



מורה ציפרוביץ, וינה 1920, צילום: לא ידוע, באדיבות מוזיאון התיאטרון  
Mura Ziperowitsch, Wien, 1920, Photo: Unknown, Courtesy  
of Theatermuseum -KHM – Museumsverband



גרטרוד קראוס רוקדת את יצירתה *וודקה*, וינה 1924, באדיבות  
מוזיאון התיאטרון בווינה  
Gertrud Kraus in *Wodka*, Wien 1924, Photo: Martind  
Imboden, Courtesy of Theatermuseum – KHM



גרטרוד וינסטל רוקדת את יצירתה *אנדנטה*, וינה, 08/1906,  
צילום: מוריץ נהר, באדיבות מוזיאון התיאטרון  
Grete Wiesenthal in *Andante con moto*, Wien,  
08/1906, Photo: Moritz Naher, Courtesy of  
Theatermuseum, KHM-Museumsverband

# Dance and Exile

## Research and Showcasing in Austria – An Attempt at a Chronology

**Andrea Amort**

The broadly defined topic of exile, to a varying extent still relevant to dance (modern dance and ballet) today, mainly covers those dance practitioners in Austria who, in the wake of Austro-Fascism and the racist and political measures of Nazi dictatorship, were restricted in their activities and went into inner emigration or else were active in resistance, persecuted, expelled, or murdered. In dance scholarship also artists who had emigrated much earlier on and were committed to Zionism (among others, the Ornstein sisters and Jan Veen, alias Hans Wiener [sic]) are included in this topic.

All dance practitioners mentioned in the following – with the exception of the Ornstein sisters, Veen, as far as is known, Ellen Tels-Rabeneck and Gertrude Barrison as well as Grete Wiesenthal and Rosalia Chladek – had in various ways been immediate victims of

Nazi dictatorship. Presciently, Gertrud Kraus left Austria in 1935 and emigrated to Palestine/Israel. Rudolf von Laban (Bratislava 1879 – Weybridge, Surrey 1958), the-influential founder of *Ausdruckstanz* (expressionist dance), is nowadays considered a national figure especially in Germany and England and, in recent years, also in Slovakia despite having been born in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. He left Berlin in 1937 and escaped via Paris to England.

No precise statistics of the persecuted and murdered are available; we estimate, however, that at least 200 dance practitioners were affected. Then again, it can be stated that the majority of free dancers, mainly women, were Jews. Quite a number of young Jewish women, mainly from bourgeois families, were rather receptive to ideas of the *Lebensreform* (life reform) movement, of

which sports (Maccabi sports club) and Modern Dance were a significant part. Many of the choreographers who had started out as solo dancers and eventually opened their own schools to foster a young generation of dancers and make a living were at the same time company directors, program makers, studio directors, managers, and marketing specialists rolled into one.

The lack of numbers can also be ascribed to the fact that so many of the banished dancers actually belonged to the so-called free scene; hence, unlike at institutionalized theaters, they had neither regular performances nor steady employment. Among Austrian institutionalized opera houses with a dance or ballet company of their own, research on banished dancers of the Vienna State Opera ballet is furthest advanced; among the victims were the then well-known dancers Herma Berka (Vienna 1900 – London 1981), Toni Birkmeyer (Vienna 1897 – Vienna 1973), Risa Dirlt (Vienna 1902 – Vienna 1989), Adolf Nemeth (Sopron 1891 – Vienna 1941), Gusti Pichler (Vienna 1893 – Vienna 1978), and Lisl Temple (Vienna 1918 – Vienna 1973) as well as its artistic directors Sascha Leontjew (born Alexander Katz, Riga 1897 – Mauthausen 1942) and Margarete Wallmann (Berlin 1901 – Monte Carlo 1992). Equally difficult to establish is the number of Jewish students in dance training at municipal and state institutions respectively at the prestigious private school in Hellerau-Laxenburg and numerous small private studios based on the available material. Moreover, many dancers of the free scene – which came into being around 1900 and flourished mainly in the heyday of Expressionism in the 1920s – were concomitantly active in different artistic groups. Besides, not all participants of dance performances are mentioned by name on playbills or posters. Similarly, choreographers would “share” pianists and composers accompanying their performances, among them, Walter Fischer, Arthur Kleiner, Marcel Lorber, Otto Schulhof, and Egon Wellesz who were persecuted for various reasons. Also belonging to the Jewish dance network of the free scene were the designer Litz Pisk (Vienna 1909 – St. Ives, Cornwall 1997) who also choreographed, photographers such as Madame D’Ora, Trude Fleischmann, Edith Glogau, and Grete Kolliner, and critics such as Elsa Bienenfeld and Paul Stefan. In American exile, Walter Sorell (Vienna 1905 – New York 1997) at Columbia University and George Jackson (born Hans Georg Jakobowicz in Vienna in 1931), two generations his junior, made a name for themselves as reviewers and dance historians; both appeared as lecturers in Vienna. The artistic center of free dance in Austria was Vienna, though Linz, Salzburg, and Graz, too, featured a free scene. In the broad European *Ausdruckstanz* movement, Vienna had been, until 1938, one of the centers, not least as place of cultural transfer between East and West.<sup>1</sup> Artistic immigration and migration played a role; examples here would be Gertrude Barrison (Copenhagen 1880 – Copenhagen 1946), Ellen Tels-Rabeneck (Moscow 1880 – Paris 1944), and Sascha Leontjew.

Nazi dictatorship divested free dance of its individuality and freedom, creativity and intellectuality by regulating the movement, newly defining it, and manipulating it for its purposes. Since *Ausdruckstanz* had given rise to a considerable lay movement as well, it had become of particular “interest” to the Nazis’ cultural policy. Not all representatives of free dance had a dissident mindset. Several

of them who were not persecuted on racial grounds either adapted or tried to earn a living in other ways and somehow ride out the times.

In most cases, it was their Jewish origins that forced dance practitioners into exile. Renowned personalities such as Gertrud Bodenwieser (Vienna 1890 – Sydney 1959), who besides her work as head of two frequently touring dance ensembles was also professor at the dance department of the Academy of Music and the Performing Arts in Vienna, and Margarete Wallmann, head of the Vienna State Opera ballet, were ousted from office in the wake of the “Anschluss.” Bodenwieser and several of her dancers left in June 1938 helped by an invitation from the City of Bogotá and the Viennese architect Karl Heinrich Brunner-Lehenstein who was professor there and father of Bodenwieser dancer Magda Brunner-Hoyos (Vienna 1920 – Vienna 2012). Photographs of the sea voyage (in private ownership) are extant that show rehearsals and performances of the Bodenwieser dance group accompanied by pianist Marcel Lorber. Also on board were the artist couple Cissy Kraner and Hugo Wiener, refugees as well.

Wallmann’s leaving the Jewish Community Berlin in 1932 and her international activities, among others, as choreographer for the Hollywood movie *Anna Karenina* (1935) featuring Greta Garbo, had failed to protect the artist from expulsion. Stella Mann (born Stella Tuttmann, Vienna 1912 – London 2013), who had managed her own dance schools next to her dancing career, escaped Vienna in 1938 following humiliating torture and, via Yugoslavia, arrived in Belgium; here, she lived in hiding before witnessing liberation from Nazi rule in 1944. Olga Suschitzky (Vienna 1882 – Auschwitz 1942), choreographer and school director, died in Auschwitz, Sascha Leontjew in the Mauthausen concentration camp.

In their artistic work, Cilli Wang (Vienna 1909 – Vienna 2005) with her dance parodies such as the *Landler [sic]* (1930) – which she even performed in front of German occupation soldiers in Holland – and Hanna Berger (Vienna 1910 – East Berlin 1962), among others, with her solo dance, the realistically and unheroically depicted *Krieger* (warrior), did not shy away from voicing explicit criticism that actually endangered them. The avowed Communist Berger, who had written under a pen name against Nazi cultural policy in a 1936 article “*Über den deutschen Tanz und seine realen Inhalte*” (on German dance and its actual content) in the Swiss theater magazine *Der Bühnenkünstler*, escaped from Berlin in the aftermath of her 1937 dance presentation initially to Vienna. Following a two-year sojourn in Italy, she returned as an active resistance fighter to Germany where she was arrested in German-occupied Poznan in 1942 as part of the Gestapo action “Red Orchestra” and sentenced to two years of forced-labor camp; she was able to escape during a bombardment. As ballet master at the Vienna Volksoper, Andrei Jerschik (Vienna 1902 – Linz 1997) refused to accept appointments of dancers that had been imposed on him, was issued a warning, and fled from Vienna that same night.

After 1945, several of the exiled artists gave guest performances at the Vienna Konzerthaus, which had been, due to the lack of a dedicated dance stage, one of the principal venues of free dance

at the time: in 1948, Cilli Wang who 27 years later would remigrate from the Dutch exile; also in 1948 in the framework of the “*Erstes Fest des Tanzes*,” the by then London-based Bodenwieser dancers Bettina Vernon-Warren (Vienna 1920 – London 1995) and Evelyn Ippen (born Irma Herrmann, Stankau, Austria-Hungary 1912 – ?); in 1953, Wera Goldman (born in Vienna in 1921, lives in Tel Aviv) on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the founding of the State of Israel. As member of a folklore troupe from Palestine, Goldman had already performed in Vienna in 1947 while on a tour through Europe that had started in Prague, in the course of which she appeared before “Displaced Persons” (DPs). Magda Brunner-Hoyos, who had provided aid to the dance department headed by Grete Wiesenthal (Vienna 1885 – Vienna 1970) at the Academy of Music and the Performing Arts by sending CARE packages, returned from her exile in Colombia.

Gerda Schwarz-Rech (Vienna 1925 – Vienna 2010) returned from London. In the wake of an unpleasant visit to Vienna, Stella Mann felt reassured about her adoptive country, England; still, she could be persuaded to come for workshops and performances to Zell am See (1965) and Seeboden (1966). Isolde Klietmann (Marburg 1908 – Mendoza 1993) came on visit from Mendoza, Argentina, for lectures and performances at the Academy of Music and the Performing Arts. Margarete Wallmann choreographed and directed again for the Salzburg Festival (1954) and the Vienna State Opera (from 1958). Tilly Losch worked once more for the Salzburg Festival (1950). In the 1950s, political difficulties arose for Hanna Berger once again both in Vienna as well as in East Berlin as a result of her idealist-Communist views. Those who had remained in Vienna such as Grete Wiesenthal extended their help during the war for the persecuted and maintained communication by corresponding with them. After 1945, exiles such as Lily Calderon-Spitz (Vienna 1911 – New York 1990) helped Austrian dancers with clothing- and food packages. Hedi Pope (born Hedi Politzer, born in 1920 in Vienna, lives in Arden/North Carolina) who had emigrated to Washington DC, was invited to lectures and – like Cilli Wang and Hilde Holger (Vienna 1905 – London 2001) – honored in special exhibitions.

Yet, what sounds so positive here hardly bears any causal link to municipal and state cultural policy. Among the exceptions were Viktor Matejka, Vienna’s first (Communist) City Councilor for Cultural Affairs after the end of the Second World War, who also championed Modern Dance and its representatives. Hanna Berger, who during his term in office had been in charge of the probably first municipal dance division – a position that apparently has never been filled since – might have had an influence in this matter. It is only since the 1980s that the City of Vienna is providing financial support for contemporary dance on an ongoing basis. The situation regarding state funding is similar.

In their new homeland, many of the banished artists originating from (Old) Austria became prominent founding figures of classically-draped, modern and ethnic dance movements, of forms of Community Dance, dance therapy methods, or training: Gertrud Bodenwieser in New Zealand and Australia, the Ornstein sisters and Gertrud Kraus in Israel, Isolde Klietmann and Otto Werberg (Vienna 1909 – Buenos Aires 2002) in Argentina, Fred Berk (born Fritz

Berger, Vienna 1911 – New York 1980), and Jan Veen (alias Hans Wiener, Vienna 1903 – Boston 1967) in the USA, Hilde Holger first in India and then, like Stella Mann, in England, Magda Brunner-Hoyos in Colombia – and the list goes on.

### **Historiography – Choreographic Search for Traces**

Resulting from a shortage of funding for continuous research in Austria, a lack of estate acquisitions (for instance, that of Hilde Holger), and, hence, the absence of any systematic approach, (biographic) historiography, the search for choreographic traces, and, if possible, the preservation of choreographies – tasks that demand very different strategies and tools – depend primarily on personal initiative, idealism, and, ultimately, on cultural policy decisions. Here, I wish to point out that this overview of ‘dance and exile’ cannot be laid out as a sweeping narrative with claim to completeness; rather, this is an attempt at providing a chronology of reception according to my best knowledge and within the constraints of space.

As far as putting life disruption and career into writing is concerned, the banished artists themselves told about their fate in newspaper interviews immediately after the Second World War (Hanna Berger), worked on memoirs, which, however, they would not always publish (Berger, Wang), or else were only posthumously privately edited (for instance, Gertrud Bodenwieser, who mainly writes about her artistic influences, by Marie Cuckson). Publishing their own memoirs were Elsie Altmann-Loos (Vienna 1899 – Buenos Aires 1984), Stella Mann, Maria Ley-Piscator (Vienna 1898 – New York 1999), Walter Sorell, Margarete Wallmann, and Otto Werberg. Other publications were often written by authors in the countries of exile: Giora Manor about Gertrud Kraus (Vienna 1901 – Tel Aviv 1977), Ruth Brin Ingber about Fred Berk, Shona Dunlop MacTavish about Gertrud Bodenwieser (Vienna 1890 – Sydney 1959), Bettina Vernon-Warren and Charles Warren about Bodenwieser, Denny Hirschbach and Rick Takvorian about Hilde Holger. I completed my book about Hanna Berger in 2010. Gaby Aldor’s work about the Ornstein sisters, her mother Shoshana (Innsbruck 1911 – Tel Aviv 1998) and her twin sister Judith (Innsbruck 1911 – New York 2008) is the most recent publication.<sup>2</sup> Gabriele Renner-Schacherl’s dissertation on Gertrud Bodenwieser at the University of Vienna was accepted in 1981. In 2015, Vera Skala completed her diploma thesis on Wera Goldman at Vienna University’s Institute for Theater, Film and Media Studies. In addition, numerous individual articles appeared in international specialist magazines and anthologies.

The 1979 exhibition “*Tanz. 20. Jahrhundert in Wien*” (Dance. Twentieth century in Vienna) at the Austrian Theater Museum – then still located on Goethegasse in Vienna – with an accompanying catalog might be seen as the possible onset of dealing with the topic ‘dance and exile.’<sup>3</sup> At the request of the “Hilverding-Society” for ballet and initiated by Agnes Bleier-Brody, Gertrud Bodenwieser and her dancers were commemorated in this comprehensive exhibition on the occasion of the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of her death. Hilde Holger, too, was among the numerous guests at the opening. Still, the term ‘exile’ was not explicitly mentioned.

Awareness of a dance exile and of destroyed, altered career paths as well as of a lost catalog of works went hand in hand with a fun-

damental analysis of (Austrian) dance history. In 2001, I was able to publish, with the support of then *Festspielhaus St. Pölten* director Mimi Wunderer-Gosch and in cooperation with seventeen authors, the large volume *österreich tanzt. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, a first Austrian dance history complete with a lexicon of choreographers.<sup>4</sup> Among Gunhild Oberzaucher Schüller's publications, the printed international lectures from her 1986 Bayreuth *Ausdruckstanz*-Symposium, but also the reprint of the quarterly *Schrifttanz* have achieved particular significance.<sup>5</sup> The Israeli critic and author Giora Manor (Prague 1926 – Mishmar Haemek, Israel 2005), himself an exile, opened his Bayreuth lecture "Influenced and Influencing – Dancing in Foreign Lands" with the words "involuntary exile."<sup>6</sup>

### **Revival of Forgotten Dances at Festivals**

Pivotal to further study of the subject were, among others, the Vienna festivals "*Tanz 88*" and "*Tanz 90*," curated by Gerhard Brunner, at the time ballet director of the Vienna State Opera and director of the Dance Biennale from 1982 until 1998. In 1988, the amply and officially celebrated commemorative year, fifty years after the "Anschluss," the German Laokoon Dance Group under Rosamund Gilmore produced the world premiere of *Einmarsch* (invasion). In 1990 – during the Kibbutz Contemporary Dance Company's guest appearance with Gertrud Kraus' *Des Dichters Traum* (the poet's dream, 1943) – the personal encounter with the ensemble's founder, Yehudit Arnon (Komárno/Czechoslovakia 1926 – Kibbutz Ga'aton/Israel 2013), was defining. The festival's highlight was, apart from a renewed encounter with dances by Rosalia Chladek, the remarkable program with choreographies by Gertrud Bodenwieser that included the legendary choreographic manifesto of Expressionism: *Dämon Maschine* (demon machine, 1924). In this revival, Bettina Vernon-Warren and Evelyn Ippen memorialized their mentor in a performance with dancers of the Vienna State Opera on the occasion of her 100<sup>th</sup> birthday at her place of birth.

From 1995 at the latest, with the onset of restitution in Austria, also dance became an object of study as part of the burgeoning interest in topics concerning exile. Until today, this interest is largely manifested in the attempt at showcasing the – in these parts unknown and obliterated – artistic legacy through "original" respectively reconstructed or now also contextualized dances. In 1995, the production *Dances of the Banished* was mounted under the direction of Esther Linley at the Anton Bruckner Private University in Linz with reconstructed and new dances including Hanna Berger's solo *L'Inconnue de la Seine* (1942).<sup>7</sup>

Starting in 1998, I accepted an invitation from critic and author Karlheinz Roschitz and moderated at the "*Alte Schmiede*" a lecture- and events series that now explicitly featured the term 'exile' in its title, *Wiener Tanz im Exil* (Viennese dance in exile), which, in 2000, could be brought together in an exhibition on this topic at the Austrian Theater Museum and in another special dance program in cooperation with the *Impulstanz* festival including lectures.<sup>8</sup>

In 2008, seventy years after the "Anschluss," the City of Vienna and the federal government in cooperation with Erwin und Uli Piplits enabled me to curate the month-long festival *Touchings: Dance before 1938 – Dance of Today*.<sup>9</sup> This festival offered the careful restaging,

but also the contemporary contextualization of old choreographic material by numerous artists as well as newly created works; in addition, lectures, movie screenings, dance studio visits, and historic walking tours directly connected with banished and non-banished choreographers were part of the program.

To give an example: in 2008, Georg Blaschke placed Andrei Jerschik's solo *Mensch im Wahn* (man in delusion, 1929) – which in 1995, the nonagenarian choreographer had personally passed on to the dancer Harmen Tromp – under the title *Jetzt bist Du dran* (now it's your turn) in a contemporary context featuring the dancer Petr Ochvat. The goal was to responsibly showcase, based on choreographies, the artistic pluralism of the past. The program included Hanna Berger, Gertrud Bodenwieser, Hilde Holger, Andrei Jerschik, and Isolde Klietmann as well as Stella Mann who, for the festival, rehearsed in London at a ripe old age her *Spanischer Tanz* (Spanish dance, 1930), had it filmed, and sent it as her contribution to Vienna, Gaby Aldor who premiered her documentary, *Looking for the Dance: The Rivals 1934– 1991*, about Judith und Shoshana Ornstein in Vienna, Cilli Wang and Margarete Wallmann, but also the non-banished artists Rosalia Chladek (Brno 1905 – Vienna 1995) and Grete Wiesenthal. Shona Dunlop MacTavish (born in 1920 and residing in Dunedin, New Zealand), who had been one of Bodenwieser's first foreign students in Vienna at the Academy of Music and the Performing Arts in the 1930s, conducted a typical Bodenwieser training at the Music and Arts University of the City of Vienna (MUK). For Wera Goldman, a special benefit gala, in which she personally participated, was arranged that included numerous contributions by the contemporary dance scene and concluded with the award of the Honorary Medal of the City of Vienna to the artist. On other occasions, Hilde Holger, Stella Mann, and Walter Sorell were also honored by the City of Vienna.

The manner of processing and rendering visible human-artistic loss in a festival that was mainly performance-oriented cannot be separated from the way, in which dance legacy had been handled in Vienna since the 1980s: primarily guided by the search for traces of choreographies and, hence, of the particular dance vocabulary respectively the changes that occurred in exile. This was accomplished by way of invitations to dancers who themselves had performed these specific dances and been able to pass them on to a young generation living in Austria. However, even as late as in 2008, Shona Dunlop MacTavish assured that Harmen Tromp's rehearsal of the dance drama *Terror*, from *The Masks of Lucifer* cycle by Gertrud Bodenwieser (1936), which critically analyzed contemporary developments, conformed to her memory of it. The original rehearsal had been carried out by Bettina Vernon-Warren and Evelyn Ippen in 1995 in Linz. Here, the role of Death (in *Terror*) was performed by the African-American dancer Bob Curtis (Leflore County/Mississippi 1925 – Vienna 2009) who had immigrated to Austria.

The wealth of program of *Touchings* was made possible thanks to the artistic setting and restaging of the work of Wiesenthal, Chladek, Bodenwieser, and Kraus since the 1970s by Gerhard Brunner as well as Gunhild Oberzaucher-Schüller (last, University of Salzburg), Alfred Oberzaucher (last, Vienna State Opera) as well as Jarmila Weißenböck (Vienna 1940 – Vienna 2005; Austrian The-

ater Museum). Documentation (film, notation) varied in each case; playbills respectively leaflets were provided for all events. No funds for a catalog of the "Exile" – exhibition (2000) were available. The elements of exile – escape, emigration and immigration, acquisition of new dance vocabularies and approaches to movement aside from the difficulties of being removed from one's native language as well as the necessity to build a new life – were also discussed in numerous lectures. Regarding scientific research, apart from a lack of systematic studies, the most varied topics await investigation, such as artistic networks, schools, and shifts in dance vocabulary. Tracing the work methods of the exiled or translating them into a contemporary approach would be another research aspect that so far has only been touched upon in Austria. Showing promise is the project "(re)membering – revitalizing marginalized dance practices," which Thomas Kampe (Bath Spa University) and Carol Brown (University of Auckland) launched in 2014. Yet, biographical research, too, could be stepped up, for instance, on Sascha Leontjew and Gisa Geert (Vienna 1900 – Madrid 1991).

Besides various ORF-segments (Austrian public television) about dance and exile on the occasion of above-mentioned events, also more detailed film portraits were created. A documentary portrait of Werner Rudyn was made by Friedemann Derschmidt in 1999. This was followed two years later by Herbert Graf's documentation *Die Welt der Cilli Wang* (the world of Cilli Wang). Wera Goldman's examination of *Ausdruck* (expression) and ethnic dances was reflected in films by Heide-Marie Härtel (2006) and Michael Pfeifenberger (2007). In 2002, Primavera Boman, daughter of Hilde Holger, produced the DVD *HILDE – Her Legacy*. At the 2015 Linz film festival *Crossing Europe*, director Barbara Windtner introduced together with dancer Ulrike Hager the dance road movie *Auf der Suche nach Isolde/Searching for Isolde* about Isolde Kletmann.

In the context of afore-mentioned events in Austria, a number of today's modern dancers have developed an interest in the vocabulary of their ancestors, their artistic grandparents. Hereby, it has become obvious that authenticity – as much as it is sought – cannot be achieved and that, ultimately, increased awareness, transformation, and new interpretation are the crucial factors. It is worth noting that in the Austrian dance scene – since many years, multicultural once again – migrated artists are oftentimes those interested in Austrian roots: in 2013, in their production *WAR*, Amanda Piña (Chile) and Daniel Zimmermann (Switzerland) performatively pointed to Hanna Berger. International art projects thematizing Gertrud Bodenwieser were created, among others, by Carol Brown (London 2004), Thomas Kampe (Chichester 2010), and Jochen Roller (Berlin 2014). In 2006, Kampe and Liz Aggiss concerned themselves with Holger dances. Zvi Gotheiner dedicated his choreography *Gertrud* (New York 2007) to his mentor Kraus.

In 2016, Zasha Cerizza Colah and the *steirischer herbst* festival curated the exhibition "Body Luggage. Migration of Gestures" at the Kunsthhaus Graz. In it, Holger as well as Gertie (Gertrud) Tenger (Vienna 1905 – Vienna 1985) and her partner Werner Wachsmuth (1894 -1953) as well as Dita Tenger (Vienna 1903 – Shanghai 1942) were highlighted.<sup>10</sup>

## Current Projects – Dance Archive Vienna

In line with exploring early historical avant-gardes in Vienna, these scientific and artistic studies, necessitating one another, were dedicated above all to representatives of Modernity and to a lesser degree to glamorous personalities such as Elsie Altmann-Loos or Maria Ley-Piscator, themselves figures of art, who had left dance behind and gone on to succeed in several fields. The researchers' gaze was directed primarily at choreographers who demonstrated modernness and autonomy in artistic expression and less frequently at the often large number of group members or assistants such as, for instance, Lily Calderon-Spitz, Wiesenthal's assistant until 1938, whose estate I am currently researching.

By no means does this mean that banished dancers were or are not part of other dance genres as well. To mention just two: vaudeville dancer Werner Rudyn (born Rudolf Schmitz, Vienna 1905 – ) and Ruth Sobotka (Vienna 1925 – New York 1967), dancer at the renowned New York City Ballet. In recent years, it has become a matter of course to inquire also after political stances during the Nazi period when examining 20<sup>th</sup> century biographies. At the Department of Contemporary History of the University of Vienna, Astrid Frauendienst is writing her dissertation *Lebensbilder jüdischer Frauen in Linz von 1882-1939: Anna und Edith Wilensky. Eine biographische Annäherung an eine KünstlerInnenfamilie* (Vignettes of Jewish women in Linz 1882–1939: Anna and Edith Wilensky. A biographical approach to a family of artists). Franziska Stoff (Berlin) is working on her doctoral thesis *Nichtarische Studierende an deutschen staatlichen Musikhochschulen 1933–1945* (non-Aryan students at German state music academies 1933–1945). Laure Guilbert (Paris) is preparing a comprehensive study: *La danse migrante. Exil et diasporas des milieux chorégraphiques germanophones 1933–1950* (Migrating dance. Exile and diaspora of German-speaking choreographic circles 1933-1950). At the University of Sidney, Jan Poddebsky is preparing his dissertation about Viennese émigrés in Australia in the artistic surroundings of Gertrud Bodenwieser.

Whether exile research can be conducted in cooperation between the Dance Department at the Music and Arts Private University of the City of Vienna (MUK) and the Dance Archive, which was founded by the author and is located on the MUK premises, will become apparent in the near future.

Currently (until February 10, 2020), the Austrian Theater Museum in Vienna presents an exhibition curated by the author: "Everybody dances. The Cosmos of Viennese Dance Modernism." This comprehensive exhibition also features film material and an encompassing performative program and is accompanied by a rich catalog *Alles tanzt. Kosmos Wiener Tanzmoderne* that includes abstracts in English (384 pages; Hatje Cantz, Berlin 2019, ISBN – 978-3-7757-4567-3). The catalog is considered a standard reference on the subject of "The Cosmos of Viennese Dance Modernism." In a review by Volkmar Draeger in the renowned online dance magazine *tanznetz.de* on April 29, 2019, it has been described under the title *Fundgrube weit über den Tanz der Donaumetropole hinaus* (treasure trove far beyond dance in the Danube metropolis) as such.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Andrea Amort: "Free Dance in Vienna". In: Deborah Holmes, Lisa Silverman (ed.): *Interwar Vienna. Culture between Tradition and Modernity*. New York: Camden House 2009, 117–142.

<sup>2</sup> For a comprehensive bibliography until 2001, see: *österreich tanzt. Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Ed. by Andrea Amort and Mimi Wunderer-Gosch. Wien – Köln – Weimar: Böhlau 2001; Andrea Amort: *Hanna Berger. Spuren einer Tänzerin im Widerstand*. Wien: Brandstätter 2010; Gaby Aldor: *Wie tanzt nun ein Kamel? Die Geschichte der Ornstein-Familie und die Erfindung des modernen israelischen Tanztheaters*. Wien: mandelbaum verlag 2012.

<sup>3</sup> *Tanz. 20. Jahrhundert in Wien*. Exhibition catalog (Biblos-Schriften, Bd. 109). Catalog management and publication: Josef Mayerhöfer. Wien: Österreichisches Theatermuseum 1979. The exhibition was shown from 26 October 1979 until 31 January 1980 with additional film screenings at the Austrian National Library.

<sup>4</sup> See note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Gunhild Oberzaucher-Schüller (ed.): *Ausdruckstanz. Eine mitteleuropäische Bewegung der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Wilhelmshaven: Noetzel 1992, 2004; *Schrifttanz*. A quarterly. Volume 1 1928 to Volume 4, 1931. Eleven issues and two supplements in one volume. Published by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Schrifttanz. With an afterword for the reprint by Gunhild Oberzaucher-Schüller. Hildesheim: Olms 1991

<sup>6</sup> Giora Manor: "Influenced and Influencing – Dancing in Foreign Lands. The work of Choreographers/Dancers persecuted by the Nazis in Emigration". In: Oberzaucher-Schüller: *Ausdruckstanz*, 471–485.

<sup>7</sup> *Dances of the Banished*. Production and choreography: Esther Linley. Scenery and costumes: Christian Weininger. Dramaturgical assistance: Andrea Amort. Historical consulting: Alfred Oberzaucher. With reconstructed choreographies by Berger (Otilie Mitterhuber), Bodenwieser (Bettina Vernon and Evelyn Ippen), Jerschik (by the choreographer). Dancers: students of the Anton Bruckner Private University as well as Esther Koller, Bob Curtis, and Harmen Tromp. In the framework of the anti-Fascist Contrasts Days in Linz. Premiere 21 April 1995, Posthof Linz. See: Andrea Amort: *Tänze der Verfemten*. In: *Tanzdrama* 29, no. 2, 1995, 24–26; Andrea Amort: "Die Tänze der Verfemten". "Gedanken zum Erbe des Ausdruckstanzes" in Österreich anlässlich des 50. Jahrestages der Befreiung vom Nationalsozialismus. In: *ballett international/tanz aktuell*, no. 8/9, 1995, 64–65.

<sup>8</sup> "Wiener Tanz im Exil." Lecture- and performance series in cooperation with Kunstverein Alte Schmiede from 28 October 1998. Curator: Andrea Amort. Guests: Roman Arndt, Magda Brunner-Hoyos, Giora Manor, George Jackson, Gunhild Oberzaucher-Schüller, Hedi Politzer (Hedi Pope), Patricia Stöckemann, Gerda Schwarz-Rech, Cilli Wang, Esther von Wartburg, Jarmila Weißenböck, and Wera Goldman. Goldman's first performance in this series took place on 5 November 1998 at the Jewish Museum. She danced the solo *Dybbuk* and was awarded the "Goldener Rathausmann" by City Councilor for Cultural Affairs Peter Marboe. Until 2001, Goldman came to Vienna every year, to lecture, dance, and cho-

reograph with and for Martina Haager. Since then, she has been invited in larger intervals: in 2006 and 2011 each time organized by Haager, in 2008 also at the "Touchings" festival. "Wiener Tanz im Exil." Exhibition at the Austrian Theater Museum. Curated by Andrea Amort and Jarmila Weißenböck. 16 June until 26 October 2000. "Tanz im Exil." In the framework of the Festival of Jewish Culture in Vienna—a special project of tanz2000.at & Impulstanz in cooperation with Kunstverein Wien and the Jewish Museum. Program: Andrea Amort. Choreographies by Bodenwieser, Jerschik, Berger, and Pola Nirenska. With dancers of the Vienna Volksoper, Tanztheater Wien, Anton Bruckner Private University Linz as well as Esther Koller and Harmen Tromp and a guest performance by Jacek Luminski's Bytom Dance Theater. On July 1st and 2nd at the 1 Akademietheater, Vienna. Further performance and lectures by Goldman and Manor. The program was documented both by Austrian Public Television (ORF) on June 23rd and 25th as well as on July 27th as well as by radio station Ö1 (June 27th and 30th); on 10 September 2000, Heinz Janisch broadcasted his conversation with Goldman in the series "Menschenbilder." See: Andrea Amort: "Vergessen – Erinnern – Neu beleben". In: tanz2000.at. Festival brochure. Vienna 2000, 47; Edith M. Wolf Perez: *Vergessene Schritte. "Tanz im Exil" in Wien*. In: *Tanzdrama* 54, no. 5, 2000, 40; George Jackson: *View from Vienna: Festival weeks*. Vienna, Austria, June 2000. In: *Dance Magazine*, vol. 74, November 2000, 93–98.

<sup>9</sup> Festival "Berührungen. Tanz vor 1938 – Tanz von heute". Artistic direction: Andrea Amort. Assistance: Paul M. Delavos. Under the patronage of Helmut Zilk. From October 5–31, 33 events took place at: Theater Odeon, Studio Tanz Hotel, Alte Schmiede, and Admiral Cinema. For a detailed program: <http://www.odeon-theater.at/54.0.html> as well as comprehensive press reviews with playbills at the exile library of the Literaturhaus Wien.

<sup>10</sup> Zasha Cerizza Colah and steirischer herbst (eds.): *Body Luggage. Migration of Gestures*. With texts by: Bessora, Laure Guilbert, Desmond Kharmawphlang, Francesca Recchia, Nora Sternfeld, Françoise Vergès. archive books, Berlin, 2016.

Translated from the German by Lilian Dombrowski

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**Dr. Andrea Amort** lives in Vienna, she is on the faculty of the dance department, head of the dance-archives at the Music and Arts University of the City of Vienna ([www.muk.ac.at](http://www.muk.ac.at)). She has been working as an independent cultural journalist (speciality: dance), as curator for theatre, dance and performance for the City of Vienna. She is also a dance historian, dramaturge and has curated dance-festivals. 2019/20 she has been responsible for two major dance-exhibitions at the Theatre Museum Vienna including an intense performative program: *Everybody dances. The Cosmos of Viennese Dance Modernism* and *The Pointe dances. 150 years of Ballet at the Wiener Staatsoper*. She published several books, her last one *Everybody Dances – The Cosmos of Viennese Dance Modernism* (Hatje Cantz, 2019).