmy is the genuine heir to the "new dance" inaugurated by Fuller, Duncan, and St. Denis.**

Loie Fuller created no school, Duncan died young and also had no immediate successor, and Ruth St. Denis' best students moved in a fundamentally different direction, towards their own kind of subjective *Ausdruckstanz*. It would seem that the original impetus had no continuation. But my contention has been that it did—in eurythmy. *Eurythmy represents an important episode in the history of dance because eurythmy is the genuine heir to the "new dance" inaugurated by Fuller, Duncan, and St. Denis*.

## Endnotes

1 Forthcoming as the Introduction to vol. 277c of *Rudolf Steiner's Collected Works* published by SteinerBooks, *The Early History of Eurythmy: Notebook Entries, Addresses, Rehearsals, Programs, Introductions to Performances, and a Chronology: 1913–1924*.

2 Perhaps a reason for the neglect of Steiner is the one way in which he actually is unique within the history of dance: Steiner was a major choreographer and aesthetic theorist, and a great artist in multiple media, but unlike every other figure we shall discuss, he never was himself a dancer. Fortunately the situation is very different with regard to the reception of Steiner's architecture. See the three-part bibliographic essay that is appended to forthcoming translations of CW 287, CW 288 and CW 289/290, which document the slow but inexorable process whereby Steiner has come to be regarded as a major architect. Indeed, Hans Scharoun has asserted that Steiner's second Goetheanum is the most important building of the first half of the twentieth century.

3 Two prominent examples from otherwise unimpeachable studies: Annie Suquet calls eurythmy (translating from the French) "a mixture of dance, gymnastics and yoga" that is "practiced in a white tunic" [174] and involves "breathing exercises" [391], while Preston-Dunlop and Lahusen attribute "eurhythmy [sic], a system of movement based on the rhythm and physicality of breath and words," to "Steiner's wife Marie" [47]—when it was clearly Steiner who inaugurated the new art of movement, and Marie von Sivers had not married Steiner yet when eurythmy was first introduced.

4 Cf. Raffe et al. generally, and Beth Usher's claims not only that eurythmy arose exclusively out of "the artistic impulse which Rudolf Steiner gave at the Theosophical Congress in Munich in 1907," but that "never before had an esoteric school given artistic expression to the content of spiritual teaching" [*Eurythmy: An Introduction,* 2]. Steiner himself argued exactly the opposite, that all the arts arose out of the teachings of the ancient Mysteries, and regarding dance specifically, Lucian was probably closer to the truth when he asserted in the 2nd century CE that there was not and never had been a spiritual teaching that did not involve some form of dance [Roseman 2]. Wolfgang Veit describes important parallels between

eurythmy and modern abstract painting [10], but his article also contains effectively no references to modern dance.

5 Raffe, 3.

6 Another important chapter in the early history of eurythmy involves the contributions of two Russian women, Margarita Woloschin and Steiner's future wife, Maria von Sivers. Eurythmy could have been born four years earlier, in 1908, when Steiner hinted that it might be possible to "dance" the opening lines of the Gospel of St. John, but, like Parsifal, Woloschin failed to ask the question, which left Steiner unable to act. Woloschin tells this story herself in her autobiography, *The Green Snake*. And it was Marie Steiner who first proposed to call the new art of movement "eurythmy," and contributed crucial guidance during its infancy. Steiner's "Russian connection" (which includes deep relationships with the expressionist painter Kandinsky and the Symbolist writer Bely) is a key to understanding the place of eurythmy within Steiner's aesthetics generally.

7 Cf. Cohen, *The Modern Dance,* 5ff.

8 Fuller even created a "Radium Dance" that simulated the phosphorescence of the element [Kendall, 88].

9 Cf. the warm reminiscence by the "Isadorable" Maria-Theresa, one of Duncan's many adopted daughters who was taught by her: "It would be impossible to do justice to her art in a brief discussion, but one may say that, although inspired by Greece in its obvious as well as in its deeper aspects, it had its roots in life itself. One may therefore call her art a form of 'natural dancing' which, essentially, is also Greek, expressed in the simplest of terms and depending on the artist's deep feeling for the intangibles of truth and the mysterious essence of nature" [Maria-Theresa, 235].

10 See, e.g., the account in Partsch-Bergsohn and Bergsohn.

11 Émile Jacques-Dalcroze (1865–1950).

12 Rudolf von Laban, later Rudolf Laban (1879–1958) was, like Rudolf Steiner, a German-speaker born in an outlying province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and a neglected genius who is only beginning to receive the attention he deserves. With the possible exception of Steiner, Laban is the greatest theorist of human movement who ever lived.

13 See especially the studies by Sixten Ringbom in the appended bibliography.

14 Kendall, 56.

15 Loie Fuller (1862–1928) was an exact contemporary of Rudolf Steiner.

16 Lawler, 32.

17 Ibid., 38.

18 See especially Steiner's seminal lecture of June 24, 1924, in GA 279, *Eurythmy as Visible Speech*.

19 Suquet, 79.

20 See Garelick passim.

21 Veit, pp. 5 and 20. See also the discussion of Ruth St. Denis' essay "The Color Dancer" in Roseman, p. 107.

22 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O8soP3ry9y0.

23 Musique de vision ou musique pour l'œil [Suquet, 86]. See Steiner's extraordinary cycle of lectures, GA 283, *The Inner Nature of Music and the Experience of Tone*.

24 Because Duncan rightly felt that neither still photos nor silent film in its still-primitive state could capture the nuances of her dancing, she did not allow any of her dances to be photographed or filmed. This means all we can do is try to reconstruct imaginatively from contemporaries' accounts. But there is also footage available of third-generation students who studied with Duncan's adoptive children. Anyone who wants to object immediately that such a style bears no relationship to eurythmy is invited to watch with an open mind the mesmerizing performance of Schubert by the American "Duncan dancer" Sylvia Gold (1923–2013), who taught in Concord, MA, available on YouTube at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kq2GgIMM060, or the performance of the Adagio from Schubert's *Ninth Symphony* entitled "Homage to Apollo" by Lori Belilove & The Isadora Dance Company, also on YouTube at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E_Ddz9eHkDk.

25 The older book on the history of dance by Czerwinski that Steiner gave to Lory Maier-Smits was a pioneering study, one of very few scholarly studies available before the turn of the century.

26 *Isadora Speaks*, ix.

27 François Delsarte (1811–1871) was a French singer who lost his singing voice, turned to acting, but was disappointed by the state of that art. He began his own rigorously scientific studies of human gesture and built them into a systematic teaching that was profoundly influential in the history of dance, even though Delsarte himself never published a full account of the method. Jowitt describes him succinctly as having "developed an intelligent and systematic way or analyzing posture, gesture, and vocal expression by linking these with corresponding mental and spiritual states, intending his system to serve professional orators, actors and singers" [78]. An excellent resource on Delsarte is the website of The Delsarte Project.

28 Quoted by Kirstein on p. 266.

29 Cohen, *Theatre Art*, 119.

30 Daly, 138.
31 Ibid., 142. Such accounts recall the descriptions that have come down to us of Steiner sitting like a modern sibyl, tracing the "eurythmy forms" in the folio balanced on his lap.
32 *Isadora Speaks*, 51.
33 Ibid., x.
34 Jowitt, 71.
35 "When I explained that I was a dancing girl on the Nile 10,000 years ago, and that my husband was then a soldier, and that we too were lovers and nearly renewing the ancient associations now again centuries later in the year 1921, then they think I'm crazy" [*Isadora Speaks*, 132].
36 http://www.pitt.edu/~gillis/dance/isadora.html.
37 Daly, 180.
38 A long excerpt is available in Cohen's *Dance as a Theatre Art*, however.
39 Cf. Steiner's basic exercises involving Ballen und Spreizen.
40 Daly, 78.
41 Ibid., 27.
42 *Isadora Speaks*, 15.
43 Ibid, 31.
44 "When a child of eleven, I was taken to see Mrs. [Genevieve] Stebbins in an unforgettable performance of Greek dancing. My whole artistic life was born at that hour. Therefore, I have always felt a deep debt of gratitude for the influence of Delsarte" [*Wisdom Comes Dancing,* 31]. She admired particularly Stebbins' *Dance of the Day*, which was "based on ritual motions of Eastern religions which she had studied and come to admire" [Kendall 29].
45 Jonas, pp. 199-200. Roseman's study includes a description of St. Denis's later dance "The Mystery of Isis," which was also called "The Veil of Isis" [94-95].
46 *Wisdom Comes Dancing*, 21.
47 Ibid., 23.
48 Ibid., 127–128.
49 Ibid., 190–191.
50 Shawn, 8.
51 *Wisdom Comes Dancing*, 21.
52 Isadora Duncan's notes for her manifesto *The Dance of the Future* fall in her notebook immediately after many pages devoted to a thorough study of Descartes.
53 *Wisdom Comes Dancing*, 25.
54 Ibid., 18.
55 "The successes in New York, London, and Paris had all been but leading up to the great sensation she made in Berlin, and subsequently all over Germany. Perhaps no singer, artist, actor, or dancer has so completely captured the German people as did Ruth St. Denis. For two years without a week's rest she dances, while success, honors, and fame were heaped upon her, and she would have remained indefinitely had she not hungered for her own country. A theatre bearing her name would have been built for her, if she would have agreed to remain five years more." [Shawn, 14]
56 *Wisdom Comes Dancing*, 9–10. Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874–1929) was a major Austrian poet, dramatist and essayist of the turn of the century. He was a culturally conservative neo-Romantic.
57 See St. Denis's article on this topic in Cohen, *Dance as a Theatre Art*, esp. p. 130: "Music Visualization in its purest form is the scientific translation into bodily action of the rhythmic, melodic and harmonic structure of a musical composition, without intention to in any way 'interpret' or reveal any hidden meaning apprehended by the dancer." Note that Cohen describes Laban also as (like Steiner) "a scientist by nature" who "began with motion rather than emotion" [122].
58 From St. Denis's autobiography *An Unfinished Life*, quoted at Roseman, 99.
59 *Wisdom Comes Dancing*, 56.
60 St. Denis seems to have shared with Steiner an esoteric view of Christianity that transcends all traditional institutional contexts: "I passionately want religion to have all the principalities and powers, not only the science of the intellect and the sacrifice of the heart. I also want the church in its highest non-sectarian sense – Christ's gospel of Life – to have the irresistible lure of beauty with which to heal and inspire the world" [*Wisdom Comes Dancing,* 51].
61 Lawler, 78. Cf. also Cohen, *Theatre Art*, p. 1: "The most widely accepted view of the origin of the Greek theatre traces it to the Dithyramb, a song and dance performance that was part of the spring festival of Dionysus… In 508 BC a contest in Dithyramb was inaugurated. …Meanwhile, a form of spoken drama was developing at the Dionysian festival; and it too had its singer-dancers, in this case forming a chorus who reacted to and commented on the action with symbolic, stylized gestures known as *cheironomia*."
62 Eventually this noun became a verb in Ancient Greek, *orchesthai*, meaning not just narrowly "to dance," but rather to move rhythmically in a broad sense [Cohen, *Theatre Art*, 1].
63 "Duncan had spent years developing three full- or nearly full-length Greek tragedies: *Iphigenia in Tauris* (1914–1915), *Iphigenia in Aulis* (1905–1915), and *Orpheus* (1900–1915). For all three, she chose Gluck's

eighteenth-century opera scores, liberally excerpting and editing them…In Gluck she felt she had found the spirit of the Greek chorus, 'its rhythm, the grave beauty of its movements, the great impersonality of its soul, stirred but never despairing.' In none of them did she ever portray any of the main characters per se" [Daly, 146].

64 Jowett, 89–90.

65 Daly, 148.

66 Robert Bly's study of the Grimm Brothers' tale "Iron John" is among many other things a penetrating exploration of the Dionysian archetype from the perspectives of Jungian psychology and cultural anthropology.

67 *Mastery of Movement,* 94. The chapter from which this quote is taken, Ch. 4: "The Significance of Movement" [90–105], offers many profound reflections that strike me as uncannily similar to Steiner's theoretical deliberations on eurythmy.

68 Ibid., 99.

69 Ibid., 146.

70 Quoted at the end of *Isadora Speaks*.

71 Daly, 136.

72 Ibid., 175.

73 *The Portable Nietzsche*, 153.

74 CW 5. Andrew Welburn's study offers many good insights on Nietzsche and Steiner. Another sign of Steiner's appreciation of Nietzsche – especially Nietzsche's "dithyrambic" side – is the number of poems by Nietzsche Steiner set to eurythmy, as evidenced by the programs below.

75 CW 277a, *Eurythmy: Its Birth and Development.*

76 Excerpts have been included in CW 277a.

77 It also helped that Czerwinski's study is surprisingly good: Although brief, his account compares well with much later scholarly accounts such as the classic study by Lawler.

78 On Steiner's uses and interpretations of Goethe's *Faust*, see CW 272 and CW 273. Steiner's interpretations of Faust in this volume, including the "rehearsed readings," will be discussed more fully in the Introduction to CW 273, which will attempt to situate Steiner within the history of scholarship on Goethe's *Faust*.

79 Sorell, 39.

80 Preston-Dunlop and Lahusen, 3.

81 See Laban and Lawrence, *Effort*.

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