An Overview of the Development of Martha Graham's Movement System (1926-1991)
Author(s): Henrietta Bannerman
Reviewed work(s):
Source: *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Winter, 1999), pp. 9-46
Published by: Edinburgh University Press
Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1290837
Accessed: 30/01/2013 16:35

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Edinburgh University Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research.*

http://www.jstor.org

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

AN OVERVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARTHA GRAHAM'S MOVEMENT SYSTEM (1926–1991)

Henrietta Bannerman

When Martha Graham was interviewed a few months before her ninetieth birthday she remarked, 'I don't think about what I have done; I only think of the things that I *want* to do, that I *haven't* done' (Graham in Tobias, 1984:67). During a career that spanned more than sixty years and in which she produced over a hundred and seventy dances, Graham established her company as America's flagship for modern dance, performing in prestigious venues including The Royal Opera House in 1976. It was the first modern dance company to appear at the Paris Opera in 1984 and in her ninety-sixth year, Graham undertook a tour of Asia, where she had already achieved great popularity.

Graham referred to herself as 'doom eager' or 'eager for destiny no matter what it costs you' (1991:118) and in the last year of her life, she was still facing the challenge of creating a new work. Her final dance, *The Eyes of the Goddess* (1991), was left uncompleted when she died. Although she built a reputation as a major choreographer, Graham considered herself to be first and foremost a dancer and that her place was centre stage. The roles that she made for herself to dance have continued to be some of the greatest in the modern dance repertory. But, in developing these roles, Graham created a radical approach which changed ways of seeing and performing dance. Not only did she break the rules for how the dancing body should move in time and space but she challenged accepted traditions relating to the female body and its presentation as an expressive medium.

The revolutionary system of movement on which Graham worked continued to evolve and change. She produced a dance vocabulary that gradually developed into a codified technique which has influenced the work of several generations of choreographers. This training system was taught by Graham nationally and internationally and by generations of dancers who worked with her. Movement devices discovered during the making of the

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

choreography were practised and perfected in classes and then returned to the dances from which they originally sprang.

This article considers the choreographic career of Graham and charts milestones in her life which altered or influenced the development of her movement system – a system which changed over the years from uncompromisingly taut movement to a sleek and fluid style.

Graham's work can be viewed as falling into four phases, particularly in connection with the development of her movement system. These phases are: 1. 1926–1938; 2. 1938–1950; 3. 1950–1968 and 4. 1968–1991.

1. 1926–1938

The first decade or so of Graham s career was characterised by her redefinition of dance and of the female body. Bessie Schönberg explains how Graham worked in her early years of experimentation with movement:

> She tried to find ... within her that elementary point of beginning. In other words, she kept on peeling the onion all of the time ... more and more and more was stripped and stripped away ... (Schönberg, in Jowitt, 1981:40).

Graham's credo at the time was 'that you moved between the shoulders and the knees and that was it' (Schönberg, ibid.:41). O'Donnell, discussing *Two Primitive Canticles* (1931), observes that Graham 'used a powerful concentration in her movement, as if she were out of a rock drawing' (O'Donnell in Tobias, 1981:78). Graham had declared 'ugliness may actually be beautiful if it cries out with the voice of power' (Graham in Armitage, 1966:4). There were those who thought that her work was too angular and acerbic. The theatre critic Stark Young, for example, commented that Graham's choreography consisted of 'geometrical movements, almost Aztec in their line and mass' (Young in Armitage, 1966:vii).

Whilst Graham's work in the late 1920s and early 1930s may have appeared to be predominantly angular, it included movements like the 'calls' described by Schönberg as 'circular'. The calls consisted of a movement forwards whilst making a percussive beckoning gesture, one arm pulled up by a twist of the whole torso, as if exhorting someone behind to follow (Schönberg in Jowitt,

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

1981:42). Schönberg suggests that the 'audience could finish the circle for themselves' (ibid.). Gertrude Shurr referred to the calls as 'a sort of contraction and release feeling of going forward and falling back' (Shurr quoted by McDonagh in Soares, 1992:63). She also remarked that the calls were done 'hanging on to the barre. We did very little on the floor ... there was not a lot of percussive movement then' (ibid.). Whilst Graham introduced a revolutionary way of moving and her work was seen as overwhelmingly stark and severe, Shurr's remarks concerning the calls suggest that some of her early experimentation was not entirely dominated by angular shapes. The whip-like movement forwards and backwards, initiated by the thrust and retreat of the contraction/release as described by Shurr, suggests that, at times, the body curved and arched in space. Frances Hawkins, who was Graham's manager in the 1930s, commented, for example: 'Graham is not really angular, what she's really doing is uncompleted circles' (Jowitt, citing F. Hawkins in Jowitt, 1981:42). According to Schönberg, 'the audience could finish the circle for themselves' (ibid.) suggesting that the dancer's body carved illusory lines or circles in and through space (see Preston-Dunlop, 1983:77–88).

Early films made at Bennington and in particular one that features Dorothy Bird and Bonnie Bird demonstrating Graham technique (1934), reveal that Graham's work in the 1930s had a spartan look to it. These two dancers possessed the robust physiques of sportswomen yet they moved with a striking sense of plasticity and flow.

Their range of movement appears to have been considerable in terms of running and leaping, turns, twists and bends of the upper body or falls and backbends to the floor. The arm movements, however, compared to a later Graham syntax, are relatively imprecise. For example, in the 1934 film, the arms are held at shoulder height and bent at various degrees, sometimes with one arm framing the head whilst the other extends out towards the side of the body. At other times the arm positions are more restricted and held straight at the sides of the torso. When used as an accompanying gesture to a leap, one arm extends forwards whilst the other is slightly back from the shoulder and placed somewhere between the side of the body and behind the torso. These arm positions are approximate to academic ballet shapes or reflect the tension and effort demonstrated in the torso and legs. This last

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

example is a characteristic use of the arms that, over the years, has become an established feature in standard Graham technique.

Dudley commented that the arm positions first used by Graham dancers were standardised when Erick Hawkins joined Graham in 1938. According to Dudley, Graham put Hawkins in charge of rehearsals of the female Group and he would say 'now you should have your arms where Ethel [Butler] has and they should be at this or this angle' (Dudley quoting Hawkins in Lasseur, 1994). Dudley goes on to explain that arm positions had not been set or choreographed by Graham, 'we never were told about our arms. Our arms were where our backs put them and that's where they should be' (Dudley in Lasseur, 1994).

Dudley refers to a major principle in Graham dance, that arm movements are motivated from the muscles in the back or from those around the shoulder blade area. This principle has remained intrinsic to the work over time since, in a Graham class, there are no exercises designed specifically to train the arms (*port de bras*) as there are in ballet classes. Instructions differ from teacher to teacher in Graham work as to how the arms should be used as, for example, in a floor-based, second position. There are variations here on palm facings and the degrees of bend in the arms. Of more significance, perhaps, is the fact that the positions for the arms in the dramatic contraction and release device have never been codified. In this instance the arms should be thrown or flung into position and the shapes made are initiated by the action in the torso. There is little emphasis on placement of the arms in alignment with the body or with each other. As Graham's movement has become more formalised, particularly in relation to the later ballet-influenced performance style, the shapes that the arms fall into have moved steadily closer to those of academic ballet. The movement, therefore, looks smoother and more polished.

Leg extensions, too, are not as pure in the 1934 film as those presented by the later Graham dancers and whilst the legs are often held or thrown quite high, the movement seems instinctive rather than trained. The overall approach to Graham technique demonstrated by Bonnie Bird and Dorothy Bird shows athleticism, attack and flow, and this quality comes from a deep sense of physicality produced through the rigorous Graham training of the time. Dudley explains how, in the early technique, there was a concentration on the development of strength in the pelvis, thighs and

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

legs with exercises such as the 'hip swings' known later as 'knee hinges':

> You didn't swing at all, you tilted back from your knee, on a contraction, standing as well as kneeling. You took a little bounce on your heel and then you went forward, bounced on your heel and then you went back, there was a sense of swing ... a percussive, stop swing' (interview with Jane Dudley, 1997).

Exercises such as these were not part of the technique classes that I took in the 1960s and 1970s when there was more emphasis on ballet-influenced usage of the legs and feet. Popular company works such as *Diversion of Angels* (1948) made at the height of Graham's creative powers not only emphasised the flow already in her style but also introduced a new sense of lithe fluidity. Whilst there was little reduction in the strength and attack needed for this change in Graham's movement, it opened the door to a more lyrical approach which, when taken to its extreme, can privilege peripheral movement over inner energy. At times, this has the effect of making Graham's vocabulary and syntax seem too sleek and glossy and the weighted flow of the earlier style is diminished.

In addition to the familiar and well-documented elements such as the contraction and release, Bonnie Bird and Dorothy Bird perform movements that have disappeared from today's Graham vocabulary. Particularly striking is a continuous run or stride performed on the spot which is reminiscent of a music-hall or cakewalk movement. The arms move in opposition to the legs and the run is both energetic and slightly comic. Another movement associated with popular dance, the barrel turn, is also seen in this early film. Here the dancer leaps from one leg to the other and the whole torso makes half a turn outwards whilst the body is suspended in the air. These barrel turns were not taught as part of a mainstream Graham class in later years, although they are more familiar as part of jazz dance technique. In the later Graham syntax, barrel turns are more associated with the male dancers and can be seen, for example, in *Diversion of Angels* (1948). When I saw the 'Call to Action' section from *Chronicle* (1936) in the 'Radical Graham' season at Edinburgh (1996), I was surprised to see barrel turns being danced by the women. Sophie Maslow who helped revive the dance remarks: 'I had to reconstruct it ["Call to Action"] from what I remembered of the technique of the class that Martha had dropped years ago' (Maslow in Tracy, 1996:44).

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Also in the 1934 film is a kind of stride jump. Here there are a couple of runs and jumps with one leg slightly bent to the front and the other leg bent behind whilst the dancer is still in the air. Similar to a *jeté* leap, the legs are bent rather than fully stretched, making the jump seem more like an athletic hurdling movement than the extended, arrow shape associated with academic dance. The stride jump may have been the precursor for the later 'bison' leap in which the legs are sharply angled. The arms are held back from the torso with the elbows drawn high and the arm and leg gestures are combined with a contraction in the upper body. The leap can be sustained in the air with the torso arching over the legs and is often used by Graham in dramatic contexts.[1] It is performed repeatedly, for example, by the Daughters of the Night chorus in *Night Journey*.

A filmed extract (1935) from Graham's work *Panorama*[2] (1935) demonstrates a surprising range of movement components. This is a work in which Graham broke new ground, not all of it successfully. Not only did she attempt to introduce the use of mobiles by the artist Alexander Calder but it was also the first time that she worked with dancers who had not been trained by her. In addition to the members of her own Group of dancers, Graham had to create movement for 'strangers' (McDonagh, 1974:109). One of these strangers was the ballet teacher, Muriel Stuart. Although Stuart had problems with Graham's movement system, Dudley relates how Graham borrowed Stuart's technical virtuosity for the vocabulary of *Panorama*: 'Martha knew that she could turn, so she had her doing pique [sic] turns across the stage' (Dudley, 1997:45).

Dudley explains that Graham 'would work us and work us and work us' particularly on movements such as 'the pleadings' (Dudley ibid.). Still a mainstay exercise in current Graham classes, 'the pleadings' begin lying on the back. The spine is pushed against the floor and the front of the body hollows into a contraction. The torso lifts away from the floor in contraction and twists around so that the chest and arms pull across to one side. The release moves the torso back to the floor and the body straightens out against it.

Despite its problems, it can be seen that *Panorama* (1935) included movements that still form part of Graham's system. This suggests that by the early 1930s, much of her vocabulary had been developed. Moreover some of the possible components that were

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

available for selection in the 1930s became eliminated in later years. For example, the film of *Panorama* included the music-hall runs ['runs in place' (McDonagh, 1974:109)] demonstrated by Bonnie Bird and Dorothy Bird in the earlier technique film. The runs in place, however, do not appear in any of the post 1930s dances seen at the New York Public Library for Performing Arts or in the UK and seem to have disappeared from Graham's more current system. Jane Dudley, however, refers to the runs in place as one of movements from *Panorama* that 'I'll never forget. She defines the "run in place" as "a stride back and forth ... done in broken-up counts"' (Dudley, 1997:45).

The extract from *Panorama* includes triplets, cartwheels and two distinctive walks. The first of these walks travels backwards as one arm unfolds outwards to the front of the body. Such an arm gesture continues to be used in a more current Graham syntax but with the addition of a half turn so that the walks move forwards and backwards. Another walk shown in the film, uses the foot placed firmly on the heel and a sharply angled arm gesture where the elbow is lifted high and held parallel to the head. This arm gesture is similar to one that accompanies the 'dart'.[3]

During the 1930s Graham took time to develop 'the beauty of a walk' (Dudley in Ipiotis, 1988). Dorothy Bird explained that it was quite usual to spend an entire year working, for example, on 'a fantastic walk from *Primitive Mysteries*' (Bird, D. in Labeille, 1981). The 1930s syntax features a number of distinctive walks that are less evident in the later system. In the 'Steps in the Street' section from *Chronicle* (1936), for example, the dancers enter one at a time with a walk moving backwards where the ball of the foot stabs into the floor before it lowers through the metatarsal arch to the heel.

Dudley remarked that 'the plasticity of the way that the foot took the floor' in Graham's walks resulted in the body being carried in a particular way and 'with a certain stature' (Dudley in Ipiotis, 1988). Walks such as those seen in *Primitive Mysteries* (1931) and *Chronicle* (1936) are less common in the 1940s and later works. Medea's 'dance of jealousy' from *Cave of the Heart* (1946), however, features fast steps backwards on the heels as the torso bends forwards and both arms unfold outwards in front of the body.

A film of students (1938) performing Graham movement vocabulary reveals again qualities of energy and athleticism. It is clear from this film that the women had strong thighs and an

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

overall ability for breadth of movement. These students show that they had good control of weight in the fall and recovery aspect of Graham's developing syntax. On the other hand, details of hand, foot or arm and leg line were still not established at this time. The students can be seen performing movements that include the 'exercise on 6'. A combination of movements done on the knees, this exercise is still part of current Graham classwork and helps to build the contraction and release (see Appendix A) as well as strength in the thighs. The students in the 1938 film also show the 'standing fall' which can be seen in various forms in Graham works over time but is better known now as part of class technique. The film, then, also reveals that some of the exercises that are now part of standard classwork syntax evolved early in Graham's career. Some of the principles that require considerable strength and control, particularly in the use of the weight, have hardly changed over time.

The burgeoning modern dance of the 1930s was closely associated with revolutionary issues allied to the proletarian or workers' movement. Concerts were reviewed and supported by left-wing publications such as *The New Masses* and *New Theatre* and some of Graham's choreography of the time was equated with issues relating to rebellion and social inequality (Franko, 1995; Thomas, 1995; Graff, 1997). Graham's dances, however, were never quite political enough to satisfy critics like Edna Ocko who, in the mid 1930s, expressed a sense of frustration about the historical tone of Graham works such as *American Provincials* (1934): 'Will she openly assume leadership in the vanguard of revolutionary art, or will she be the last stronghold of a departing social order, and let her disciples champion new causes? This she must decide for herself' (Ocko in Prickett, 1994:87).The major concern in Graham's dances at this stage in her career was the individual's struggle for freedom rather than protest against social or class issues. In *Heretic* (1929), for example, the solitary outsider figure in white, her hair hanging loose, enacts a valiant struggle to overcome the forbidding and intractable group of eleven women. They wear tight, dark sheath dresses with their hair hidden under black caps. It is not the exploitation or repression of a social class or group that is being challenged in *Heretic*, rather, the dance is a plea for the individual artist or free spirit against an intransigent society represented by the formidable group of women.

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Chronicle (1936) and *Deep Song* (1937) reflected anti-fascist feelings connected with the Spanish Civil war and recalled the horror associated with the First World War. Graham responded to the sense of unrest in the build-up towards the Second World War by refusing Hitler's invitation for her company to appear at the Berlin Games of 1936. In the 1980s, Graham expressed her dislike of another undemocratic regime when she remarked that even if the company were invited there, she would not go to South Africa. Yet, she has often denied any strong political stance claiming that she is interested 'in human rights, not politics' (Graham in Horosko, 1991:10 and Thomas, 1995:108).

2. 1938–1950

A major shift away from Graham's late 1920s–1930s syntax came in the year 1938 when Erick Hawkins, who became Graham's lover and husband, joined the all-female Group. Graham had met Hawkins in 1936 when Balanchine's touring group, Ballet Caravan, performed at the Bennington Summer School.[4] The appearance of this ballet company within the Bennington modern dance stronghold may have had two effects on Graham. The first could have been the power and sexuality of the male dancers as opposed to the female dominated environment in which she had worked for the first ten years of her career. The second may have been a clarity and an extra range of movement that Graham registered as being a property of ballet vocabulary.

When Hawkins came to work with Graham in 1938, he had already had some introduction to her technique from Muriel Stuart, a teacher at Balanchine's School of American Ballet. Stuart had attended a six-week workshop taught by Graham at Bennington in 1935. During this time, Graham developed *Panorama* and Stuart had received, therefore, considerable indoctrination into Graham's system. Dudley remarks that Hawkins' arrival and the place he was immediately accorded in Graham's work caused jealousy. 'Into our sacred circle came a foreign element, obviously with the element that Martha preferred. He was her darling' (Dudley in Lasseur, 1994).

Whilst Hawkins' arrival in the midst of Graham's women dancers may have been unpopular, he did make a useful contribution to her work. As well as managing the company, he helped

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

to find ways of partnering and to 'define scenes and episodes, standard choreographic procedures in the ballet world'. From Hawkins' influence, there was a shift in the movement vocabulary and syntax from 'square, frontal' elements to more 'spiral, circular patterns' (Sharer in Soares, 1992:141). O'Donnell, however, claims that Graham 'kept the style as it was, but gave Erick stronger movements to do' (O'Donnell in Horosko, 1991:78).

Hawkins, nicknamed 'the torso' (Soares, 1992:140), signalled a new and exciting direction for Graham's work. Now she began to explore the male/female relationship and the first work in which Hawkins appeared was *American Document* (1938). In an extract from this work, Hawkins can be seen, bare-chested and in white shorts, performing athletic 'star jumps' in immediate repetition. Another short clip from the dance reveals Hawkins as rather stiff and one-dimensional, due perhaps, to his predominantly ballet-influenced training. The torso is held erect and there is little upper body flexibility or mobility, characteristics which make him appear proud and arrogant. The partnerwork in *American Document* (1938), however, shows a strong element of sexuality which was new at that time in Graham's syntax. Graham interacts with Hawkins and shares her space with him, an element that does not appear in her earlier female-dominated movement system. She spins almost dizzily around him or melts submissively at his feet showing a vulnerability and sensuality absent from the pre-1938 dances. Until the arrival of Hawkins, Graham's performances had signified a self-sufficient individuality. The male element had been represented through absence, an absence which had been further marked by the power of Graham herself and her Group.

Graham's manner of presenting herself and her dancers had been the site of new attitudes towards womanhood. She had developed ways in which the female body expressed themes such as freedom, suffering, joy or pain and these were not necessarily gender-dominated or related to sexuality. Hawkins' arrival changed the nature of Graham as a performer. 'Erick had a strength and against Erick, she [Graham] could be feminine and lovely and beautiful' (Lang in Lasseur, 1994). Graham's new partnership with Hawkins may have reintroduced a tendency towards borrowings from Oriental dance. Graham's experience of the male/female partnership had been forged during her years with Denishawn where she had been exposed to a hybrid dance culture. It is

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

plausible to speculate that Graham associated the rediscovered concepts of femininity with some of the sensual, delicate, Eastern-influenced movement she had absorbed from Ruth St. Denis.

McDonagh considers that *American Document*[5] (1938) signalled 'the opening of a whole new phase in her [Graham's] work' (1974:135) and Margaret Lloyd observes that it marked 'the beginning of Martha Graham's Dance Company, the transitional step between concert and theater' (Lloyd, 1949:60).

American Document[6] heralded several features that changed Graham's overall style and affected the choreographic syntax: the addition of a male dancer; having the music composed before she worked on the movement (Thomas, 1995:133), and the use of spoken text as a major signifier.

Graham's choice of texts for her new dramatic work demonstrates her preoccupation with grand narratives since the texts included the American Declaration of Independence, quotations from the Bible, Walt Whitman's poems and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address and Emancipation Proclamation.

Hawkins was not the only male performer to appear for the first time in *American Document*, as the text was spoken by Housley Stevens Jr., the male 'interlocutor'. Thus, surprisingly for audiences familiar with Graham's choreography, two male performers were often on stage at the same time in this new work. *American Document* won favour with critics and with the public and it established Graham as a major American choreographer. When it appeared in 1938, this work was considered to be politically relevant as well as entertaining (see Graff, 1997:124–9), but, when Graham recreated *American Document* in 1989 using, suggests Graff, the Barbara Morgan photographs from which to reconstruct some of the sections (Graff, 1990:46), the dance had lost some of its power for modern audiences. The Morgan photographic images of the original production seemed more potent 'more vigorous, more evocative' (ibid.).

Every Soul is a Circus (1939) reflects Graham's interest in and presentation of comedy. Whilst a humorous approach to movement is another unusual element in Graham's early syntax, it has continued to be part of her system over time. The dance historian Elizabeth Kendall remarked that Graham 'was a high and stern personality … she was not funny' (Kendall in Dunlop, 1993). Graham's intensity, her 'devotion and burning dedication' to art

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

(ibid.) cannot be denied. But her capacity for humour and satire and her ability to parody her own conventions should be acknowledged. The critic John Martin, for example, remarked on the range of Graham's work, 'her satire is terse and withering, her tragic intuitions both stark and tender, her moments of lyricism vibrant and lovely' (Martin, 1965:256).

As early as 1932, Graham made a suite of solo dances called *Dance Songs*. Included in the suite was *Satiric Festival Song* described by one critic as having been inspired by an 'astringent humor' (Wilson, 1938). Here, Graham satirises her development of the walk, when, arms clamped at the sides of the stiffly held torso, the dancer walks backwards on the balls of her feet. Her face is turned towards the audience as though defying them not to laugh. The solo is full of idiosyncratic movement and the costume, a sheath dress of broad black and green bands, accentuates the sharply angled shapes made by a hip or a knee projecting through the jersey material.

Satiric Festival Song (1932) belongs to a period of Graham's career when she was renowned for her preoccupation with serious issues. Her vocabulary and syntax at this time is considered to have been developed to express themes associated with suffering, despair and protest. The later company work *Every Soul is a Circus* (1939)[7] is held to be the first work that explored 'good-natured, genuine humor' (McDonagh, 1974:142). According to Stodelle, however, when Graham performed 'impish capers and off-balance runs' or 'tossed her hair about with jerky motions of her head' during *Satiric Festival Song*, she drew 'gales of laughter' from the audience (Stodelle, 1984:84).

Throughout its history, this solo has been referred to as either *Satiric Festival Song* (McDonagh 1974; Stodelle 1984) or *Satyric Festival Song* (Wilson, 1938; Morgan, 1980; *Radical Season*, Edinburgh 1996). The substitution of satyric for satiric[8] changes the signification of the solo's title. Satiric corresponds to a type of comedy with a propensity towards ridicule and mockery whereas satyric is associated with the cult of Dionysus. In Greek mythology, the satyrs were wild, half human and half goat creatures who followed Dionysus, the god of wine and inspiration. Both definitions are appropriate for *Satiric Festival Song* since the solo can be seen as a 'scintillating and witty parody' of Graham herself (Ocko, 1934 in Prickett, 1994:69). On the other hand, in 1941, George

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Beiswanger referred to Graham in this solo as a 'goat creature' (in Morgan, 1980:146).

It seems clear that audiences in the 1930s, as well as those of the 1990s, responded to the humour in *Satiric Festival Song*. When the revived solo was performed in Edinburgh in 1996, Paul Jackson, for example, found its exploration of different moods 'quite hilarious' (Jackson, 1996:18). I saw this solo danced during the Edinburgh season by a diminutive dancer, Rika Okamoto. Like Graham, Okamoto wore her black hair loose. Janet Eilber, who helped to reconstruct *Satiric Festival Song* in 1994, performed the solo[9] in *The Singular Voice of Woman* (The Place Theatre, 19/20 September 1997). Audiences here also found the dance very amusing. Okamoto is closer in height and colouring to Graham than is Eilber, although Eilber made the movements appear more extreme and emphatic. Both dancers used their faces as part of the movement syntax thrusting mischievous looks at the audience. Eilber in particular allowed her face to reflect the antics of her body. In 1932, however, Graham would have used limited facial gesture in the assemblage of her movements. Terry writes that *Frontier* (1935) was the first dance in which Graham's face lost its impassivity and expressed emotion (in Snyder, 1984:81). The twists and gyrations of her body against a deadpan or expressionless face in *Satiric [Satyric] Festival Song* would have added to the ironic effect of the solo.

As with other reconstructions of lost Graham dances, *Satiric Festival Song* is no longer danced to its original music which in 1932 was by Imre Weisshaus. Weisshaus' composition for *Dance Songs*[10] comprised scoring for 'baritone, flute, and drum' (McDonagh, 1974:90). Paul Jackson remarks that the comic effect of the solo, as danced in the 1990s, is enhanced by its accompaniment, a 'severe flute solo by Fernando Palacios which in 1932 must have seemed truly cacophonous' (ibid.). *Satiric Festival Song* may have been danced originally to a flute solo by Weisshaus that was similar to Palacios'[11] iconoclastic atonal trills and strident squeaks but it is also interesting to speculate about the effect of Graham's indifferent facial expression when the solo was first performed. Photographs of Graham (Morgan, 1980:86 and 87; Stodelle, 1984:np) show her with a serious face set against the distortions of the body's movement. This odd combination must have highlighted the solo's ironic tone in the 1930s. In later performances the extent to which

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

each dancer uses her face varies. However, the movement vocabulary of *Satiric Festival Song*, with its extreme bends and twists of the body and the unexpected scurrying and skittering travelling movements, retains its sense of comedy.

One of the other dances to be recovered from the 1930s, *Celebration* (1934),[12] the first dance in which Graham herself did not appear, also shows the energetic and spirited aspect of Graham's vocabulary and syntax. Helpern describes this work as a 'dance about energy' and explains that it was originally called *Energio*.

> Jumping was a central theme, and Marchowsky points out that it was Graham's first piece to require pointed feet. The accent was 'up' on the beat, so the jumping had a sharp percussive attack propelling the body into the air (Helpern, 1991:12).

From early in her career, therefore, Graham made works with a lighter or even comic touch. It is also interesting to note that Graham's last complete dance, *Maple Leaf Rag* (1990), is a comedy. It demonstrates a self-reflexive irony because the movements associated with the tragic works emphasise the absence of Graham's more familiar serious approach. If this work seems unusually lightweight for a Graham dance, nevertheless it resonates with other dances such as *Every Soul is a Circus* (1939) and *Acrobats of God* (1960). A very short extract from *Every Soul is a Circus*, for example, reveals the coquettish element of Graham's performance style. She is seen in a glamorous white chiffon dress reclining flirtatiously on a sofa. Even Graham's dramatic split kick, which slices upwards to the left side of the body, has an air of frivolity to it in the context of this dance. Graham's flexibility and sinuosity are all the more marked in *Every Soul is a Circus* because of Hawkins' relatively rigid style of movement. The partnerwork in the dance shows Graham in the traditional role of female, supported and presented by the male, or interacting with Hawkins as The Ringmaster and the new recruit to the company, Merce Cunningham, who danced The Acrobat. *Every Soul is a Circus* was revived in 1985 when it was described as 'wickedly funny and self mocking' (Hardy, 1986:22).

Supported partnerwork was another dimension to be added to the movement system after Hawkins' arrival in 1938, although David Wood claims that the 'very first lifts' (Horosko, 1991:123) did not appear until *Deaths and Entrances* (1943). The partnerwork that can be seen in *American Document* and *Every Soul is a Circus* is, perhaps, relatively undeveloped with Graham being held low to

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

the ground and supported on Hawkins' knees, or held at the waist with both legs extended at hip height in a supported second position. The more athletic lifts, such as those seen in *Diversion of Angels* (1948) may have evolved during the 1940s.

An increasing recruitment of male dancers to the company during the 1940s extended the dramatic possibilities of Graham's work and changed elements of her syntax. When men came into the company, they were not part of a mass as were the women dances of the Group. The male dancers were individual characters with roles to play. The inclusion of men permitted a growing trend towards the psychodrama which found its full expression in the dance dramas of the 1940s. With the advent of Hawkins in 1938, *American Document* led the way towards the more psychologically dominated dances such as *Deaths and Entrances* (1943).

The post-1938 movement vocabulary also changed when Hawkins began giving ballet lessons to the dancers. In addition to his efforts at formalising arm movements, Hawkins concentrated on the development of the dancers' leg movements. Jean Erdman observes that some members of the company found these classes very taxing and remarked 'it was incredibly difficult to move our legs without a torso movement'. She also explains that turns were added to the work at this time. The influence of principles adopted from ballet, keeping 'the body still' and using the turn-out (Erdman in Horosko, 1991:79), changed Graham's movement vocabulary during the 1940s. In the early years of experimentation, ballet[13] had been rejected as outmoded and irrelevant to Graham's new system of modern dance. Whilst Erdman remarks that the work did not become 'balletic', Horosko (1991:3/4) observes that in the 1940s, Graham wanted to extend her movement possibilities and did not allow herself to be bound by conventions, even those already established by her own work. Marchowsky observes that there was a marked shift from the early work for the company of women dancers to the later vocabulary and syntax. In the early years movement was 'percussive; stripped to the bone; unadorned; dark; dramatic; and never decorative' (Marchowsky in Horosko, 1991:65).

The movements after 1938, however, became 'more lyrical, decorative, and formalized' (ibid.:67). From this period, a new concentration can be traced on the use of the 'spiral' device in Graham work. According to Helpern, Graham 'emphasized spiral

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

and opposition in many phrases with leg extensions and weight shifts ... In understanding and strengthening the counter tensions in the back, especially under the shoulder blades, the dancers gained added freedom in the upper torso' (Helpern, 1991:20). The 'hip spiral' developed in the early 1940s contributed further to the power of Graham's spiral device. Also known as the 'turns around the back', this spiral device begins with a minute impulse in the hip area. The impulse initiates a gradual turn of the upper body around the axis of the spine, producing extreme rotation of the upper body against the hip area. The powerful hip-initiated movement draws the upper body into a turn around the spine and when an arm gesture is added during the development of this movement, the shoulder blade spiral amplifies the 'lifting and turning of the torso' (ibid.:20). Pearl Lang has commented that Graham's development of her spiral technique, particularly in the movement syntax for *Diversion of Angels* contributed to that work's new sense of lyricism (ibid.).

3. 1950–1968

Between 1938–1948 there was further expansion in the movement vocabulary with innovatory movements such as the 'knee vibrations', which involve raising the leg to hip level and circling it around the body in a figure-of-eight pattern. The movement of the leg from the hip is initiated by a deep contraction in the pelvis and the supporting leg bends and straightens in tandem with the action of the working leg which circles inwards across the body and outwards away from it. In addition to the movement in the legs and torso, there is an accompanying figure-of-eight gesture made with the arm opposite to the working leg. The dual action of the inward and outward figure-of-eight pattern is repeated four times in each set of knee vibrations. Like the dart, the knee vibrations are associated with dramatic roles such as Medea in *Cave of the Heart* (1946). They can also be used to comic effect as in, for example, *Acrobats of God* (1960). Another movement device to be developed and added to the movement vocabulary in the mid 1940s was the 'half split fall'[14] [Graham's term is 'fall in wide 2nd', and 'wide 2nd fall' (1973) or 'wide split fall' (1991:214)].

The years after 1948, however, show a decline in Graham's movement invention. There were several adverse circumstances

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

that could have affected her creativity at this stage. She quarrelled with Louis Horst who had been her mentor and he left the Company in 1948. Horst had been influential in encouraging Graham to develop her economic dance vocabulary and syntax (Stodelle, 1984; Soares, 1992; Shurr in Sears, 1984; interview with Jane Dudley, 1997). The choreographer Alwin Nikolais remarked, for example, that, 'Horst supplied the bones to Martha's muscle ... He was the eagle-eye for Martha' (Nikolais in Soares, 1992:138).

Although Horst left the company in 1948, his influence on Graham began to decline from around 1936 when Graham met Hawkins. Ralph Taylor, a life-long friend of Horst's, commented that he worried that Graham 'would be led astray by Erick, who was just another dancer who would never get over his ballet days in terms of movement' (Taylor in Soares, 1992:145). Even though Horst found Hawkins 'arrogant' he was forced to recognise that significant elements were entering Graham's syntax in the form of 'new duet materials and interesting roles for men' (Soares, 1992:145). Graham married Hawkins in 1948 and although Horst remained as musical director for the Graham Company, he resigned during the rehearsals for *Wilderness Stair* 1948 (later *Diversion of Angels*). A rift occurred between Horst and Graham that continued for the next seven years.

Already in her early fifties, a decline in her physical powers was not helped by a severe knee injury. The condition of her knee incapacitated her completely and the Company's first European season was disrupted because of this. The reception of her work in Paris was poor and since Graham could not dance, the London season was cancelled. More emotional trauma beset Graham when she separated from Hawkins (they were divorced in 1954). It is also interesting to note that *Eye of Anguish* (1950), made for Hawkins and based on the theme of *King Lear*, was another artistic failure at this time. Hawkins has observed that Graham could not enter into the character of Lear, and that because she 'thought through a work using *her* psyche, *her* emotions', she could not successfully create a leading male role (Hawkins in Horosko, 1991:76). An inability to make a powerful role for a male dancer may have limited Graham's development.

Robert Cohan, on the other hand, remarks that Graham worked well with men and allowed them to develop their own material (in Lockyer, 1991)[15]. The paradigms for the work of

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

the male dancers in Graham dances were set, on the one hand, by Hawkins and, on the other, by Cunningham (Wengerd, 1991:48–52). Even though these paradigms expanded throughout her career, some male roles still reflect some rigidity and inflexibility that can be traced back to Hawkins. The movement for Jason in *Cave of the Heart* (1946), for example, tends to be one-dimensional and limited in range, qualities that resonate with the few examples seen of Hawkins' movement in Graham works. Conversely, Cunningham's quality of extraordinary fluidity and lightness has also influenced the vocabulary and syntax of Graham's work. The 'March' jumps, for example, which were performed first by Cunningham in *Letter to the World* (1940) were absorbed into Graham's movement system and it is clear that she continued to use them in works such as *Clytemnestra* (1958) (Graham, 1973:381, 393). Moreover, Cunningham contributed formative work when creating the role of the Preacher in *Appalachian Spring* (1944).

Roles originally danced by Hawkins were often altered when taken over by other dancers. For example, when Bertram Ross inherited the role of Oedipus in *Night Journey* (1947), Graham changed the costume and left Ross to work out for himself how to create effects with the 'yardage' of his new cape (de Mille, 1992:313). Tim Wengerd, who danced with the company in the 1970s, describes how Graham worked with him on the duet *Oh Thou Desire Who Art About to Sing* (1977) and his account confirms a process that Graham used throughout her career when she created a movement syntax for male dancers:

> Beginning that duet, we went into the studio and she read me an ancient Egyptian poem, we talked a little bit, we played the music, and then we started the music again. And she said, 'Now, that's where your solo begins.' It was part way into the piece. So I knew what I was dancing about, I had an idea of what this piece was going to be. And then she said, 'I'll go away for a little while and call me when you feel like it.' I was, for about twenty minutes, there just playing, experimenting, trying this, trying that, putting on the music, doing something to it, taking it off, trying something else. And I called her in: I had a short phrase of movement. That short phrase of movement she took apart, and things were repeated and things were slowed down and so forth (Wengerd, 1977:57).

Most of the major roles in the Graham repertory, however, were made by Graham for herself on her own body and by 1947, she had produced skilful dance portrayals of a range of heroines who

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

were more dominant than the corresponding heroes portrayed by the male dancers. In *Night Journey* (1947), for example, it is Jocasta rather than Oedipus who is the central character. Graham's pre-occupation with the female psyche and with herself as major protagonist and soloist, perhaps curtailed the further development of her movement vocabulary and limited her aesthetic.

There were important dances made in the 1950s such as the popular *Seraphic Dialogue* (1955) and the full-evening dance *Clytemnestra* (1958). Peter Williams considered this work to be 'possibly Graham's greatest creation to date' (Williams, 1963:13). These dances, though, do not show new developments on those made in the 1940s in either movement vocabulary or syntax. The movement vocabulary had become so familiar to members of the Company by 1954 that they were able to improvise sections of choreography in *Ardent Song* (1954), a work which Graham had difficulty in finishing (Tracy, 1996). Linda Hodes remarks that the members of the company were 'very steeped' in Graham's technique by the 1950s and that she trusted her dancers with her movement vocabulary 'in terms of improvising in her dances' (Hodes in Tracy, 1996:175). Despite the improvised passages of *Ardent Song*, it still had a more favourable reception in London than had other dances; a critic in *The Times*, for example, hailed it as 'the most successful [Graham] has shown us during her present season' and went on to remark that:

> ... the visual element added up to a total which was not beyond the power of limbs to express, as they are, for instance, in *Night Journey* (anon., *The Times*, 19 March 1954)

John Martin called *Ardent Song* (1954) possibly 'the richest and the most consistently beautiful of all her rituals' although Horst commented that he 'saw it once, and tried to forget it as soon as possible' (Horst in Stodelle, 1984:164). This work, however, did introduce the 'breathings' (Helpern, 1991:22), a pattern of movement which, when incorporated with the contraction and release, became a familiar classwork exercise. The breathings are also seen in the last section of *Acts of Light* (1981).

McGehee claims that in the 1960s 'Martha let us finish her dances' (McGehee in Tracy, 1996:129). Graham could not retain full control of her work because of an increasingly serious alcohol problem (McGehee, Ross, Wood in Tracy, 1996). McGehee and

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Wood relate difficulties that Graham had with *Alcestis* (1960) and *Acrobats of God* (1960) (ibid.:129 and 225). These were due mainly to the fact that Graham was often confused, and could not, therefore, fully cope with rehearsals either in the studio or on stage.

Dance scholars place the watershed in the development of Graham's vocabulary and syntax at different times. Helpern, for example, maintains that *Canticle for Innocent Comedians* (1952) and *Ardent Song* (1954) 'provided more material to be absorbed into the technique' (Helpern, 1991:22) although she concedes that the basic principles of Graham's technique might have been developed prior to the 1950s (ibid.:23). It appears, however, that the vocabulary and syntax changed at all times throughout Graham's career (Monte and Capucilli in Tracy, 1996) although the early years saw the fastest and most marked developments. Martha Hill, who danced with Graham from 1929–1931, notes a considerable change within a two year period of these early years: 'she had begun to experiment with the percussive attack – a sharp intake and breath phrase – and work with the torso. While I was away, she had gone onto a different phase' (Hill, ibid.:13). Pearl Lang who joined Graham in 1942 notes Graham's continued involvement with her work at this time: 'when I was taken into the company, Martha taught us every day. She *taught*. When she choreographed a work, she would get up and show some movement and we would do it. Martha really danced the movement. She didn't tell you what to do' (ibid.:84/85).

If elements such as the breathings were developed or added into the syntax in the 1950s, other movement devices began to disappear. Bertram Ross comments that during the years when Graham taught at Julliard (from the 1950s) 'many of the exercises with parallel legs began to disappear' (Ross, in Horosko, 1991:105). In the 1950s elements of the movement vocabulary were eliminated when Graham thought that some of the earlier movements were 'too difficult' or too 'frustrating' for students to tackle (Graham, cited by Ross in Horosko, 1991:105). The lost exercises probably included the hip swings (knee hinges) described by Dudley on page 5. However, there was an increasing trend towards technical proficiency in the presentation of Graham work. I remember being in a class taught by Mary Hinkson in 1965 and Graham arrived to watch. She lectured the students on the importance of the fully pointed foot using, as an example, Hinkson's

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

naturally high arch and articulated instep. Thus, if some of the strenuous and uncompromisingly radical movements disappeared during the 1940s and 1950s, in the 1960s there was, and there still is in the 1990s, an emphasis on academic execution of the extensive movement range. Ballet classes taught by teachers such as Henry Danton (Helpern, 1991:22) were re-introduced at the Graham school in the late 1950s as a response, perhaps, to the ever-growing popularity of ballet in America. In 1948, Kirstein and Balanchine began establishing the New York City Ballet and this company, developed from Ballet Caravan, attracted funding and prestige which was not accessible to Graham. The only project in which Graham's and Balanchine's individual paths crossed, *Episodes* (1959)[16] did not remain in Graham's repertory although she commented that 'it widened my audience ... I felt highly privileged to be part of an existing organization so closely identified with the general public' (Graham in Stodelle, 1984:213).

Graham has claimed that ballet was an important part of her background at Denishawn and that she found it 'useful for training the body' (Graham in Hardy, 1984:11). Graham practitioners from the late 1950s onwards have striven to keep standards of execution in line with those needed for academic ballet. For example, in the summer of 1997, I watched a class at the Graham Center for Contemporary Dance in New York taught by Dudley Williams. Williams danced with the company in the 1960s, creating the role of the snake in *Circe* (1963). During the class, he concentrated on communicating a sense of Graham's more ballet-influenced style. For example, whilst teaching the hip spirals (turns around the back), he stressed the flow of the movement in the body insisting that the isolation of 'hip, waist and shoulder' should not be done too literally. When Williams taught a leap on the diagonal which involved a variation on a combination of *sissonne* and *grand assemblé*, he exhorted the students to think of the poster for the New York City Ballet which showed a dancer executing a similar *assemblé* movement in the air.

It seems clear that Graham's development of vocabulary and new ways of assembling it did decrease in the 1950s due perhaps, to the emotional, physical and subsequent drinking problems she encountered at this time. Already in her mid-fifties, her powers as a performer were fading and the decline of her technical abilities led her to over-compensate with dramatic expression.

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

When Graham became less able to work on her own body, the process of evolving new vocabulary decreased. As Martha Hill remarked, 'If Martha had continued to work and had continued dancing, her technique would have been changing to the end. She was a constant mover – her ideas were active' (in Tracy, 1996:13).

4. 1968–1991

The 1970s show another marked shift in Graham's approach. She stopped dancing completely in 1970 and this led to a physical and mental collapse. She did recover her strength, however, and resumed leadership of the Company in 1972/1973. The 1970s and 1980s are characterised by change in both new Graham choreography and in the presentation of old works (Barnes, 1982; Hardy, 1984; Jowitt, 1981; Tracy, 1996). Whilst the movement vocabulary itself does not appear to have altered greatly, an 'increased elasticity' appeared in Graham's dance 'and a growing degree of effortlessness' (Hardy, 1984:16). This suggests that the movement system acquired an inappropriate sense of forced flow. Recorded performances of later dances show the more codified standard elements of Graham's vocabulary and syntax and there are few of the idiosyncratic movements in these works.

Stodelle who rarely finds anything unsuccessful in Graham's dances introduces a note of criticism when she refers to works made in the 1970s and 1980s as 'a procession of dances choreographed on the bodies of others – with their creative – collaboration' (Stodelle, 1984:261). Jowitt has also commented on the 1970s:

> Much of the movement in Graham's dances has a patented look. Perhaps because she was unable to draw new movement from her own body, she used a vocabulary that she had built up. Whatever the other dancers may have contributed, it deferred to established Graham technique (Jowitt, 1977:78).

As a result of the research that I have carried out, I would argue that the invention of new movement may have ceased as early as 1948. Having watched and researched a range of dances from 1929–1990, it seems evident that the movement vocabulary, syntax and staging of the dances remained stable after 1948 when in *Diversion of Angels* (1948), as Helpern comments, Graham 'made radical changes in the technique' and 'wanted bodies twisted more violently, stressing opposition in the upper torso and the gesture leg which crossed the body and turned inward' (1991:19).

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

It is difficult to be sure that the later dances were not supervised rather than choreographed by Graham. Commenting on Graham's choreographic process in the 1970s, for example, Peggy Lyman remarked:

> Martha outlines and suggests, and then lets you feel it through the movement. Martha always said – and she said it again the other day – 'Really what I do is coordinate the movements that you give me.' Martha is an editor (Lyman in Tracy, 1996:288).

From watching recorded performances of dances like *The Rite of Spring* (1984) and *Maple Leaf Rag* (1990) it seems clear that there is little extension or development of Graham's vocabulary and syntax.

Although works made in the last two decades of Graham's life still feature the 'torque and twist' (interview with Susan McGuire, 1997) of her steely movement system, they also demonstrate a greater sense of decoration. Horst had encouraged Graham to eschew the prettiness and softness of her Denishawn heritage so that she could expose the raw power of movement. Gradually, however, Graham's vocabulary and syntax lost the clean, austere aspect of her early work. The costumes that had been designed to accentuate the contours of the moving body and to signify various aspects of character gave way to the sleek designs of fashion designers such as Halston and Calvin Klein.

Graham's policy towards the musical accompaniment of her dances also changed. In her formative years, Graham had followed the advice of Horst and had worked to the new music of the modern age. She had rejected the lyricism of strings which Horst associated with an outworn era of court ballet (Lloyd in Armitage, 1966:94). He encouraged Graham to have music composed specially for her works in order to strengthen the dance's autonomy. Horst's taut, springy compositions for works such as *Frontier* (1935) and *El Penitente* (1940) responded to the rigour and clarity of Graham's emerging vocabulary.

In the last decade of her career, Graham's use of Carl Nielsen's late romantic music brings a tone of indulgence and sentimentality to most of *Acts of Light* (1981) and Graham's sinewy vocabulary and stringent style became infused with Denishawn exoticism. Nevertheless, the rich orchestral music and the gold tights and leotards of the 'Helios' section do not overpower or obscure the precision and discipline of the movement. This final section of *Acts of Light* is

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

a demonstration of Graham technique and when the dancers go through the sinuous floor work, develop the rigorous standing exercises and perform leaps and turns that travel across the stage, the sonorous accompaniment does not blur the clarity of the movement. In fact, it helps to highlight the expressive nature of the movement and the drama inherent within it.

I would argue that there was, however, a return to the decorative aspect of Denishawn in terms of presentation and a bias towards the softening of the movement system. There have also been influences from ballet. It has been shown here that from 1938, Graham had taken ballet-trained dancers into her company and this trend increased in the 1940s. From the 1970s onwards, there has been a predominance of dancers with a background in ballet in Graham's company and this contributes to the polished look of her movement system, both in revivals of earlier works and in the later dances.

Nevertheless, it can be seen that in the last two decades of her career, Graham still exerted influence over the dancers and, despite the more trained or schooled aspect of their performance style, they continued to demonstrate the power of the technique that she developed. This is particularly clear in the 'Helios' section of both the 1987 and the 1990 recordings of *Acts of Light* (1981)[17] where the dancers demonstrate Graham's legacy of expressive movement hewn from the undisguised anatomy of the body.

Graham completed fifteen minutes of her last dance *The Eyes of the Goddess* before she died in 1991. The work was a Spanish commission to celebrate five hundred years since Columbus had sailed for the Americas (Dendy, 1992:31). Graham recorded in her notes that she was planning the dance to communicate the idea of discovery, 'a journey through time ...' (Graham in Dendy (ibid.)). Graham's own journey through time had taken her from the exotic mists and veils of Denishawn towards a revolutionary exploration resulting in her ground-breaking dances of the late 1920s, 1930s and 1940s. These works asked what it was to be American and the movement that Graham created for them resulted in a vocabulary and syntax which expressed the emergence of a new culture.

Graham's inherent sense of theatricality led her to abandon the economic early style and to move towards the creation of psychological and dramatic dances. Heroines such as Medea in *Cave of the Heart* (1946), Jocasta of *Night Journey* (1947) and Clytemnestra of

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

1958 are some of the richest roles ever made for women in modern dance. Late in her career, Graham sanctioned and contributed towards the reconstruction of several of her earlier works. The February 1999 season of the Martha Graham Dance Company held at the Joyce Theatre, New York, included radical dances such as the seminal *Primitive Mysteries* (1931) and the six-minute solo *Frontier* (1935) alongside the dramatic *Errand into the Maze* (1947) and the comic *Maple Leaf Rag* (1990), thus revealing the diversity and range of Graham's repertory. The breadth of Graham's creative output over the decades demonstrates that her choreographic works are (as were her performances) manifestations of a wide-ranging artistry and continuing sense of discovery.

NOTES

[1] Stuart Hodes claims that this jump was developed by himself and Mark Ryder in 1948 (Hodes, 1996:88–9).

[2] *Panorama* was reconstructed in 1992 by Yuriko from Julien Bryan's film (Martha Graham Dance Company programme, 1992: personal collection).

[3] The dart is a sudden quick step on to the front leg, body in profile and back leg lifted slightly off the floor with the foot flexed. The body tilts and the arm is lifted and bent sharply so that the forearm and upper arm make an angled shape around the head. This movement is most often associated with the dramatic works.

[4] The Summer School at Bennington's 'newly established women's college' (McDonagh, 1974:99) was set up in 1934 by Martha Hill and Mary Josephine Shelly. It was designed as a showcase for the emergent modern dance movement and provided an opportunity for Graham, Humphrey, Weidman, Holm et al. to teach and to show their work (see Thomas, 1995:111–14).

[5] For a historical account of *American Document* see Manning (1996:183–202).

[6] Helpern writes: 'one variation from the Emancipation Episode is still taught in technique classes and has become known as the "*American Document* step". This movement phrase, which starts with the legs parallel, includes the heel thrust that Lloyd observed. A strong contraction sends an arm and opposite leg straight forward; the release opens them sidewards in opposing directions. The dancers move to one side and then the other; this is followed by travelling prances backward. Rhythmically, the variation is organised in six and seven count phrases with the accent shifting from the "and" before the beat (the upbeat), to the downbeat' (Helpern, 1991:16).

[7] *Every Soul is a Circus* was revived in 1986 and was warmly praised by Camille Hardy (1986:21–2).

[8] Dryden has an important discussion of the matter in his 'A Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire' (1963). See John Dryden, *Selected Criticism*, ed. James Kinsley and George Parfitt, 229, 245 where he presents the issue as a little less clear-cut but seems to favour the argument, advanced originally by Isaac Casaubon, as presented here (courtesy of Dr. Richard Ralph). See also Cuddon (1977:598–605).

[9] The solo appeared under the title *Satyric Festival Song* in this season.

[10] 'Satiric Festival Song' was one of the solos in this work, see Appendix B.

[11] Fernando Palacios' *Minuta Perversa* is the music used for the reconstruction of *Satyric Festival Song*.

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

[12] For a description of the dance, see Graff (1997:109–10). *Celebration* was revived in 1987 to great acclaim.
[13] Graham's attitude to ballet fluctuated throughout her career (see Helpern, 1991:22).
[14] Helpern refers to this movement as the 'forward split fall' (1991:19) and observes that in the mid-1940s it was part of the 'new floor studies and preparatory standing exercises' that 'came into the classwork to facilitate learning the new choreography' (ibid.). Stuart Hodes also remarks that he first saw the fall at this time and gives an account of the etymolgogy of the 'wide 2nd fall'. He points out that Graham objected to the term 'split fall' since 'it does not, in fact, go into a split, nor did Graham want it to' (Hodes, 1996:90). The Graham practitioner Susan McGuire considers that, as the legs split away from each other and the body subsides to the floor, the fall goes through a wide fourth position rather than a second position. By the end of her career, Graham referred to this fall as the 'wide split fall'.
[15] Cohan claims that he introduced the cartwheel into Graham's vocabulary but these were evident in *Panorama* made ten years before Cohan joined the Graham Company.
[16] The four movements that Balanchine contributed to *Episodes* comprise a highly regarded work which is in the repertories of companies such as the Dutch National Ballet (Koegler, 1987:144). Graham's section was dropped from her repertory soon after the first performances but was revived to critical acclaim in 1979 (Williams, 1979:25; Sommer, 1985:22).
[17] The 'Helios' section of *Acts of Light* and works that are on a similar paradigm resonate with the film *A Dancer's World* (1957). This film is presented in practice dress and has a commentary by Graham (see Graham, 1962:23–5).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Anon. (1954). 'Ardent Song', *The Times*, London, 19 March.

Armitage, M. (1966) [1937]. *Martha Graham*. New York: Dance Horizons.

Barnes, C. (1982). 'Modern Dance' – has it a future?' *Dance and Dancers*, no. 394, October, 31–3.

—— (1985) 'Preparing for the Future', *Dance and Dancers*, 426, June, 20–1.

Cuddon, J. A. (1977). *A Dictionary of Literary Terms*. England: Penguin Books.

De Mille, A. (1992). *Martha – The Life and Work of Martha Graham*. London: Hutchinson.

Dudley, J. (1997). 'Celebrating Sophie', *Ballet Review*, 25, no. 2, Summer 44–5.

Dendy, M. (1991). 'Graham Without Graham, 1991', *Ballet Review*, 20,3, Fall, 29–35.

Franko, M. (1995). *Dancing Modernism/Performing Politics*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Graff, E. (1997). *Stepping Left, Dance and Politics in New York City, 1928–1942*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Graham, M. (1962). 'Martha Graham in A Dancer's World', *Dance and Dancers*, 13, no. 8, August, 23–5.

—— (1973). *The Notebooks of Martha Graham*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

—— (1991). *Blood Memory*. New York: Doubleday.

Hardy, C. (1984). 'Myth Maker', *Ballet News*, 5, no. 9, March, 12–16.

—— (1986). 'Martha Graham Dance Company, City Center, 25 May–15 June, *Dance Magazine*, LX, no. 9, September, 20–3.

Helpern, A. J. (1991). 'Martha Graham: The Technique of Martha Graham', *Studies in Dance History*, 2, no. 2, Spring/Summer, 3–25.

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Hodes, S. (1996). 'Graham's Technique', *Ballet Review*, 24, no. 1, Spring, 87–92.
Horosko, M. (1991). *Martha Graham, The Evolution of Her Dance Theory and Training, 1926–1991*. Chicago: a Capella Books.
Jackson, P. (1996). 'Radical Graham', *Dance Now*, 5, no. 3, Autumn, 15–18.
Jowitt, D. (1981). 'A Conversation with Bessie Schönberg, *Ballet Review*, 9, no. 1, Spring, 31–63.
Lepcyzk, B. (1989). 'Martha Graham's Movement Invention Viewed Through Laban Analysis', *Dance – Current Selected Research*. New York: AMS Press.
Lloyd, M. (1949). *The Borzoi Book of Modern Dance*. New York: Knopf.
Manning, S. (1996). '*American Document* and American Minstrelsy' in Morris, G. (ed.), *Moving Words, Re-writing Dance*, 183–201. London and New York: Routledge.
Martin, J. (1968) [1936]. *American Dancing*. New York: Dance Horizons.
—— (1965) [1939]. *Introduction to the Dance*. New York: Dance Horizons.
McDonagh, D. (1974). *Martha Graham – A Biography*. London: David and Charles.
Morgan, B. (1980) [1941]. *Martha Graham – Sixteen Dances in Photographs*. New York: Morgan and Morgan, Dobbs Ferry.
O'Donnell, M. (1991). 'Martha Graham (1894–1991)', *Ballet Review* 19, no. 3, Fall, 19–31.
Preston-Dunlop, P. (1983). 'Choreutic Concepts and Practice' in *Dance Research*, 1, no. 1, Spring, 77–88.
Prickett, S. (1994). 'Reviewing on the Left: The Dance Criticism of Edna Ocko', selected and introduced by S. Prickett, *Studies in Dance History*, V, no. 1, Spring, 65–103.
Snyder, D. M. (1984) [1980]. *Theatre as a Verb: The Theatre of Martha Graham 1923–1958*, unpublished PhD dissertation. An Arbor Michigan, University Microfilms International, University of Illinois.
Soares, J. M. (1992). *Louis Horst, Musician In A Dancer's World*. Durham and London: Duke University Press
Sommer, S. R. (1985). 'Eye on Performance ... Life is Tough: The Graham Season', *Dance Magazine*, LIX, no. 8, August, 22–3.
Stodelle, E. (1984). *Deep Song – The Dance Story of Martha Graham*. New York: Schirmer Books.
Thomas, H. (1995). *Dance, Modernity and Culture*. London: Routledge.
Tobias, T. (1981). 'A Conversation with May O'Donnell', *Ballet Review*, 9, no. 1, Spring, 64–96.
—— (1984). 'A Conversation with Martha Graham', *Dance Magazine*, VIII.3, March, 62–7.
Tracy, R. (1996). *Goddess, Martha Graham's Dancers Remember*. New York: Limelight Editions.
Wengerd, T. (1977). 'Spotlight on Tim Wengerd', *Dance Magazine*, September, 55–8.
—— (1991). 'Martha's Men', *Dance Magazine*, LXV, 6, June, 48–52.
Williams, P. and C. Barnes (1963). 'Two Looks at Lightning', *Dance and Dancers*, 14, no. 10, October, 12–22 and 39.
Wilson, S. T. (1938). 'Martha Graham Seen in Mees Hall Recital', *Dispatch*, Ohio, March, 23, Wilson (1938).

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Films, videos and non-print sources

Anon. (1931). *Heretic*. New York: Fox Movietone News.
Anon., *Technique of Martha Graham*. (1934) Section 1, Bonnie Bird and Dorothy Bird, (1938) Section 2, Students and Apprentice Dancers. Vermont: Bennington College.
Anon. (1935). *Panorama* (excerpts), (1938) *American Document* (excerpts). Vermont: Bennington College.
Ardolino, E. (1976). 'Diversion of Angels', 'Lamentation', 'Frontier', 'Adorations', 'Medea's dance of vengeance', 'Appalachian Spring' in *Dance in America*. New York: WNET/13.
Barzel, A. (1935). *Panorama* (excerpts). Vermont: Bennington.
Barzel, A. (1939). *American Document* (excerpt). Chicago: Opera House. *Every Soul is a Circus* (excerpt). Chicago: Civic Centre.
Bannerman, H. (1997). Interview with Jane Dudley.
——(1997). Interview with Susan McGuire.
Brockway, M. (1979). *Clytemnestra*. USA.
Bryan, J. (193–). *Frontier*. USA.
Dunlop, G. (1993). 'Dancing', *The Individual and the Tradition*. London: BBC2.
Ipiotis, C. and J. Bush (1988). *Eye on Dance*, 257. New York: WNYC-TV.
Labeille, D. (1981). *The Early Years: American Modern Dance from 1900 through the 1930s*. Purchase, New York: Sunny College.
Lasseur, D. (1994). *The Dancer Revealed*. New York: WNET Cameras Continentales, La Sept/Arte, London: BBC.
Lockyer, B. and F. Morris (1991). 'Lamentation' (except), 'Steps in the Street', 'Frontier' (excerpt), 'El Penitente', Demonstration of early Graham technique performed by Bonnie Bird, 'Diversion of Angels', 'Herodiade', 'Maple Leaf Rag', in *Martha Graham*. London: BBC2.
Mahoney, B. (1989). *Dance On*: 'Peggy Lyman'. New York: Billie Mahoney in association with Dance Films Association.
Nears, C. (1987). 'Errand into the Maze', 'Cave of the Heart', 'Acts of Light', *An Evening with Martha Graham: Dance From America*. London: BBC2.
Takemari, M. and B. Hermann (1990). *Errand into the Maze, 'Acts of Light', Rite of Spring*. Performance: NHK and Amaya.
WQED-TV (1957). *A Dancer's World*. USA: Pittsburgh.

APPENDIX A

The Principle of Contraction and Release

Graham describes the principle of contraction and release as:

> the expelling of the air in your body from the pelvis upward: Every study involves continuity. Pull, pull on the contraction. Do not cave in. And the contraction is not a position. It is a movement into something. It is like a pebble thrown into the water, which makes rippling circles when it hits the water. The contraction moves (Graham, 1991:251).

Lepczyk has commented on the shape and quality of the contraction rather than on the use of breath in executing it:

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

> The contraction creates contour in the longitudinal body axis. It forms a concavity through a lengthening and rounding from the pelvis to the shoulder, more precisely from the coccyx to the base of the neck. The pelvis tilts forward as the waist and chest retreat. They are sucked in against the spinal column and ribs as the coccyx tilts slightly. The contraction creates a hollowing (1989:51).
>
> The feeling of the contraction, the pulling into the center, is often reflected through the entire body. It shows up in flexed ankles, flexion at the base of the neck with the head tilted backwards, and flexion of the wrists and base joints of fingers depicting cupped hands (ibid.).

This article maintains that the head does not always tilt backwards in a contraction since it follows the line of the curve made in the spine when the body is in contraction. It has been shown here that there are various degrees of contraction as Lepczyk describes:

> The contraction can draw the energy into the body center instantaneously and take hold of the body in one beat. It also serves as the initiator of a movement which may throw the body into a turn, lead into a fall, or initiate a variety of other movements. Frequently the attack of the contraction is violent, the dynamics of punch (ibid.).

In this last instance, the intensity of the contraction results, at times, in the movement being so deep that the head is lifted upwards and backwards or forwards as it follows the extreme curve of the spine. The 'hardness and sharpness' of such a contraction, as shown, for example by the woman in red in *Diversion of Angels* has a 'softer counterpart where the contraction does not take control of the body all at once but takes time to reach the deep point of the hollowing. In this instance, the process of creating the concavity is gradual' (Lepczyk, ibid.). As discussed in the study, it is this kind of tender contraction that is shown by the woman in white in *Diversion of Angels* (1948).

It has been shown here, too, that the contraction is a strong indexical signifier when 'the whole body emanates the intensity of drawing into the center and the depth of feeling. The dancing figure is seen to be overpowered with the emotion' (Lepcyzk ibid.). The emotion conveyed or communicated to the audience depends on the context of the dance and the various other signifiers that support or inform the movement performed. The semiotic reading of *Diversion of Angels*, for example, indicated that the emotion communicated in this dance is romantic love, especially in view of the iconic signifier of the kiss gesture made by the male and female dancers. In *Night Journey* (1947), on the other hand, according to the context in which it appears, the contraction signifies inner turmoil and despair (Jocasta's first solo) sexual desire and passion (Oedipus and Jocasta's duet and Jocasta's second solo) or the fated union of Jocasta and Oedipus (Daughters of the Night).

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

The contraction operates with the release and the duality of the movement is very important. Lepczyk explains, 'after the contraction has initiated action, the movement expands upward from the center along the spine, through the waist, chest, shoulders, arms, and head successively. The release can occur in the vertical dimension but more frequently there is a great degree of inclination off the vertical' (ibid.).

It is maintained here that the release is as powerful as the contraction and, like the contraction, initiates successive movement. The contraction and release principles are interdependent and whilst the contraction draws the energy into the centre of the body, the release propels this physical force outwards and the body's energy is renewed.

The process of teaching students the contraction and release principle is very difficult. Jane Dudley, following Graham, also comments on the need for the different uses of breath in executing this movement:

> you have to let your breath forcibly out through your teeth and feel how the spine pushes outwards and lengthens (contraction) and then breathe in and see what your back does as you stretch your spine upwards (release). The thing that makes your breath come out is the pressure from the abdominal muscles and your ribs through your teeth (interview with Jane Dudley, 1997).

Dudley recounts that Graham herself used a descriptive metaphor to teach the process of the contraction and release and it is one that was passed on to students at her school in New York and by those company members who taught in London in the 1960s, 'you have to hiss like a snake or like a cat hissing so that it's got truth' (Dudley ibid.).

APPENDIX B

Chronology of Graham's works 1926–1990[1]

Date/title	*Composer*	*Costumes*
1926		
Chorale	C. Franck	M. Graham
Novelette	R. Schumann	M. Graham
Tânze	F. Schubert	M. Graham
Intermezzo	J. Brahms	M. Graham
Maid with the Flaxen Hair	C. Debussy	M. Graham
Arabesque No. 1	C. Debussy	M. Graham
Clair de Lune	C. Debussy	M. Graham
Danse Languide	A. Scriabin	M. Graham
Désir	A. Scriabin	M. Graham

[1] For more detailed chronological information see de Mille (1992: 434:455); Helpern (1991: Appendix A: 39–49).

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Date/title	*Composer*	*Costumes*
Deux Valses Sentimentales	M. Ravel	M. Graham
Masques	L. Horst	M. Graham
Trois Gnossiennes: Gnossienne, Frieze, Tanagra	E. Satie	M. Graham
From a XIIth-Century Tapestry, later retitled *A Florentine Madonna*	S. Rachmaninoff	E. Franke
A Study in Lacquer	M. Bernheim	M. Graham
The Three Gopi Maidens excerpted from '*The Flute of Krishna*'	C. Scott	N. Edwards
Danse Rococo	M. Ravel	E. Franke
The Marionette Show	E. Goossens	M. Graham
Portrait-After Beltram-Masses, later retitled *Gypsy Portrait*	M. de Falla	M. Graham
The Flute of Krishna (dance and film)	C. Scott	N. Edwards
Prelude from 'Alceste'	C. W. von Gluck	N. Edwards
Scène Javanaise	L. Horst	N. Edwards
Danse Degli Angeli	E. Wolf-Ferrari	N. Edwards
Bas Relief	C. Scott	N. Edwards
Ribands	F. Chopin	N. Edwards
Scherzo	F. Mendelssohn	M. Graham
Baal Shem	E. Bloch	M. Graham
La Soirée dans Grenade	C. Debussy	M. Graham
Alt-Wien	L. Godowsky	M. Graham
Three Poems of the East	L. Horst	M. Graham
1927		
Peasant	V. Rebikov	M. Graham
Sketches	A. Tansman P. Tchaikovsky	
Tunisia	E. Poldini	M. Graham
Lucrezia	C. Debussy	M. Graham
La Cancion	R. Defossez	M. Graham
Arabesque No. 1 (revised)	C. Debussy	M. Graham
Valse Caprice	C. Scott	M. Graham
Spires	J. S. Bach	M. Graham
Adagio	G. F. Handel	M. Graham
Fragilité	A. Scriabin	M. Graham
Lugubre	A. Scriabin	M. Graham
Poème Ailé	A. Scriabin	M. Graham
Tanzstûck	P. Hindemith	M. Graham

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Date/title	*Composer*	*Costumes*
Revolt	A. Honegger	M. Graham
Esquisse Antique	D. E. Inghelbrecht	M. Graham
Ronde	Rhené-Baton	M. Graham
Scherzo	Robert Schumann	M. Graham
1928		
Chinese Poem	Louis Horst	M. Graham
Trouvères	C. Koechlin	
Immigrant: Steerage, Strike	J. Slavenski	M. Graham
Poems of 1917: Song Behind the Lines, Dance of Death	L. Ornstein	M. Graham
Fragments: Tragedy, Comedy	L. Horst	M. Graham
Resonances: Matins, Gamelin, Tocsin	G. F. Malipiero	M. Graham
1929		
Dance: 'Strong Free Joyous Action': Nietzsche	A. Honegger	M. Graham
Three Florentine Verses	D. Zipoli	M. Graham
Four Insincerities: Petulance, Remorse, Politeness, Vivacity	S. Prokofiev	M. Graham
Cants Magics: Farewell, Greeting	F. Mompou	M. Graham
Two Variations: Country Lane	A. Gretchaninoff	M. Graham
Figure of a Saint	G. F. Handel	M. Graham
Resurrection	T. Harsanyi	M. Graham
Adolescence	P. Hindemith	M. Graham
Danza	D. Milhaud	M. Graham
Martha Graham and Dance Group		
Vision of the Apocalypse: Theme and Variation	H. Reutter	M. Graham
Moment Rustica	F. Poulenc	M. Graham
Sketches from the people: Monotony, Supplication, Requiem	J. Krein	M. Graham
Heretic	Old Breton Song-de Divry	M. Graham
1930		
Prelude to a Dance, retitled *Salutation*	A. Honegger	M. Graham

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Date / title	*Composer*	*Costumes*
Two Chants: Futility, Ecstatic Song	E. Krenek	M. Graham
Lamentation	Z. Kodaly	M. Graham
Project in Movement for a Divine Comedy	Silence	M. Graham
Harlequinade	E. Toch	M. Graham
1931		
Two Primitive Canticles	H. Villa-Lobos	M. Graham
Primitive Mysteries	L. Horst	M. Graham
Rhapsodies: Song, Interlude, Dance	B. Bartok	M. Graham
Bacchanale	W. Riegger	M. Graham
Dolorosa	H. Villa-Lobos	M. Graham
Dithyrambic	A. Copland	M. Graham
Serenade	A. Schoenberg	M. Graham
Incantation	H. Villa-Lobos	M. Graham
1932		
Ceremonials	L. Engel	M. Graham
Offering	H. Villa-Lobos	M. Graham
Ecstatic Dance	T. Harnasyi	M. Graham
Bacchanale No. 2	W. Riegger	M. Graham
Prelude	C. Chavez	M. Graham
Dance Songs – Ceremonial/Morning Song/ Satyric Festival Song	I. Weisshaus	M. Graham
Song of Rapture Chorus of Youth Companions	L. Horst	M. Graham
1933		
Tragic Patterns	L. Horst	M. Graham
Elegiac	P. Hindermith	M. Graham
Ekstasis	L. Engel	M. Graham
Dance Prelude	N. Loparnikoff	M. Graham
Frenetic Rhythms	W. Riegger	M. Graham
1934		
Transitions	L. Engel	M. Graham
Phantasy: Prelude, Musette, Gavotte	A. Schoenberg	M. Graham
Celebration	L. Horst	M. Graham
Four Casual Developments	H. Cowell	M. Graham
Intégrales	E. Varèse	M. Graham
Dance in Four Parts: Quest, Derision, Dream, Sportive, Tragedy	G. Antheil	M. Graham

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Date/title	*Composer*	*Costumes*
American Provincials: Act of Piety, Act of Judgement	L. Horst	M.Graham
1935		
Praeludium (redesigned in 1938 E. Gilfond)	P. Nordoff	M. Graham
Course	G. Antheil	M. Graham
Perspectives: 1 Frontier,	L. Horst	M. Graham
2. Marching Song	L. Engel	
Panorama	N. Lloyd	M. Graham
Formal Dance retitled *Praeludium No. 2*	D. Diamond	M. Graham
Imperial Gesture	L. Engel	M. Graham
1936		
Horizons	L. Horst	M. Graham
Salutation	L. Engel	M. Graham
Chronicle	W. Riegger	M. Graham
1937		
Opening Dance	N. Lloyd	A. Lauterer
Immediate Tragedy	H. Cowell	M. Graham
Deep Song	H. Cowell	E. Gilfond
American Lyric	A. North	E. Gilfond
1938		
American Document	R. Green	E. Gilfond
1939		
Columbiad	L. Horst	E. Gilfond
Every Soul is a Circus	P. Nordoff	E. Gilfond
1940		
El Penitente	L. Horst	E. Gilfond
Letter to the World	H. Johnson	E. Gilfond
1941		
Punch and Judy	R. McBride	C. Trowbridge
1942		
Land be Bright	A. Kreutz	C. Trowbridge

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Date/title	*Composer*	*Costumes*
1943		
Salem Shore	P. Nordoff	E. Gilfond
Deaths and Entrances	H. Johnson	E. Gilfond
1944		
Imagined Wing	D. Milhaud	E. Gilfond
Herodiade	P. Hindemith	E. Gilfond
Appalachian Spring	A. Copland	E. Gilfond
1946		
Dark Meadow	C. Chavez	E. Gilfond
Cave of the Heart	S. Barber	E. Gilfond
1947		
Errand into the Maze	G. C. Menotti	M. Graham
Night Journey	W. Schuman	M. Graham
1948		
Diversion of Angels	N. Dello Joio	M. Graham
1950		
Judith	W. Schuman	M. Graham
Eye of Anguish	V. Perischetti	F. Cunning
Gospel of Eve	P. Nordoff	M. White
1951		
The Triumph of St. Joan	N. Dello Joio	M. Graham
1952		
Canticle for Innocent Comedians	T. Ribbink	M. Graham
1953		
Voyage	W. Schuman	E. Gilfond
1954		
Ardent Song	A. Hovhaness	M. Graham
1955		
Seraphic Dialogue	N. Dello Joio	M. Graham
1958		
Clytemnestra	H. El-Dabh	M. Graham H. McGehee

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Date/title	*Composer*	*Costumes*
Embattled Garden	C. Surinach	M. Graham
1959		
Episodes: Part 1	A. Webern	B. Karinska C. Beaton
Appalachian Spring (film)	A. Copland	
1960		
Acrobats of God	C. Surinach	M. Graham
Alcestis	V. Fine	M. Graham
1961		
Visionary Recital revised as *Samson Agoniste* 1962	R. Starer	M. Graham
One More Gaudy Night	H. El-Dabh	M. Graham
1962		
Phaedra	R. Starer	M. Graham
A Look at Lightning	H. El-Dabh	M. Graham
Secular Games	R. Starer	M. Graham
Legend of Judith	M. Setter	M. Graham
1963		
Circe	A. Hovhaness	M. Graham
1965		
The Witch of Endor	W. Schuman	M. Graham
Part Real-Part Dream	M. Setter	M. Graham
1967		
Cortège of Eagles	E. Lester	M. Graham
Dancing-Ground	N. Rorem	M. Graham
1968		
A Time of Snow	N. Dello Joio	M. Graham
The Plain of Prayer	E. Lester	M. Graham
The Lady of the House of Sleep	R. Starer	M. Graham
1969		
The Archaic Hours	E. Lester	M. Graham

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Date / title	*Composer*	*Costumes*
1973		
Mendicants of Evening	D. Walker	M. Graham
Myth of a Voyage	A. Hovhaness	M. Graham
1974		
Holy Jungle	R. Starer	M. Graham
Jacob's Dream	M. Seter	M. Graham
1975		
Lucifer	H. El-Dahb	Halston
Adorations	D. Frost	Halston
Point of Crossing based on 'Jacob's Dream'	M. Seter	M. Graham
The Scarlet Letter	H. Johnson	Halston
1977		
O Thou Desire Who Are About to Sing	M. Kupferman	M. Graham
Shadows	G. C. Menotti	Halston
1978		
The Owl and the Pussycat	C. Surinach	Halston
Ecuatorial	E. Varèse	Marison, Halston
Flute of Pan	Traditional	Halston
1979		
Episodes, reworked	A. Webern	Halston
1980		
Frescoes	S. Barber	Halston
Judith, reworked	E. Varèse	Halston
1981		
'Acts of Light'	C. Nielsen	Haiston
1982		
Dances of the Golden Hall	A. Panufnik	Halston
Andromache's Lament	S. Barber	Halston
1983		
Phaedra's Dream	G. Crumb	Halston

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions

Date/title	*Composer*	*Costumes*
1984		
The Rite of Spring	I. Stravinsky	Halston
Song	Traditional	Halston
1986		
Temptations of the Moon	B. Bartok	Halston
Denishawn/Graham Solos, including reconstructions of *Tangara, Serenata Morisca*		
Tangled Night	K. Egge	Halston
Untitled	I. Stravinsky	Halston
1987		
Celebration, reconstruction	L. Horst	M. Graham
Persephone	I. Stravinsky	Haiston
1988		
Letter to the World, reconstruction	H. Johnson	Halston
Night Chant	R. C. Nakai	M. Graham and Halston
Deep Song, reconstruction	H. Cowell	M. Graham
1989		
American Document, reconstruction	J. Corigliano	M. Graham
Steps in the Street	W. Riegger	M. Graham
1990		
Maple Leaf Rag	S. Joplin	C. Klein
1991		
The Eyes of the Goddess	C. Surinach	M. Graham, R. Vogler

This content downloaded on Wed, 30 Jan 2013 16:35:02 PM
All use subject to JSTOR Terms and Conditions