34290

National Library of Canada / Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE / *THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE*

NAME OF AUTHOR/*NOM DE L'AUTEUR* Howard Perry Beckman

TITLE OF THESIS/*TITRE DE LA THÈSE* Oskar Schlemmer and the Experimental Theater of the Bauhaus: A Documentary

UNIVERSITY/*UNIVERSITÉ* University of Alberta, Edmonton

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/*GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE* Master of Arts, Drama

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/*ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADE* 1977

NAME OF SUPERVISOR/*NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE* James de Felice

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

DATED/*DATÉ* Sep. 9, 1977 SIGNED/*SIGNÉ* Howard Beckman

PERMANENT ADDRESS/*RÉSIDENCE FIXE* 281-41st ST. #45
Oakland, California USA 94611

NL-91 (3-74)

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us a poor photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de mauvaise qualité.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Oskar Schlemmer and the Experimental Theater of the Bauhaus: A Documentary

by

© Howard Beckman

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF DRAMA

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1977

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Oskar Schlemmer and the Experimental Theater of the Bauhaus: A Documentary," submitted by Howard Beckman in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Dramatic Theory.

James V. Detelich
.....
Supervisor

.....

.....

Date... May. 2,.. 1977.....

Abstract

This work presents translations with annotation of 11 articles on theater written by Oskar Schlemmer between 1925 and 1931. Between 1923 and 1929 Schlemmer directed the experimental theater workshop at the Bauhaus, the most influential art institute in the twentieth century, founded in Weimar, Germany in 1919 by the architect Walter Gropius. In addition, Schlemmer created several dance works and designed for the professional stage, principally at Erwin Piscator's theater in Berlin. The articles are introduced by a discussion of Schlemmer's significance in the history of theater, his particular solutions to the artistic problem of the theater, and an extended discussion of the place of the theater within the Bauhaus and the careers of its faculty. Photographs of performances and designs are included.

This work is the second treatment in English of the Bauhaus theater workshop and Schlemmer's work in theater. It extends in English the publication of Schlemmer's writings on theater, heretofore limited to two articles published in The Theater of the Bauhaus (1961). Appendixes offer documents on the theater curriculum of the workshop, a description of the stage at the Bauhaus buildings in Dessau, and a chronological presentation of data on Schlemmer's theater works and the theater activities of the Bauhaus.

Schlemmer's chief concerns in the theater reflect the root concerns of the theatrical avant-garde in Europe during the early twentieth century: the function of the actor and the nature of theatrical space. Whereas these problems were largely treated separately by theater reformers, by emphasizing one or the other, and usually in connection with some particular concept of the "dramatic," for Schlemmer they were two aspects of a single problem: "man in space."

This theme was carried over into the world of the stage, specifically the dance, from Schlemmer's principal career as a painter. Trained under Adolf Hoelzel, one of the principal color theorists among the modernists, Schlemmer (1888-1943) concentrated on developing an ontology of space in his paintings and murals, in studies of the relationship between the individual and his environment. In his art, Schlemmer investigated the way in which man, embodying as he does the dual laws of spirit and matter, is affected by the physical laws of space, and how man-as-spirit "overcomes" the purely physical interaction with space to reveal himself. This problem could only partially be solved in the static medium of the graphic arts, and was "logically" extended by Schlemmer to the art of theater, which he defined as "above all the art of space."

Although the body of the thesis is principally documentary, the introduction attempts to correct the perpetuated misconception of a "Bauhaus theater," an idea that stems

from the naive idea that the Bauhaus was a monolithic institution, one in which all the parts emulated a central idea. In fact, however, the Bauhaus was quite heterogeneous in practice. Thus, to speak of "Bauhaus theatrical experiments" (or "Bauhaus architecture" or "Bauhaus furniture," etc) is not merely an oversimplification, but wrong. The theater workshop had a far more significant role in the Bauhaus than has heretofore been recognized. The thesis in effect attempts to stimulate further interest in and study of the extensive theatrical avant-garde in German "between the wars," and particularly its relationship to the Russian post-revolutionary theatrical avant-garde.

KEYWORDS: Bauhaus; Theater, German; Theater, experimental; Theater, theory; Dance, and theater; Painting, and theater; Stage design; Schlemmer, Oskar

Contents

List of Illustrations

Anything original usually proves identical with the elemental, and this in turn with the simple. One can begin over and over again with the ABCs, one can always return to the basic elements of art, since simplicity contains the energy essential to all innovation.

Oskar Schlemmer

Preface

My aim in this work is twofold: to stimulate study of a period of modern theater still largely neglected in North America, and to do so specifically by acquainting theater artists and students with the theatrical ideas of a man known today primarily as a painter. These are the immediate aims. The larger purpose is to expand the debate over "relevancy" in the theater. To this end, the life and work of Oskar Schlemmer (1888-1943) is exemplary of the aesthetic conflict that surfaced in Europe with the great social upheavals of the early twentieth century. I hasten to emphasize that my purposes in this work are to stimulate and expand the historical study of an essential question, not to offer a definitive analysis. This is based in part on my belief that the interests of theater history, the classic issues that repeatedly arise in different cultures and periods, are best served by making available as much in the way of primary sources as the theater is capable of leaving behind--short of performance itself. It is also based on necessity, on the fact that both the particular subject of this work--the theatrical ideas of Schlemmer--and the larger subject in which it is imbedded--the theatrical experimentation of the early twentieth century--are inadequately researched.

Until the early twentieth century the history of the arts in Western civilization was one of gradual development

over many centuries, with certain (indefinite and relatively long) periods marked off as innovative or revolutionary. However, eras of marked innovation in the different arts do not generally follow the same chronology. Thus, the history of music does not coincide with that of architecture. While there have been periods of relative aesthetic homogeneity in the arts in one culture--the European baroque, for example--these are more historical constructs and less actual periods of self-conscious style running through all the arts.

The early twentieth century, particularly the years between the two world wars, is therefore unique in that revolutions occurred simultaneously in all the arts: in painting, music, architecture, literature, and theater, as well as in the crafts. Moreover, this period was characterized by considerable self-conscious cross-fertilization between artists in different fields. An obvious consequence was the emergence of synaestheticism, and in this respect the early twentieth century resembles the early period of German Romanticism. (In Germany, at least, Romanticism was a deliberate model for many modernist artists, including Schlemmer.) Yet synaestheticism as a common ideal did not precipitate the uncommon intercourse between artists in different media. Rather, both phenomena were the result of three major forces: the social and technological revolutions and the tendency in the arts toward analytic abstraction.

One can hardly expect to recapture the effect of the

social and technological changes that swept through Europe in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Since World War II we have experienced such an exponential rate of cultural change that it is difficult to appreciate the sea change that had occurred by the time of World War I. In rapid succession came mass transportation systems, electricity generated for public consumption, and photo-engraving, each with its own social and psychological impact. By the turn of the century electrification had spawned not only countless novel appliances for personal use, but had also made possible true mass production. In a few short years Europe encountered the airplane, the automobile, movies, radio, and the phonograph, all of which would not only enlarge the psychological horizons of individuals but also change the social landscape with a swiftness unparalleled in history. The magnitude, and more important the significance, of the change was not fully revealed until World War I. The age of the masses, although prefigured by mass transportation, mass production, and mass communication, did not become a political fact until men began to die in mass in war. It was not simply that casualty statistics were unprecedented (at least 10 million deaths alone), but that mass death could be engineered. The instruments of death--posion gas, the tank, the machine gun--were themselves mass-produced. Because it would resolve nothing, and in fact would precipitate even deeper political crises, World War I represented

the collapse of the old rhetoric. Politics, the translation of rhetoric into action, was incapable of translating the new realities of the emerging era dominated by science and commerce.

One must understand this above all in order to understand how the belief that art can be effective in defining the social consciousness became transformed after 1918 into an urgent requirement for many artists. Quite simply, the dominant economic and political institutions, in short the moral order, had failed to reflect, or had resisted, the social impact of the sciences and technology in the late nineteenth century. For those artists with a keen sensitivity to their social environment, the most striking fact of their existence was the disparity between the established order and the intellectual and artistic revolutions that had seeded in the late nineteenth century. To many, the collapse of the old economic and political regimes in World War I meant, in Germany at least, that an entirely new social order would have to be built, and this held out the possibility of new, more vital aesthetic representations, of a more immediate participation by artists in shaping the community. Commenting on the origins of Dadaist literature, George Steiner states that the "several strains /of Dada/ would, I believe, have remained loose and modish but for the shock of world war. It was from that shock and its implications for the survival of human sanity that Dada derived its

morality."[1] In other words, the Dada movement, like some other artistic tendencies, literally took shape as a response to World War I.

The question facing many artists following World War I--a question that emerges continuously throughout history, but more keenly at some times than others--was to what extent art would be able to shape consciousness in a practical way, to create a spiritual order where there was social and political confusion, to offer up a sign, an iconography. The question was (and is) not whether art can articulate social values--it most certainly has and does--but the extent of the descriptive power of art and under what circumstances this power might be exploited.[2]

In Europe at the turn of the century the belief that art could be effective in defining social consciousness was widespread among the avant-garde. Thus, the "political life" is an important animating force behind many art movements

---

1. After Babel, Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 193.
2. To say that art is to some extent a social statement, that some aspect of every work of art is descriptive in this sense, does not necessarily mean that works of art can be largely descriptive, although at the same time this possibility can not be excluded. A better term for the descriptive capacity of art might be its "referential dimension," if the term "referential" did not already have a rather specific meaning in the vocabulary of criticism. With respect to painting at least, "referential" involves the same ideas a "imitation" or "representation." The descriptive capacity of art is not identical with its capacity for imitation. Although the issue of the imitative capacity of art in general and of particular art forms is a purely technical one (the imitative capacity depends strictly upon the medium and the object of

(note continued)

of the early twentieth century.[3] Several questions follow, however, from the belief that art has a "practical" dimen-

---

imitation), the issue of the descriptive power of art is not unrelated. Recently, three excellent works dealing with the interrelation of these issues have been published: Theory of Literary Criticism, A Logical Analysis, John Ellis, University of California Press, 1974; After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation, George Steiner, Oxford University Press, 1975; and The Illusion: An Essay on Politics, Theater, and the Novel, David Caute, Harper and Row, 1972.

3. This is a very complex phenomenon, and not easily understood without an appreciation of the lives and works of at least several of the major artistic figures of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The political dimension of modern art is difficult to pin down in summary, and this difficulty has been a particular irritant from the beginning of writing the introduction to the translations that follow, for the very reason that it is an important factor in the artistic environment in which Schlemmer worked. On the one hand, the nature of the thesis does not allow for an extended discussion of this problem; on the other, I do not feel particularly confident to summarize such a pervasive phenomenon in the life of twentieth-century art. Fortunately, during the final preparation of the thesis a book appeared that may help the reader get a handle on this problem: Painters and Politics: The European Avant-Garde and Society, 1900-1925, Theda Shapiro, New York: Elsevier, 1976. In the preface the author writes: "This study will attempt to describe and explain the early social attitudes and, whenever possible, more explicit political opinions and activities of a generation of painters who wrought a revolution in the arts and who witnessed technological change, social unrest, and world conflict on an unprecedented scale" (p. xii). "Above all, I have stressed the interconnections among three aspects of the modern artist's career that have usually been dealt with separately if at all: the characteristic life style, often chosen in response to economic conditions; the sytlistic predilections, always in opposition to prevailing modes; and the above-mentioned social attitudes" (p. xiii).

sion. What is the descriptive power of a particular art form? Of one form versus another? What are the limits of this power in different arts? To what extent can art be free of description? That is, is there such a thing as "pure music," "pure painting," "pure architecture," or "pure theater" (or, as the playwright Friedrich Dürrenmatt once asked facetiously, "pure radio")? Ironically, whether one aims in the direction of the "purity" of an art form or in the direction of explicit reference to the social environment (the so-called "politicization" of art), both are tests of the descriptive property of art and the efficacy of art in helping to define the public consciousness. The one tests how successful art can be (as art) to the extent that it is "free" of description, the other tests how successful art can be to the extent that it "loads" itself with description. The animus behind much early modernist art, particularly painting and theater, is the attempt to situate art in the "real world," and only secondarily, if at all, to put art in the service of particular political or moral dogmas. Seen in this light, the "politicization" of the arts, notably literature and the theater, and the "purist" movement were both aspects of the same larger current, not contrary currents. This was especially the case in the two countries shaken by political and economic revolutions in the early twentieth century: Russia and Germany.

In the realm of the arts the two countries shared similar circumstances for a while. In both countries revolution-

ary political institutions opened up possibilities for, and encouraged, intense experimentation in the arts. In both, these possibilities were abruptly shut off by ideological dictators who naturally feared free experimentation and expression by artists. In Russia the ideological rigidity of the dictatorship was relatively slow (and uneven) in working its way into Russian institutions, so that Russian modernists continued to emigrate, particularly to Paris and London, and to Germany in the 1920s. In Germany the presence of many Russian avant-garde artists contributed to the heady atmosphere of experimentation between the wars and further infused the German scene with the hope of a fresh start, both artistically and politically. In Russia, during the early years of the Bolshevik revolution, and in Germany, between 1918 and 1932, the political and artistic revolutions necessarily intertwined. The fact that all aspects of life were being transformed politically and technologically, or at least were under attack from new moral pressures, demanded holistic rather than narrow reforms. The proliferation of artistic manifestoes calling for a New Artistic Order were invariably based on a New Moral Order of one kind or another. Perhaps for this reason we tend today to view the artistic "isms" of the early twentieth century almost playfully, as if the pressure of events had overcooked the rhetoric, if not a few brains.

While the social conditions of the time cannot in any

sense be considered the cause of the third major force in early twentieth-century art, analytic abstraction, nevertheless it is easy to see that the tendency to abstraction was at least reinforced by the prevalent social and intellectual instability.[4] Once artists, principally painters, began to self-consciously examine the principles of their art, or its moral justification, the eventual outcome was what I shall call "deductive art," which historically includes most of what we have called "abstract art" in the twentieth century.[5]

It would be a mistake to consider deductive art as merely an analytic (rational) process. Yet it is distinguished from other art by a relatively high degree of conscious conceptualization, which forms either a starting point or an entire structure. Deductive art attempts to "formulate" a pure art, art that follows principles derived entirely from the possibilities afforded by the medium and its elements. It is an attempt to rid the medium of all nonformal elements.[6]

---

4. "...the entire human structure of the /first decade of this century/--the malaise that sprang from an increasing doubt as to the reality and solidity of the visible world--sought a kind of redemption in abstract painting" (Haftmann, 1961, p. 135).

5. Traditionally, abstract art (painting) is said to have begun with Kandinsky in 1910, the date of his first abstract water color. Nevertheless, the goal of expressiveness without metaphor or description, a so-called nonfigurative art, had been clearly established at the turn of the century, so that Kandinsky's 1910 abstract water color is merely a convenient milestone. The point is that "abstract art" is not a "style" initially developed by one artist, but the manifestation of a complex tendency to reexamine the principles of art.

6. I am referring [illegible] to a very real movement in the arts, including th[illegible], so that one must make the dis-

(continued)

The tendency toward analytic abstraction--toward purity of style--together with the social and technological revolutions, all of which began in the late nineteenth century, culminated in a period of intensive experimentation in the arts throughout Europe. This period, centered largely in the 1920s, is characterized more by the act of experimentation, by the challenge to tradition, than by the emergence of any particular style that would predominate in the new democratic and scientific culture of the twentieth century.

There are two major reasons why this era is insufficiently explored by theater artists, students, and scholars today. First, and most obvious, ideological dictatorships ended artistic freedom in Russia, Germany, and Italy by the early 1930s, which left Paris as the only major center of experimentation in new theatrical forms. The emergence of these dictatorships and the ensuing world war brought to an abrupt halt the natural evolution of the avant-garde in central Europe. World War II created new social imperatives and psychological conditions even more traumatic than those resulting from World War I. While no one can deny the European avant-garde after 1945 had certain obvious roots in earlier,

---

tinction between the purely technical exercises of the classroom, which are designed to teach formal possibilities, and the creation of a work designed to stand on its own merits. Both are deductive aesthetic processes and both must be considered creative, so that the distinction, unfortunately, can only be appreciated from experience. Moreover, the creative process is essentially the same regardless of the form or medium of the art. The creative process is an interplay between the will and preconscious feeling. With deductive art, the artist works self-consciously, that is, the will predominates.

prewar movements, nevertheless World War II resulted in a formidable social and psychological hiatus between two generations of artists, particularly in Germany, where the Nazi dictatorship proved to be more than merely a cultural and political interregnum.

The combination of more efficient communication and the relative isolation of the postwar theater from an earlier generation has had the effect of deflecting our attention from the complete history of the theatrical avant-garde between the wars.

A second, less apparent reason that this history is unexplored in detail is that apart from the recognition of a few individuals, the avant-garde theater in Europe between 1900 and the 1930s was largely unpublicized in the United States at the time. The work of certain individuals--notably Jessner, Craig, Reinhardt, Appia, and Stanislavsky--were, and continue to be, highly visible in American journals and textbooks as a result of the publicity given them by American artists (Jones, McGowan, Gorelik, and others) and certain theater periodicals (e.g., Theater Arts and The Drama) in the 1920s and 1930s. The effect today is that theater history texts reiterate, without benefit of original research, the roll call of established names and exemplary works. Only in the last decade or so have theater scholars and critics begun to research beyond the bright lights of the prewar era.

It can be said, although it remains to be shown, that

Germany was the center of experimentation in theater during the 1920s. This conclusion is based less on the genius of individual artists and more on the extensiveness of experimentation, due in large part to an important change in attitude of producers. There were in Germany at the time of World War I an extraordinary number of subsidized theaters throughout the country. However, the removal of royal and aristocratic patronage from the theater following the war eliminated a considerable prestige factor from individual theaters. The result was a scramble for prestige built on lavish productions, personalities, and most important, premieres. The competition for premieres, perhaps more than any other single factor, contributed to the unprecedented willingness of theater managers to risk novelty.

> When Germany began to recover from the economic consequences of WWI and inflation in 1924, the extensive apparatus of German theater and concert life became exceptionally receptive to experimental art. Following the lead of Donaueschingen in 1921, other small and larger Residenzen /former court cities/, and finally, following their success, the middle-class industrial cities, all nurtured the ambition of prominence as centers of culture. This epoch...was one of the liveliest, artistically productive, cosmopolitan, and tolerant in modern history. The enriching influence of the unlimited abundance of experiments has not been exhausted even today.[7]

Another important factor that made Germany a seedbed of experimentation between the wars was the overall technolog-

---

7. Stuckenschmidt, 1951, p. 238.

ical superiority of the German theaters, specifically in the introduction of improvements in lighting and the incorporation of new stage machinery.

In all respects the Bauhaus--a school of design founded in 1919 by the eminent architect Walter Gropius--stood at the center of the social, technological, and aesthetic revolutions of the twentieth century. Most important, the Bauhaus itself reflected the tolerance for a variety of approaches to the search for a new aesthetic sensibility. Its members, including Oskar Schlemmer, adhered to only one doctrine: that the social and technological sea change marked by World War I demanded entirely new artistic responses.

Of all the members of the Bauhaus, apart from its founder Gropius, Schlemmer and Lazlo Moholy-Nagy were the most active publicists--perhaps the most ardent supporters--of the ideas that gave the Bauhaus life. Both were also the only members of the permanent faculty to work consistently in the theater. Both men are therefore important figures in the theatrical avant-garde in Europe during the early twentieth century. But it was Schlemmer who headed the theater workshop at the Bauhaus, and in this capacity he wrote frequently on the problem of theater. His writings on theater reflect the two principal concerns of the theatrical avant-garde at the time: the definition (or redefinition) of the function of the actor and the performance space. Schlemmer's writings on theater thus afford a review of the principal concerns of the avant-garde

theater in Europe in the first three decades of this century. Of course, they also promote Schlemmer's own creative, and stimulating, approach to the problem of the functions of the actor and performance space, namely, and this is most important, that they are functions of each other. Finally, Schlemmer's articles on theater are quite unique in the polemical literature of the theater in that Schlemmer justifies the experimental mode as a requirement for artistic creativity, and not simply as a preliminary stage in the establishment of a new, fixed "style." It is hoped, therefore, that this collection of selected articles will help focus attention on the richness of the experimentation in the European theater between the wars.

Although the literature, and presumably the research, on the Bauhaus is by now quite extensive, one still reads of a "Bauhaus theater." This term in the literature invariably refers to all theatrical works by both faculty and students of the Bauhaus as well as to the actual theater workshop. Undoubtedly, this stems from a larger problem. Generally, and for several reasons, the term "Bauhaus" is erroneously used to refer to a mythical common denominator in all the various works that originated in the Bauhaus, as if the Bauhaus had a consistent and homogeneous aesthetic that was applied to all endeavors within it. It did not, and wherever one sees references to "Bauhaus architecture," "Bauhaus design," "Bauhaus painters," or any such allusion to a gen-

eric identity, one should be particularly wary of the criticism or analysis that relies on such an idea.

The idea of a "Bauhaus theater," embracing the individual works of the faculty and the performances of the theater workshop, was perpetrated even in the time of the Bauhaus. Contemporary critics frequently referred to the "Bauhaus approach" or the "Bauhaus experiments," without making it clear that such terms could apply only to the work in the theater workshop, and thus specifically to the work of Schlemmer, since the two were virtually coextensive. Today, without benefit of original research, authors still praise or criticize the "Bauhaus style of theater."

Schlemmer's fame today is due largely to his nine-year association with the Bauhaus. However, until the last few years, the greatest interest in the Bauhaus had been its contributions to architecture and city planning, its revolutionary approach to art education, and its various craft workshops, in which the so-called "international style," the streamlined design aimed at mass production, first took real shape. Since the founding of the Bauhaus Archive in 1960, more attention has been focused on the variety and individuality of the careers of the Bauhaus faculty and on the lesser-known aspects of the school and its connections with the industrial and artistic worlds of its time. The first major effort of the Archive was the spectacular exhibition "Bauhaus--50 Years," which toured the world in 1969-1970.

The catalog for this exhibition is itself a major document on the history of the Bauhaus. Several publications have followed, and the Archive continues to promote original research.

Perhaps because the theater workshop has not been regarded as an integral part of the central concerns of the Bauhaus--in fact, until recently all theater activity at the Bauhaus was regarded as a part of the "life" of the Bauhaus but not a part of its teaching--the formal workshop, and the theater activity not associated with the workshop, usually receive only passing attention in works on the Bauhaus. Moreover, Schlemmer's fame, in his own time and even today, rests almost entirely on his paintings and murals. While there have been numerous one-man shows of Schlemmer's work since 1945, there has been practically no recognition in these shows of Schlemmer's designs for the professional theater, his experiments in the theater workshop, or even his major theatrical work, "Triadic Ballet." This may be understandable, in view of the fact that scene photos and theater designs do not stand as works of art in the same way as paintings, water colors, or drawings; but it has led regrettably to a dissociation of Schlemmer's theater work from his other artistic work, a dissociation that did not exist in the artist's career. In reality, there is a continuity between the two: the artistic idea that informs both his theater and graphic work is the theme "man in space." The two life-work

catalogs published so far (Hildebrandt, 1952; Grohmann, 1965) completely exclude the theater work. It is hoped that the founding of the Schlemmer Archive in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, together with the Bauhaus Archive, will be instrumental in correcting the perspective on Schlemmer's work.

Schlemmer's work in theater has not been entirely overlooked, however. In 1961 an exhibition devoted entirely to Schlemmer's theater work was held in Zürich. That same year saw the English edition of the 1925 Bauhaus book Bühne im Bauhaus (Theater of the Bauhaus), which included an essay not published in the original edition. The year before, Schlemmer's part in the anti-naturalist theater of the early twentieth century was discussed at length for the first time in Paul Pörtner's Experiment Theater (in German). More recently, Schlemmer's work has been given considerable attention in the United States. In 1969, the same year the "Bauhaus--50 Years" exhibition toured North America, the first American one-man show of Schlemmer's graphic work was held at a major New York gallery, a show marked by an extraordinary comprehensiveness. In 1971 the notes and drawings for Schlemmer's course at the Bauhaus titled "Man" were published in English. The following year the long-awaited English edition of his letters and diaries was published.

Finally, a word about the translation of Schlemmer's language. Perhaps if Schlemmer had not joined the Bauhaus, he would not have written so prolifically; in effect, the cir-

cumstances of the Bauhaus compelled him to write. As with Kandinsky and Klee and other teachers at the Bauhaus, teaching provided Schlemmer with the opportunity--if it did not actually produce the necessity--to develop a more coherent theory for his work.[8] However, like all the teachers at the Bauhaus, Schlemmer was an original artist, attempting to arouse a new sensibility through new artistic forms. His writing therefore at times reveals the awkwardness and inflexibility of language at the edge of perception. In any case, Schlemmer's language is always idiosyncratic and playful, and because he gleefully submitted to the propensity in German for creating new words "by addition," it has often proved necessary to take great liberties in the translation.[9] Translations are never entirely satisfactory, and I will forego discussing the complex issues of the art. My own position is that translations should be regarded as possible readings. Apart from the "awkwardness" of the act of trans-

---

8. Teaching at the Bauhaus thus produced important treatises on art by Kandinsky and Klee: Klee's Pedagogical Sketchbooks (New York, 1944; first published by the Bauhaus in 1925), and Kandinsky's Point to Line to Plane (New York, 1947; first published by the Bauhaus in 1926).

9. [Schlemmer's] was the most personal vocabulary I have ever known. His invention of metaphors was inexhaustible; he loved unaccustomed juxtapositions, paradoxical alliterations, baroque hyperbole. The satirical wit of his writings is quite untranslatable" (Lux Feininger, 1960, p. 274). "The Bauhaus wrote its own language auf Deutsch too, and facile fluency was never an aim of anyone connected with it" (Feininger, letter to Walter Gropius, 1960).

lation, there is an inherent crudeness of expression, and particularly in the terminology, in the polemical writings of the avant-garde. Moreover, we must remember that in reading artistic manifestoes years later, we have already been influenced to some extent or another by the perceptions of earlier artists. And, with hindsight, we are somewhat sophisticated, or at least have an easy familiarity with many of the ideas put forward by an earlier generation. The style of writing in Schlemmer's articles is time-bound and not in itself valuable. Because the word "Gestaltung" is a fundamental concept with flexibile meaning in the lexicon of the Bauhaus, I have sometimes left the German word untranslated rather than attempt to translate its several contextual nuances. An explanation of this term is given in a footnote to its first appearance.

If the theater of the past is valuable to the artist today, and I believe it is, its living importance--the artistic idea--must be made available to the artist. This is best done by letting the artists of the past speak for themselves.

During the last decade or so, we have become acutely conscious of the necessity for preserving as much documentation of theater-making as may prove useful to future designers, directors, and actors. (Five years ago when Michael Kirby became editor of The Drama Review, he proclaimed his editorial policy, which has been pursued to this day: "I am in-

terested in documentation rather than opinion...."[10]) There is a growing demand (regretfully, more from scholars than from artists) for greater availability of original materials on theater. At least two major publishers (Kraus and Avon) have impressive lists of reprinted periodicals and original texts by major artists. The American Theater Association in the early 1960s began a series of "Rare Books of the Theater," which includes among other works three of Appia's manifestoes and the first English edition of Tairov's Notes of a Director, one of the most influential books on theater in the 1920s in its German edition (1923).[11]

---

10. TDR, spring 1971 (T-50). I hasten to add that all the dangers implicit in such a clear-cut distinction have in fact been manifested in TDR under Kirby's editorship. For an interesting, and bitter, exchange on the desirability and practicality of separating documentation and "opinion," see TDR, December 1975 (T-68), "A Letter on TDR Policy."

11. I quote from the translator's introduction to the English edition because his comments support my earlier point that we have yet to recognize and appreciate the richness of experimentation of the theatrical avant-garde in the early twentieth century. Explaining how it was that Stanislavski alone appeared in English, though Meyerhold, Evreinov, Tairov, Komissarzhevsky, and Vakhtangov had all published several books and articles before My Life in Art appeared in 1924, he notes that "Stanislavski was fortunate enough to have his Elizabeth Reynold Hapgood /the translator of all of Stanislavksi's works in English/, and before the rest found a comparable champion-translator, the antipathies of international politics outside and the purges of the Thirties within the Soviet Union discouraged our interest in Russian theater practice." "But without their own written body of theory and their personal accounts of its practical application to represent them, the anti-realists quite naturally faded in the shadow of My Life in Art, An Actor Prepares, Building a Character, and Creating a Role" (Tairov, 1969, p. 18).

In general, this type of publication may only reflect the significant increase in the United States of the publication of books on theater. Yet in 1969 Robert MacGregor, then editor-in-chief of Theater Arts Books, in a review of contemporary publishing in the field of theater, stated that there is a "general movement toward the document-as-history."[12] Numerous examples of the "document-as-history" can be found in the title lists of several publishers. To mention only a few examples: John Gielgud Directs Richard Burton in Hamlet, Strindberg's Open Letters to the Intimate Theater, Scenarios of the Commedia dell'Arte, and Meyerhold on Theater.[13] Such works permit the meeting of artists across time. It is principally with this end in mind that the following articles on theater have been translated.

I have included only the published writings on theater by Schlemmer, and have selected for translation those that, together, represent the full range of Schlemmer's concerns

---

12. "A Book Report," in Theater 1, International Theater Institute of the U.S., 1969. This trend is not limited to works on theater. In the late 1960s Viking Press began a series "Documents of 20th-Century Art," with emphasis on translations of primary sources (memoirs, manifestoes, etc.).

13. This lat work should serve as a model for documentary anthologies. Superbly edited and annotated, it is an almost complete collection of Meyerhold's lectures, published and unpublished manuscripts, rehearsal notes, etc.

in the theater. (There is some repetition from one published article to another, and some articles are practically "scissors-and-tape" rearrangements of earlier articles.) Obtaining copies of the published articles proves to be very difficult because of the destruction of German library collections during World War II. The last article was located better than three years after the research was begun.

Since the presentation of these translations is intended in part to stimulate further study of the work of Schlemmer, as well as of the larger context of the experimental theater between the wars, I have included selected documents on the theater workshop of the Bauhaus, which it is hoped will provide an authentic perspective on the workshop.[14] For the same reasons, I have also prepared a highly selective bibliography that covers many aspects of the connection between the Bauhaus

---

14. Only one scholarly study of Schlemmer's theater work has ever been made public: a doctoral dissertation by Dirk Scheper at the University of Vienna in 1970. The completed dissertation was not available to me until after the first writing of the present work. It was discovered in the serial register "Verzeichnis der im Erstehen begriffenen Dissertationen aus dem Gebiete der deutschen Sprache und Literatur," prepared by the Germanisches Seminar at the Freie Universität Berlin. This register is an important bibliographic source for the scholar of the German-speaking theater, since it contains a comprehensive (cross-indexed) section on "theater studies" with various subject divisions. The list, produced annually, notes completions and "drops." It is not limited to dissertations in German universities, but includes titles from throughout the world. Begun in 1957, the index was formerly mimeographed, but is now published in the annual Germanistik.

and theater. It includes important, often little-known writings on theater as well as playscripts by members of the Bauhaus, including Moholy-Nagy, Kandinsky, and Lothar Schreyer, the first director of theater at the Bauhaus. Works that I believe are particularly valuable and comprehensive treatments of the experimental theater of the early twentieth century, principally first-hand accounts, are also included.

The research on Schlemmer and the Bauhaus theater workshop would not have been possible without the generous assistance of numerous German public and university libraries, the Bauhaus Archive in Berlin (formerly of Darmstadt), and, in later stages, the newly formed Schlemmer Archive in Stuttgart. I am particularly grateful to the Interlibrary Loan Service of the University of Alberta, without which the research would have been impossible in its early stages. Finally, it should be noted that this work was begun during residency at the University of Alberta in 1969-1970, and that the long delay in submitting the completed work is the result of the difficulty of attempting sustained scholarly research at the same time one pursues a career in a quite unrelated area. On hindsight, therefore, I am especially thankful to the University of Alberta for awarding me financial support in the summer of 1970 for the specific purpose of allowing me to pursue work on this thesis undistracted.

Introduction

I: The Bauhaus and Theater

Since the history of the Bauhaus has been adequately recorded in many memoirs and critical studies published in the last thirty years, it is unnecessary to retell that history here.[1] A brief sketch of the origins of the Bauhaus should suffice. Nevertheless, I should warn the reader that the Bauhaus was "the climax and focus of a very complex and multifaceted development which reaches back to the Romantic period, continues at the present, and is unlikely to terminate in the near future."[2]

The history of Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century is dominated by the development of modern science and its impact on the industrialization of Europe. Scientific and technological progress was so rapid in the late nineteenth century that the social, moral, and political consequences went largely unrealized until World War I. In fact, the war was due in large part to the failure of the dominant political institutions of Europe to cope with the new economic and social realities created by technology.

---

1. For selected works on or relating to the Bauhaus, see the bibliography. The best introduction to the history of the Bauhaus and its impact on the arts is the large, heavily illustrated work Bauhaus, by Hans Wingler, director of the Bauhaus Archive in Berlin (M.I.T. Press, 1969).
2. Wingler, 1969, p. xviii.

The material progress of the late nineteenth century, and the economic and political consequences, produced two important tendencies, unrelated in the beginning but eventually to become factors in a larger movement. First, those arts that deal directly with the formative possibilities of materials--industrial design, architecture, sculpture, and the like--were for a long time either unable or unwilling to consider the conceptual possibilities afforded by technological innovation. The orthodoxies of design persisted despite the requirements of particular materials, function, and mass production. In one sense Art Nouveau was a spectacular (because it was an inappropriate) response to the failure of art and design to recognize the freedom of form made possible by technical progress. Increasingly, artists, designers, and notably architects called attention to the widening separation between designers and engineers, and between form and function. This problem was largely ignored until the second decade of the twentieth century, but even in its early history the question of fostering a rapprochement between design and production met with essentially two attitudes: anti-industrialism and the demand for a return to "utopian" medieval unity of design and production (supported influentially by the English critics John Ruskin and William Morris), on the one hand, and functionalism, by which the requirements of production and function of the product would be given aesthetic form.

The second tendency is best described as humanitarianism, the roots of which lay in the utopian socialist reactions to modern industrialism, with its attendant economic oligarchy. This movement would gain significant momentum in the wake of the political and economic chaos following World War I. The first major artistic movement to embrace both political and artistic revolution, in the belief that art itself had a revolutionary function, was expressionism. The center of the movement was der Sturm, founded by Herwarth Walden (1878-1942?) in Berlin in 1910 with the publication of a weekly by that name. Der Sturm became also a publishing house, gallery, school, theater, and meeting place for many of the avant-garde from Germany, and in fact from throughout Europe. It proved extremely important in the early Bauhaus, particularly in the development of theater at the Bauhaus, inasmuch as most of the faculty at the Bauhaus had been associated with der Sturm.

One man who achieved prominence in the attempt to make the arts into an instrument for social action was the architect Walter Gropius (1883-1969). Gropius had achieved recognition in his field at a very young age because of his "functional" architecture, a contrast to the traditional decorative building of the period, which remained aloof from the possibilities afforded by technological progress. Only 24 when the Deutsche Werkbund was founded in Munich in 1907, Gropius became an activist member of this radical organization, which

sought a fundamental unification of art and modern technology, and championed what ... to prove most important in the development of the new ...itecture and industrial crafts: a return to the medieval idea of "collective," "anonymous" art in contrast to the post-Renaissance individuality of craftsmen. Gropius became so respected by his colleagues in the Werkbund that he was asked to contribute designs to the Werkbund's 1914 exhibition in Cologne. The buildings that resulted, built especially to illustrate the Werkbund's architectural ideals, and torn down after the exhibition, established Gropius as an architect of international renown.

Gropius was prominent in several of the socially radical arts organizations that proliferated after 1900 and particularly after 1918 when Germany was plunged into moral and economic chaos following its defeat. In 1915 Henry van de Velde, the director and founder (1906) of the Grand Ducal School of Arts and Crafts in Weimar, recommended Gropius as his successor. Van de Velde, a Belgian, was forced to leave Germany because of the war. In 1919, after the interruption of the war and long negotiations with the Thüringian state government, Gropius became director of the combined School of Arts and Crafts and the Grand Ducal Academy of Art, giving it the name "Bauhaus." The name is derived from the medieval "Bauhütten," the assocation of artists and craftsmen working under a master builder. Gropius's intention was to bring together once again art and technology,

craft and production--to train a generation of designers in which the artist and craftsman were reunited. All the arts were to serve architecture in principle; the demands of architecture would be the new logos of the arts, just as theology had once been the lodestone of all intellectual activity.

> The ultimate aim of all visual arts is the complete building! To embellish buildings was once the noblest function of the fine arts; they were the indispensable components of great architecture. Today the arts exist in isolation, from which they can be rescued only through the conscious, cooperative effort of all craftsmen. Architects, painters, and sculptors must recognize anew and learn to grasp the composite character of a building both as an entity and in its separate parts. Only then will their art be imbued with the architectonic spirit which it has lost as "salon art."[3]

Thus, Gropius, in the first manifesto of the Bauhaus, expressed the fundamental principle of the school--the "architectonic spirit." This was not merely a covert move to "devaluate" the visual and plastic arts to a pragmatic, ancillary role in architecture. On the contrary, the architectonic nature of architecture was to serve as a paradigm for the future development of all the arts. Nor was this simply a pedagogical device; it was rooted deeply in the psychological experience of Gropius and his contemporaries, particularly the Expressionists, from whom he drew the first teachers for the Bauhaus. In 1923 he wrote:

---

3. Walter Gropius, "Program of the Staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar," 1919, quoted in Wingler, 1969, p. 31.

> The dominant spirit of our epoch is already recognizable although its form is not yet clearly defined. The old dualistic world concept which envisaged the ego in opposition to the universe is rapidly losing ground. In its place is rising the idea of a universal unity in which all opposing forces exist in a state of absolute balance. This dawning recognition of the essential oneness of all things and their appearances endows creative effort with a fundamental inner meaning. No longer can anything exist in isolation. We perceive every form as the embodiment of an idea, every piece of work as a manifestation of our innermost selves.[4]

Here we have a direct expression of the response to the chaos and spiritual depression of post-war Germany, comingled with an aggressive optimism. This attitude, this intensely felt desire for a cultural "order," which would achieve a humanistic use of science and technology, was to be found everywhere in Germany at the time, but rarely did it find the lucid expression Gropius gave it. And here it is important to note that Gropius's desire was not merely for the human application of science and technology to the socio-economic life, nor (as detractors of the Bauhaus have charged) was he concerned chiefly with maintaining aesthetic considerations in mass production and industrial design. His ultimate aim was nothing short of the total organization (design) of the form of social life--organized not around the demands of technology, but around man himself, as a living, feeling organism.[5] Again he writes:

---

3. From "Idee and Aufbau des staatlichen Bauhauses Weimar," 1919.
4. "Man is the measure of all things" became the unofficial Bauhaus motto.

> The character of an epoch is epitomized in its buildings. In them, its spiritual and material resources find concrete expression, and in consequence, the buildings themselves offer irrefutable evidence of inner order or inner confusion. A vital architectural spirit, rooted in the entire life of a people, represents the interrelation of all phases of creative effort, all arts, all techniques. Architecture today has forfeited its status as a unifying art. It has become mere scholarship. Its utter confusion mirrors an uprooted world which has lost the common will necessary for all correlated effort.[5]

The way in which architecture could regain its status as a "unifying art," and at the same time create "inner order" in the life of a people, was to cease being concerned chiefly with designing structures and instead concentrate on "environmental planning."[6] Although the idea on which this practice was based--that the configuration, the organization, of man's environment simultaneously formed and reflected his spiritual life--was not original with Gropius, the establishment of the Bauhaus represented the first time a deliberate, systematic, and (from Gropius's standpoint) scientific effort was made to pursue the creation of environments that integrated the spiritual and social needs of man.[7] It is in this emphasis on the holism of culture, on the necessary relationship not only between art and technology but also between the several arts themselves, that we find the ultimate explanation for the

---

5. Op. cit.
6. Today this concept of architecture is virtually commonplace--an indication of Gropius's revolutionary influence on the development of modern architecture.
7. For an attach on the "scientific" basis of the Bauhaus, see "Hausbroken," Peter Lloyd Jones, a review of several books on the Bauhaus, New York Review of Books, Jan. 1, 1970.

early introduction of theater into the life of the Bauhaus. That explanation lies in the fundamental architectonic character of the theater. It was in the theater's synthesizing, unifying effect on the arts--in which otherwise separate arts were transformed by virtue of their participation in the expression of an idea that exceeded their individual potential--that Gropius saw the replication of the idea of "total architecture."[8]

This fact explains the fundamental significance and vital importance of the theater to the life of the Bauhaus, as Gropius envisioned it. Moreover, it explains why Gropius actively promoted the theater within the Bauhaus (often forcing the issue of its existence) when at the same time he resolutely opposed treating the "fine arts" separately in the teaching program and activities of the school. It is a fact that has been largely overlooked in the literature

---

8. One cannot overlook the possibility that Gropius must have been familiar with Peter Behrens's essay "Feste des Lebens und der Kunst: eine Betrachtung des Theaters als höchsten Kultursymbols" (Celebration of Art and Life: On the Theater as the Highest Cultural Symbol), published 1900. Gropius had served as an intern in Behrens's architectural office in Berlin from 1907 to 1910, along with Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe. Behrens's influence cannot be overestimated; Gropius immersed himself in the master's own works and writings, as was customary in the tradition of architectural internships. Behrens's allusion to theater as a "festival of life" became one of the chief slogans of Georg Fuchs, whose essay "Ideen zu einer festlichen Bühne" (1903) laid the theoretical foundation for his Munich Artists Theater (founded 1907). Here, in various productions, Fuchs pursued one of his central aesthetic problems: the participation of the painter in the theater. These productions had a revolutionary im-

(note continued)

on the Bauhaus, in which the theater is depicted as an adjunct, albeit a fascinating one, to the "real" concerns of the school. The potential of the theater in the Bauhaus did not escape Schlemmer's shrewd mind, however. Schlemmer had been on the faculty of the Bauhaus only a few months when Lothar Schreyer, one of the best known avant-garde stage directors of the day, was invited by Gropius to join the Bauhaus in order to organize a theater workshop. Soon after the announcement of Schreyer's appointment, Schlemmer wrote in a letter:

> I just saw something, saw it especially clear in the perspective of the Bauhaus. Much of today's modern art is straining after application, toward architecture. As a result of our economic depression, we will probably not be able to build for a long time. The opportunities for exercising the utopian fantasies of the modernists are missing. But there is room for them in the world of illusion of the theater. We must be satisfied with surrogates, to make out of wood and paste what is denied us in stone and iron. Perhaps Gropius feels the same; he has called to Weimar a poet and theater artist, Lothar Schreyer....[9]

While there is no direct evidence of Gropius's thinking in this respect, he nevertheless was explicit in drawing an analogy between architecture and the theater. "In its orchestral unity the theatrical work is closely related to architecture. Like architecture, in which all components give up their uniqueness in order to bring to life a sup-

---

pact in Germany (Jessner, Reinhardt, others), particularly in the use of lighting as a suggestive, artistic means, and are the direct antecedents of Schlemmer's theater works.

9. Letters and Diaries, June 14, 1921.

erior, common Gesamtkunstwerk, the theatrical work combines a variety of artistic problems in a new, higher unity with a law of its own."[10] Thus Gropius saw the theater as ideal ground for the research and solution of artistic problems created by the social and technical circumstances of the modern age. Specifically, the collective nature of the theater suited Gropius's demands that the arts be so related that they "reflect the attitude of the entire community."

But the theater was not to be simply an ersatz structure for architecture during severe economic depression. The theater already possessed the central element of Gropius's "grand plan," namely the employment of several artistic means in the realization of a spiritual, metaphysical ideal. This of course lies at the root of the Expressionist theater. Whether Gropius recognized the "usefulness" of the theater, so conceived, at the outset for his plans for the Bauhaus, or whether this idea was urged on him in the early development of the school, cannot be determined at this time.[11] Certainly, however, Gropius must have been familiar with the Expressionists' strivings toward a "total theater," which was to be the outward expression of metaphysical being.

---

10. Op. cit.
11. Throughout the history of the Bauhaus several symbolic graphs of the curriculum were drawn up. These were always in the form of concentric circles, in order to emphasize the interrelatedness of the components of the curriculum. It is interesting to note what appears in the inner circle from one drawing to another. In one graph drawn in 1922 by Paul

(note continued)

Curiously, although architecture was conceived as the focus of all work in the Bauhaus, Gropius continuously put off establishing a department of architecture in the school, despite pressure from some students. In 1924 several students set up a seminar in architecture on their own. It was not until 1927, eight years after the founding of the Bauhaus, that Gropius organized a teaching department of architecture under Hannes Meyer (who succeeded Gropius as director of the school in 1928). This fact alone, I believe, reveals Gropius's real intention for the Bauhaus, as expressed from time to time--to establish the "architectural spirit," without necessarily establishing working architectural projects. This architectural spirit would give a greater significance to the theater workshop in the overall program of the school than has heretofore been recognized.

The idea of the "synthetic" and spiritual nature of theater was widely propagated beginning in the first decade of this century (one thinks above all of Edward Craig). Kandinsky's publication (with Franz Marc) of the "Blue Rider" in 1912 was one of the landmark publications of the Expressionist movement,[12] and although it dealt largely with the

---

Klee (appointed to the Bauhaus 1920) the words "Bau und Bühne" (architecture and stage) appear in the center. (Cf. for example the graphs of Gropius (1923) and Moholy-Nagy in Wingler, 1969, p. 52 and p. 194, respectively.)

12. For a discussion of the significance of this volume see Selz, 1957, pp. 219-222.

new music and painting, it included Kandinsky's essay "On Stage Composition" and one of his own "stage compositions," "der gelbe Klang" (The Yellow Sound).[13]

In his essay Kandinsky criticized the materialistic preoccupation of the nineteenth century. By materialism he meant a concentration on the external forms of art, that is, artistic concentration on technique, on the means of art. By contrast, Kandinsky insisted on the primacy of the spiritual idea, the motive of the work, on the "inner sound" of the materials, the "inner necessity" of the work--terms that are immediately identified with Kandinsky. He criticized also Wagner's concept of the Gesamtkunstwerk as being merely a "bringing together" of different means without "synthesizing" them. In fact, the term "synthetic (synthestisch) theater" was Kandinsky's own term for a synaesthetic form that was neither primarily literary or "historical." The failure of the Gesamtkunstwerk, according to Kandinsky, was that it offered merely a parallelism of the arts, in which each art, at various times, assumed dominance.

This emphasis on the potential subservience of the various arts within the theater to an idea that transvalued different means into an organic whole was identical to Gropius's concept of architecture. In a draft (October 1922) for a publicity leaflet on the newly organized stage work-

---

13. This work was first performed at the Guggenheim Museum, New York, in the summer of 1971.

shop in the Bauhaus (see appendix 1), Gropius reflected the Expressionists' insistence on the spiritual basis of the theater. "In its origin the stage derives from an ardent religious desire of the human soul (theater = showing the gods). It serves, then, to manifest a transcendental idea." It is likely that in expressing this idea Gropius "made himself the mouthpiece of Schreyer's beliefs."[14]

Lothar Schreyer (1886-1966) was appointed to the Bauhaus in the summer of 1921 to establish a theater workshop. No such workshop had existed at the beginning of the school, and Gropius himself apparently had no plans for the workshop before the appointment of Schreyer. According to Eberhard Roters (1969, p. 66), "Gropius brought Schreyer to the Bauhaus after seeing his work at the Kampfbühne," a theater company founded by Schreyer in Hamburg.

Schreyer, who received a doctorate of law in 1910, turned his attention to the theater almost immediately after he left the university. From 1911 to 1918 he was a producer and assistant director at the Deutsche Schauspielhaus in Hamburg, his home. In 1914 he met Herwarth Walden in Berlin and immediately became one of Walden's closest collaborators in the Sturm. Walden had been editor of der neue Weg, a theater magazine, from which he was dismissed in January 1910 because of strongly expressed radical ideas. He then

---

14. Roters, 1969, p. 66.

founded the weekly der Sturm in March; the periodical was to serve as the basis for the development of the "Sturm circle," the leading Expressionist center in Germany, from which Walden encouraged almost every writer, painter, and musician associated with the movement. However, a theater was not established in the Sturm circle until 1918, when Schreyer founded the Sturmbühne (Sturm-Theater). Schreyer had been active in the Sturm since 1916, both as an editor of the weekly magazine and through exhibitions of his paintings and drawings. But the effect of the war had postponed any attempt at theatrical production. The Sturmbühne was short-lived in Berlin; in 1919 Schreyer moved the theater to Hamburg and changed the name to the Kampfbühne.

The plays produced by Schreyer in his "art theater," which performed before a small group of cognoscenti reflected the vague mysticism and quasi-religious character of the early Expressionist drama. In Berlin Schreyer was able to produce only one play, "Sancta Susanna" by August Stramm (d. 1915), one of Walden's most enthusiastic protégés and one of the first self-defined Expressionist playwrights. In Hamburg Schreyer produced eight plays before he was called to the Bauhaus.[15] All of the plays were performed on the

---

15. These were "Die Heidebraut" and "Kräfte" by Stramm; "The Death of Empedokles," based on the poetry of Hölderlin; a nativity play based on a text of 1589; "Sünde," one of Walden's many plays; and three of Schreyer's plays, "Kindsterben," "Mann," and "Kreuzigung." (See the bibliography for a complete list of Schreyer's published dramatic works.)

small proscenium stage of the School of Arts and Crafts in Lerchenfeld. The chief characteristic of Schreyer's productions was the use of masks, not simply facial masks but what Schreyer called "Ganzmaske," a "total mask" that in effect took into consideration the entire body of the actor, sometimes reaching a height of three meters. The masks emphasized the archetypal, symbolic figures of these plays; for Schreyer, the actor was to resemble the occult, mysterious actor-dancers of primitive ritual.

At the same time, Schreyer's productions, particularly of his own plays and those of Stramm, strove for a new "dramatic language" in which the word once again found its affinity with the music and movement of the play. Indeed, the scripts for Schreyer's own plays are actually "scores" (a term he himself used) for locating a unified, simultaneous presentation of sound, word, light, form, color, and movement. In fact, Schreyer's production concept resembles th formulated by Kandinsky in The Blue Rider and expressed in "der gelbe Klang," which Schreyer advocated as a model. The resemblance, however, is largely in principle inasmuch as Schreyer, following Stramm, seemed ultimately concerned with the poetic content of his performances, and struggled chiefly with linguistic construction in his own plays. He did not seem willing to sever the traditional relationship of drama and literature.[16]

---

16. For Schreyer's own account of the Sturmbühne see Erinnerungen an Sturm und Bauhaus (Munich, 1956), especially pp. 20-23; and Expressionistisches Theater (Hamburg, 1948).

When Schreyer began to organize the theater workshop at the Bauhaus, he continued with the work begun in Berlin and Hamburg. But it never took root in the Bauhaus. Implicit in the very organization of the Bauhaus was the emerging struggle between a mature visual expressionism (as defined, for example, by the exhibitions of der Sturm and the various Secessionist groups) and the young abstractionist or constructivist movement. The successful Bolshevik revolution had caused a number of Russian artists, writers, and intellectuals to emigrate, many of whom found Germany a congenial second home, particularly in Munich and Berlin. Among the emigrants was Kandinsky, who in fact was returning to Germany where he had studied and taught from 1896 until the outbreak of war in 1914. Kandinsky left Russia in 1920, and joined the Bauhaus in 1922. The following year the Hungarian Lazlo Moholy-Nagy (1895-1946) was appointed to the Bauhaus. Kandinsky's formidable presence, Moholy's original, outspoken constructivism and loyal, vigorous support of Gropius's direction of the Bauhaus, tipped the scales in 1923 in favor of a philosophical alignment of the Bauhaus with constructivism. Although Gropius, in view of his long-established ideas on architecture, naturally embraced the ideas of abstract painting, he nevertheless met with serious difficulties in the highly developed, gifted, and impassioned painters he had inherited from the Expressionismt movement and der Sturm. In the spring of 1923 Schreyer resigned during rehearsals for the summer

exhibition of the Bauhaus, presumably because he realized that the developing course of the Bauhaus was not amenable to the basically mystical nature of his work.[17]

Two years after he left the Bauhaus Schreyer gave his own version of the shift in emphasis at the Bauhaus and of his resignation:

> I accepted an appointment as teaching master at the Staatliche Bauhaus in Weimar. There it seemed to me a certain "community" was evolving around the personality

---

17. All of the painters of the Bauhaus were associated with der Sturm: Schreyer, Schlemmer, Klee, Kandinsky, Moholy-Nagy, Lyonel Feininger, Georg Muche, and Johannes Itten. Itten (1888-1967), who was at the center of the conflict over the direction of the Bauhaus, had, by his personal magnetism, collected the painters of the Bauhaus faculty about him in an informal bloc--in contrast to the "practical" faculty in the various workshops. This situation proved volatile, as Gropius perceived the danger of an autonomous "fine arts" faculty contrary to his founding principle. The painters were enormously influential with the students, not only because they taught all the "design and form" courses, but also because of their individual charisma. Itten and Gropius gradually worked at cross purposes until Itten resigned in the spring of 1923 in a highly emotional outburst. Schreyer's resignation followed shortly, during rehearsal of his own play "Mondspiel." Since Schreyer's theatrical concepts caused "serious differences of opinion" (Wingler, 1969, p. 360), and since, like Itten, Schreyer believed in the primacy of feeling--to the extent that it became more significant than theatrical form--Itten's dramatic resignation undoubtedly precipitated Schreyer's own decision to leave.

Itten had established the "preliminary course" (Vorkurs), which, more than anything else, is identified with the pedagogy of the Bauhaus. (see his Design and Form, 1964). Because the preliminary course was central in the teaching of the Bauhaus (see "Study Plan for the Preliminary Course, 1925-26," in Appendix 2), Itten greatly influenced the actual direction, as well as the collective self-concept, of the Bauhaus in its early years. (After Itten's resignation, the preliminary course was taken over by Moholy-Nagy, and thus it is that Moholy's influence is identified with the "second phase" of the Bauhaus, 1923-1929.)

> of Master Johannes Itten, which aimed for an artistic working life based on spiritual unity. Unfortunately, there developed in the Bauhaus a major tug of war over how communal ideas would be realized. Since such ideas can only be realized in a spirit of trust and without divisiveness, Itten quit teaching and then eventually left the Bauhaus altogether to begin his work anew outside the Bauhaus. In Itten the Bauhaus lost the individuality of pedagogical leadership. As a result, a spiritual community was leaderless. From this leaderless group some people came to me; we began to work in common and the experience of the cooperative reappeared, finding its expression in the play "Mondspiel".... Through the growth of our cooperative work we grew so distant from the course of the Bauhaus that we became a foreign body, and our entire work became misunderstood and unanimously rejected. I and my colleagues did exactly what Itten did: in order to live our own life, as we saw it, we left the Bauhaus.[18]

Schlemmer immediately took over preparations for the theater performances to be given in August, substituting his own works, and began plans for a teaching department of theater in the Bauhaus (see Appendix 2). During the Weimar period (1919-1925) the theater workshop did not achieve full parity with the other workshops, primarily because the Bauhaus hoped to sustain itself through commissions to its workshops from private industry, and hence most attention was focused on developing the "practical" workshops. Nevertheless, the theater activity under the inspired and tireless leadership of Schlemmer became one of the liveliest aspects of the Weimar Bauhaus.

---

18. "Mensch und Maske," in Jugend und Bühne, Ludwig Pallat, ed., 1925, pp. 192-193.

In April, 1925 the Bauhaus was forced by a rightist municipal government to leave Weimar. Following several offers of support from various local governments in Germany, the Bauhaus accepted the invitation of the Dessau municipal government, which provided funds for the design and construction of new facilities. Since the long-term situation in Dessau was not clear until some time after the Bauhaus had actually moved there, Schlemmer remained in Weimar with a few other other former teachers.[19] When plans were finalized for the new buildings, Gropius was able to include separate facilities for a theater workshop and, most important, an auditorium with a raised stage (see Appendix 3). Thus, in the fall of 1925 Schlemmer was given a firm appointment at the Dessau Bauhaus with the specific task of developing a full-fledged experimental theater workshop.

Before turning to the work of Schlemmer, I should like to indicate briefly the extent of involvement in the theater by members of the Bauhaus. Both Schlemmer and Moholy-Nagy designed extensively for the professional theater, particularly in opera, undoubtedly because this form provided the least restrict limits to the designs of both men. In ad-

---

19. When the Bauhaus first moved to Dessau it shared facilities with the city's School of Arts and Crafts, with which the city had originally planned to merge the Bauhaus. The intended merger is what created uncertainty for the future integrity of the Bauhaus, since any merger would have required significant changes in the structure and philosophy of the Bauhaus as it had developed at Weimar.

dition, there was a close relationship between the Bauhaus and Erwin Piscator's Volksbühne in Berlin. Not only did Schlemmer and Moholy-Nagy have much to contribute artistically to the development of Piscator's "epic" style in their frequent production designs for him, but the politicization of the theater, forged in Germany by Piscator especially, was an important issue in the work of both men. In April, 1927 Piscator visited the Bauhaus, and that same year he commissioned Gropius to design a new theater for the Volksbühne, one that would embody the ideals of the "liberated stage" (a motto of the theatrical avant-garde of the time), allowing for the greatest possible use of lighting and projection, maximum use of machinery to provide mobility of acting space, and "convertible" stages, i.e., an auditorium that would allow for both arena and proscenium staging. Although the design, which Gropius called the "Total Theater," was completed (see Figures 5-7), the theater was never realized because of a lack of capital.[20]

Besides the professional commissions of Schlemmer, Moholy-Nagy, and Gropius, there was considerable individual activity in the theater by other members of the Bauhaus, independent of Schlemmer's workshop productions. Long before

---

20. Several of Gropius's theater plans were built, however, including the Stadttheater at Jena, in which several Bauhaus performances were given.

their association with the Bauhaus, in 1914, Kandinsky and Klee, along with Franz Marc (all then associated with "The Blue Rider" group) agreed to collaborate with Hugo Ball in establishing a "Theater of the New Art" (Bühne der neuen Kunst) after Ball had been won over by the productions of Georg Fuchs at the Munich Artists Theater (Künstlertheater).[21] The war interrupted these plans, however, and Klee was never again to lend his original talents to the theater. But in 1928 Kandinsky designed and produced a "performance" of Moussorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition," at the Friedrich Theater in Dessau, in which the theatrical effect was conveyed almost entirely through "animated" scenery.[22]

The demand for a new theater architecture, based on the requirements of the new theatrical style being developed by Meyerhold, Tairov, and Piscator, among others, was eagerly met by a number of students in the Bauhaus. Among the radical designs were Farkas Molnar's "U-Theater" and Andor Weininger's "Spherical Theater." In addition, a number of

---

21. Pörtner, 1960, p. 49. The plan is described by Richard Huelsenbeck, an intimate associate of Ball, as an "expressionist theater ("En Avant Dada: A History of Dadaism," in Dada Painters and Poets, Robert Motherwell, ed., Wittenborn, Schultz, 1951, p. 24).

22. Premiere April 4. Dancers were used in only two of the sections ("pictures") of the show. The designs are in the collection of the Institut für Theaterwissenschaft, Cologne. Little is recorded of this important production; as far as I know, no scene photos exist. For a discussion of Kandinsky's theater aesthetic, see Romstöck, 1955, p. 144ff. See the bibliography here for a list of Kandinsky's own "plays."

"mechanical stages" were designed by students, particularly in connection with the design of puppet shows and abstract-mechanical shows that aimed toward a purely visual theater without actors. Among such designs was that of Joost Schmidt (ca. 1925-26), master sculptor and later head of the sculpture workshop in the Bauhaus. The fact that this design by a sculptor was intended for the new Bauhaus facilities in Dessau, in view of the considerable architectural talent in the Bauhaus, reflects the cross-fertilization of work that was an important, yet intangible, aspect of the Bauhaus.[23]

In addition to performances developed in the theater workshop under Schlemmer's direction, the students themselves often devised satirical sketches (for performance primarily in the Bauhaus, before students and faculty, although some of these sketches were included in the major tour of the Bauhaus theater company in 1929). The students also expressed considerable interest, as reflected in various projects, in marionette theaters.

Perhaps the most outstanding "theatrical" experiments outside the stage workshop were in the new field of film and light projection. Apart from the work of Moholy-Nagy in all aspects of light projection and film, which preceded his

---

23. Although Schmidt's mechanical stage, like others devised by students associated with the theater workshop, was highly specialized and provided the means of expression of a specific (and limited) aesthetic, it nevertheless accorded with Schlemmer's own physical requirements for the stage. The design was no doubt not realized because of the limited funds available for the Dessau facilities. For illustration of the design, see Wingler, 1969, p. 368.

association with the Bauhaus, the "light shows" of Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack and Kurt Schwerdtfeger achieved the greate promise in this area. These experiments, begun as early as 1922, were not simply confined to the "laboratory," but were successful enough, using the simplest of equipment, to lead to performances of "reflected light plays" in Weimar, Berlin, Vienna, and other cities.

Several students of the Bauhaus worked in the professional theater after leaving the school. These included Roman Clemens, Felix Klee, Paul's son, and Xanti Schawinsky (see Appendix 4). Schawinsky was Schlemmer's most active collaborator in the theater workshop, and upon emigrating to the United States became a teacher at Black Mountain College, one of several American schools heavily influenced by the Bauhaus experience.[24] There he continued his theatrical experiments begun at the Bauhaus.[25] Indeed, Schawinsky's work after he left the Bauhaus, to the extent that it was influenced by Schlemmer, is the only real continuation of the experimental performances developed in the Bauhaus theater workshop, since Schlemmer was unable to work in the theater after 1933, when his work was declared "degenerate" by the

---

24. The most important was Bauhaus School of Design, founded by Moholy-Nagy in Chicago in 1937, and which became the Chicago Institute of Design in 1939.

25. See especially "From the Bauhaus to Black Mountain," The Drama Review, Summer 1971 (T 51), pp. 31-44 (and other articles listed in the bibliography).

Nazis (Schlemmer's last public performance was a production of the "Triadic Ballet" in Paris in 1932).

I have given only a cursory description of the work outside the theater workshop, but it is important to point out that it is an error, often perpetrated, to refer to this variety of work, within and outside the theater workshop as well as outside the Bauhaus itself, as a monolith, as "Bauhaus theater." The efforts in theater of many individuals in the Bauhaus, both students and teachers, either preceded the Bauhaus or were independent of the work of Schlemmer's theater workshop, which was properly speaking the only "Bauhaus theater." In fact, many endeavors in theater in the Bauhaus, outside the workshop, were the result of the atmosphere of the school: the intense intellectual and artistic cross-fertilization that was the foundation of the Bauhaus.[26] This fact, and the place of theater in the philosophical scheme of the Bauhaus, makes it very difficult, ultimately, to discuss Schlemmer's theatrical work strictly within the context of the development of the theatrical avant-garde in Europe. Indeed, the protean character as well

---

26. The nature of the Bauhaus has been emphasized repeatedly in memoirs of former Bauhaus members. In 1923 Schlemmer wrote: "...the Bauhaus was intended to be shaped not by a dictatorial administrative system with insignificant 'subdivisions,' but rather by a multiplicity of minds and interests. Four years of Bauhaus constitute a chapter in art history, but also in the history of the times, for the Bauhaus mirrors the fragmentation of the German people and of the period" (Letters, 1972, p. 139).

as the audacity of the Bauhaus was nowhere more perfectly expressed than in the person of Oskar Schlemmer.

II: Oskar Schlemmer.

Oskar Schlemmer (1888-1943) received his most important training at the Stuttgart Academy of Art under Adolf Hoelzel. After two years in apprenticeship in a marquetry workshop, he entered the Stuttgart School of Arts and Crafts in 1905. He was awarded tuition for the Stuttgart Academy in 1906 and remained there until 1909. In 1910 and 1911 he lived in Berlin, but returned to Stuttgart in 1912 to join Hoelzel's master class at the academy.[1]

After serving in the German army during the entire period of World War I, he again returned to the Stuttgart Academy, where he remained unti 1920. In May of that year he moved to Canstatt, outside Stuttgart, in order to develop his "Triadic Ballet," part of which had been presented in a trial performance in 1916 as part of a charity benefit for his regiment. It was here that Schlemmer first met the composer Paul Hindemith, who later was to compose special music for the "Triadic Ballet."

---

1. Adolf Hoelzel (1853-1934) was "one of the most significant teachers in twentieth-century art" (Selz, 1957, p. 40). He emphasized constructive laws in painting, and, foreshadowing the Fauvists, saw painting as primarily the composition of formal relationships through the use of color. He worked systematically toward a practical theory of color in which pictorial structure was to be derived entirely from the interaction of colors. His teaching was highly influential in Schlemmer's work, particularly in Schlemmer's emphasis on the "farbig-formal" (form due to color), a term found repeatedly in Schlemmer's writings on both painting and theater.

In July, 1920 Schlemmer went to Weimar to consult with a publisher who had contracted to reproduce some of his graphic work. While there, he visited his friend and former fellow student from the Stuttgart Academy, Johannes Itten, who was among the first teachers enlisted by Gropius for the Bauhaus. Schlemmer had received Gropius's manifesto-like announcement of the opening of the Bauhaus (April 1919) in May of the previous year.[2] While visiting Itten, Schlemmer toured the Bauhaus, met Gropius, and was immediately invited to join the staff. However, Schlemmer had recently been presented with several other attractive possibilities and he remained uncommitted until, after Gropius's insistence, he finally accepted the invitation in December.[3]

---

2. The announcement had been sent by Gropius personally, with a friendly note asking for a future meeting.

3. Nevertheless, Schlemmer was still unsure he had made the right decision (see his letters from May to December 1920). This was obviously a turning point in Schlemmer's life. He had been an activist in the student council at the Stuttgart Academy, agitating against the faculty for reform. Among other things, he advocated the election of Paul Klee to succeed Hoelzel (to which Klee had agreed) and succeeded in stirring up a controversy in the Stuttgart press. Klee was turned down by the academy; ironically, he followed Schlemmer into the Bauhaus in December 1920.) At the time Schlemmer received the invitiation from Gropius he was hoping to complete work on the "Triadic Ballet," something he constantly postponed because of painting, and he may have felt that teaching in the Bauhaus would further interfere with that aim. In October 1920 he married, which may have affected his decision in November in favor of the Bauhaus.

Schlemmer was first appointed form master for the wall-painting (mural) workshop.[4] In the summer of 1922, as part of a major reorganization of the workshops, he became form master of the sculpture workshop (including the separate departments of stone and wood-working).[5] In May 1923, when Lothar Schreyer announced his resignation as director of theater and gave up preparations for a performance for the first official Bauhaus open house in August, Schlemmer took over the job of preparing a performance. From then on all theater activity in the Bauhaus fell under his general direction and an informal theater department became Schlemmer's major responsibility during the time the Bauhaus was at Weimar.[6]

---

4. In Gropius's plan for the Bauhaus the workshops constituted the central structure of the school. These were practical teaching workshops intended to do away with the traditional apprenticeship system of commercial workshops. Each workshop was headed by a form master and technical master (a master craftsman). In the early years of the Bauhaus the painters on the faculty were assigned as form masters. Their task was to stimulate artistic form in the design of products for mass production. Ideally, the form master and technical master were to achieve a symbiotic relationship that would promote the training of students who were not merely competent craftsmen, or merely artists with ideas, but designers whose ideas "emerged" from an intimate working knowledge of materials. Except for Schlemmer, the form masters were frequently rotated in the workshops until 1922.

5. Roters (1969, p. 72) errs in stating that Schlemmer was first assigned the sculpture workshop.

6. The stage department at Weimar was not considered an integral part of the teaching plan of the Bauhaus. It did not have a technical master for two reasons: the peculiarity of designing for the theater (the requirement that designs be conceived with respect to the physical requirements of particular theaters and within a fixed budget), and the fact that the Bauhaus was not committed to training theater designers.

When the Bauhaus moved to Dessau in 1925, under the auspices of the city government there, a formal theater workshop was established and a formal stage built in the new plant designed by Gropius. Schlemmer directed this workshop until its elimination in 1928, when Hannes Meyer succeeded Gropius as director of the Bauhaus. Thus, although Schlemmer had been brought to the Bauhaus as a painter (and his reputation was as painter), his singular contribution to the Bauhaus was the "Bauhaus theater."[7] In this studio theater the elements, the so-called ABCs, of the theater were to be researched, not by studying the history of the theater or by an historical-critical analysis of dramatic form, but by a form of research that was itself to be creative, guided by the instinct for play, and carried out in the actual practice of theater.

Indeed, under Schlemmer the theater workshop could not have been otherwise, for two reasons: his deep concern for creating a "new order" out of the fragmentation of styles that was characteristic of the time, and, more important, his repeated insistence that all art has an internal logic and that the formal laws of art must be respected if artistic

---

7. Again, I hasten to remind the reader that the term "Bauhaus theater" refers specifically to the theater workshop only. In its original use the term "Bauhausbühne" (Bauhaus theater) referred to the performing company, which included any interested member of the Bauhaus as well as outsiders. Under Schlemmer's direction, however, the workshop itself was referred to by this name because the teaching in the workshop was intimately bound up with creating performances. (Because the workshop reflected overwhelmingly Schlemmer's own aesthetic, it was often referred to within the Bauhaus as the "Schlemmerbühne.")

expression is not to degenerate into arbitrary, meaningless work. Art could become meaningless when the artist failed to engage the deeper currents of feeling shared by a society, and instead washed about in the latest fads or personal whim; or when the designer became isolated from the requirements of production. The latter was of course a particularly strong criticism at the heart of the Bauhaus, and reflects the similarities between those artists in Germany after the turn of the century who called for a "renewal" and "reunification" of the arts and the early German Romantics. Indeed, Schlemmer frequently acknowledged the influence of Philip Otto Runge on his own thinking, and his admitted favorite painter was Caspar David Friedrich. He often quoted Runge: "Strict conformity /with the laws of art/ is absolutely necessary particularly with those works of art that spring directly from the imagination and mysticism of the soul, without external subject matter or historic content." The tension between the Dionysian and Apollonian impulses, a characteristically Romantic issue, was a problem that Schlemmer, like the Romantics, felt was particularly tractable on the stage.[8]

---

8. The influence of the Romantics on the German Expressionists, and on German artists in general, in the early twentieth century is of course pervasive and complex. The "folk art" movement in Germany (prior to its corruption by the Nazis) not only recalls the Romantics, but drew support directly from the writings of the Romantics. In the theater, in addition to the problem of uniting the intellectual and emotional in new artistic forms, the early twentieth-century avant-garde shared with the Romantics the problem of the impact, or rather the failure of impact, of radically new ideas and sentiments

(continued)

With several years training in painting and sculpture, and his reputation established as a painter and muralist, did Schlemmer find in the theater merely an attractive means of enlarging his talents? His letters and diaries[9] throughout his life disclose a nervous shift of loyalties between painting and theater:

> The strife of two souls in one breast--one pictorial, or better philosophic-artistic, the other theatrical; or to put it simply, one ethical and one aesthetic--is not settled, and is behind these doubts /whether to go to Berlin to work exclusively in the theater/. One cannot serve two masters--both are powerful and require one's whole being (if indeed that is possible).[10]

Schlemmer often put the question to himself: "Painting or theater!" and on occasions complained of being "too far away" from either painting or theater when he was deeply involved in one or the other. Was this merely neurotic frus-

---

on the drama. And like the Romantics Schlemmer and many of his contemporaries sought to reestablish the vitality of the theater by creating a theater that spoke more directly to the real-life concerns of its audience. Whereas the Romantics contended with the exclusive literary precepts, as well as the content, of classicism, using Shakespeare as their model, later efforts to infuse the theater with "life" were divided between those, such as the social realists, who sought to strengthen the "literary" drama by creating dramas of contemporary social issues, and those who saw the theater as something more than a journalistic medium and who consequently sought to create a theater that was essentially nonliterary but nevertheless reflected the life of its audience. (For some interesting comments on the problem of the theater for the Romantics, see Chapter 4, The Death of Tragedy, George Steiner, Hill and Wang, 1963.)

9. As edited for publication; see Tut Schlemmer, 1972.

10. Letters, Nov. 22, 1924. All quotations from the published letters are my own translation from the original German. The English edition is not always satisfactory.

tration over not being able to pursue two careers simultaneously? Certainly, the explanation lies at a deeper level, for there is a formal continuity in all of Schlemmer's work--in his graphic work, sculpture, theater designs, and dance creations--which is summarized in his own slogan "man in space." The relationship between painting and theater for Schlemmer is in part historically determined.

> Without a doubt, the preceding generation of painters had a not insignificant part in the development of modern architecture. Constructive picture-structures and imaginative images of space existed in painting long before they became a reality in the expansive surfaces, straight lines, and visually conceived design of modern architecture.... Following through to its logical conclusion, the last phase of abstract painting, constructivism, negated the concept of painting to merge with the space and planes dictated by color alone, in the manner of modern architecture, or to welcome photography, films, and color projection as the fulfillment of modern requirements.
>
> The influence of painters on scene design changed in precise correspondence with this development. Almost all forms of modern painting--cubism, futurism, expressionism, suprematism, surrealism, constructivism--have seen their reflection, sometimes even their fulfillment, on the stage. Along with the positive results, the comic is not lacking, as in for example the ambition of Diaghilev's Russian Ballet to give every prominent contemporary painter his day on stage, even so monomaniacal and esoteric a type as Utrillo, with the result that on occasion there is an extraordinary lack of connection between the set and the dance. It is the last gasp of a friviolous aestheticism to take the word "Bühnenbild" literally and transfer the painted picture to the stage.[11]

The relationship between painting and theater is therefore more than an historical accident. The theater is not

---

11. From "Ausblicke auf Bühne und Tanz," 1927, which is translated here as essay No. 5. The German word "Bühnenbild" is a compound literally meaning "stage picture," but in standard usage means "set design."

simply another medium for the painter, an opportunity for the painter to apply his "craft" under different conditions, nor are painting and theater interchangeable. Rather, theater is an extension of painting.

> The theater knows very well that the word "Schau-spiel" ("show") is to be taken literally, and that the eye must be given what belongs to it. And the painter in turn knows very well that the stage opens up possibilities to him that can reach far beyond its limited frame.[12]

These possibilities are of course afforded by the third dimension, plastic space, without which motion is inconceivable. One of the chief questions posed after 1900 by the avant-garde theater in Germany--and generally throughout Europe, but particularly in the German and Russian theaters--was, What is it that one <u>looks</u> at on the stage? For Schlemmer (and for others, notably Meyerhold and Piscator) the answer is the <u>occupation of space</u>. The theater was a "spatial art, the creative shaping of space...." How then is the theater an extension of painting?

> Let me describe for you the elements of the creative artist, and then their application to the stage, where they ought to turn out as theatrical elements.
> Form and color constitute the materials of the creative artist, and man and space are the two polar compon-

---

12. From Bühnenelemente," 1929 (see the bibliography, part II). The German word "Schauspiel" in standard usage means "play, drama, or spectacle," but Schlemmer hyphenates the compound to accentuate the word "Schau" (show, sight, exhibition). The hyphenated word takes on the same polemical force intended by present-day theater artists when they use the formerly unsophisticated word "show" to refer to theater works (for example, Peter Schumann of the Bread and Puppet Theater). Note that in the previous quote Schlemmer says the word "Bühnenbild" (stage-

(continued)

> ents around which the world of the stage turns! The elements newly introduced by the theater are space, light, and movement.
>
> It is entirely possible to create a show (Schau-spiel) from the richness of elements in the fine arts: from color-forms, from lighted and light-giving color forms, and from moving color-forms and human bodies. These move in the spatial dimensions of height, breadth, and depth, moved by precision mechanics under the fluid play of modern lighting. It would be the purely mechanical stage and it would be an unadulterated exhibition of form and color. In such a case, man would only be the person at the instrument panel, E.T.A. Hoffmann's "perfect engineer," invisible and impersonal.[13]

The stage is "a volume to be filled":

> There is nothing more fascinating to the imagination of man than a plain white piece of paper, nothing more splendid to the painter than an empty canvas or wall surface, nothing more exciting for the theater artist (director) than the empty stage![14]

However, the theater is not constituted only of space. Its "polar elements" are space and man. The reality of the presence of man on the stage does not, however, necessarily destroy the theater as a spatial medium. "Natural man, in deference to abstract space, is recast to fit its mold."

Schlemmer thus "reduced" the avant-garde's general interest in plastic (rather than pictorial) theatrical space to its logical extreme: man in space. Indeed, if the theater, as a spatial art, is to include man at all--whether directly

---

picture) is not to be taken literally, but here says that the word "Schauspiel" (show) should be. This is not a contradiction; Schlemmer is drawing attention to the difference between visual background to the stage action and visual integration of all stage elements, including the actor.

13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.

or indirectly (and it is possible that in a purely mechanical, i.e., visual, theater "man," the animated being, would be banned from view in this mechanistic organism")--then it would have to look seriously at the relationship of man to space. What is space? "Essentially, it can be comprehended only through feeling." At the immediate, mundane level "hardly a word needs to be said about the influence of space and the quality of space on the body and feeling. That this feeling is one thing in a dark room, another in a glass building, another in a tunnel, another on an open terrace, is quite clear."[15]

Both man and space are governed by natural laws of dimension, mass, and proportion. (Architecture "reveals" the mathematics of space, while the inner mathematics of the body is revealed in gymnastics and acrobatics.) Man, however, is autonomous: "he is an organism of flesh and blood as well as a mechanism of dimension and mass. He is made up of feeling and intellect and many other dualities. He is all of these in one, and is much more capable of continuously reconciling this polar duality within himself than in abstract artistic images outside himself."[16] What is meant then by "man in space"?

---

15. From "Abstraktion in Tanz und Kostüm," 1927; see the bibliography, part II.
16. From "Tänzerische Mathematik," 1926; this article is translated here as essay No. 3.

> Man as dancer obeys the laws of the body as well as the laws of space; he expresses the sense of his physical being as well as his sense of embracing space....[17]

> By moving in space we are necessarily "space-bewitched," a part of it, embracing it and being embraced by it, and this will produce every time a space-dance according to the delicacy and intensity of the dancer's will, uniting space and body in an indissoluble unity....[18]

> I have in mind dance creations derived from spatiality, from the feeling for space. Space, like architecture, is primarily a construct of dimension and proportion, an abstraction in the sense of a contradiction--if not a protest--against nature. Space, in the sense that it influences everything within it, also defines the behavior of the dancer. If we were to fill up space with a soft pliable substance, in which stages of the dancer movements were to harden into "negatives" of the movement, this would demonstrate the direct relationship of the planimetry of the stage floor to the stereometry of space....[19]

How were such "space-dances" to be realized? Here something must be said regarding Schlemmer's painting, if the animus of his theatrical work is to be fully understood. Schlemmer tackled the same aesthetic problem--man in space--in painting, an essentially static, pictorial, and two-dimensional art, as he did in his theater work. He was not a "spontaneous" painter, laying down vivid impressions. Viewing his paintings and other graphic work, one has the distinct impression that these are "problem works" (by which I do not mean technical exercises); and indeed they are, although this does not necessarily detract from their visual effect. One leaves his graphic work with a strong feeling

---

17. From "Man and Art Figure," 1925; see bibliography, part II.
18. From "Abstraktion in Tanz und Kostüm."
19. From "Tänzerische Mathematik."

of having "seen" an idea.[20]

The reasons, both psychological and aesthetic, why Schlemmer continued primarily as a painter (he viewed himself so) are not easily sorted out. But among the complex motives perhaps the most important is twofold. Painting is "controllable," depending only on the technical facility of the painter for realiz[illegible] more important, however, it [illegible]rmits control of th[illegible]." "Painting's nature is the immutability of not an accidental but a typified condition, the stability of forces in equilibrium. Thus, what may appear at first as a deficiency, particularly in our age of motion, is actually its greatest merit."[21] On the other hand, the theater lacks precisely these: immutability and (at least for the time and place Schlemmer was considering) the full range of technical means to carry out the artist's intention. (This latter of course conceals a paradox insofar as the theater is eclectic and can put to use any means, al-

20. "Oskar Schlemmer's artistic development is reflected--often more clearly than in his paintings--in his drawing, where the lighter, more flexible techniques of pencil and pen drawing, water color, and chalk make possible a quick, direct recording of the pictorial idea and preserve the original impetus" (translation from "Das zeichnerische Werk von Oskar Schlemmer in der Staatsgalerie Suttgart," Karin von Maur, in the exhibition catalog "Oskar Schlemmer: Ausstellung zum 80. Geburtstag," 1968; see the bibliography here, part VI).

21. From "Man and Art Figure."

ways making use of new materials and invention, while it is always in danger of being overwhelmed by these. Schlemmer realized this in observing Piscator's work--which he considered the most important in Germany. "In Piscator's political theater an idea comes up, and in order to put it into action the whole of modern art and technology is mobilized, on such a scale and with such intensity that the purpose, the idea, is almost lost in the process!")[22] Because of the strict formal and material requirements of painting, and given clear aesthetic problems, Schlemmer could concentrate more directly on expression here than in the theater, with its eclecticism and loosely defined, even undefined, formal requirements.

It is largely, but not only for this reason that Schlemmer set to work on the "fundamentals" of theater, on relearning the "ABCs of theater." "Against the monstrous stylistic confusion in today's theater, against the commercial theater's exploitation of fads and sensationalism, our experimental theater seeks to establish a grammar of theatrical elements...."[23] Regarding the necessity for experimentation, Schlemmer writes:

> Is not such work one-sided, too specialized, even intellectualist, and where is the advantage to the theater...?

---

22. From "Piscator und das moderne Theater," 1928; translated here as essay no. 8.
23. From "Ueber den wissenschaftliche Charakter der Arbeit an der Versuchsbühne am Bauhaus," 1928(?); translated here as essay No. 7.

> In times of stagnation, when an idling organism needs a new impulse, it may be beneficial to reconsider first principles and to subject the chaotic trappings of the stage to a thorough purge and reorganization. If purification can be achieved in just one part of the whole realm of theater, with respect to the elements of form, color, and space, and what it means to be man in this context, then maybe this will be an inducement to do the same with all aspects of theater--in word, sound, diction, music--in order one day to be unified by a fresh scheme with unadulterated means, in original action.[24]

In fact, Schlemmer restricted his experimental work in theater to the visual in part because he was chiefly a visual artist, and in part in order to "control" the elements of the theater, but not because he considered what he called the "absolute visual," i.e., mechanical, stage as the end-all and be-all of theater or in order to impose an exclusive style on theater. "This self-restriction does not come from a feeling of resignation, but from the realization that by intensifying our work in such a limited area...we /can/ give freer rein to imagination, invention, and technical execution."[25] He often said that it was important only that someone, somewhere, was working in this direction.

This is a most important point inasmuch as Schlemmer was roundly criticized in his own time, and subsequently by misinformed historians, for seeking to create a purely visual theater, in which language or speech in any ordinary sense was eliminated. Schreyer, the first director of the-

---

24. From "Bühnenbild und Bühnenelemente," 1931; translated here as essay No. 10.
25. From "Bühne," 1927; see the bibliography, part II.

ater at the Bauhaus (1921-1923), was one of the leading "purist" Expressionist in the German theater, and was one of the earliest proponents of Expressionism through his association with Herwarth Walden's Sturm circle in Berlin. He literally brought his Expressionist work to the Bauhaus by performing his own dramatic works. Since Schreyer's own emphasis was on literary experiments, his work was no doubt doomed to fail in the Bauhaus, which was after all a school of arts and crafts. Schreyer resigned from the Bauhaus during preparations for one of his theater compositions ("Mondspiel") for the first major exhibition of the Bauhaus, to be held in the summer of 1923. The play, by all accounts, was very badly received within the Bauhaus community. It was at this point that Schlemmer took over direction of theater, and almost certainly the failure of Schreyer's literary experiments was important in Schlemmer's decision to concentrate on the visual elements of theater in the Bauhaus workshop.

Almost immediately after he took over, Schlemmer wrote: "The future development of the Bauhaus stage lies in darkness.... Literary theater is avoided almost on principle; therefore formal matters. Mobility, portable backdrops. Mechanical effects, lighting. At the very most dance, which naturally suits the craftsmanship-oriented Bauhaus students better than acting. I regret that somewhat. The poem of the

times still slumbers. The poets have failed us."[26]

Before turning to the original question of how the "space-dance" was to be realized, we should know something else about Schlemmer. He acknowledged three modern challenges (he called them "emblems of our time"): abstraction, mechanization, and the impact of new technology. "Abstraction functions, on the one hand, to disconnect components from an existing and persisting whole, either to lead them individually ad absurdum or to elevate them to their greatest potential. Or it can result in generalization and summation, in the construction in bold outline of a new totality." As for mechanization, "everything which can be mechanized is mechanized. The result: our recognition of that which can not be mechanized."[27] In one sense the most important challenge for Schlemmer was the artistic potential of the new technology (not only inventions, but also new materials and the expanded potential of older materials).

> When we consider the possibilities created by today's extraordinary technological progress--as represented

---

26. Interestingly, Schlemmer regarded Ernst Barlach as "the best modern dramatist we know" (Letters, p. 186, dated mid-December 1925). Barlach was, and is today, world-famous as a sculptor; he was considered by many of his German Expressionist contemporaries as their master. At the same time, however, Barlach gained considerable attention in Germany as a playwright and novelist, and all of his plays were produced there soon after they were written. (For an English translation of three of Barlach's plays, see Three Plays by Ernst Barlach, University of Minnesota Press, 1964.)

27. From "Man and Art Figure."

> for example by precision machinery, scientific equipment of glass and metal, artificial limbs, fantastic diving suits, and military equipment of today--and if we imagine these things that now serve the utilitarian ends of an ingenious, materialistic age being given over to the ever so irrational, purposeless realm of artistic creativity, we would see things that would make the visions of E.T.A. Hoffmann or the Middle Ages look like child's play.[28]

If one were entirely skeptical of Schlemmer's theoretical explanations of his theatrical work--and there have been no lack of skeptical critics--it would have to be admitted that this eagerness to explore materials, this playfulness, is authentic in the artist, and in large part it accounts for Schlemmer's most notorious creations: his "biomechanical" costumes. It is just these costumes that are the means of realizing the "space-dances."

Certainly, these fantastic costumes, by now quite well known through photographs (see the illustrations included with the articles), are in one sense an end in themselves, inasmuch as they are visual creations. But they are designed <u>for</u> something, which is to say they have a function. The importance of these costumes comes not from their "modern look" (spheres, cubes, spirals, triangles, etc.)--a significance often imputed to them by hostile critics--but from Schlemmer's perception of the centrality of the <u>actor</u> (but not the art of acting!) in the theater; the quintessential relation of man (actor) to space (stage); and the desire of Schlemmer to create a new ideal figure for a new age char-

---

28. From "Tänzerische Mathematik."

acterized by mechanization. I should not fail to stress the latter, since Schlemmer's visual "style" has easily led to widespread belief that he moved in the direction of a regimented and limited concept of man. Quite the contrary, for his repeated intention was to reconstitute timeless, universal, metaphysical Man, and this became by his own admission his "highest, ultimate task." Because he persisted in focusing on "man as the measure of all things" while pursuing the new frontiers of art, he retained a classic approach--however jarring this statement may seem in view of the actual appearance of his stage costumes.

While the costume plays a significant role in Asian theater in general, and in Japanese and Chinese theaters in particular, the costume is largely decorative in the European tradition (in fact, we usually refer to "costuming"). What is extraordinary in Schlemmer's theater the ascendancy of the costume as a principle element.

> The history of the theater is the history of the transfiguration of the human form. It is the history of man as the actor of physical and spiritual events, ranging from naivete to reflection, from naturalness to artifice.... The transformation of the human body, its metamorphosis, is made possible by the costume, the disguise.[29]

> The following experiment serves to illustrate the idea and nature of costume: a well-proportioned figure in white tights is given a red glove for the right hand. At once this becomes accentuation, not only optically but also as an emotional factor: the equilibrium of body and spirit is displaced.

---

29. From "Man and Art Figure."

> A green stocking on the opposite leg gives a new accentuation, being on a definite line of axis to the red glove, and causes new complications. This procedure, asymmetrical here, can be continued at length in any way, continuing step by step to total disguise of the figure's frame. Yet he maintains his character throughout all of these materials. For it is true that we are all "costumed," more or less "disguised" and clad with special attributes....
>
> In view of these mundane illustrations, I would like to head off the possible misunderstanding that any clothing becomes stage costume the moment it is worn on stage. It is odd to learn that the number of true stage costumes is extraordinarily limited. The only costumes developed out of the spirit of the stage, out of showmanship, out of the spirit of the body are--until today--those of the old Italian commedia dell'arte, those of Pierrot, Columbine, Arlecchino, etc. We have accustomed ourselves to think of historical and exotic costumes, in truth stage "dress," as theatrical costumes. Even if these are exaggerated for the purposes of the stage--the forms more drastic, the colors more lively--this does not satisfy the requirements put to the primary stage costume.
>
> What is this primary thing? It is the human body and its laws, and it is the elements of form and color.
>
> If we look at individual man in all the detail of his skeleton and musculature, the best-developed representative of which we shall characterize as "naturally beautiful," and if we compare him to the "artistically beautiful" man, e.g., in a Greek sculpture, the difference is clear and the need understandable for transforming man on the stage in the way of the art figure, depersonalizing and raising him to the typical. Standardization, the uni-form, the norm (as normal) can therefore be a primary requirement of costume.[30]

In the "absolute visual stage" such an actor-figure can best be realized in the Übermarionette suggested by Heinrich von Kleist (Ueber das Marionetten Theater, 1810)[31] and

---

30. From "Bühnenelemente."

31. An English translation appears in The Drama Review, T-55, September 1972.

other German Romantics, and again by Edward Gordon Craig (The Actor and the Uebermarionette, 1908). Craig's influence was of course as pervasive among the German avant-garde as elsewhere, and his work (along with the similar work of Meyerhold and Tairov in Russia) was well known to Schlemmer.[32] The influence of Kleist's little essay is less well known, but is explained in part by the persistent tradition of Romanticism in Germany.[33] It is also due to a sudden widespread interest during the first decades of the century in the sophisticated aesthetic possibilities of the marionette theater, an interest that found different expression throughout Europe (among the Italian futurists, the Russian constructivists, the early French surrealists, etc.), but which was everywhere tied to the idea of the mask. I shall not digress to discuss at length the real concerns of Kleist and Craig in their respective essays other than to say that they have to do with certain limitations of natural man (as actor or dancer) only with respect to style--that is, art--the limitations being reflectiveness and affectation. For Kleist the marionette

---

32. Meyerhold's direct influence in Germany was through the work of Piscator. Tairov's Notes of a Director (Moscow, 1921) was published in Germany in 1923 as Das entfesselte Theater (The Liberated Stage), and gave the German avant-garde its slogan. Schlemmer worked directly with Piscator on many occasions and was even invited by Piscator to join his theater in 1925. Schlemmer saw some of Tairov's productions on tour in Berlin in the spring of 1925 (see Letters, dated April 1925).

33. The premier of Schlemmer's "Triadic Ballet" (Stuttgart, 1921) was preceded by a recitation of Kleist's essay.

represents strict control over the body (intuition), for Craig "the mask," and for Schlemmer both of these.

It is important to bear this in mind with regard to Schlemmer's work, not only because his work is not fanatically directed toward the single goal of "mechanization" of the actor, but also because, more generally, there is often a strong tendency in writing history to draw superficial conclusions about "influences" and "similarities." Again, for this reason, I would not minimize the influence of Meyerhold's art on Schlemmer's ideas, but Schlemmer's "space-dances" are far removed from the athleticism, even restlessness, of Meyerhold's productions. While it is true that both men advocated "biomechanics," the word, i , the technique, has a very different meaning in the context of the works of both men. Schlemmer wished to avoid the "truly mechanical" except in the "absolute visual stage" (which he created only once, in his "Figural Kabinett"). In this extreme form of visual theater man is banned not only from the stage but also from the question of "meaning." For Schlemmer, the "truly mechanical" includes gymnastics and acrobatics, an important feature of Meyerhold's performance concept.

Thus Schlemmer's characteristic costumes and his costume-dances--actually, dances <u>of</u> costume--are not attempts to glorify the mechanics of the body, but to intensify the inherent mechanism of the body to such a degree that, in the dance itself, the "flesh and blood" of man is revealed. The

costume, the mask in its literal sense, is thus a necessary theatrical element. Costume, in the larger sense, does not become theatrical (nor does it per se constitute theater, as some critics of Schlemmer have charged); instead, the theater imposes certain requirements on the appearance and movement of man by virtue of its being a spatial art, and the costume is the means by which these requirements are met.

According to Schlemmer the theater affor[illegible]wo possibilities for unrestricted visual imagination: [illegible]ra and dance. The drama is limited only because [illegible]aywrights are psychologically overwhelmed by existing physical conventions of the theater.[34] Schlemmer's own experiments took the form of dance (not the least because he was himself a dancer), while his designs for the professional stage were either for opera or progressive producers, e.g., the Berlin Volksbühne.[35] This work for the professional stage was considered an artistic risk:

> When I look back on my own design work, it is not always with pleasant memories. The most pleasant are

34. Accordingly, and because for Schlemmer the theater was above all the art of space, he considered the architecture of the playhouse of paramount importance. Schlemmer's concern for creating the greatest flexibility in new structures was almost universal in the avant-garde theater of the early twentieth century. A great number of designs for "space theaters" were to be found at all the major European theater exhibitions in the 1920s and 1930s.

35. In many respects the opera was the most experimental form of theater in the German theater between the wars. This was due in large part to the fact that the New Music, the postmodern composers, found in the opera a particularly amenable form for the new musical ideas.

> the two Hindemith-operas, Murder, Hope of Women and Nusch-Nuschi done at Stuttgart in 1921. I was allowed complete freedom in the scene design and even participated in the directing. This necessity, which directors most often do not or only unwillingly permit, later proved even more crucial with the Breslau production of Stravinsky's Reynard the Fox (1929), which I both designed and directed, and which I count among my most finished work. Everything else was compromise....[36]

This compromise was not only in the material resource available for realizing a design, but, more important, in the tradition in the theater of limiting the designer to "design." Schlemmer's design concept was never merely visual; it also included the detailed behavior of the actor in his "space" (both set and costume). And in opera production Schlemmer encountered the added difficulty of the common practice of forcing singers into "good acting."

> It should be as artificial as possible! It should acknowledge what in fact it is: an abstraction and a primarily formalized, aesthetic action.... It is--only from the standpoint of style--completely erroneous to demand of the singer that he behave "naturally" in the sense of the dramatic actor. Singing forces him into a very definite mode of behavior.... The often disjointed, comical movements of the singer, insofar as they are not really just ineptitude, come from the effort to unite vocal power with histrionic movement, the latter being derived and determined by the primary element, the singing.[37]

It is beyond the scope of this work to offer some concrete description of the experimental dance works conceived and performed in the Bauhaus, or to discuss in detail the theory and technique of experimentation associated with these works. (In any case, a detailed treatment of the performances

36. From "Bühnenbild und Bühnenelemente."
37. From "Alte Oper--Neue Oper," 1930; translated here as essay No. 9.

of the Bauhaus theater and the professional productions designed by Schlemmer is not possible without the recovery and study of more materials than are presently available.) Nevertheless, Bavaria Atelier of Munich has produced a color film of recreations of several of Schlemmer's short experimental dances (Mensch und Kunstfigur, 1968), and a full-length recreation of Schlemmer's most complete work, The Triadic Ballet (1970).[38]

I need hardly caution dancers on the distortions inherent in dance recreations, but it is also necessary to approach these films (particularly the selected short dances) with some knowledge of Schlemmer's intentions and to bear in mind that these works are in part intentionally didactic.

Schlemmer's work never found its c on. He was one of the first artists banned by the Na as "degenerate" (entartige) in 1933. He was fortunate to find rk experimenting with lacquer paints in a factory owned by a sympathetic friend, and died in 1943 at the age of 55. It was with no sense of resignation or self-defeat, but rather self-confidence and optimism, that he felt there were "only

---

38. Bavaria Atelier, GMBH, 8022 Geiselgasteig, Bavaria-Film-Platz 7. It may also be possible to obtain these films through a German co l, as I did in Edmonton in 1970. The "Triadic Ballet" is considered Schlemmer's most complete theatrical work--considering the experimental nature of all his theater creations--because it was begun in 1912 and revised continuously for performance up to 1932.

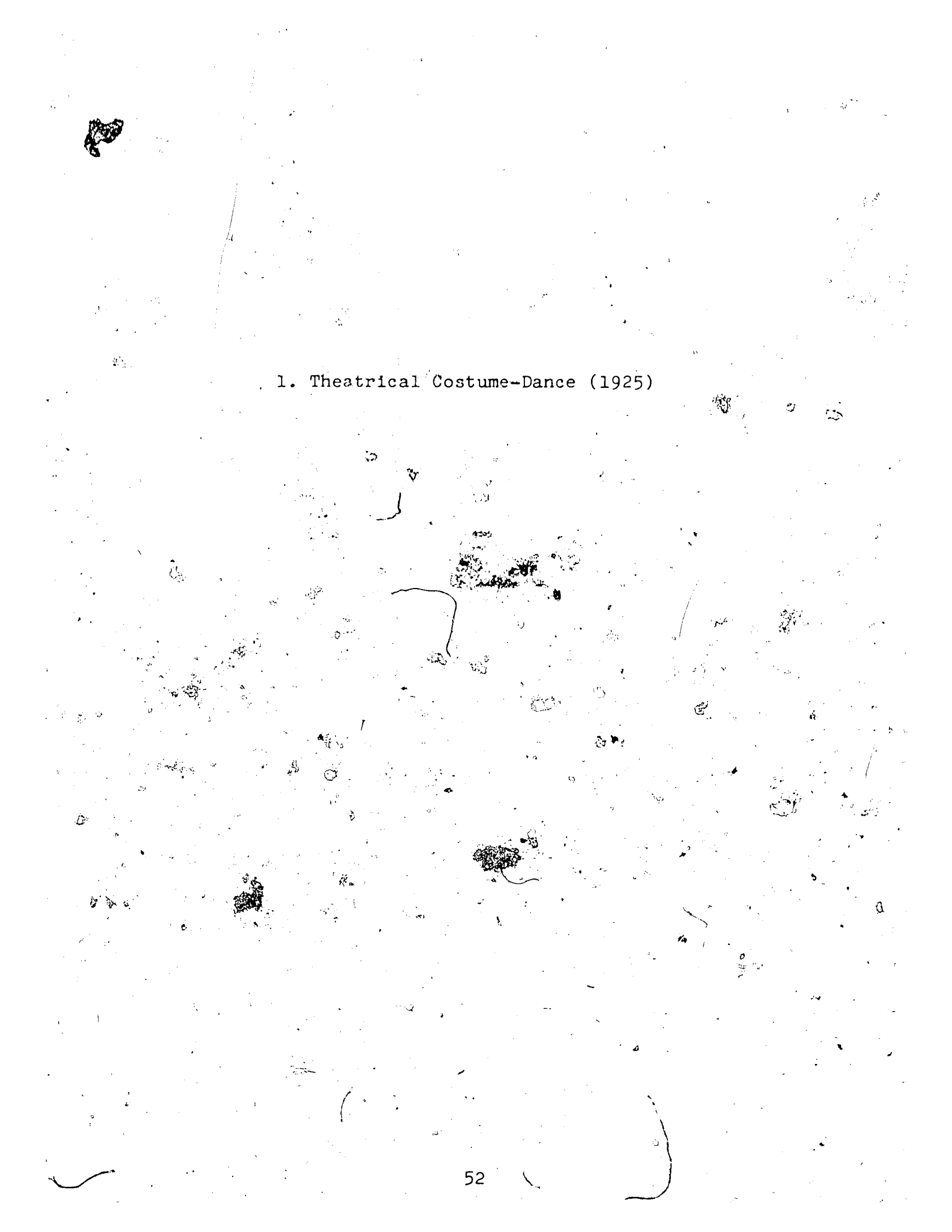
three possibilities for the artist in the theater today."

> He may seek realization within the confines of the given situation....
>
> Or he may seek realization under conditions of the greatest possible freedom..., in ballet, pantomime, musical theater, and the like.
>
> OR HE MAY ISOLATE HIMSELF ALTOGETHER FROM THE EXISTING THEATER and cast his anchor far out into the sea of fantasy and distant possibilities. In this case his projects remain paper and model, materials for demonstration lectures and exhibitions of theater art. His plans founder on the impossibility of materialization. In the final analysis this is unimportant to him. His idea has been demonstrated, and its REALIZATION IS A QUESTION OF TIME, MATERIAL, AND TECHNOLOGY. The realization will come with the construction of the new theater....[39]

---

39. From "Man and Art Figure."

1. Theatrical Costume-Dance (1925)



The Theatrical Costume-Dance

Three c rses on all writing on creativity and creative wo k, which the quibbling mind feels compelled to dissect. F r the danger is that confusion will be created where c r existed through creative form; the most valuable, is, the directness of the visible, has to be transp sed nto the inadequate means of the alphabet, the direct way of action has to be replaced by the indirect way of description. Thus does the schoolboy's ABCs become the X of misunderstanding. The words of the mystic Suso[1] should be emblazoned on the banner of art: "If a man does not grasp a thing, if he tarries, surely the thing will grasp him."

What is there to say, then, about more or less novel, more or less unusual dance costumes like those created for the "Triadic Ballet"? In the first place, what has been created for movement, what is effective because of its material and color under stage lights, cannot be communicated through the rigidity and monotony of the printed word. Perhaps film might communicate at least one aspect: the movement. But here again, the three-dimensional picture--the next stage of development in film--would communicate the

---

From Europa Almanach, Potsdam: 1925.

1. Heinrich Suso (ca. 1300-1366). Rhineland mystic.

dimensions of space and corporeality better than the two-dimensional plane presently available with film.

Not even today's theater is adequate for a perfect presentation of dance. The different seating and the various sight lines permit only a small group the ideal view. The spectator in the orchestra sees what happens on the stage in relief; he doesn't see the geometry of the dance-floor plane, so crucial to the dance, the choreographic lineation in which the dance is realized. The gallery spectator sees the floor, but must put up with a shortening of the figures on stage. A raked stage, which might seem to be a solution, creates new conditions, but also new difficulties for the dancers, and without giving all spectators the desirable total picture.

Nevertheless, the dance is an element of theater, one which is rightfully being accorded increased significance today. Along with and parallel to the pure dance of the body--whose ideal form would be nude--among today's various trends is the theatrical costume-dance. The nature of this dance, like that of the true theater, is the visible transformation of the human form [Gestalt].

Since the dance is a matter of the body as well as of space, and movement in space, the structural principles of these factors are decisive in the metamorphosis of the dancer through costume. These principles are inherent in the body-as-organism, which is conditioned by pulse, circu-

lation, breathing, brain and nervous activity, just as the body-as-mechanism is conditioned by proportion, articulation, stress-potential, gait, and spring. They are further found in the organism space, which is conditioned by height, breadth, and depth, and they are inherent in the body's movement, which occurs within these spatial relations.

Accordingly, costume can be developed out of the inner organism, which is the body, and thus visibly express the invisible--the metaphysical anatomy; or it can be derived from the external appearance of the body's configuration and its individual characteristics, and, by refining the accidental and elevating it to the typical, realize and present that appearance. Costume can also be designed following the principles of space, and--space in space--itself become a spatial structure. Or it can be derived from and developed according to movement--- the elements of movement of either the biological-organic world or the technical-mechanical world.

Costume design can be based on one set of these principles as well as on some combination or synthesis of several. After all, these are nothing more than a complex of variations of different principles and fundamentals that form the basis for design.

Once we recognize that instead of the limited fabrics presently used in costume--especially the inevitable gauze

or veil!--there are new possibilities in materials: stiff papier-mâché forms, metals, e.g., aluminum, as well as rubber, celluloid, pliable and unbreakable glass--the whole arsenal of materials heretofore known and used only in industry and science; once we consider further how the entire machinery of the stage might be made to serve dynamic-constructive, genuinely "objective" effects rather than naturalistic-illusionistic ends; then we shall be able to see how the theatrical costume-dance--and not only it, but the whole theater--might achieve a new, unique, and autonomous form.

Individually or together--depending on idea, style, or technique--the elements of design [Gestaltungselemente][2]

---

2. Generally, the term "Gestaltung" will not be translated here, and is so only when the emphasis is clearly "designing." The word denotes a process rather than a product, so that the translation "design" has the connotation of "designing," as it does in English in certain contexts. The full name of the Bauhaus was "Bauhaus: Hochschule für Gestaltung." Commenting on the name, Lux Feininger writes: "...the term 'Gestaltung' is old, meaningful and so nearly untranslatable that it has found its way into English usage. Beyond the significance of shaping, forming, thinking through, it has the flavor underlining the totality of such fashioning, whether of an artifact or of an idea. It forbids the nebulous and the diffuse. In its fullest philosophical meaning it expresses the Platonic eidolon, the Urbild, the pre-existing form. The feeling for the close neighborhood of pure thought and concrete substance is essentially German" (Criticism, II, 3 p. 261). Haftmann (1961, p. 199) writes: "The fundamental concept /in de Stijl/ was that of Gestaltung---formation, form-giving, plasticism. Outside nature was regarded as the paradigm of the formless, the vague, the arbitrary, the indefinite. Gestaltung on the other hand was synonymous with the order man imposed on nature. Culture in all its aspects was equated with independence from nature. 'By destroying the natural proportions, the artist brings out the elementary proportions' (Doesburg). With these elements he could create a harmony which imposed a spiritual order on the world and life, and expressed this order."

can be defined through

the abstract-formal and chromatic[3]

the static, dynamic, and tectonic

the mechanical, automatic, and electric

the gymnastic, acrobatic, and equilibristic

the comic, grotesque, and burlesque

the serious, solemn, and monumental

the political, philosophical, and metaphysical

In the chaos of today's theater, confused by conflicting demands and shaken to its foundations by economic, technical, and artistic revolutions, the once thriving but now frail theatrical dance--called simply ballet--may be the germ of regeneration. It allows whatever is novel to sink into the audience gently--disguised, unprepossessing, and discreet, it says nothing but only means. Grounded in music, which is similarly [illegible]ferential in nature, the dance represents the infancy of theater. Actually, both opera and drama developed out of it. Yet it is not a question of retrogression, but of the rediscovery of primordial elements and their rejuvenating power.

---

3. "Das Abstrakt-Formal und Farbige." Schlemmer uses the term "farbige" in the sense of "that which makes use of color." The phrase here is a restatement of a concept used throughout Schlemmer's writings on painting and theater: "farbig-formal," which is practically impossible to translate directly into English. The concept is that of creating form through color, either alone or as the principal element. Undoubtedly Schlemmer derived this thinking from his teacher, Adolf Hoetzel (see his Gedanken und Lehren, 1933), who spent his entire career working on a "harmonics of colored forms."

2. The Theater and the Bauhaus (1926)

The Theater and the Bauhaus

The efforts at the Bauhaus to integrate the artistic idea with craftsmanship (the technical and the practical) in way of investigating the elements of design--these endeavours being directed in concert toward architecture--naturally have their effect in the field of theater. The theater is after all an architectonic system, completely ordered and planned, and is the showplace for form and color at their liveliest and most versatile.

The theater was present in the first days of the Bauhaus because from the very first there was pleasure in creating. This was expressed at first in festivals (the lantern festival, kite festival), in making masks and costumes, and decorating rooms. And it was expressed in dancing, dancing, dancing. From Rüpeltanz to tap-dancing, the dance produced music, from concertina to jazz band.

Social dancing led to solo dancing, and its reflection on the stage: color forms [das farbig-formal], the mechanical ballet. Inspiration, whim, and a delight in the primitive evolved into parodies of existing theater, opera, drama, circus, and variety shows. This kind of travesty leads to positive results: an understanding of the origins of all theatrical play, its conditions and laws. We are

---

"Bühne und Bauhaus," from Druck und Werbekunst, No. 7, 1926.

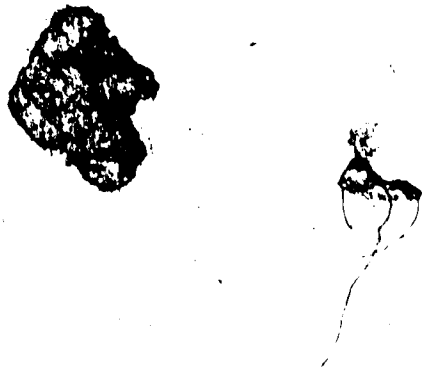
shattering conventional forms when they seem brittle and experimenting with new forms.

Where can we succeed in this?

In the areas that are unique to us, with the means that are unique to us, by giving to the eye what belongs to it: the visual, the show, the elements of which are form, color, light, space, and movement.

The intrinsic laws of these elements, the mathematically precise as well as the ineffable metaphysical laws, will aid us, the more we research them, in understanding related and complementary elements, such as speech, the word, tone, and harmony.

Our work should be devoted to experimentation, for which in the operation of today's commercial theater there is neither the time nor the leisure. At the moment we want to keep this work from the hustle and curiosity of the public. When in our opinion something has a positive value and has taken shape, then it will no longer be kept from the public.



3. Dancing Mathematics (1926)

Dancing Mathematics

No more moaning about mechanization! Take pleasure in mathematics! Not the kind sweated over by schoolboys, but the artistic, metaphysical mathematics that necessarily shows itself wherever, as in art, feeling becomes form, where the unconscious and subconscious evolve into the clarity of consciousness. "Mathematics is religion" (Novalis), because it is the ultimate, the most artful, and most delicate. There is a danger only where it kills feeling and nips the unconscious in the bud. It is therefore not academic conceit but artistic wisdom. If today's artists are fond of the machine, technology, and organization, if they want precision instead of vagueness, it is only to be spared chaos and because of a longing for form [Gestalt]. And if they turn to the classic rather than the immediate past in art, it is only because they have a deep respect for form and principle. If Stravinsky turns to Bach and Pergolesi, or Busoni to Mozart, or if in painting there is a general return to the objective, it is only an acknowledgement of safe ground--tradition. If excess leads to "the palace of wisdom," so also the frequently bold excursions of innovators to the frontiers of art and beyond lead from a suspension between heaven and earth to the firm footing of facts.

"Tänzerische Mathematik," from vivos voco, Aug/Sept 1926; this is a version of a previously published essay of the same title in Musikblätter des Anbruch, March/April 1926.

Flake's definition of the state of contemporary art, at least in that part concerned with a "constraint of the metaphysical," hits the nail on the head.[1] Restraints of this kind have names: Form, Gestalt, Principle, Mathematics.

The same holds true for the special field of dance: Undoubtedly, one example of classical, that is to say strictly formal, art is becoming extinct with the fading away of traditional ballet. The strict training, the choreography developed over centuries, the "freedom under law," all of these still have the power to fascinate us in their most artful flowering. The full-blooded Russian genius for dance was most happily combined with the French tradition, leading to the last triumphs. Then chaos: pedantry along with expressionistic ecstasy, the saccharine and cute along with heroic garbage. We should not, however, sneer at whatever is valuable. The work of Dalcroze, organized by Laban and intensified by Mary Wigman, is valuable.[2] But is the

---

1. Otto Flake (1880-1963). German novelist and essayist and friend of the dancer Mary Wigman. Schlemmer probably refers to Flake's essays on culture, Zum guten Europäer (1924).
2. Emile Jaques-Dalcroze (1865-1950). Swiss educator and composer. Developed system of eurhythmics, a system of musical training through harmonious body movements. The method begins with a set of gymnastics in response to music, leading to student improvisation of entire works of music. This system greatly influenced dancing and acting.
Rudolf Laban (1879-1958). Developed a notation system (sometimes known as "Labanotation"), based principally on Dalcroze's eurhythmics and Delsarte's action-mime (see Labanotation, Ann Hutchison, New York (New Directions): 1954; rev. ed., London: 1970). Laban's first book, Choreographie (Jena, 1926), was an historical study of the problem of notation.
(note continued)

Negro jazz artist, the professional tap dancer, and the circus acrobat then without any value? The question is: artist or artiste? Ethics or aesthetics? What standards shall prevail during the spectacle of a changeover in values? Is an elite minority of intellectuals to prevail, or the masses, who have long since opted for amusement--wherever it is to be found!

The conclusions I leave simply to critical psychology. Creative individuals who find a way that springs from an inner necessity should follow that path. For my part, I advocate the biomechanical, the mathematical dance. And I further advocate beginning with the 1-2-3s and ABCs because I find in simplicity a power in which every significant innovation is rooted. Simplicity, understood as the elementary and typical, from which diversity and the particular develop organically; simplicity, understood as the tabula rasa, the clean sweep of all eclectic byproducts of all styles and periods--simplicity should guarantee a path to the future. And it is guaranteed if the bearer of the

---

Mary Wigman (1886-1967?). German dancer and choreographer; along with Laban, she studied under Dalcroze. She collaborated with Laban over many years, and the two are generally regarded as the cofounders of modern dance in Europe. Her own style was quite angular and she believed that dance movement must evolve from emotion (see The Shapes of Space: The Art of Mary Wigman and Oskar Schlemmer, Ernst Scheyer, no. 41 in the monograph series Dance Perspectives, Spring 1970).

idea of the dance is an emotional entity, a human being.

Man is an organism of flesh and blood as well as a mechanism of dimension and mass. He is made up of feeling and intellect and many other dualities. He is all of these in one, and is much more capable of continuously reconciling this polar duality within himself than in abstract artistic images outside himself. Inasmuch as the unconscious-emotional is so to speak self-understood, and since its negative aspect, a fumbling around in the fog, is quite [illegible] value (because it conceals much and allows many interpretations), therefore a cultivation of mathematics in dance is in order, if for no other reason than for the sake of balance.

I have in mind dance creations derived from spatiality, from the feeling for space. Space--like architecture, a construct of dimension and proportion, an abstraction in the sense of a contradiction (if not a protest) against nature--space, in the sense that it influences everything within it, also defines the behavior of the dancer. A stereometry of space grows almost directly from the geometry of the stage floor, from the sequence of straight lines, diagonals, circles, and curves, through the vertical of the moving figure of the dancer. If we were to fill up space with a soft pliable substance, in which stages of the dancer's movement were to harden into "negatives" of the movement, this would demonstrate the direct relationship of the planimetry of the stage floor to the stereometry of

space. The body itself can demonstrate its mathematics by simply liberating its own mechanics--the realm of gymnastics and acrobatics. Aids such as poles (the horizontal balancing pole) or stilts (the vertical element), the "extension poles of the instruments of motion," bring to life the reticular-linear face of space--spherical, conical, and cylindrical forms bring to life its three-dimensional or plastic nature. The way to the spatial "costume," freed of all sentimentality of style, is called objectivity [Sachlichkeit] or Gestaltung or style in the modern absolutist sense.

When we consider the possibilities created by today's extraordinary technological progress--as represented for example in the precision machinery, scientific equipment of glass and metal, artificial limbs, fantastic diving suits, and military equipment of today--and if we imagine these things that now serve the utilitarian ends of an ingenious, materialistic age being given over to the ever so irrational, purposeless realm of artistic creativity, we would see things that would make the visions of E.T.A. Hoffmann or the Middle Ages look like child's play.

Our own sober and practical age leaves no time for play, or has lost the very idea. Whatever need is felt is met with increasingly superficial and trite amusements. In this time of deteriorating religion and communitas, in an age that destroys nobleness, that is capable of play only if it is virulently erotic or excessively "artistic," all profound

artistic movements incur the odium of sectarianism or exclusiveness. It is both reasonable and necessary that the art of any new age make use of the technology and invented materials of a new age, in order to fashion them into form and vessel for a substance called the spiritual, the abstract, the metaphysical, or in the last analysis, the religious.

As a start in this direction, the "Triadic Ballet" was developed. Conceived in 1912, presented in part in 1915, paralyzed during the war and first fully performed in 1922, it is being revived in a new staging at this year's Chamber Music Festival in Donaueschingen (July 25, 1926) with music for a mechanical organ by Paul Hindemith. "Triadic" (from triad) because of the trio of dancers and the three-part symphonic-architectonic structure of the whole, and the unity of dance, costume, and music [see Figure 1]. Its uniqueness is the color-formal [farbig-formal] spatial costume, the human figure adorned by elementary mathematical shapes and the corresponding movement in space [see Figures 2-4]. The "Triadic Ballet," which avoids the truly mechanical, the truly grotesque and solemn-heroic, because a certain harmonious mean prevails, is part of a larger planned whole--a "Metaphysical Revue"--to which the theoretical and practical work of the theater department of the Bauhaus in Dessau is also related, and for which our immediate desire and intention is to create a comic-grotesque ballet.

Württ. Landestheater in Stuttgart

(Kleines Haus)

Samstag, den 30. September 1922

17. Vorstellung außer Miete.

ZUM ERSTEN MAL

URAUFFÜHRUNG

DAS TRIADISCHE BALLETT

(BURGER — HÖTZEL — SCHLEMMER)

TÄNZERIN (ELSA HÖTZEL)
ERSTER TÄNZER (ALBERT BURGER)
ZWEITER TÄNZER (WALTER SCHOPPE)

TANZGESTALTUNG UND FIGURINEN:
OSKAR SCHLEMMER

ZUR EINFÜHRUNG:
ÜBER DAS MARIONETTENTHEATER
VON HEINRICH VON KLEIST
GESPROCHEN VON KURT JUNKER

REIHENFOLGE

ERSTE (GELBE) REIHE

1. EINTANZ — TÄNZERIN — [illegible]
2. ZWEITANZ — TÄNZERIN, ZWEITER TÄNZER — [illegible]
3. ZWEITANZ — TÄNZERIN, ERSTER TÄNZER — [illegible]
4. EINTANZ — ZWEITER TÄNZER — [illegible]
5. EINTANZ — ERSTER TÄNZER — DEBUSSY

ZWEITE (ROSA) REIHE

6. EINTANZ — TÄNZERIN — HAYDN
7. ZWEITANZ — TÄNZERIN, ERSTER TÄNZER — MOZART
8. DREITANZ — TÄNZERIN, ERSTER TÄNZER, ZWEITER TÄNZER — MOZART

DRITTE (SCHWARZE) REIHE

9. EINTANZ — ZWEITER TÄNZER — HAYDN
10. EINTANZ — TÄNZERIN — PARADIES
11. ZWEITANZ — ERSTER TÄNZER, ZWEITER TÄNZER — GALUPPI
12. DREITANZ — TÄNZERIN, ERSTER TÄNZER, ZWEITER TÄNZER — HÄNDEL

PAUSE NACH DER ZWEITEN REIHE

ERSTELLUNG DER FIGURINEN TEILS IN EIGENER TEILS IN DER BÜHNENWERKSTATT DES STAATL. BAUHAUSES WEIMAR (CARL SCHLEMMER)

Aufmachung 7½ Uhr. Anfang 8 Uhr. Ende 10 Uhr.

Figure 1. Program for the premiere of the "Triadic Ballet," September 30, 1922, Württembergische Landestheater Stuttgart. The program shows the details of performance for each of the ballet's three parts. (See Figures 2-4 for illustrations of the costumes used in each part.) The name of the second male dancer, Walter Schoppe, is a pseudonym for Oskar Schlemmer, who danced in this one performance of the ballet, although he later performed in several of his own stage works at the Bauhaus.

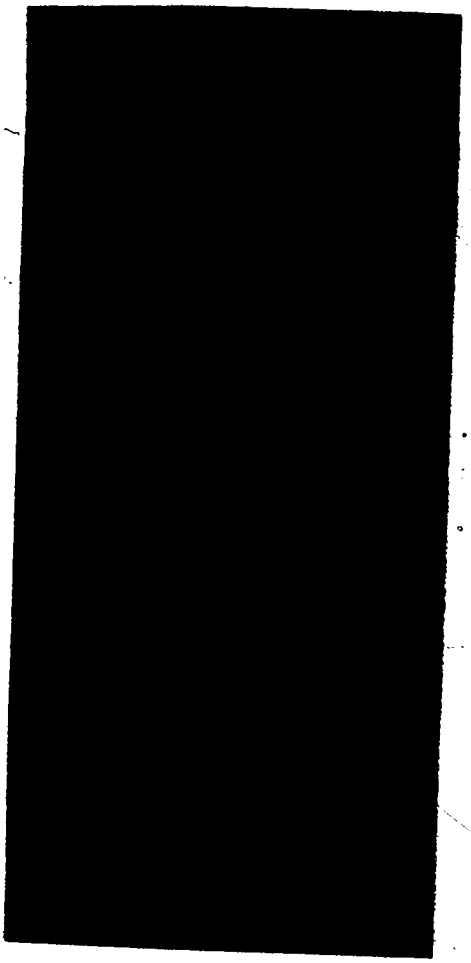


Figure 2. Schlemmer's table of costumes for part one of his "Triadic Ballet." From top to bottom, the rows show the costumes used in each successive dance in part one. For example, the first dance is a female solo, the second dance is a duet for female and male dancers, and so on. There are a total of five dances in part one. (From Schuenemanns Monatsheft, October 1928, p. 1066.)

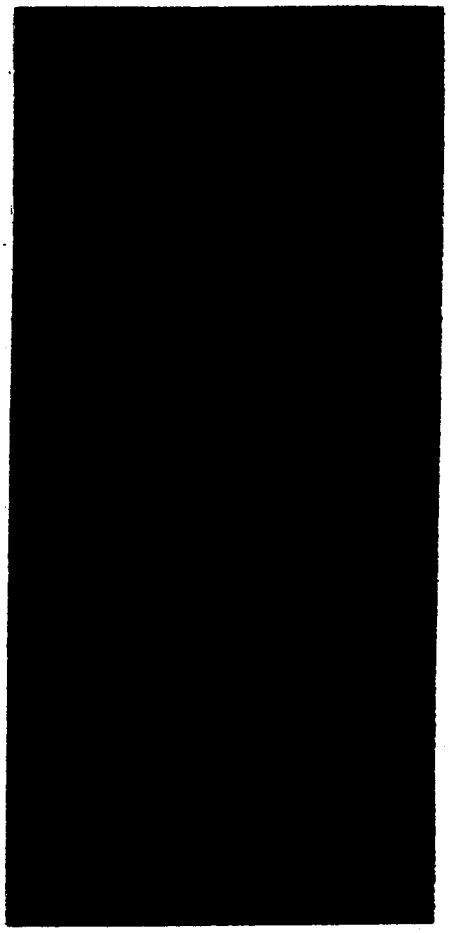


Figure 3. Table of costumes for part two of the "Triadic Ballet." The rows show the costumes for each dance in this part; there are a total of three dances. (From exhibition catalog no. 16 listed in part VI of the bibliography.)

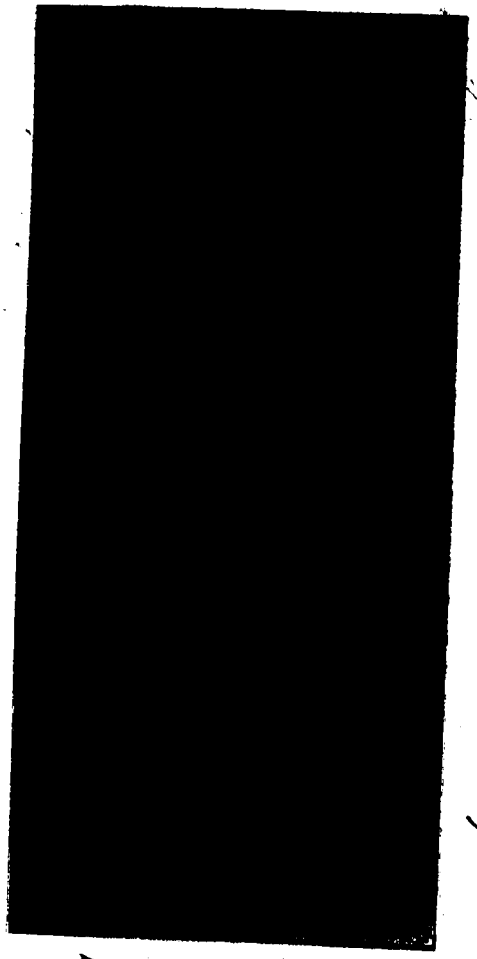


Figure 4. Table of costumes for part three of the "Triadic Ballet." The rows show the costumes for each dance in this part; there are a total of four dances. (From exhibition catalog no. 16 listed in part VI of the bibliography.)

4. The Liberated Stage (1927)

The Liberated Stage

The new playhouse is coming. It will be made of glass, steel, and concrete, and inside it will be a marvel of technical achievement, all of which will be exposed; a center for new discoveries in optics, mechanics, and acoustics.

The space-stage is coming. It will be organized into levels, with a sliding, rotating, hydraulic stage; the arsenal of spotlights and lighting effects will not be for the creation of sunlight or moonlight; the stage will not be given over to representations of forests, mountain ranges, and rooms. This theater will reveal itself in pure form, a world unto itself, not to be compared with anything; it will be a precision operation of a special kind, a laboratory of the imagination, uniting the rational and the transcendental through a unique creative power.

That which today serves advertising, commerce, and the pragmatic will serve purely artistic ends in the new theater. The theater is as much as ever a world of appearances, of illusion, of the metaphysical, and without question it will make use of the resources that an age called the technical age puts at its disposal.

Faced with such things, the writer's imagination will be fired, and he will free himself from the restrictive

---

"Der entfesselte Bühnenraum," Berliner Tageblatt, April 6, 1927.

precepts of antiquated stage conditions--the ever-present proscenium arch, the stage apron!--and the actor will do what he has always done, play-act, imitate, play with imitation.

This prospect determines all efforts toward a new theater. Experimental theaters, free of the commercialism of the official theater, must carry out preparatory work predicated on this future and directed toward it.

This effort is necessarily relative today. But in times of renewal, of the rebirth of an art form that has become questionable, it is no doubt best to remember the roots of this art, to be cognizant of the elemental means and to prune away anything that has become old and brittle.

The experimental theater of the Bauhaus in Dessau is working on a small basis with severely limited resources toward the implementation of new, current ideas that no doubt will prove useful one day.

5. A Look at Theater and Dance (1927)

A Look at Theater and Dance

The present revaluation of ideas about art, urged on by the tempo of the times, makes it necessary to put quotation marks around concepts formerly taken for granted, in order to make their relativity obvious. "Art," having been declared dead, has become a very disreputable concept in certain circles; the same for "painting" ever since the notion took hold that film and photography have dealt a deathblow to it. The "art of building" [Baukunst] has become as questionable as "architecture," ever since functionalism [Sachlichkeit] and particularly the anonymous work of constructivists [Konstrukteur] and engineers became the model. To be sure, the situation is the same with music; and it will be interesting to see whether "art" will ever again be able to show its face without quotation marks. Communism, socialism, and democracy have tried to extend political concepts to include the autonomous realm of intellectuals and artists, but despite all egalitarian tendencies it is the autocratic name that imprints itself on the mind, whether it be Lenin, Meyerhold, Chaliapin,[1] Chaplin, Grosz, or Hindemith. For example, at the Bauhaus in Dessau, an institute at the very focus of

---

"Ausblicke auf Bühne und Tanz," Melos, VI, 12 (1927), pp. 520-524.

1. Feodor Ivanovitch Chaliapin (1873-1938). Russian basso.

social as well as artistic questions, heated debates are stirred up over the concept of anonymity in production, over collective and, according to the latest terminology, cooperative work--the contribution of each and everyone to a communal anonymous work. But even the Russian model admits only conditionally this new work ethic, which, while perhaps utopian, nevertheless may possibly be reserved for us Germans to realize one day in the far future.

Because I am writing here from the standpoint of the visual artist (painter, sculptor, industrial designer), I will have to leave it to the musicians for their part to draw parallels in their own field, which I am convinced exist.

Without a doubt, the preceding generation of painters had a not insignificant part in the development of modern architecture. Constructive picture-structures and imaginative images of space existed in painting long before they became a reality in the expansive surfaces, straight lines, and visually conceived design of modern architecture. This architecture, powerfully advanced by the influx of new energies from the world of technology and engineering, is, like all architecture, the simplest and most compelling example of abstraction: austere and precisely erected form, the antithesis of nature. Following through to its logical conclusion, the last phase of abstract painting, constructivism, negated the concept of painting to merge with the

space and planes dictated by color alone, in the manner of modern architecture, or to welcome photography, films, and color projection as the fulfillment of modern requirements.

The influence of painters on scene design changed in precise correspondence to this development. Almost all forms of modern painting--cubism, futurism, expressionism, suprematism, surrealism, constructivism--have seen their reflection, sometimes even their fulfillment, on the stage. Along with the positive results, the comic is not lacking, as in for example the ambition of Diaghelev's Russian Ballet to give every prominent contemporary painter his day on stage, even so monomaniacal and esoteric a type as Utrillo, with the result that on occasion there is an extraordinary lack of connection between the set and the dance. It is the last gasp of a frivolous aestheticism to take the word "Bühnenbild" literally and transfer the painted picture to the stage.[2] The theater as a spatial art, the creative shaping of space, found its earlier expression with Tairov, probably even more so with Meyerhold, and is found in the most advanced theater we have in Germany, that of Piscator. His head designer boldly and consistently proclaims

---

2. "Buhnenbild" is a compound meaning literally "stage-picture," but in standard usage means "scenery, setting, or stage design."

the "abolition of scenery." To be sure, this abolition is relative to the existence of the "peep-show" stage, which fixes the scope and direction of viewing and whose frame always begs comparison to a picture. But Piscator's accomplished goal, to make film serve the stage, to replace painted flats with technical constructions, and, as one might expect, to make use of everything in the future that modern technology and invention may have to offer, is a formidable step forward in the development of theater-art in Germany. It will be fully completed once Gropius' Total Theater will have become a reality; once the architectural masterpiece is built that will decide theatrical style for the next ten years, a masterpiece growing out of the requirements of the director, who draws on the entire spectrum of unrealized dreams; a masterpiece growing out of the current experiments of the architect, who will be stepping into a new world with such a venture (because it involves untried new materials and methods) [see Figures 5-7].

One is tempted to cry out, For shame! that the only subject in this theater is likely to be "dreadful politics."[3] For however limited the forum is for the political theater, it is just as limited for all endeavors, beyond just the political,

---

3. "Fast möchte man sagen: schade! dass das 'politisch Lied ein garstig Lied' nur darin gesungen werden solle." Schlemmer quotes freely from Goethe's Faust, Part I, lines 2092ff: "Ein garstig Lied! Pfui! Ein politisch Lied / Ein leidig Lied!"

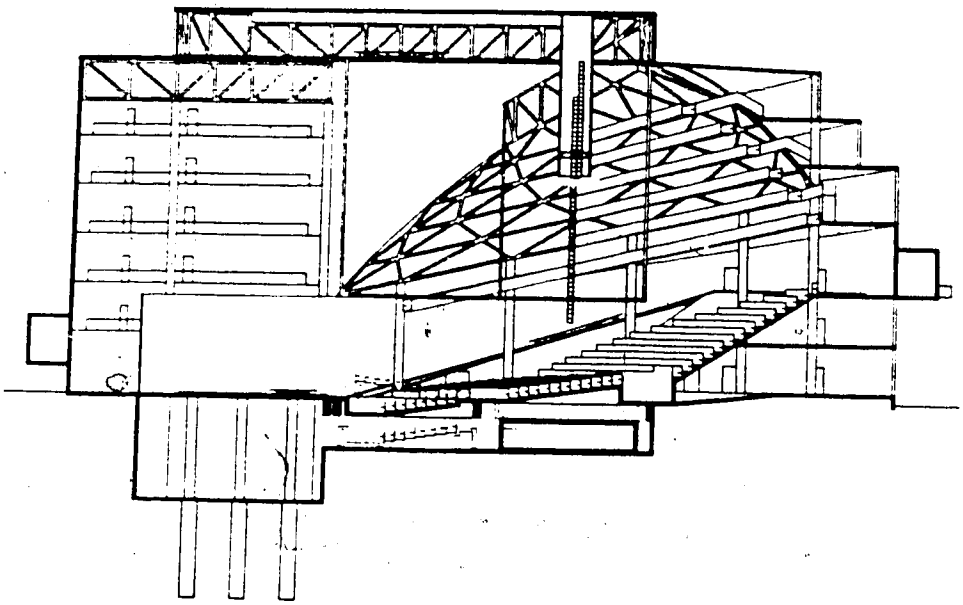


Figure 5. Section plan of Walter Gropius's "Total Theater," commissioned by Erwin Piscator for his theater in Berlin, designed in 1927, but not built. The building seats about 2,000. According to Gropius (Fondazione Alessandro Volta, 1935, p. 155): "The task of the contemporary theater architect is to create for the director a great keyboard for light and space, so objective and versatile that it never ties him down, but responds to any imaginable vision; a building that transforms and refreshes the spirit by its sheer spatial impact." (From Schlemmer and Moholy-Nagy, 1961.)

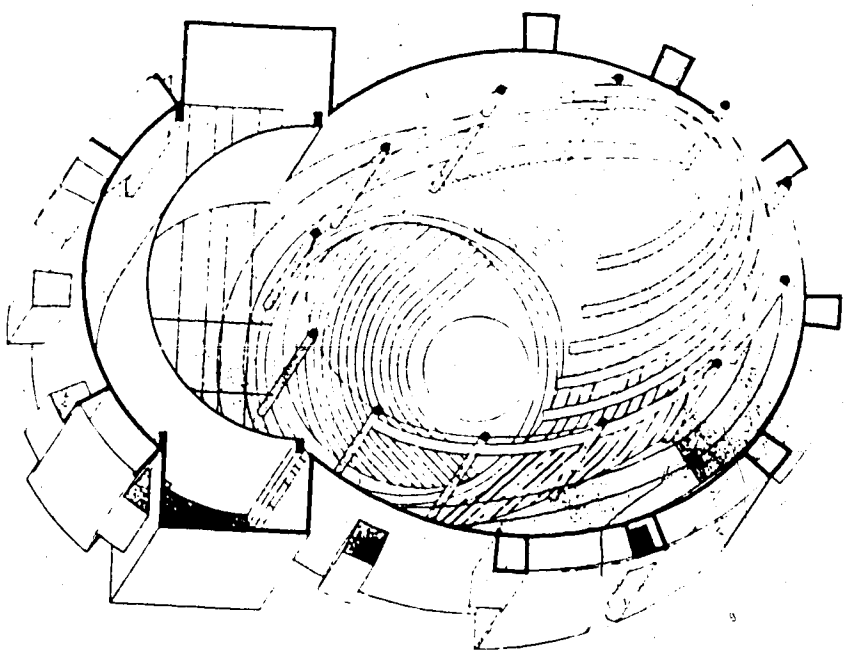


Figure 6. View into the auditorium of Gropius's "Total Theater," showing use of the center stage (see Figure 7). Twelve screens, hung between the 12 main columns supporting the structure, were to be used for projections, in conjunction with or as replacements for physical settings. (From Schlemmer and Moholy-Nagy, 1961.)

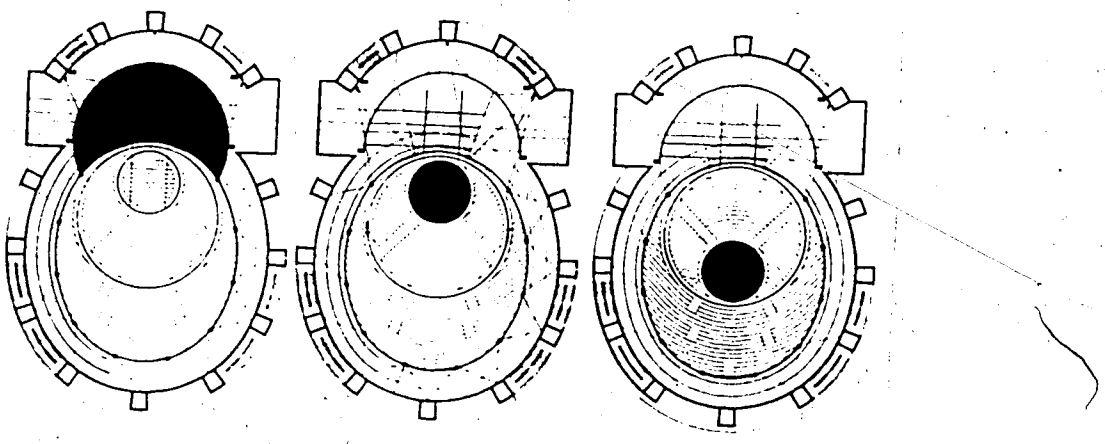


Figure 7. Plan of Gropius's "Total Theater," showing use of the deep stage (left), proscenium stage (center), and arena or center stage (right). (From Schlemmer and Moholy-Nagy, 1961.)

that are concerned in general with the creativity of the modern theater. Strictly speaking, political theater, the more it is a "moral institution," the more it is a party meeting, should be presented on a bare platform, in parallel with the Reformation, which set up the unadorned Protestant chapel in contrast to the pompous display of the collective arts in the Catholic churches. Now [in Piscator's theater] it is such that when an idea is suggested, all the achievements of modern technology and invention are mobilized in order to demonstrate the idea. This happens on such a scale and with such intensity that--oh paradox!--the idea is almost forgotten in the process. This power of the visual and the world of illusion indicates the direction of modern theater in general, the political theater being only a specialized part of the whole field of theater.

The restraints of the old aesthetic have been truly shattered; confusion reigns over aesthetic concepts, as always happens when a new order is emerging. This is not just a matter concerning form, or formalism. It concerns the resurrection of artistic means themselves; the power of the elementary, the simple; the release of the free creative urge to play [Spieltrieb], which still produces its best-quality results from the unconscious and unintentional.

Is there such a thing, for example, as political music that would be recognizable as such without explan-

ation? It is as unlikely as the existence of political colors (the red of kings and cardinals is the same as that of the flag of the revolution). Without machine rhythm [Maschinenrhythmus],[4] without the Marseillaise or Internationale, political music is unrecognizable. Has it not been abundantly demonstrated in music, this autonomous, self-sufficient art, how pure means, in conjunction with instruments and feeling, produce form; how creation is realized in strict forms, such as the symphony, suite, sonata, fugue, trio, etc? Painting has occasionally envied music for its exact crystallization of the abstract and the absolute, and during the period of expressionism painters simply transferred musical notations to their own works. Goethe once hoped that the "basso continuo of painting" might be found. But to this day there are no absolute laws in painting. There are theories of proportion, the golden circle, and there are various color theories (Schopenhauer, Goethe, Runge, Newton, Helmholtz, Ostwald), funda-

---

4. Schlemmer is undoubtedly referring to the early vogue in modern music of attempting to incorporate the "sounds" of the technological and industrial environment, as in the use of airplane propellers, phonographs, etc., in compositions. In this music rhythm is preëminent. One of the most noted composers in this style was the American George Antheil, who lived and worked in Europe. Antheil composed a "Ballet Mecanique" (1924) [illegible] which Ferdinand Leger created one of the first abstract [illegible] (of the same title). Such music was part of the "machine [illegible]manticism" that Schlemmer frequently criticized in his wri[illegible]s. This trend was most prominent among Russian artists [illegible]ticularly the constructivists) and Italian futurists and [illegible] decidedly political in nature. See note 8, page 90.

mentally divided between the scientific-systematic and artistic-emotional approaches. I don't know how far those systematic investigations aimed at discovering an equivalence between color and sound, timbre and optical color, have succeeded. I am familiar only with Fechner's experiments to determine the colors of vowels and consonants.[5] These things will probably always be left to subjective interpretation. It is tempting, for example, to designate U as blue, E as green, etc., because the letters coincide with the accented vowels in the names of the colors.

The visual artist (painter, sculptor, industrial designer) is as much his own world as the musician is his. Interchange and connections between the two fields will always be fruitful, even more so the more the painter develops an ear for listening and the musician an eye for seeing. The parallelism and divergence of both arts, the different nature of their conformity with laws, can be mutually enriching. A survey would certainly bear out the fact that there are more musical painters than painting musicians (Schoenberg is the only painter-musician I know of).

If the division between music and painting is manifest in their separate, autonomous manners of presentation--the one in the concert hall, the other in the art gallery--

---

5. Gustav Fechner (1801-1887). German physicist and philosopher; founder of psychophysics, the quantitative measurement of behavior.

their connection is established in the unifying domain of the stage and its efforts in that direction.

Beginning with abstract, two-dimensional experiments, the abstract films of Viking Eggeling are the first to come to mind; the first accomplishment in this area, the result of years of intensive effort, was presented by the Novembergruppe in Berlin, with musical accompaniment by Stefan Wolpe.[6] The actual outcome of the color-light music [Farblichtmusik] of Moholy-Nagy will continue to be questionable as long as the color complex remains so vaguely formed. On the other hand, the "reflected-light plays" [Reflektorische Lichtspiele] of Ludwig Hirschfeld-Mack of the Bauhaus, even though operated with the simplest equipment (in contrast to that of Moholy-Nagy), are worth being developed further because of the precision of their color-forms and richness of creative invention [see Figure 8]. Considering these as film or projection of moving planes, the "Mechanical Ballet" by Kurt Schmidt and Georg Teltscher, with improvised music by Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, represents a move into actual space. Large abstract, intensely colored two-dimensional forms carried by invisible dancers and moved rhythmically

---

6. The Novembergruppe (November Group), formed in Berlin immediately after the Armistice in November 1918, became a focal point of cultural life in Berlin. Its concerns were similar to those of the Bauhaus: the role of the artist in the new society expected to emerge from the political and economic chaos following the war. Gropius and Lionel Feininger, one of the first teachers at the Bauhaus, actively supported the Novembergruppe. The impetus of the group was clearly an idealistic socialism.

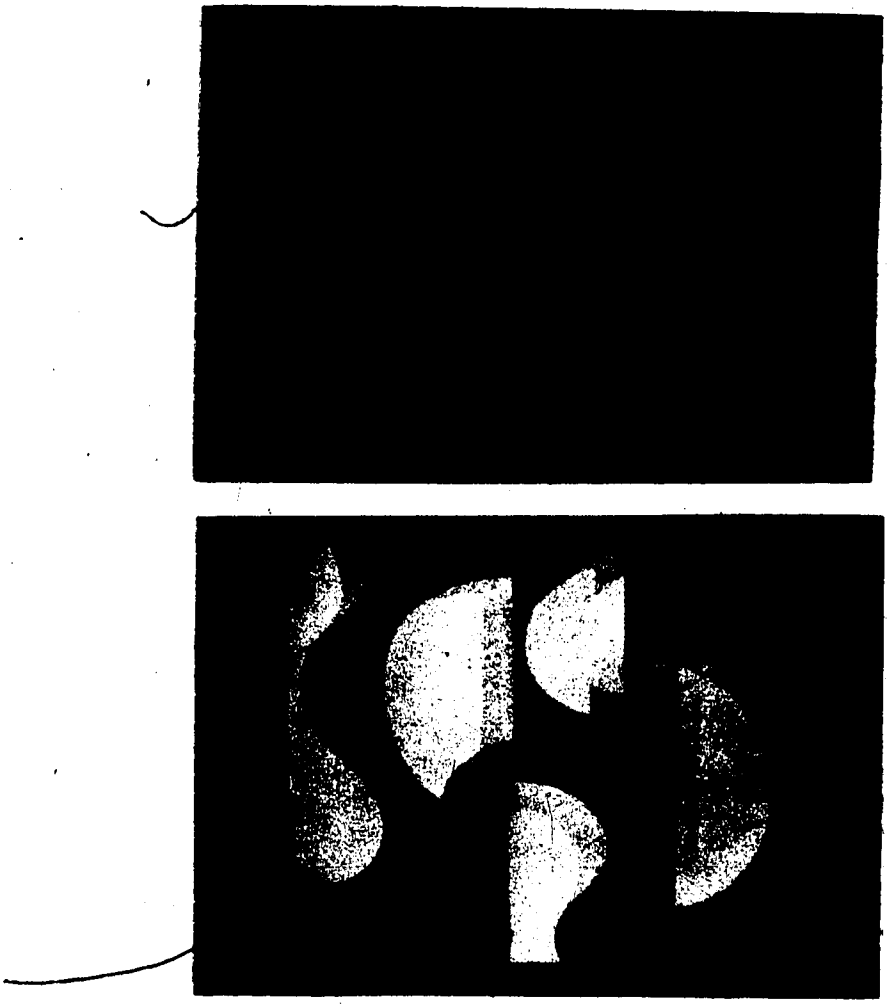


Figure 8. Two examples of projections from the "reflected-light plays" of Bauhaus students L. Hirschfeld-Mack and K. Schwerdtfeger, circa 1923. The idea for these compositions originated in conversations with the master craftsman of the Bauhaus sculpture workshop, Josef Hartwig. The "light play" experiments, independent of the Bauhaus stage workshop, were presented throughout Germany during the 1920s. Both the principle and procedure of these experiments was simple. Colored templates of various shapes were mounted in front of spotlights with dimmer capacity and moved mechanically by hand (horizontally and vertically) while being projected onto the back of a transparent screen facing the audience. The shapes and colors were predetermined by a "score" that was correlated with musical sounds. The result was tachistic and serialistic rather than organic and fluid. A color film of Schwerdtfeger's work, "Color-Reflection Plays," was produced by DKP (1967). See "Reflected Color-Light Plays: Nature--Aims--Criticism," by Hirschfeld-Mack, in Wingler, 1969. (From Wingler, 1969, pp. 370-371.)

achieve a surprisingly simple, striking effect [see Figure 9]. My "Collection of Figures" [Figural Kabinett], with jazz music by G. Münch, is a variation of this principle, using 20 different intensely colored, grotesque figures [see Figure 10].

These two-dimensional figures are, however, restricted to axial movement (sideward, forward, and backward; raising, lowering, swinging, whirling), and my "Triadic Ballet" is a good example of the next step, the three-dimensional figure, where abstract sculpted forms are worn and danced by live dancers. No less a person than Paul Hindemith has written music for a mechanical organ for this work, to which the ballet was performed at the Donaueschingen Chamber Music Festival in 1926.[7] Indeed, the value of this ballet lies in the musicality of its conception [Formgestaltung], which grew out of the pleasure of play with forms, colors, and materials, and is far removed from the nonsense of most

---

7. The organ may have been a barrel organ, although it is possible that a larger mechanical organ was used (whether using a barrel-and-pin mechanism or perforated paper roll). Composition for mechanical instruments is by no means a novelty, nor is it restricted to light tunes. Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven ("Wellington's Victory") wrote for mechanical instruments. Stuckenschmidt (1951, p. 175) describes Hindemith's music as "removed from the ideal of the espressivo..., striving instead for an artistic objectivity, which is found in the visual arts in the Neue Sachlichkeit [functionalism]." Hindemith composed frequently for the theater, including the music for two of Brecht's Lehrstücke (didactic plays), a miniature opera "Hin und Zurück," for which Moholy-Nagy designed a 1930 production, and two one-act operas, for which Schlemmer designed the premiere in 1921. Schlemmer first met Hindemith in Canstatt in 1920, when he was attempting to complete the "Triadic Ballet."

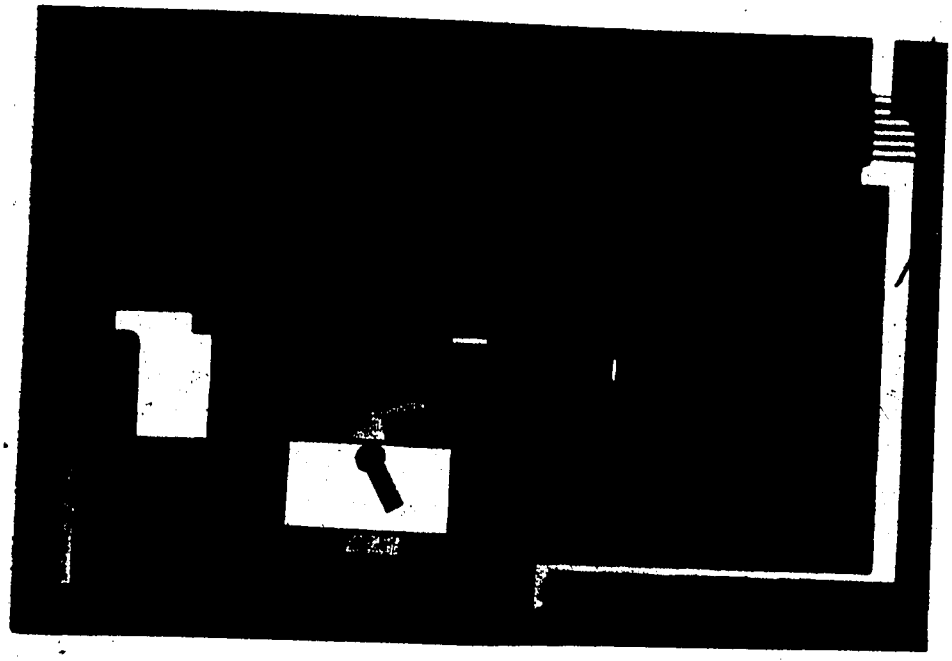


Figure 9. Design by Kurt Schmidt (1923) for the "Mechanical Ballet." This was one of several works originated by students in the Bauhaus theater workshop. It was first performed during the Bauhaus Week exhibition in August 1923 at the Jena Stadttheater. According to Wingler (1969, p. 367), the title of the work was changed to "Stage Organization with Simple Forms" in order to emphasize the principle of the work and its visual effect rather than the method of production.

Figure 10. Scene photo of Schlemmer's "Collection of Figures" (Figural Kabinett), 1923. There were three variations of this work, with varying figurines and settings, over the years (see Appendix 5). (From Hildebrandt, 1952, p. 130.)

ballets as well as the metropolitan "machine romanticism" [Maschinenromantik].[8] Are not spheres, hemispheres, cylinders, plates, disks, spirals, ellipses, etc., the natural spatial forms for the dance, the elements par excellence of motion and rotation? Hindemith actually composed his music while the dance-figures tried to execute actions conforming to the new demands put on them by the costumes. The exactness of the mechanized music produced a rare correspondence with the exactness of the formalized dance-figures. Unfortunately, much had to remain unused because of the limited range of the organ. For example, high-lustre metallic spheres require the trumpet, others the rich kettle drum, others a glass-thin tone. Such ideal correspondence a ts realization.

As an example of three-dimensional conception applied to the entire mise-en-scene, I would like to point to the performance of Paul Hindemith's opera "Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen" [Murder, Hope of Women], with text by Kokoschka, presented in the Stuttgart Landestheater in 1921. There I

---

8. "Machine romanticism" refers to the direct use of machines and machine-like structures on stage. The intent was to represent the modern industrial and technological environment and was particularly associated with certain Russian constructivist productions, although the vogue was widespread throughout Europe. At the same time, the term refers to a preoccupation with "machine-like" forms. In this respect Schlemmer himself was criticized for the severity and "engineered" look of his designs and costumes (see for example Fuerst and Hume, 1929, p. 60ff). Here, and elsewhere in his writings, Schlemmer defends himself against this charge; his intention is, he insists, quite different.

tried to reflect the timbre of the orchestra in the scenic architecture, in order to serve the inherently abstract style of the opera with an appropriate visual mode. The setting was movable and transformed mechanically during the performance [see Figure 11]. I have seen this principle repeated only by the Russians.

In closing, something should be said of the pantomime "Gestentanz" (Dance of Gestures), the "diagram" and "score" of which are reproduced here [see Figures 12-14]. Without music (except for a couple measures for piano and phonograph), supported only by speech and noise, we tried to create a play using standardized forms (the dancers' bodies were made uniform by padding) on a stage with a two-way opening--an arena stage at least in part.[9] A brief look at the diagram should convey the geometric choreography (the original diagram is in three colors, red, yellow, and blue, corresponding to each of the three character types). Graphic materials are so rich and diverse that a symbol can be devised to correspond with every movement, action, expression, etc., although only the blocking pattern is shown here. The diagram still fails to show, among other things, the gestures (head, trunk, leg, arm, and hand movements), the mime, and vocal pitch. The problem of choreographic notation has yet to be solved, despite various efforts,

---

9. This was the stage built in the facilities at Dessau (see Appendix 3).

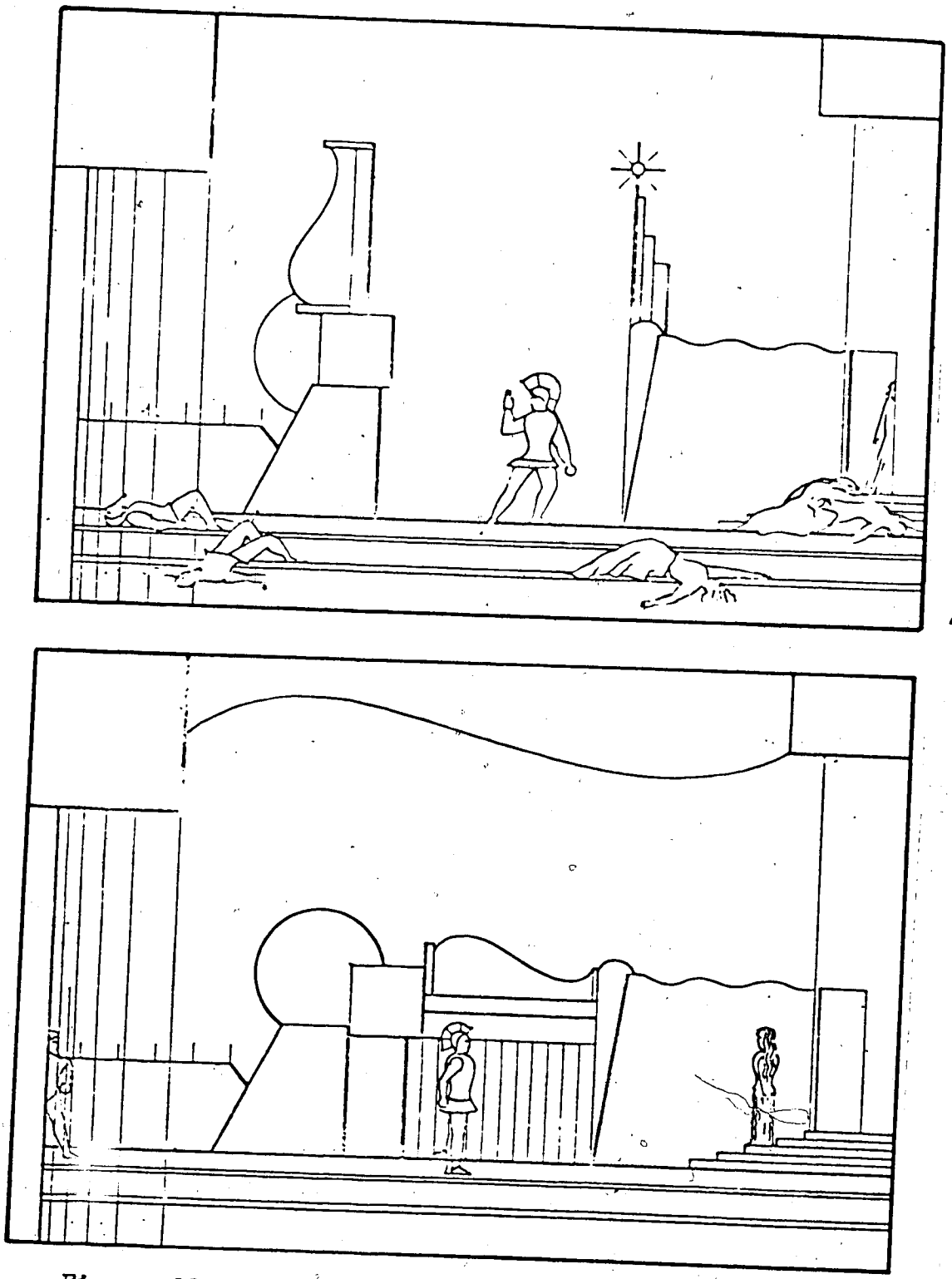


Figure 11. Schlemmer's design for "Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen." A: Set at the beginning of the opera. B: Set at the end of the opera. The predominant colors were described by Schlemmer as very dark, deep bronzes, black, white-grey, and English red. (From Cicerone, XIX, 3, p. 92.)

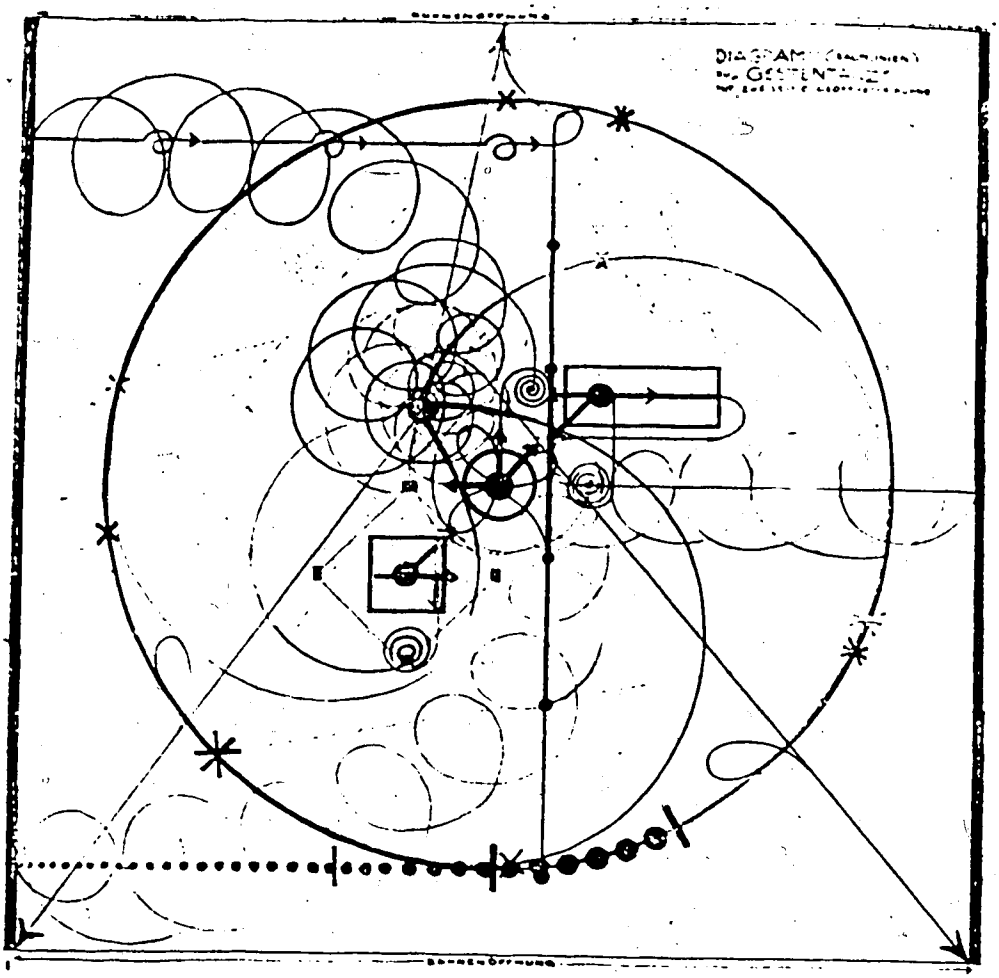


Figure 12. Diagram of Schlemmer's "Dance of Gestures" (Gestentanz), first performed March 16, 1927 in conjunction with a lecture given by Schlemmer at the Bauhaus. The diagram shows the complete paths of movement of the three characters (the original drawing is in three colors), and thus is a record only of the relative positions of the performers at any given time in the performance. (From Wingler, 1969, p. 472)

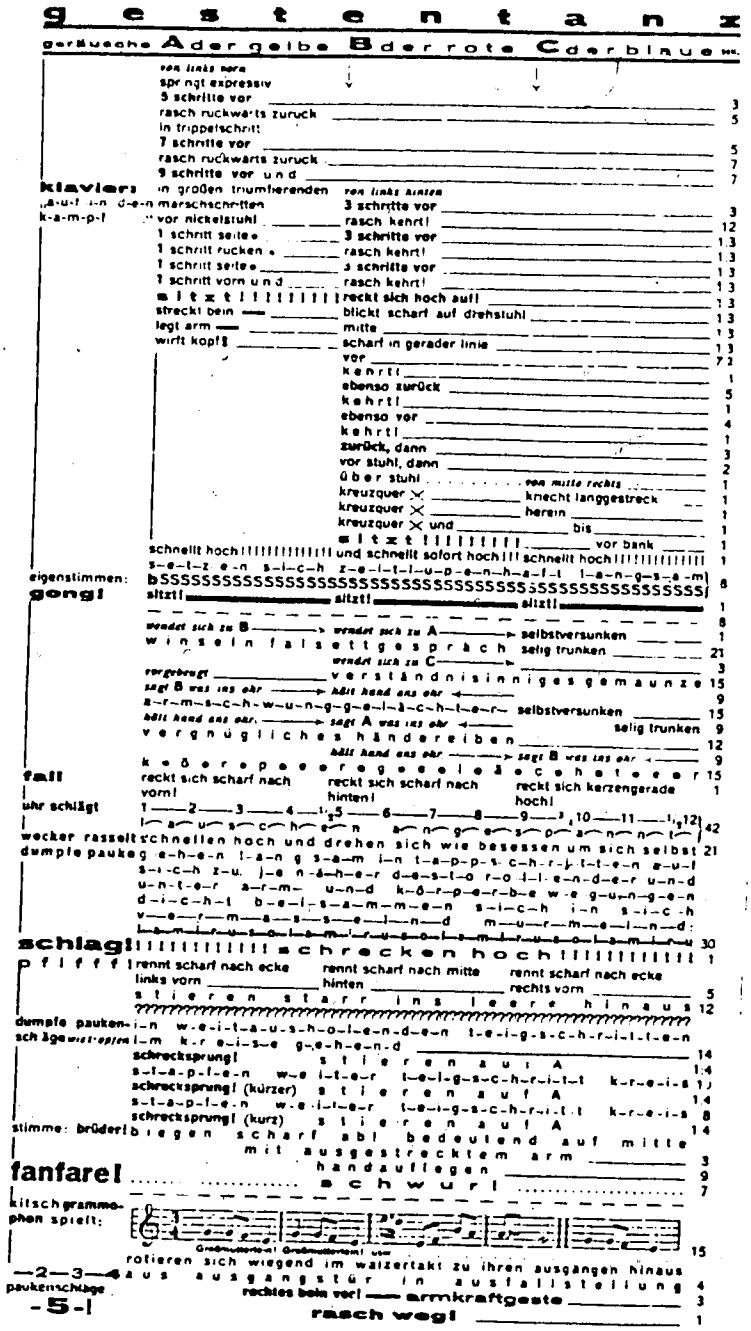


Figure 13. "Score" for the "Dance of Gestures." Four columns provide simultaneous instructions for sound (left), and the three performers (A, B, C). The numbers at right indicate duration (seconds). The score reads from the top down. (From Schlemmer and Moholy-Nagy, 1961)

Figure 14. Scene photo from a performance of "Dance of Gestures," March 16, 1927, at the Dessau Bauhaus. The three dancers are designated red, yellow, and blue, and maintain distinctive "attitudes" in their movements: "hot," "superior," and "cool," respectively. (From bauhaus, III, 3.)

especially within the community of dancers. The graphic language can be supplemented by description, and here modern typography (punctuation, symbols) are helpful. Yet even with these tools, despite notations for tempo and sound, the total reality of performance cannot be fully communicated; at the same time, the notation itself jeopardizes easy readability because of the excess of aspects of the performance that need to be captured.[10]

The experimental theater at the Bauhaus in Dessau makes it possible to explore problems that, to my knowledge, are not being taken up elsewhere, but which are well worth consideration. As far as the modest basis and pedagogical character of this theater permit, concepts are being pursued that are necessarily original simply because they are not being pursued anywhere else. Unlike stage classes in the art academies we are not designing one set after another; we are striving for direct action in theater space, using the theater's own creative elements, and this is of necessity new.

Space, its plane and solid geometry, its laws and its mysteries; form, every aspect of its appearance, as surface,

---

10. Schlemmer was undoubtedly familiar with the "scores" (Spielgang) for performance devised by his predecessor in the stage workshop, Lothar Schreyer. All of Schreyer's playscripts were block-printed and tinted, with simultaneous indications for speech, sound, and movement. The goal of creating a comprehensive notation system grew from the widespread aim of creating "total" or "synthetic" theater, and not merely from the technical ideal of a thorough promptbook.

as plastic shape; the phenomenon of color, the interaction, harmony, disharmony of colors; chromatic light, illumination, projection, transparencies, film; mechanics as an end in itself, the automatic machine, where man figures in as merely the switchboard operator; as well as man as event, privileged lord of directness, the mediator, deliverer of speech, the word, sound; his metamorphosis, transformation, and disguising through costume and mask; his reflection in the lifeless puppet, in the mechanical figure, in the marionette, and consequently the possible exaggerations of his physical reality; the whole range of props and musical instruments, sound effects...

This is the great province of the stage, to which all its parts belong, gaining or losing significance as time goes by, changing and reappearing under new conditions with a new complexion. To understand the whole and its parts, through its fundamentals, elements, and laws, and to demonstrate these, is or ought to be the object of many studios and experimental theaters, carrying out under laboratory conditions the exploratory work for which the official theaters have neither the time nor space. We should not neglect, especially here, to appeal to the new music, which so far has been included in our efforts far too little, even though it is the most likely element to be included in the theater and likely to afford mutual enrichment.

6. New Forms in Theater--A Conversation with Oskar Schlemmer (1928)

New Forms in Theater:
A Conversation with Oskar Schlemmer

A. Now, my friend, can you tell me something about these drawings.[1] I must confess that I don't know what to make of them.

B. Certainly. I have seen these things on stage and must say that I enjoyed them thoroughly.

A. I don't know what these scene designs and these extraordinary figures are supposed to represent, what the mean, what is intended by them.

B. I've never asked myself such questions. I've only let these figures affect me without any preconceptions, and I also believe that one should confront the new, especially with artistic things, as unprejudiced as possible.

A. But I have to be able to explain it somehow!

B. What for? After all, something is put before you. Something is happening in front of your eyes, a "play," a "presentation," and you have nothing further to do than to enjoy it, to keep your senses open and experience the sensa-

---

"Neue Formen der Bühne: Eine Unterhaltung von Oskar Schlemmer," Schuenemanns Monatsheft, October 1928.
1. No particular drawings are referred to here, and the illustrations published with the original article were not keyed to points in the interview.

tions.

A. But understanding is also a sense. It may be that this is getting in the way. But I can't do anything other than look for the meaning of something.

B. OK. Obviously these things have their own meaning. They aren't meaningless, indeed, in the end they make better sense than many other things presented in the theater. They have an ultimate meaning in the sense that they get at the heart of whatever is presented, its roots are exposed in order to get at first causes and original meaning.

A. Perhaps it would help to ask concrete questions. What, for example, is this "Curtain Play"[2] supposed to be?

B. Oh, that was very beautiful, and is perhaps a typical example for the sake of explanation. Even a curtain has its deeper significance and its own life. It is not only the material wall separating the stage and auditorium, separating these two opposite worlds and their inhabitants from each other in order to unite them when it rises. It also has its own life in the way it rises, whether slowly or suddenly, in one steady movement or in one, two, three or more stages; likewise, the way it falls, whether in a sudden plunge or whether it falls gravely and deliberately. A skillful actor will know how to deal with it creatively, whatever the situation. It was surprising when suddenly a

---

2. "Vorhang- und Bewegungstudien," performed March 1927 dur- a lecture-demonstration by Schlemmer and the Bauhaus stage workshop.

white hand shot out, an arm, a leg, how the actor handled it as drape or covering, wrapping himself in it, playing with it. All at once the meaning of the stage curtain became clear.

B. Isn't that only childish play?

A. It would be if it were done without expression, without intensity of feeling. It could be called play, but as you know the sense of play in man is a quality not to be underrated, since, as Schiller said in his "Letters on Aesthetic Education," the best values in man's spirit are a result of it. It was just the ease and grace with which the materials were mastered, how a really meaningful play came into being that pleased me so much.

A. Can you tell me what the lines on the stage floor mean? /See Figure 16, p. 145/

B. They are the axis lines of the stage, with connecting diagonals, and in the resulting square a circle has been drawn. Besides the mid-point of the floor, the mid-point of space was established as well by stretching out bright strings from the edges of the stage, a surprising effect that brought the space to life so to speak.[3]

---

3. In 1924 the French director Copeau closed his "architectural" theater, the Vieux-Colombier in Paris, and moved his acting company to Burgundy, where a large hall was rented. There the floor was given "a coating of cement on which was drawn a vast network of lines forming geometric patterns necessary for their work, providing a play of directing

(note continued)

A. But doesn't such a belabored principle destroy the best in the dancer: the unconscious, self-denial, rapture? Doesn't it rob him of his soul? The dancer is certainly not an athletics instructor or traffic cop! It is precisely the spiritual, the ecstatic, that we demand of the artist.

B. Certainly--and I am the last person who would want to suppress this. But may I remind you of Goethe's dictum "freedom in order" [Freiheit im Gesetz], and besides that, that in all art, and especially in the highest, some order prevails that we experience as form and style. And may I refer you to the music of Bach, which is a marvel of contrapuntal order and yet equally a marvel of feeling. Or take an example from graphic art: Albrecht Dürer's Book of Proportions [Buch von der Proportion], that singular work on measurement, especially of human form, wherein the mystery of number is pursued with fanatic zeal. Both of these great artists did not allow order and number to inhibit the expression of spiritual content, indeed, it is only brought to consummate form in this way. But to return to the stage--why should measure and number be banished here, when it confronts us in the proportion of space, of man, in every form, as well as in color, light, in the passage of time?

---

lines which helped to maintain a perfect harmony in the varioua groupings." In 1929, when the company returned to Paris under Michel St. Denis, a similar studio was installed.

A. Granting all this, I still do not believe that the "system" ought to be emphasized and made obvious. With Bach or Dürer only the connoisseurs or experts know anything about the invisible structural system.

B. In any case it should not become a general rule, not the quantification of art "from here on out" and "at any price," but it is enough that somewhere, someone is working in this direction for the greatest possible results. Some of the designs here originated in the experimental stage at the Bauhaus in Dessau, a modern teaching institute that contains a school of architecture, workshops, and also a small theater. If therefore many of them seem to you overly didactic and pedagogic, this can be explained by the fact that in this institute the various means of design [Gestaltungsmittel] are researched with an almost scientific method, in order to determine their nature and hence to arrive at new forms. Likewise, everything on the stage is being tackled from the standpoint of what is basic and causal, and it has been shown that in this way a profusion of new possibilities of Gestaltung almost automatically arises. This is one justification for the prevalence of principles here. The other is this: our age is called the technological age. We might also call it the scientific and mathematical age. This is apparent in a comparison with the past and earlier stylistic periods. Is it so astonishing if these tendencies of our age have an effect on artistic activity?

We can't ignore the fact that we are surrounded by iron skeletons, reinforced concrete, by autos, airplanes, etc., and that this modern world of technology and inventions, whether we like it or not, also affects our emotional life and art.

A. Aha! I understand. This so-called "Triadic Ballet" is then a ballet of machines?

B. Yes and no. It is indirectly in the above sense that our age of technology and machines is also reflected in artistic forms. There was a time of "machine romanticism," the time when machinery was discovered by art, and became worshipped on the stage and in painting. There were also machinery ballets with actual wheels, sheet iron, rollers, and the like, but it would be erroneous to categorize the "Triadic Ballet" in this sense. It owes its origins to a playful imagination, a primordial pleasure in form, in color, and in the particular materials out of which the costumes and masks were created. There are, for example, papier-mâché, varnished, and metallic forms; one of the costumes, the spiral, has a glass-like effect, another is made up of many hoops of nickel wire--a metal tutu for the prima ballerina! Others are padded in order to create the desired three-dimensional shapes.

A. But what is the point of all these unusual forms? What about this giant leg in the form of a club [see Figure 15]?

Figure 15. "Abstract Figure," from part three of the "Triadic Ballet" (compare with Figure 4). (Scene photo from Wingler, 1969, p. 363.)

B. Very simple! This large padded leg is easy to explain. Ballet and pantomime allow for the greatest play of the imagination; they are not, like opera and drama, bound to the word and its function of defining. There are dances that are self-sufficient so to speak, and there are even costumes that are an end in themselves, i.e., they are so created that they dictate the dance expression. ---Take the simply costumed figure with the white tights, the "dancer in space." In this form he is, to a certain degree, the basic form [Grundform], a tabula rasa. Every subsequent decoration, such as a red stocking on the left leg, a staff in the right hand, inevitably transforms the original neutrality of the form. There is no longer an equilibrium; there is now a biased accentuation--the inner and outer disposition of the dancer is decidedly influenced. Or take simple examples from everyday life: I feel different with my coat on than without it, different with a hat than without one, different with a cane or cigarette than without these "props." We know from actors and women how greatly costume is able to change them psychologically. ---In the "Triadic Ballet" these possibilities of modification and metamorphosis of form are put to use to the fullest degree. The aforementioned giant leg, for example, results in the dancer becoming to some extent "all leg" in that the center of gravity for his movement is shifted entirely to that leg, and the functioning of the rest of his body is subordinated

to it. All other forms with which this figure is further clothed or equipped aim at reestablishing the deliberately destroyed equilibrium, to achieve a harmony based on asymmetry. So it is with the bell shape with its space-penetrating point, the breast plate, the club, and finally the head mask, each of which in turn concentrates the displacement of forms.

A. How do the dancers react to such costumes? Are they able to dance at all in them?

B. They react differently. Those who believe in free dance as the direct expression of the ideal flatly reject these "unnatural" costumes. They would ruin the costume with their first few leaps. Others see in the costumes new possibilities that go far beyond pure body-movement. Certainly, it isn't easy to dance in these costumes; I believe that it requires a high degree of body discipline to meld body and costume into a unity. I should say that the best dancers are just good enough.

A. Aren't things of this sort a one-time experiment, momentarily interesting, but which in the long run have no lasting consequence or universal value?

B. It is not a one-time experiment, inasmuch as it is not concerned with accidental brainstorms, but with the roots of the kind of creativity based on an art form perceived as a unity. I am convinced that the source of all new things, in whatever field it may be, is the elementary and

hence original comprehension of the essential. Everything has a first cause [Wesenursprung], a primordial meaning [Ursinn], which in the course of development for the most part falls into oblivion; but the germ always remains for all further growth. Admittedly, it is not open to scientific dissection, but must be felt and completely experienced. The ABCs can, so to speak, always be experienced anew.

A. But how will the results of your work in the laboratory be carried over into everyday life, onto the stages that are dependent on the public, which must be offered something it can grasp?

B. As with all experimental work, this too will be fruitful one way or another. The main thing is that it is being done and can be done somewhere. Then it will prove itself useful as a stimulus, as an opening up of new possibilities, and promote general development at least one step further.

A. Let us hope so, and that we will see more of the same soon!

7. The Scientific Character of the Experimental Theater of the Bauhaus (1928?)

The Scientific Character of the Experimental Theater of the Bauhaus

Existing institutes of theater science busy themselves for the most part with documentation of the past and present. They document the development of theater from the ancient Greeks to the present, the development of acting, costume, scenography, and theater architecture. It is much more an historical than a truly scientific activity. Such activity cannot therefore be truly creative, as true science always should be. Theater science, even though based on historical materials, should become productive and strive for new forms by searching for the laws that underlie changes in the evolution of forms.

Thus, as probably the first school in recent times to seek to create new forms through a synthesis of tendencies in the arts, the crafts, and technology, the Bauhaus in Dessau deliberately takes the path led by science, in order to establish some order in the face of the present stylistic confusion and rank growth of taste, an order based on a new concept of realism [Sachlichkeit]. This way is all the less risky in such a school, as artistic feeling is present at

---

Ms., ca. 1928, published for the first time in the exhibition catalog "Oskar Schlemmer und die abstrakte Bühne," Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich, 1961, and titled therein "Wissenschaftlicher Charakter der Versuchsbühne am Bauhaus."

the beginning and end of all creative work.

The emergence of theater work at this school was entirely natural. In the final analysis, the theater, like architecture, aspires to the Gesamtkunstwerk, namely the synthesis of many parts in an orchestrated whole.

The experimental theater of the Bauhaus has set itself the task of researching and applying the principles of architecture and space, of form and shapes, of color and light, and movement and sound. This experimental stage seeks to establish a grammar of theatrical elements and, proceeding from the so-called ABCs of all the theater's component arts, to strive for renewal as well as order against the monstrous stylistic confusion in today's theater and the commercial theater's exploitation of fads and sensationalism. As taste and style get further from their roots, as they branch out every which way and become confused--which in many respects is true of art today--the only solution is to return to just those roots. The new that then emerges, based in a natural way on experience, will always be a rebirth, a beginning, without precedent. This process is repeated in artistic as well as scientific areas--the surprisingly simple idea or act, the egg of Columbus.[1]

---

1. "Ei des Columbus." A German idiom alluding to the legend that Columbus, when asked on a bet whether he could balance an egg on its end, simply cracked one end of the egg: an unusual but stunningly simple solution to a seemingly impossible problem.

Just as the scientifically precise color theory of an Ostwald,[2] which in the final analysis is imperfect and does not entirely satisfy the artistic sensibility, will always be successfully opposed by the artistic color theories of Goethe or Runge,[3] just as Beckmesser's theory of harmony in modern music was countered by Schoenberg's theory,[4] so should it be with any attempt to systematize in the realm of art, namely, that the attempt should be undertaken from the standpoint of the artist. Even though definite theories have been developed in the fields of color and music, the relationship of these to each other remains as good as unexplored; the demonstration of this relationship belongs less in the lecture hall than in the theater. Also unexplored are the spatial relationships of color, with which the formal relationships are associated. The laws of movement of form and color in space, whether the vessel of form is man or an abstract figure, are also unexplored.

Serious attempts to arrive at some systematics have been undertaken in the realm of movement, in dance, but

---

2. Wilhelm Ostwald (1853-1932), German chemist, 1909 Nobel Prize for work on catalysis; did pioneering research on color.
3. Philip Otto Runge (1777-1810), German Romantic painter; Schlemmer's favorite painter. Both Goethe and Runge contributed important aesthetic theories of color.
4. Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), Austrian composer, music theorist and painter (Harmonielehre, 1911; rev. 1922), one of the founders of modern music. The name Beckmesser is obscure, although undoubtedly (from the context) he was a physicist or mathematician.

without reaching the universal results sought after. The history of choreography, dance notation, reflects the desperate attempt to write down in the form of a complete score the course of movement of the dancer in space--the steps, the arm, trunk, and head movements, the gestures of the hands, and the mime. There are many systems; still, up to now no one has succeeded in organizing the variety of things that need to be notated into some clearly readable form. Our experimental theater will work intensively in the area of choreographic systems.

8. Piscator and the Modern Theater (1928)

Piscator and the Modern Theater

The most momentous innovations in theater art have undoubtedly come from Russia. Beginning with the cabaret style of the "Blue Bird," which at present seems to be dying of its own beauty (perhaps for the same reasons as the Blue Blouses)[1]; the theater of Stanislavsky, which influenced Reinhardt; the Habimah Theater, Tairov, and Nemirov-Dantchenko, whose influences were felt in opera and drama;

"Piscator und das moderne Theater," from Das neue Frankfurt, XII, 2 (1928).

1. The Blue Bird Theater (der blaue Vogel) was a Berlin cabaret company during the 1920s, established by Russian immigrants and directed by Jascha Jushni. See Schreyer, Erinnerungen an Sturm und Bauhaus, p. 58: "Nothing but little musical numbers made up the program, each a dramatic aphorism." The program was entirely in Russian and lavishly designed (one of the designers was Natalia Gonchorova, who later designed in Paris, e.g., Stravinsky's "Firebird." Schreyer claims the theater became an international attraction shortly after its beginning. See also Bab, Theater der Gegenwart, p. 217; according to Bab, the Blue Bird productions were characterized by cubistic, stiff costuming and a "keen pictorial sensibility." See also The Russian Theater, Rene Fülöp-Miller and Joseph Gregor, pp. 110-111. Very little information is available on the Blue Bird Theater, although it appears that this theater was well known and respected by theater artists in Germany. The lavish visual emphasis, particularly the "cubistic" costumes, coincided with Schlemmer's own conception of dance (although his ideas for the "Triadic Ballet" were set down long before the appearance of the Blue Bird Theater in Berlin). For several illustrations of Blue Bird stage designs and scene photos see Paul Zucker, The Blue Bird Theater, Berlin: 1922 (in English, limited edition; photocopy with author). I can find no direct evidence that Schlemmer actually saw any performances of the Blue Bird.

What Schlemmer had in mind by comparing the Blue Bird Theater with the Blue Blouses is unclear. The Blue Blouses

(note continued)

Meyerhold, who has now found his German apostle in Piscator--that is the proud lineage of important theater names. The likes of such brilliance and authority are not to be found among us in Germany. The reason? Undoubtedly, the Russians' inborn instinct for theater; undoubtedly, too, an intensity in their work and a distinct sense of community, important factors that seem to be smothered in us by bureaucracy and particularism. In addition, certain ideas have been set free by the revolution and can now be put into action. Last but not least, whatever is "revolutionary" is synonymous with whatever is new, and both are state monopolies, so that the state theater is becoming a "moral institution" reflecting the official philosophy--a theater in which an idea, that of a new way of life, is proclaimed and demonstrated again and again.

Will the freshest theater in Germany, Piscator's, infect the entire German theater? Hardly at all with its ideas, which are political. Because in contrast to Russia,

---

were of course a proletarian agit-theater in Soviet Russia. The actors "dressed in overalls and blouses, grouped themselves on the platform on stage, chanting through megaphones in solo or mass voice. The scripts were terse and journalistic" (Gorelik, New Theaters for Old, p. 402). The German groups "Kolonne Links" and "Rotes Sprachrohr" resembled the Russian Blue Blouses. Perhaps Schlemmer is criticizing the rigidity of style that can occur in a group after some success. This article by Schlemmer was published in 1928; "by 1927 the Blue Blouses had almost completely disappeared from the amateur stages" (Gorchakov, Theater in Soviet Russia, p. 146).

which has two political parties, we have twenty! And this is directly responsible for the diversified and complicated circumstances of the German theater. Piscator's theater may have some influence with its dramatic form, because as a result of poetic impoverishment (a distressing lack of poetry) the director must look to himself and substitute an iron fist for the dramaturgic hand in order to make the poetic material amenable to his ends. But certainly, Piscator's use of the scenic means of the stage (optics, mechanics, acoustics), meaning the latest artistic and technical achievements, will not be without success.

Nihilism, which led the Russian Malevich to establish the nadir of painting and to proclaim the red square the ultimate image[2]; Tatlinism, which induced painters to turn from pictures to technical constructions, following Spengler's challenge--these revaluations of painting found their counterpart on the Russian stage of Meyerhold, who created a tabula rasa by clearing away all the old mouldering theater junk. He did away with the curtain, wings, and props in order to start fresh with a clean stage, in particular to

---

2. Kasimir Malevich (1878-1935), founder of suprematism, a forerunner of Kandinsky's abstract painting. Schlemmer of course is mistaken here in referring to a red square. Malevich had painted (ca. 1918) a white square on a white ground as the last word in abstraction (presently in the Museum of Modern Art, New York). Malevich visited the Bauhaus in 1926; his work The Non-Objective World (Chicago, Theobald, 1959) was published by the Bauhaus in a German translation from the Russian original (Die gegenstandlose Welt, 1927, part of the Bauhausbücher series).

organize the stage space and its components according to the dynamics of the drama, replacing the decorative, illusionistic, and naturalistic with the spatial, tectonic, and functional. Film, the theater's deadliest enemy as long as it was not used, is being made to serve the stage, being given new functions, and proving itself to be an extraordinary contribution to the dramatic event. The possibility of arbitrarily enlarging or diminishing the picture, of increasing or decreasing the tempo (quick time or slow motion in film) has so altered our consciousness and given things such a new look, that once the problem of color film is finally solved, visual experience will be intensified to an unheard of degree. Film and the wonderland of optics associated with it are the new frontier (Piscator's use of scrims!). We may expect still more significant results in this area.[3]

The achievements of modern architecture are already cropping up here and there and are beginning to leave their mark on the face of the modern city; the achievements of modern technology and discovery surround us daily and, whether we like it or not, are overpowering our consciousness. Is it not a reasonable demand, then, that this present

---

3. For a history of the use of film and projection in the theater see Film und Projektion auf der Bühne, Marianne Mildenberger, Verlag Lechte, 1961. See especially "'Lichtregie' im szenischen Expressionismus--Bauhaus," pp. 127ff.

reality also take over the stage? That an effective form be created out of the resources of our own time, and hence, in contrast to this discordant age, provide a unity at least in theatrical reality?

This certainly cannot be done by having a real car whistle across the stage, by having a locomotive actually on stage, or by using typewriters, telephones, phonographs, loudspeakers as motifs of speed, even in the plot (the next sensation might be a real airplane taking off from, flying over, and landing on the stage). It cannot be done by such "modernizing," by merely transferring modern trappings onto the stage. As always, it is a matter of art, of the intensification of real life, of the symbol, the idol.

The restrictive situation of the modern director, of having to work in hand-me-down playhouses of the old theater, forces a director like Meyerhold to experimentally set up shop in the fantastic reality of a factory, or compels Piscator to build a new playhouse. If Gropius's "Total Theater" is ever realized, if an architectural wonder is ever created according to the demands of both the director, who draws upon the whole gamut of unrealized dreams, and the modern architect, who would be taking a giant step into new territory by building such a theater (because it would be an untried venture involving precedent-setting techniques), then it is certain that theatrical style in the next ten years will be radically influenced. The greatest possible

flexibility in stage space--arena as well as proscenium stage, deep stage [Tiefbühne] as well as platform stage [Etagenbühne]; thrust stage; a circular track around the auditorium for stage wagons; the possibility of throwing film, slides, and projections onto all surfaces--these are the requirements of the modern stage, as well as its problems. We do not know how much the static, phlegmatic nature of audiences can be disturbed without seriously impairing their receptivity; we do not know to what extent the proliferation of material effects allows for the spiritual; we do no know what acoustical surprises are in store for us in buildings of iron, reinforced concrete, and glass. The challenges are still so great and the prospects so numerous, that we can only hope that sometime, somewhere, the experiment will be made in Germany.

One is tempted to cry out, For shame! that the only subject in this theater is likely to be "dreadful politics."[4] For however limited the forum is for the political theater, it is just as limited for all endeavors that are concerned with the creativity of the modern theater in general, beyond the political. Strictly speaking, the political theater, the more it is a propaganda theater, the more it is a party meeting, should be presented on a bare platform, in parallel with the Reformation, which established the unadorned Protestant chapel in contrast to the pompous display of the collective arts in the Catholic churches. When

4. See [illegible], and [illegible].

they first appear, young robust ideas manifest themselves plainly and clearly, in unpretentious simplicity. In Piscator's political theater it is thus: an idea comes up, and in order to put it into action the whole of modern art and technology is mobilized, on such a scale and with such intensity that--oh, paradox!--the purpose, the idea, is almost lost in the process. This power of the visual and of theater technology indicates the direction of the modern theater in general, of which the political theater is only a special part, a sector of the whole field of theater.

Aren't the philosophical, the metaphysical, and the religious--the whole range from comic to tragic--relevant anymore, or capable of being given contemporary expression? How many theatrical means are still unused, unknown, or considered of no value? How little has space, its laws and mystery, been studied or made use of--and the art of the theater is chiefly the art of space! How little has the intrinsic value of color, the magic of light and its psychological dimension, been valued! How little--as always--has language been cultivated and become a resounding event itself! What possibilities still lie dormant in music, that purest of the arts in its nonobjective abstraction! Doesn't music itself show what a secondary role propaganda plays, if it plays any positive role at all, in the free evolution of the purely artistic? This is not to imply a defense of formalism, l'art pour l'art. One thing is certain: that art

requires an idea, which it embodies--the more noble, the more timeless, the more universal this idea, the better. But the idea must follow its own logic, it must come from the same source as the spontaneous and instinctive in naive artistic expression. In a word, it must come from within, not without.

9. Opera--Old and New (1930)

Opera--Old and New

In discussing the new opera here one might suspect that it will amount to a celebration of scene design as the savior of something that is otherwise beyond help.[1] Naturally, the scene designer sees the problem of opera in terms of his own work, but it is obvious that the new opera is above all else a question of the new music and thus the concern of the composer.

It may be worth pointing out that today, in our modern age, nothing prevents the traditional opera from stunning triumphs (Toscanini!) and that the genuine opera experience is still to found in this: in phenomenal voices that astound the senses, in stylistically pure, accomplished orchestration, and in the gifted leader and interpreter, the ingenious conductor. Design? In the Milan Opera it either plunges into meaninglessness or is so authentic and correct in its old mustiness that literally any attempt at modernization would probably be out of place there. Old operas should be presented in the style in which they have been conceived and written. Any attempt at modernization in "Carmen," for example, will miscarry, but such work can be supported by authenticity of milieu, which can be artistically valuable.

"Alte Oper--Neue Oper," Kunstblatt, XIV, 8 (1930).

1. In another published version of this article the opening sentence is: "When the problem of opera is taken up by a painter...."

Old operas are best seen and heard in the same way we experience old paintings in museums. If we succeed in transferring some of that magic and intensity onto the stage, that is enough (I am thinking of Watteau, Goya, and many others). I realize that this idea is dangerous unless the artistic aspects are unquestionably the prime consideration. I am not advocating thoughtless copying; instead, I am thinking of an essential, total grasp of things. Whenever it is a question of historical milieu and costume, one should be true to it and work accordingly. When it is a question of the timeless and legendary, or when it is possible to raise the material to that level, one should boldly exercise the imagination.

Take for example "The Magic Flute" (Mozart, 1786)--this work will always have scenic possibilities, it is a work that is always new, one that can be of interest to artists of every period. Schinkel once gave it a fine classical shape[2]--and how irresponsibly it has been dressed up since then by designers infected with the flashiness of window decorators!--so that it is quite understandable to prefer to return again and again to good old Schinkel, who immortalized one aspect of the Mozart work, the serious and austere. The other aspect, the fantastic, is still unex-

---

2. Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841). German architect of the classical tradition, active in theater architecture and scene design for Count von Bruehl. His design for "The Magic Flute" (January 18, 1816) became a milestone in scene design.

plored. This aspect suits the art of our time, the abstract ("abstract" is not "nonobjective"!). "The Magic Flute" is typical of works that are capable of coming to life again and again in new forms.

Today, when up-to-dateness, relevance, and direct topicality are demanded of the theater, the drama is naturally in the forefront and likely to eclipse opera (whose concerns are so entirely different) as something remote and anachronistic. This apparent deficiency can however be the greatest advantage, for opera is predisposed primarily to style; it is essentially abstract in contrast to the realistic spoken drama because it requires a high degree of artificiality to present thought and feeling in song rather than prose. This simple fact is a preeminent factor creating style, and everything in opera that is reproachful from a realistic standpoint becomes the opposite from the standpoint of style. Everything that was branded by the naturalistic period as excessive--for example, the fact that in the old Milan Opera celebrated divas were carried to the stage apron in sedan chairs and then picked up at the end of their arias--was at one time extolled as "form," and can be again today. For herein lie the roots of the new opera!

It should be as artificial as possible! It should acknowledge what in fact it is: an abstraction, a primarily formal, aesthetic matter. Once this is borne in mind, a whole chain of consequences follow. The fact that the per-

formers sing necessarily changes their behavior, not only their physical behavior, but also their position and movement in the space of the stage.*

And so with the music, the orchestra, the harmony of the instruments! Each instrument has its own laws and peculiarities, far from anything naturalistic, but pregnant with a style that lies deep in the nature of music, in its abstract potential. (I once asked if there were such a thing as Communist music. According to a newspaper article Soviet Russia is supposed to have actually set up guidelines for political music, according to which "Wozzeck" and "Jonny spielt auf," for example, were declared outlaw.)

---

*(Author's note) It is--from the standpoint of style--completely erroneous to demand of the singer that he behave "naturally" in the sense of the dramatic actor. Singing forces him into a very definite mode of behavior that is different from that of the ordinary actor, different from that of the dancer. The often disjointed, comical movement of the singer, insofar as it is not really just ineptitude, comes from the effort to unite vocal power with histrionic movement, the latter being derived and determined by the primary element, the singing. To my knowledge there is no "school of movement for singers," or it is founded on false premises. Such a school is however of great importance for the new opera. With the Hindemith operas "Nusch-Nuschi" and, especially, "Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen" (Kokoschka) in the Stuttgart Landestheater [June 1921], I had the opportunity to participate in the direction of the singers' movement. Blessed by the director (Dr. Otto Erhardt), accepted gladly by the performers, there arose new, strange forms of movement, derived entirely from the music--at that time, in 1921, we didn't know anything of the Russians! This collaboration is one of my most gratifying memories in the theater.

When we reach the point where the scenic, the pictorial, the stage design is not forced to create naturalistic milieus (even straight "pictures of life," I mean the commonplace things of life today, such as the sports stadium and boxing ring, the factory and machine shop, the car and radio), when on the other hand it is possible to create directly from theatrical means, from the material of the scenic stage (disposition of space, organization of areas, three-dimensionality of scene, as well as colors in their elementary appearances, the phenomenon of light in its manifold forms), then I believe that a unity and purity of style will be achieved, one that unites voice, instrument, and scene in their true, unique natures.

The tempo of our times, the pursuit of sensationalism, which has legitimately found a place in the theater, will draw into the realm of performance and creativeness everything that our age gives rise to. Not only the subjects of current events but also the technical innovations of our age. Seldom in history was everything in such flux and metamorphosis as today, so that no one can predict what will happen tomorrow. Mechanical music, Busoni's "Ton-Fabrik,"[3]

---

3. Ferruccio Busoni (1866-1924). Italian pianist and composer, best known for his piano transcriptions of Bach's organ music. He wrote on musical and aesthetic subjects (see his Sketch of a New Esthetic, 1911). The "Ton-Fabrik," or roughly "sound generator," was presumably an electronic instrument--see next note.

Theremin's or Jorg Mager's "spherophone,"[4] the sound film--progress races forward, and the pioneers of modern music (Hindemith, Weill, and others) are trying to capture contemporary themes and relevance in opera ("Royal Palace," "Neues vom Tage," "Lindberghs Flug"). But creativity and ingenuity, the feeling for the essence of the new phenomena, the fashioning of all this into form and style, will always be decisive for operas of all kind.

Postscript: I [illegible]elled to clarify my ominous (from the modern sta[illegible]) statement: "old operas should be presented in the s[illegible]e in which they are conceived and written." I am, as a modernist, against the modernization of unsuitable objects, and against the danger of mannerism and monotony that lies in the applicat[illegible] of any one stylistic principle exclusively. Simplifying the stage (props) meant a thorough purge of "scene-painting" from scenery; as it turned out, with the use of lights, transparencies, and projection, there was enough left over to satisfy the requirements of illusion. But then to bring everything, from "Fidelio" to "Fledermaus," into line with this concept seems to me faulty theatrically. I would thus prefer certain

---

4. One of several electrophonic (electronic) instruments that produce sounds by electrical appliances, such as vacuum-tube oscillators, photoelectric cells, electromagnetic systems. The "electric" organ is a popular present-day instrument of this kind. Leon Theremin, a Russian scientist, invented his instrument in 1924, and an instrument still in use bears his name as a trademark. The "Theremin" produces

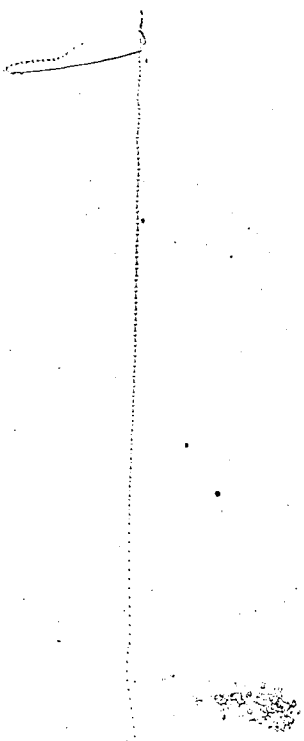
(note continued)

old operas whose nature is a certain fragrance (even if it is old) and magic (even if illusionistic) to modern forms, if only out of an interest in diversity and variation, which the theater requires. Everything depends on the how, on what way a modernist comes to terms with traditional tools.

---

pitch and volume changes by the waving of the hands near two antennas. The excitement in the 1920s over "electrophones" may be compared to the interest in the 1960s in the Moog synthesizer.

10. The Academic Studio Theater (1930)



The Academic Studio Theater

It will always be to the credit of the Weimar Bauhaus for having taken the decisive step at the time (1919) of binding the problems of contemporary art to the realities of the crafts, and getting young art students to recognize that the possibilities for expression are not confined to painting. This fertile approach to teaching was generally accepted, and prudent instinct moved academies of art to establish craft workshops. For in a time of increasing economic difficulties the academies, a legacy of an aristocratic period, stood in danger of cultivating a proletariat of artists, an irresponsible act. When the young painter also paints walls, acquires knowledge of materials such as wood, metal, and textiles, this leads him to a recognition of the relativity of his accustomed tools of paint, brush, and canvas; teaches him to think in materials, and possibly even recognize that in the crafts he might accomplish something better, something more appropriate to his nature, than in the often tragic course of so exclusive a craft as art.

"Akademie und Bühnenstudio," from the exhibition catalog "Ausstellung des Studierenden" (Student Show), Staatliche Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe Breslau, June 1930. At the time this article was written, Schlemmer was teaching a course "Man and Space" at the Breslau academy. The article may have been written as a plea for the establishment of a studio theater in the academy.

With the breaking up and isolation of the individual areas of art, the time came to reconsider their ancient line of descent, of which architecture must be the original progenitor. By virtue of its orchestral, combining character--namely, that the architectural structure dictates the form and style of everything else, from simple objects to painting and sculpture--architecture has a mission, a mission that is all the more important if concepts such as Gestaltung, unity, and style are not to be deprived of their meaning. The pioneering work of modern architecture--the discovery of the beauty of large flat surfaces, the discovery of the integrity of the functional and the mechanics of living--permitted it to disregard all connections with the ideal; it became self-sufficient. This purification was necessary--the tabula rasa needed for architecture to approach the problem of shaping walls and buildings with new vigor. Success to those schools of art that understand the signs of the time and prepare the way for them!

Next to architecture, the stage is also an all-embracing kind of field, which requires the organization of many individual fields in order to become effective. Above all, however, it requires the corporeal reality of man, his direct presence. If painting and sculpture "re-present" man, and architecture creates the space in which he lives his private or public existence, on the stage man himself becomes the object and subject of art, the bearer of form,

Gestaltung, style. Here he is not "re-presented man," but "man present."[1] He is no longer represented (as subject), but presents himself (in person). Thus, considered pedagogically, the theater can be a valuable help in developing body-awareness; it can overcome social and physical alienation, and through movement and dance, gymnastics, and body sculpture, it can thrust into view the spiritual and dramatic substance of the body. (Thus it is a desirable complement of life-drawing, the final aim of which, next to learning to draw, ought to be the awakening of feeling for one's own body.)

Understood as an abstraction, as a world with its own logic, bound to number, measure, and space, the stage lends a different significance to the everyday functions of human movement. The simple process of standing and walking becomes a problem on the stage. The natural dualisms of man--body and spirit, mechanism and organism--become a problem. The Word and its creative forms, speech and poetry, become a problem. Everything that happens to the individual, each alteration of his shape, from simple covering and draping to the sculpted costume of disguise, the symmetry and asymmetry of these, as well as masks and props, becomes a prob-

---

1. The word play in the German does not come through well in translation: Schlemmer is calling attention to various meanings of the word "bilden" by hyphenating the words "ab-bilden" and "ge-bildete."

lem, that is, a subject of exploration that is not trivial. Everything that happens around the individual becomes problematic: scenic variations of the environment, the up and down of stairways, props, flats (wings), and the spaces shaped by these things. Form, material structure and treatment, color, light, light[illegible] transparencies, projection and film attest to the multiplicity of scenic means to be used and mastered.

In a pedagogical and therefore scientific sense, coming to terms with the elements of the stage means at least an enrichment of the imagination through the very fact of having dealt directly with them. In place of Platonic reflection and a still-life consideration of the visual world, there is active, physical penetration of and intermingling with these elements. Since different theater schools have more or less specialized subject areas--dance in dance schools, voice and mime in acting schools, usually only figure drawing and set design for the "commercial theater" in theater-design classes--since therefore the systematic research of the elemental means of the theater, in the sense of a direct, active application, is scarcely being undertaken anywhere, it is encumbent on a modern, forward-looking school to set up a workshop for this purpose in the form of a "studio theater." Whereas university theater departments are more or less historically set up to catalog the theatrical events of past and present, an academic

studio of the kind described will be able to work in the future, since it will begin without preconditions, "as if the world was just being created," with the elements and their root-like creative power. There is still no compendium of stage elements, no catechism for the director, no theory of harmony for the stage.

In the realm of handicraft, the making of for example sculpted masks is an "applied" branch of sculpture and affords possibilities for development with regard to the materials as well as the imagination. An example: the perfectly crafted and artistically perfect masks of the Japanese and Chinese theater, the wild fantasy of the exotic (although obviously today the important thing is creating new forms of expression). So it is with costume, with the entire setting, which at bottom is an organism, protean, open to continuous change, that must be mastered through the crafts. For example, whereas it is usually hardly possible, the material and psychological values of colors can be illustrated under different and changing light conditions--visual instruction, color theory <u>in concreto</u>.

The dematerialized figure, the art-figure in the form of the marionette, whether two-dimensional or filled out to over life-size, is a matter of handicraft, just like small-scale stage machinery, instruments for light, color, sound, and music. Not the least, graphic recording of dramatic action, choreography, blocking, the promptbook,

and the score all need to be explored, and some means should be found for recording them in generally readable form. Finally, in a "drama studio" ideas, materials, and themes can be gathered, examined, and adapted, fixed in some graphic form, and prepared for presentation on stage.

Challenges, problems, and work without end.

11. Scene Design and the Elements of the Stage (1930)

Scene Design and the Elements of the Stage

The painter, scene designer, or other creative artist is faced with two fundamentally different tasks in the theater. They depend on whether he sets out his work or the work is set out for him, whether he is the servant of the work, something set, or the creator of something new. He serves the work (and this is usually the task of the stage designer) when he provides the scenic dress for a given play, whether opera, drama, or ballet, in old or new style, so that the intentions of the work become literally visible as best as possible. This kind of task does not preclude a high degree of artistic creativity, and even less the more the work to be designed can be reconciled to, or is even congenial with, the personal style of the designer. The more personally therefore the artist's style is defined, the fewer will be the number of works that he can "serve." It will prove impossible for him to design, for example, an opera in the grand style, say Handel, one day and "Im weissen Rössl" (White Horse Inn) the next. But the operation of most theaters today demands just this from the designer, who is, if he has strong character, artistically ruined by such work,

---

"Bühnenbild und Bühnenelemente," from the exhibition catalog "Theaterkunst," Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich, 1931.

or he belongs to that category of confectioners who routinely select any style, including the latest fad, from their well-stocked warehouse. What devastation is done to the most precious works and what wretched distortion results, especially in visually expressive works, when the designer obscures, misinterprets, or destroys the true meaning of a work!

When I look back on my own design work, it is not always with pleasant memories. The most pleasant are the two Hindemith works, "Murder, Hope of Women" and "Nusch-Nuschi," done at Stuttgart in 1921. I was allowed complete freedom in the design, and even participated in the directing. This necessity, which directors usually do not or only unwillingly permit, later proved all the more crucial with the production of Stravinsky's "Reynard the Fox" by the Breslau Opera, which I both designed and directed, and which I count among my most finished pieces of work. Everything else was compromise; whether because limited resources or lack of time did not permit a thorough job, or the scenery was original but the costumes from stock, or--and this was usually my greatest concern--the directing followed lines other than those of the design. To say nothing of the spiritual and physical motions of the actors and singers on stage, which ought to represent a world other than everyday life at home and on the street.[1]

---

1. As an example of an "unpleasant" experience, Schlemmer may (note continued)

More important to me, therefore, is that other kind of activity in the theater: that which is unconstrained, creative, formative.

My "Triadic Ballet," begun before the war and first performed in 1922, has achieved a certain notoriety in the course of time, which I can only explain by the absence of similar productions and because of its unpremeditated novelty. After I moved from painting into relief art and polychromic sculpture, it did not take much of a jump to put such plastic images on dancers and bring them to life through movement in space. In costuming there was the attraction of the materials--metallic sheens, colored enameled finishes, padded forms--the original, the imaginative. The other attraction was choreography--gait, gesture, movement, dance--in closest harmony with the musical design. "Triadic," taken from trias, meaning trio or triad, alludes to the three-part division of the dance work--a gay farcical part in lemon yellow, a solemn and dignified part in rose, and an abstract metaphysical part in black. Three dancers--one woman and two men--perform 12 dances in 18 costumes. (The ballet was last performed in 1925 at the music festival in Donauseschingen with music for a mechanical organ composed

---

have had in mind his work for the 1930 production of Schönberg's "Glückliche Hand." In a letter June 5, 1930 (see Letters and Diaries) Schlemmer noted that Schönberg was in a "milder mood today," adding "I would have handled the directing better. Never got a chance." In a 1928 revival of the same work with the Breslau Opera, Schönberg ordered every detail of the staging.

especially for this performance by Paul Hindemith. At this time the work is ready for revival in a new, third version.)

When in 1925 Walter Gropius made possible a theater workshop at the Bauhaus in Dessau, I was able to continue there work already begun with the "Triadic Ballet" and step-by-step to build on the fundamentals of the theater, to research and make use of its elements. The results of this work were shown in several cities in 1929.[2] Today this work is at a standstill for lack of resources.[3]

The structure, principles, and theory of the stage emerged from practical experimentation and lively improvisation. Space and man proved to be the polar components of all performance. The planimetric and stereometric concept of space led to the establishment of geometries of the stage floor and its surrounding space, to a division of space into skeletal, two-dimensional, and solid forms. Color, light, illumination, transparencies, and projections were demonstrated on both flat and solid objects--props, wings, volumes of space. And then man: the event of his being; his special existence on the stage; the meaning created by a gesture, a gait, a walk in the stage lights; the dualism of

---

2. A reference to the tour of the Bauhaus theater workshop company in Germany; see appendix 4 here.
3. Schlemmer is undoubtedly referring to the lack of a theater workshop at the Breslau Academy of Art, where he was teaching at the time this article was written. He may also be referring to the fact that experimentation in the arts had begun to abate by 1931, owing to pressure from the Nazis.

his existence as an organic, flesh-and-blood, feeling and thinking individual on the one hand, and on the other as a mechanical contraption, a fixed and regulated structure of bones and joints. Thus, the twofold nature of his movements, differentiated in physical, gymnastic impulses versus spiritual, dramatic impulses. Bound together in space, possessed by it, man's own dimension and laws mix with the dimension and laws of space. Thus the transformation of the human figure, balancing and unbalancing it visually and physically; depersonalizing it in favor of the typical, thereby providing a new basis for differentiation--this is the multifarious realm of the costume and mask.

As I have said, practice preceded theory. It ripened into demonstrations and illustrations of simple theatrical events, dances, and plays, like the "Space Dance"--walking, marching, leaping within strictly defined units of space; the "Dance of Forms"--with props such as a staff, pole, club, ball; the "Dance of Gestures"--walking, standing, lying, sitting, gesticulating, inarticulate speech, and the struggle with objects intruding in space; the "Dance of Slats"--with slats attached to the arms and legs to extend the instruments of movement; the "Hoop Dance" and the dance of the Uebermarionettes, created from various large wooden play hoops; the "Play with Building Blocks," with variously colored blocks; the "Dance of the Stage Wings"--the dramatics of walls and passageways; the "Glass Dance" and "Metal

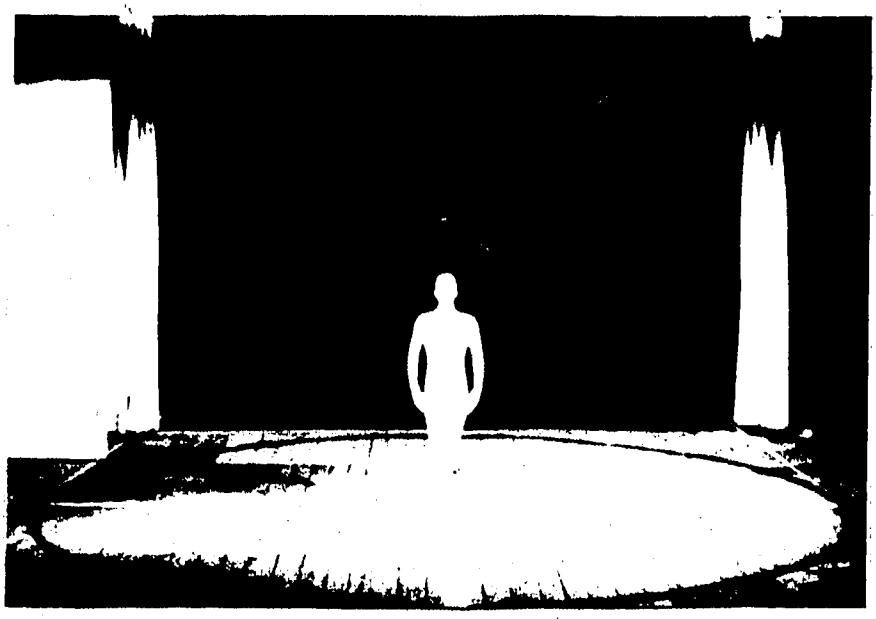
Dance"--created out of pleasure in the materials and the new possibilities for dance that these materials provided; the "Wives' Dance"--danced by men, with exaggerated costumes and masks; the "Musical Clown," an exploration of the borderline territory between the comic and grotesque; the "Company of Masks"--a meaningless convocation of a phantom chorus from the nether world, to the beating of drums and clinking of glass. And so on... (see Figures 16-24).[4]

Is such work elitist, too specialized, even intellectualist? Where is the advantage to the theater, to the official theater, which is everywhere struggling for its spiritual and material life?

In times of stagnation, when an idling organism needs new impulses, it may be beneficial to reconsider first-principles and to subject the chaotic inventory of the theater to a thorough purge and reorganization. If purification can be achieved in just one part of the vast realm of theater with respect to the elements of form, color, and space, and with respect to these what man means and can mean, perhaps this will be an inducement to do the same in all areas of the theater--in language, sound, speech, music--so that one day they may all be united in a fresh scheme, using pure means, toward a new end.

---

4. Several of these dances have been recreated in the film "Man and Mask." See part VI of the bibliography.



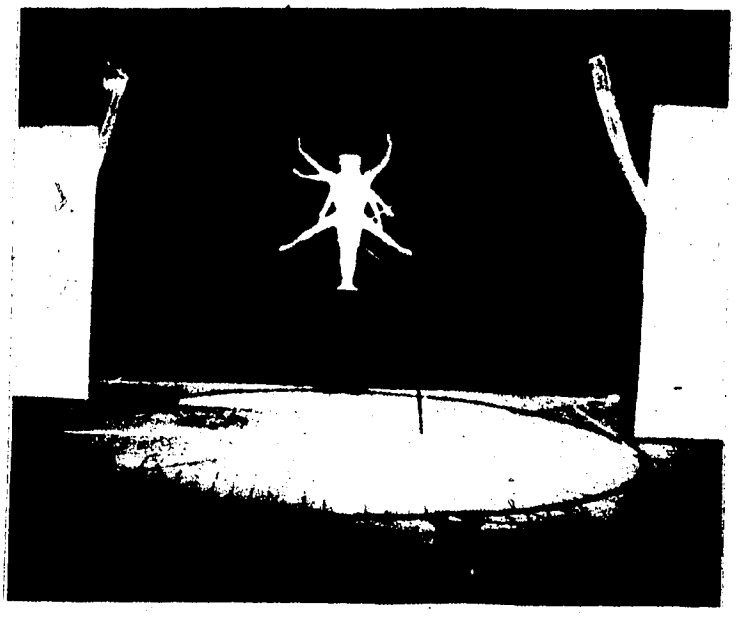


Figure 16

A: Scene photo from "Space Dance" (Raumtanz), 1927, later called "Space Lineature with Figure" (Raumlineatur mit Figur). The stage floor (of the theater at the Dessau Bauhaus) is painted with lines and a circle indicating the midpoint of the stage (these lines were permanent). The "midpoint of space" is established by bright strings tied at the edges of the stage. (From Wingler, 1969, p. 473.)

B: A variation of the above, entitled "Figure in Space with Plane Geometry and Spatial Lines" (Figur im Raum mit Bodengeometrie und Raumlinien). Scene photo from a lecture-demonstration given by Schlemmer, March 1927. (From bauhaus, vol. 3, no. 1.)

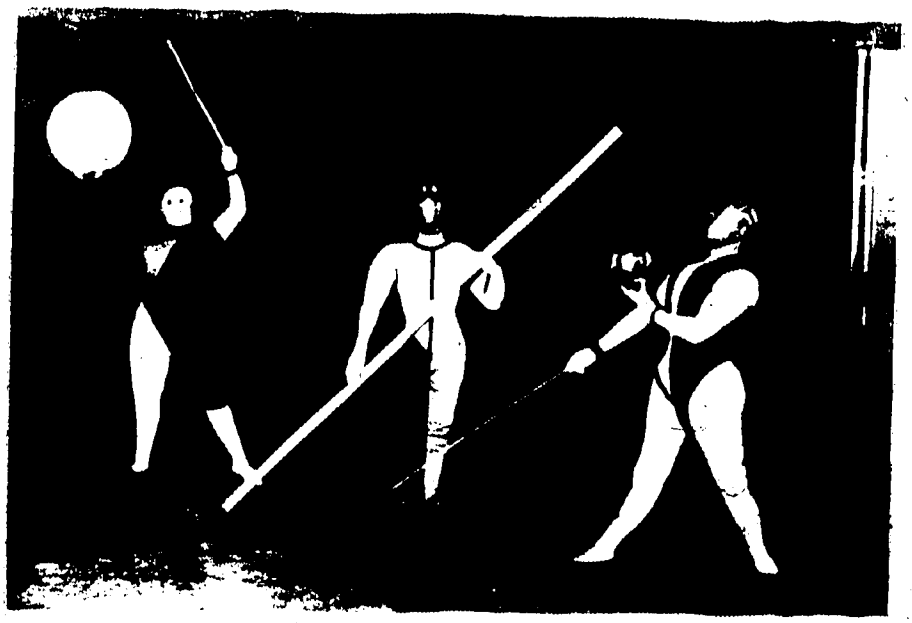


Figure 17. Scene photo from "Dance of Forms" (Formentanz), 1927. (From bauhaus, vol. 3, no. 1.)

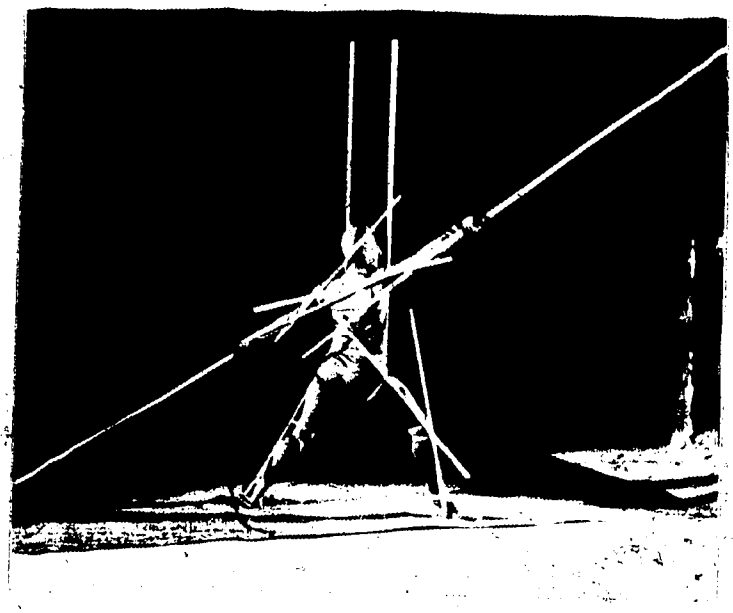


Figure 18. Scene photo from Schlemmer's "Dance of Slats" (Stäbetanz), 1927. (From the exhibition catalog no. 9a, listed in part VI of the bibliography.)

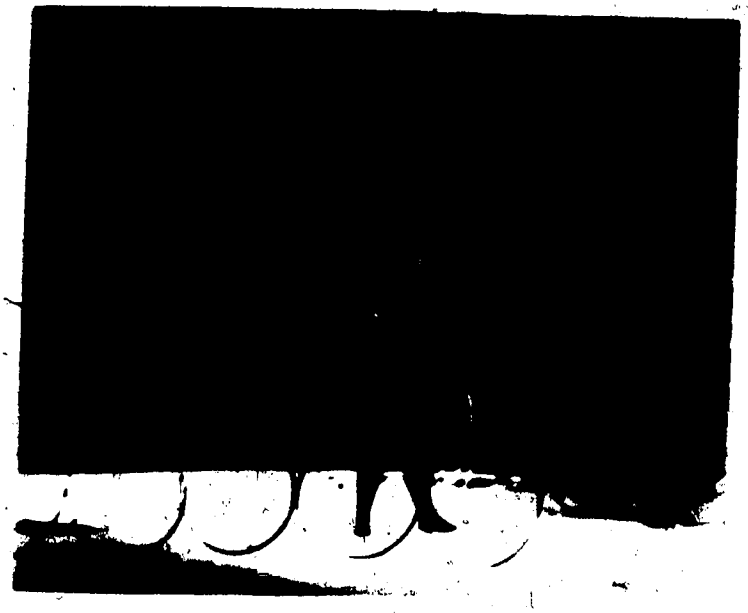


Figure 19. Scene photo from Schlemmer's "Dance of Hoops" (Reifentanz). (From the exhibition catalog no. 9a, listed in part VI of the bibliography.)

Figure 20. Scene photo from Schlemmer's "Play with Building Blocks" (Baukastenspiel), ca. 1926. "On stage there is a wall made of building blocks...: Three fellows crawl out from behind it. They take down the wall, piece by piece, place one piece at one point in space and carry another somewhere else. They throw the blocks at one another, just as bricklayers throw bricks. Finally, they build a tower and dance around it triumphantly" (review of a 1929 performance, National Zeitung, Basel, April 30, 1929, translated in Wingler, 1969, p. 158). (From the exhibition catalog no 16.)

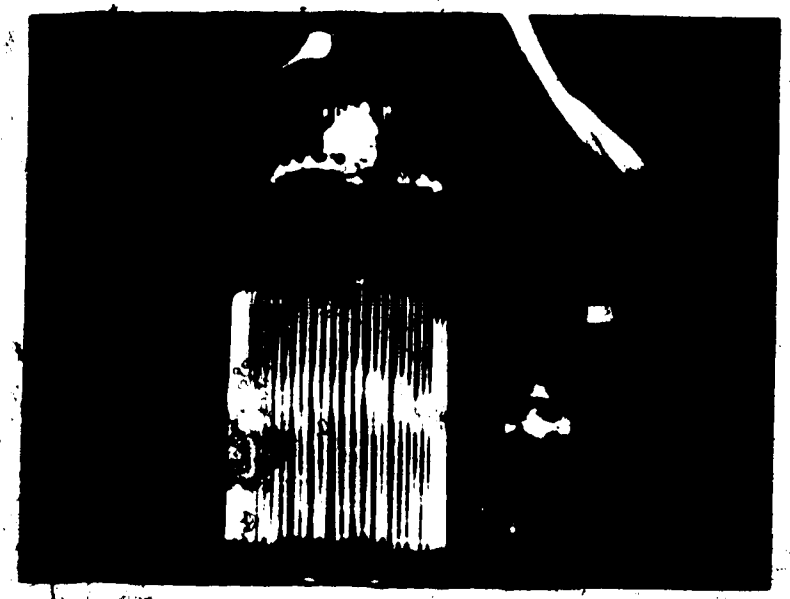


Figure 21. Scene photo of Schlemmer's "Glass Dance" (Glastanz), 1929. (From the exhibition catalog no. 16.)

Figure 22. Scene photo of Schlemmer's "Metal Dance" (Metalltanz), 1929. (From Wingler, 1969, p. 250.)

Figure 23. Scene photo from Schlemmer's "Wives' Dance" (Frauentanz), 1929. (From Bayer and Gropius, 1938.)

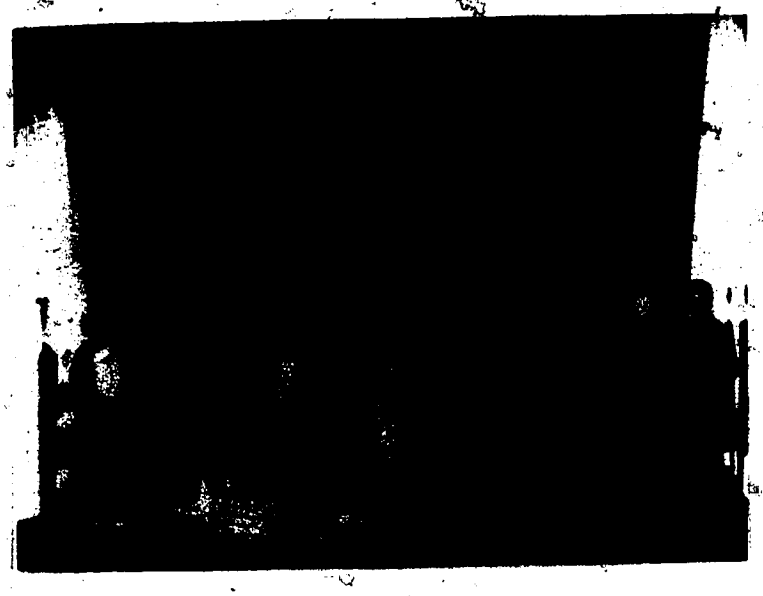


Figure 24. Scene photo of Schlemmer's "Company of Masks" (Maskengesellschaft), ca. 1929. (From Wingler, 1969, p. 521.)

References and Literature

I. Bibliographies on Schlemmer

II. Schlemmer's Published Writings (Theater)

III. Schlemmer s Unpublished Manuscripts (Theater)

IV. Article Lectures, Essays

V. Books

VI. Selected Exhibitions and Films

VII. Selected Bauhaus Documents

VIII. General References

I. Bibliographies on Schlemmer

HILDEBRANDT, Hans *Oskar Schlemmer*, Munich (Prestel): 1952

SCHEPER, Dirk *Oskar Schlemmer: Das Triadische Ballett und die Bauhausbühne*, dissertation, University of Vienna, 1970

VOLLMER, H., ed. *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler* (Thieme-Becker series), Leipzig: 1936

----- *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler des XX. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig: 1958

II. Schlemmer's Published Writings (Theater)

Bibliographies of Schlemmer's published writings appear in Hildebrandt, 1952, and Scheper, 1970. Hildebrandt lists a total of 39 published articles; however, three are actually duplicates of others (but not so indicated). The majority of the real total of 36 deal with the theater. A revised bibliography, newly researched and emended, of Schlemmer's published articles on theater is given here. The texts of over half of these have been translated in this volume. References to catalogs are to those exhibition catalogs listed in part VI of the bibliography. The citation Briefe refers to Briefe und Tagebücher (Letters and Diaries of Oskar Schlemmer), Tut Schlemmer, ed., 1958.

(1) "Ballett?", program for the premiere of the "Triadic Ballet," September 20, 1922; reprinted in Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar 1919-1923, Walter Gropius, ed., 1923, pp. 145-146; excerpt in Expressionistisches Theater, Lothar Schreyer, 1948, pp. 52-55; excerpt in catalog 9a, p. 15.

(2) "Mensch und Kunstfigur" (Man and Art-Figure), in Die Bühne im Bauhaus, Oskar Schlemmer and L. Moholy-Nagy, eds., 1925; reprinted in Individualität, II, 3 (1927), pp. 41-54; also in Vivos voco, V (1926), pp. 282-292; also in Baukunst und Werkform, VIII, 4 (1955), pp. 212-221; English tr. in Theater of the Bauhaus, A. Wensinger, tr., 1961. (Cf. unpublished mss. nos. 1 and 2.)

(3) "Der theatralische Kostümtanz" (The Theatrical Costume-Dance), in Europa Almanach, Paul Westheim, ed., 1925, pp. 189-191.

(4) "Tänzerische Mathematik" (Dancing Mathematics), in Anbruch, VIII, 3/4 (1926) (special issue: "Tanz in unserer Zeit"), p. 123f; also in Vivos voco, V, 8/9, (Aug/Sept, 1926) (special issue: "Bauhaus"); English tr. in Bauhaus, H. Wingler, ed., 1969, p. 118.

(5) "Bühne und Bauhaus" (Theater and the Bauhaus), in Druck und Werbekunst, No. 7, 1926 (special issue: "Bauhaus"), p. 407; English tr. in Bauhaus, H. Wingler, ed., 1969, p. 117.

(6) "Die Bühne im Bauhaus" (Theater in the Bauhaus), in bauhaus, I, 1 (1926), p. 3.

(7) "Warum Ballett?" (Why Ballet?), notes on the "Triadic Ballet" in connection with the 1926 performance at the Donaueschingen Music Festival; original ms. in two drafts, dated July 5, 1926; in Briefe, p. 201f.

(8) "Abstraktes Theater" (Abstract Theater), in Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung, January 1, 1927.

(9) "Ausblicke auf Bühne und Tanz" (A Look at Theater and Dance), in Melos, VI, 12 (1927), pp. 520-524.

(10) "Bühne" (Theater), lecture-demonstration held at the Bauhaus, March 16, 1927. Text in bauhaus, I, 3 (1927), pp. 1-4; also under the title "Bauhausbühne" in Werk, XV, 1 (1928), pp. 8-13; English tr. in Theater of the Bauhaus, A. Wensinger, tr., 1961; excerpt in bauhaus, III, 4 (1929), pp. 1-5; excerpt under the title "Die Versuchsbühne im Bauhaus" in Baukunst und Werkform, VIII, 4 (1955), p. 220.

(11) "Der entfesselte Bühnenraum" (The Liberated Stage), in Berliner Tageblatt, April 6, 1927; also in Bühnentechnische Rundschau, No. 6, 1927, p. 8.

"Mechanische Ballett" (Mechanical Ballet), in Tanz und Reigen, Ignaz Gentges, ed., 1927, pp. 80-83.

"Moderne Bühnenmittel" (Modern Theater Resources), in Magdeburgische Zeitung, May 15, 1927; also in Scene; XIX (1929), pp. 258-261.

(14) "Der neue Bühnenbau" (Modern Theater Architecture) and "Die Bühne im Bauhaus" (Theater in the Bauhaus), in Almanach des Theater der Stadt Münster i. W., 1927, pp. 68 and 71, respectively; second article also in catalog no. 9a, p. 25.

(15) "Abstraktion in Tanz und Kostüm" (Abstraction in Dance and Costume), in Die Tat, XVIII (1927), pp. 621-624; English tr. (excerpt) in Cahiers Renaud-Barrault, No. 46 (October, 1964), p. 101ff.

(16) "Piscator und das moderne Theater" (Piscator and the Modern Theater), in Das neue Frankfurt, II, 2 (1928), pp. 22-26; English tr. in Art and the Stage in the Twentieth Century, H. Rischbieter, ed., 1969.

(17) "Neue Formen der Bühne" (New Forms of Theater), in Schünemanns Monatsheft, No. 10, 1928, pp. 1062-1072 (includes color plates and b/w photos).

(18) "Ueber den wissenschaftlichen Charakter der Arbeit an der Versuchsbühne am Bauhaus" (On the Scientific Character of the Work of the Bauhaus Experimental Theater), in catalog no. 9a, pp. 23-24. (Original ms. undated; catalog dates the ms. 1925-26, but both Hildebrandt and Scheper give 1928.)

(19) "Alte und neue Oper" (The Old and New Opera), in Die Oper, Blätter des Breslauer Stadttheaters, 1929, pp. 108-112; variation published under the title "Alte Oper--Neue Oper," in Kunstblatt, XIV, 8 (August, 1930), pp. 242-245; also in Bühnentechnische Rundschau, No. 5, 1930, p. 5f.

(20) "Bühnenelemente" (Elements of the Stage), lecture held in Dessau, Breslau, Frankfurt, Suttgart, and Basel, 1929, in connection with the tour of the Bauhaus theater workshop company, in catalog no. 12, pp. 23-24 (illus); French tr. ("Elements Scenique") in Cahiers Renaud-Barrault, No. 52 (December, 1965). (Original ms. 27 pages, dated April 17, 1929, Dessau; cf. the 1931 lecture by the same title, item no. 25 below.)

(21) "Neue Bauhaustänze" (New Bauhaus-Dances), in Die Dame, LVI, 17 (1929), pp. 14-16.

(22) "Totaltheater der Zukunft" (The Total Theater of the Future), in Neue Leipziger Zeitung, June 20, 1929. (Original ms. in two drafts, 2 and 4 pages, respectively, titled "Ueber das kommende Theater.")

(23) "Akademie und Bühnenstudio" (Studio Theater and the Academy), in the catalog of the annual student exhibition of the Staatliche Akademie für Kunst und Kunstgewerb, Breslau, 1930, pp. 9-12.

(24) "Misverständnisse" (Some Misunderstandings), in Schrifttanz, Organ der deutschen Gesellschaft für Schrifttanz, IV, 2 (1931); pp. 27-29. (Reply to an an article by Ernst Kallai, "Zwischen Kulttanz und Variete," Schrifttanz, IV, 1.)

(25) "Bühnenelemente" (Elements of the Stage), lecture held at the Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich, April 14, 1931, in connection with International Theater Week and the exhibition "Theaterkunst," in Das neue Forum. No. 8, 1951/52, pp. 113-121 (illus); excerpt in catalog no. 9a. (Original ms. 19 pages, dated April 19, 1931.)

(26) "Bühnenbild und Bühnenelemente" (Stage Design and the Elements of the Theater), in catalog no. 4. (Published article signed "April 11, 1931, Breslau.")

(27) "Le Ballet Triadique," in Archives internationale de la Danse, October, 1932, pp. 15-16.

III. Schlemmer's Unpublished Manuscripts (Theater)

Bibliographies of Schlemmer's unpublished manuscripts appear in Hildebrandt, 1952, and Scheper, 1970. The bibliography published in Hildebrandt was compiled by Tut Schlemmer. The bibliography published in Scheper is based on the author's own examination of the papers of Oskar Schlemmer.

Hildebrandt shows 53 unpublished manuscripts; some items listed were actually published in some form after Schlemmer's death or have been published since the publication of the bibliography. Scheper continued the practice of listing as published only those writings published during the lifetime of Schlemmer; all other writings were regarded as unpublished. Scheper's bibliography contains careless errors of fact.

The manuscripts listed below remain unpublished to date, and are preserved in the Schlemmer Archive in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart. Only those manuscripts that deal with theater are listed here. Unless otherwise indicated, descriptions of the manuscripts reflect agreement between Hildebrandt and Scheper. Catalog references are to exhibition catalogs listed in part VI of this bibliography. H = Hildebrandt; S = Scheper.

(1) "Mensch und Kunstfigur" (Man and Art-Figure), ms (H: 8 pp, S: 10 pp), undated (H: 192[illegible] S: 1924). Cf. item no. 2 in part II of this bibliography.

(2) "Kunst und Bühne" (Art and the Stage), ms, first draft for Bauhausbuch no. 4 (Die Bühne am Bauhaus), 10 pp, incomplete, undated (H: 1925). Excerpt in catalog no. 9a, p. 17; cf. item no. 2 in part II of this bibliography.

(3) "Zum Bühnenbild: Grabbes 'Don Juan und Faust'" (On Designing Grabbe's "Don Juan and Faust"), ms for an article in connection with the 1925 production at the National Theater, Weimar, designed by Schlemmer, 2 pp, undated.

(4a) "Der Bühnenbildner--Grabbe, Dienst am Werk" (The Stage Designer--Grabbe, Fidelity to the Work), ms, 1 p, draft for an article, undated, 1925 (ms cited in Scheper only).

(4b) "Der Bühnenbildner" (The Stage Designer), ms, 4 pp, undated, ca. 1925 (ms cited in Hildebrandt only).

(5) "Malerei oder Bühne: Dialog zwischen Lövenskjold und Schoppe" (Painting or Theater: A Dialog Between Lövenskjold and Schoppe), ms, 6 pp, dated July 19, 1925. ("Schoppe" was Schlemmer's stage name. "Schoppe" and "Lövenskjold" are names for the same character in Jean Paul's Titan and Siebenkäs. This work is a self-dialog.)

(6) "Bauhaus und Bühne" (Bauhaus and Theater), draft for a lecture not given (see Scheper, p. 202, and Briefe, Jan. 3, 1926); H: 5 pp, script with pen drawings, undated, 1926; S: 7 pp, of which 5 are handwritten, undated, 1925/26. (Cf. item no. 7 below; the lecture was planned for the students and faculty of the Bauhaus as an outline of Schlemmer's plans for theater within the overall concept of the Bauhaus.)

(7) "Bühne und Bauhaus" (Theater and the Bauhaus), another draft for a lecture not given (cf. no. 6 above), 4 pp, undated, ca. 1926 (S: incomplete).

(8) "Bühne" (Theater), lecture ms, 3 pp, undated, 1927 (ms cited in Scheper only).

(9) "Meine Stellung zum Theater" (My Position on Theater), ms, according to catalog no. 9a "presumably for a theater program, Dessau, June 3, 1927," in which catalog an excerpt appears, p. 31; excerpt also in Cahiers Renaud-Barrault, No. 46 (October, 1964), p. 101ff. (Ms not cited in either Hildebrandt or Scheper.)

(10) "Bühnentheorie" (Stage Theory), ms for lectures at the Dessau Bauhaus, 40 pp, incomplete, undated, 1928 (ms cited in Hildebrandt only).

(11) "Zum Problem des modernen Theaters" (The Problem of Modern Theater); S: two complete and one incomplete drafts for an article, undated, 1928; H: "article published, place and form of publication unknown, published in 1928, ms in three drafts"; excerpt in catalog no. 9a, p. 26, in which it is noted "from an unpublished article, 1927/28." (Publication not verified.)

(12) "Verteidigungsrede in Sachen Bühne" (In Defense of the Stage), ms, 9 pp, for a lecture "Materielles und Idelles," presented to the faculty and students of the Bauhaus, September 26, 1928.

(13) Notes for an article ("für Dresden Dr. Erhardt"), 7 pp, undated, 1928 (cited in Scheper only).

(14) "Tanz und Pantomime," ms, 13 pp, for a lecture held

March 22, 1929, Breslau, prior to a performance of the Bauhaus theater company; S: two previous drafts, "Pantomime, Ballett, Marionette," 3 pp, undated, and "Tanz und Pantomime," 4 pp, dated March 18, 1929; H: three drafts.

(15) "Holzpuppenmalerei" (Marionette Painting), ms, 2 pp, undated, 1930 (cited in Hildebrandt only). According to catalog no. 14, p. 24, the ms is dated August 23, 1930.

(16) "Ueber das Ballett Schlemmers" (Schlemmer's Ballets), 3 pp, undated, 1932.

(17) "Formale Elemente der Bühne" (Formal Elements of the Stage), ms for a lecture given in Wiesbaden and Saarbrucken, March 7-8, 1933, 29 pp, dated March 4, 1933. This same lecture ms may have been read in a slightly different version as "Formale Bühnenelemente" for the Freundekreis der Staatlichen Kunstbibliothek, Berlin, March 7, 1932, in connection with a theater exhibition (see Klara, 1932, and Briefe, entry for March 21, 1932).

(18) "Rückblick auf mein Triadisches Ballett" (Looking Back on My Triadic Ballet), ms, 3 pp, undated (H: 1936, S: 1935).

IV. Articles, Lectures, Essays

References to catalogs are to exhibition catalogs listed in part VI of this bibliography.

ADAMS /Teltscher/, George "Memories of a Bauhaus Student," Architectural Review, September 1968, pp. 192-194.

ANDERS, Ursula "Der Mensch im Mittelpunkt. Zum 75. Geburtstag Oskar Schlemmers," Die Kommenden (Freiburg), XVII, 17 (1963), pp. 9-10.

BAUMEISTER, Willy "Oskar Schlemmer," in the program for the production of "I Hear America Singing," Kammerspiele, Stuttgarter Neues Theater, 1946.

BEHRENS, Peter "Ideen zu einer festlichen Schaubühne," in Ein Dokument deutscher Kunst: die Ausstellung der Darmstädter Künstlerkolonie, Darmstadt, 1901, pp. 300-319. Cf. Behrens, part V of this bibliography.

BINDER-HAGELSTANGE, Ursula "Kubistische Theaterdekorationen," Kunstwerk, VII, 1 (1953), pp. 12-23 (illus).

BORTOLUZZI, Alfredo "Meine Erinnerungen an die Bauhausbühne," Kunstwerk, XII, 8 (1959), pp. 37-38.

BOWMAN, Ned "Bauhaus Influences on an Evolving Theater Architecture--Some Developmental Stages," Theater Survey, VI, 2 (1965), pp. 116-133.

BRECHT, Bertolt "New Techniques of Acting," Theater Arts, January 1949; also in Actors on Acting, Toby Cole, ed., 1949.

CARELLI, Palma "Oskar Schlemmer," in catalog no. 10, pp. 9-15.

CRAIG, Edward G. "The Actor and the Uebermarionette," The Mask, I, 1 (1908); also in Kirby, 1969.

CURJEL, Hans "Moderne Bühnenbildtypen," Werk (Bern), February 1944, p. 38ff.

----- "Moholy-Nagys Arbeiten für Berliner Bühnen," in catalogs nos. 8 and 9a.

----- "Reform und Revolution auf der Theaterbühne des 20. Jahrhunderts," Jahresring 56-57 (Kulturkreis im Bundesverband der deutschen Industrie), Stuttgart,

1956, pp. 129-140 (illus).

----- "Moholy-Nagy und das Theater," du-Atlantis (Zürich), November 1964, pp. 11-12.

----- "Oskar Schlemmer und die abstrakte Bühne," Melos, XXX, 10 (1963), pp. 331-338 (illus).

DIETRICH, Margrete "Der Mensch und der szenische Raum," Maske und Kothurn, XI, 3 (1965), pp. 193-206.

ECKSTEIN, Heinz "Oskar Schlemmers Vision des Theaters," Das Schönste, VIII, 1 (1962), pp. 40-43 (illus).

----- Unitled (on Schlemmer's theater work), in catalog no. 11, pp. 53-59.

FEININGER, T. Lux "The Bauhaus: Evolution of an Idea," Criticism, II, 3 (1960), pp. 260-277.

FLOCON-MENTZEL, Albert "Erinnerungen an Oskar Schlemmer," lecture given September 13, 1974, Bauhaus Archive, Berlin, mimeograph.

GIEDION, Siegfried "Bauhaus und Bauhauswoche zu Weimar," Werk, X, (1923), pp. . (An account of the Bauhaus exhibition and theater performances in August 1923.)

GORDON, Daniel "On the Origin of the Word 'Expressionism'," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, No. 29 (1966), p. 368ff.

GORDON, Mel "German Expressionist Acting," The Drama Review, T-67 (September 1975), pp. 34-50. (A good history of key German Expressionist productions.)

GROHMANN, Will "Kokoschka-Hindemith-Schlemmer," Cicerone, XIX, 3 (1927), pp. 90-93.

----- "Das Bauhaus in Dessau und seine Arbeiten," Werk, XV, 1 (1928.

GROPIUS, Walter "Idee und Aufbau des staatlichen Bauhauses Weimar," in Gropius, 1923; also in Wohnkultur, 1924; abridged translation ("Theory and Organization of the Bauhaus") in Bayer and Gropius, 1938.

----- "Grundziele des staatlichen Bauhauses," Hilfe, No. 13, 1924, pp. 226-228. (A response to an attack on the Bauhaus.)

----- "Moderner Theaterbau unter Berücksichtigung des des Piscator-Theaterneubaus in Berlin," Scene (Berlin), XVIII (1928), p. 4; also in Berliner Tageblatt, November 2, 1927, under the title "Vom modernen Theaterbau"; also in Bühnentechnisches Rundschau, XI, 6 (1927), p. 6; also in Die deutsche Bühne (Berlin), XIX (1927), p. 273; also included in Piscator, 1929, pp. 125-128; English tr. in The Drama (Chicago), XVIII, 5 (1928), p. 136.

----- "Theaterbau" (Theater Architecture), in Fondazione Alessandro Volta (Atti dei convegni: "Convegni di Lettere," October 1934), Rome (Reale Accademia d'Italia): 1935, pp. 154-170. (Presentation of his "Total Theater" design, with discussion by E.G. Craig and A. Tairov, among others.)

----- "Le Theatre Total," L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, No. 28, 1950, pp. 12-13 (in English).

GROTE, Ludwig "Bühnenkomposition von Kandinsky," Internationale Revue i 10 (Amsterdam), II, 13 (1928).

GUENTHER, Helmut "Von dämonischen zum triadischen Ballett," Stuttgarter Zeitung, July 6, 1963 (illus).

----- "Wie von sich selbst berauscht--Jugenstil und moderner Tanz," Stuttgarter Zeitung, May 9, 1964 (illus).

----- "Der Mensch--ein raumbehextes Wesen: Ueber das Tanzwerk Oskar Schlemmers," Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, November 14, 1964; also in das Tanzarchiv (Köln), XIII, 9 (1966), pp. 257-263.

HAFFENRICHTER, Hans "Lothar Schreyer and the Bauhaus Stage," in Neumann, 1970.

HARTMANN, Georg "Eine Inszenierung Kandinskys," Querschnitt (Berlin), No. 9, 1928, p. 666f. (illus).

HILDEBRANDT, Hans "Oskar Schlemmer und Otto Meyer-Amden," Werk, XXXV, 1 (1947), pp. 24-28.

----- "Oskar Schlemmer," Magazine of Art, XLIII (January 1950), tr. A. Aesch. (Printed on separate leafs and included in some copies of Hildebrandt, 1952.)

HIRSCHFELD-MACK, Ludwig "Die reflektorische Farbenspiele," Berliner Boersenkurier, August 24, 1924.

----- "Die reflektorische Farbenspiele," Die Baulaterne, I, 5 (1925).

----- "Farbenlichtspiele: Wesen-Ziele-Kritiken," privately printed, Weimar: 1925; English tr. in Wingler, 1969, p. 82f.

ITTEN, Johannes "Adolf Hölzel und sein Kreis," Pelikan (Hanover), No. 63, 1963, pp. 34-39.

JONES, Peter "Hausbroken," N.Y. Review of Books, January 1, 1970. (Critical essay on Bauhaus pedagogy and the presumed pseudo-scientific approach of the Bauhaus.)

KANDINSKY, Wassily "Tanzkurven: zu den Tänzen Palucca," Kunstblatt, X (1926), pp. 117-120.

----- "Und: einiges über synthestische Kunst," Internationale Revue i 10, No. 1, 1927, pp. 4[illegible].

----- "Ueber die abstrakte Bühnensynthese, in Gropius, 1923; also in Bill, 1963; English tr. in Rischbieter, 1969; abridged German version in bauhaus, I, 3 (1927), p. 6.

----- "Ueber Bühnenkomposition," in Kandinsky and Marc, eds., 1912; also in Bill, 1963.

----- "Mussorgsky: Bilder einer Ausstellung" (Pictures at an Exhibition, Mussorgsky), Kunstblatt, XIV, 8 (1930); also in Bill, 1963; also in Rischbieter, 1969.

KLARA, Winifred "Der Bühnenmaler Oskar Schlemmer," Die Scene, No. 4, 1932, p. 89f. (Report of a 1932 lecture given by Schlemmer in Berlin.)

KLEE, Felix "Paul Klee et le theatre," aujourd'hui, III, 17 (1958); English tr. in Rischbieter, 1969.

----- "My Memories of the Weimar Bauhaus," in Neumann, 1970, pp. 37-43. (Chiefly on theater and festivals of the Bauhaus.)

KLEIST, Heinrich von "Essay on the Puppet Theater" (Ueber das Marionettentheater), Partisan Review, XIV (1947), pp. 67-74; also in The Drama Review, T-55 (1972).

OHMUELLER, Helmut "Oskar Schlemmer und die abstrakte Bühne," Melos, No. 2, 1962, pp. 62-63. (A review of the exhibition "Oskar Schlemmer und die abstrakte Bühne," Zurich, 1961.)

LORELLE, Yves "Oskar Schlemmer et l'avant-garde des 'annes vingt!," Cahiers Renaud-Barrault, No. 46 (1964), pp. 92-100. (Written on the occasion of the exhibition "Oskar Schlemmer," Berlin, 1963. The article is accompanied by translated excerpts of writings by Schlemmer, Piscator, and Gropius.)

MARBACH, Gertrud "Schlemmers Begegnungen mit Schönberg, Scherchen und Hindemith," Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, 1962, pp. 530-536.

MEYER, Hannes, and Jean Beard "Das Theater CO-OP," Werk, December 1924, pp. 329-332.

----- "Das Propagandatheater CO-OP," bauhaus, I, 3 (1927), p. 5.

MILLOSS, Aurelio M. "Das Erbe des Expressionismus im Tanz," Maske und Kothurne, XI, 4 (1965), pp. 329-343.

MIESEL, Victor "The Term 'Expressionism' in the Visual Arts (1911-1920)," in Uses of History, Hayden White, ed., 1968.

MOHOLY-NAGY, Lazlo "Die Arbeit des staatlichen Bauhauses, Ziele und Bestrebungen," Thüringer Allgemeine Zeitung, October 19, 1924 (vol. 75, no. 288, special supplement to edition).

----- "Neue Gestaltung in der Musik," Sturm (Berlin), XIV, 7 (1923), p. 102.

----- "Zum sprechenden Film," Internationale Revue i 10, 1928, pp. 69-71.

----- "Lichtrequisit einer elektrischen Bühne (Lichtmodulator), " Die Form, IV, 11/12 (1930), pp. 297-299.

----- "Ismus oder Kunst," Vivos voco, No. 8/9, 1926, pp. 272-277.

----- "Musico-Mechanico, Mechanico-Optico," Anbruch (Vienna), 1926, pp. 363-367.

MOLZAHN, Johannes "Auf dem Wege zur Stahlzeitlichen Theatergestalt," Die Form, I, 5 (1926), pp. 98-101.

NESTRIEPKE, Siegfried "Das deutsche Theater 1922-1923," in Das deutsche Theater, vol. 2, Paul Bourfeind et al., eds., Bonn: 1924.

PISCATOR, Erwin "Objective Acting," in Actors on Acting, Toby Cole, ed., 1949.

REMSZHARDT, Godo "Ordnung, die das Geheimnis birgt," Baukunst und Werkform, VI, 8 (1953), pp. 429-433. (On Schlemmer.)

ROH, Franz "Erinnerungen an Oskar Schlemmer," Die Kunst und das schöne Heim (Munich), L, 7 (1952), pp. 241-243.

ROEMSTOCK, Walter "Bühnenbild und Szene im 20. Jahrhundert," Baukunst und Werkform, VIII, 4 (1955). (See his dissertation cited in part V of this bibliography.)

ROTZLER, Willy "Ziel: das totale Theater," in catalog no. 9a. (On Schlemmer.)

----- "Oskar Schlemmer und die abstrakte Bühne," du-Atlantis (Zürich), November 1964, p. 17.

SCHAWINSKY, Xanti "Spectrodrama: Time-Life-Illusion" (part one of a "stage composition"), aujourd'hui: art et architecture, May 1958 (in French); also in Pörtner, 1960 (German); the complete composition is given in English in The Drama Review, T-51 (1971), p. 46ff.

----- "Vom Bauhaus-Happening zum Spectrodrama," Das Kunstwerk (Baden-Baden), XIX, 7 (1960), pp. 24-28.

----- "bauhaus metamorphosis," in Neumann, 1970, pp. 146-152. (Chiefly on Bauhaus music and festivals.)

----- "From the Bauhaus to Black Mountain," The Drama Review, T-51 (1971), pp. 31-44 (illus). (Interview edited from tape.)

SCHLEE, Alfred "The Stage of the Bauhaus," Theater Arts Monthly, XV, 4 (1931), pp. 343-350 (illus).

SCHLEICHER, Gustav "Die Geburt des Triadischen Balletts," in Oskar Schlemmer zum 4. September 1958 (Gedenkschrift), Tut Schlemmer, ed., 1958; also in Kunstwerk, XII, 8 (1959), p. 37.

SCHLEMMER, Tut "Oskar Schlemmer und die Bauhausbühne," lecture given July 8, 1961 at the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Zürich, privately printed by the museum; abridged tr. in Neumann, 1970. (An abridged version was given as a lecture in connection with the exhibition "Bild

und Bühne," Baden-Baden, 1965, and published under the title "Das Datum: 22. 9. 23," Theater Heute, VI, 5 (1965), pp. 37-39 (illus).

SCHMIDT, Paul "Oskar Schlemmer," in Jahrbuch der jungen Kunst, G. Biermann, ed., Leipzig: 1921, pp. 269-282.

SCHMIDT, P. F. "Oskar Schlemmer," Prisma (Munich), I, 10 (1947), pp. 33-34.

SCHOEN, Gerhard "Figur im Raum," Rheinischer Merkur, VII, 18 (1952), pp. 7-8. (On Schlemmer.)

SCHOEN, Wolf "Oskar Schlemmer," Rheinischer Merkur, XVIII, 16 (1963), pp. 199-200.

NB. The following are only a very few of the published articles by Schreyer. Schreyer wrote copiously for Die Scene (see the end of this part of the bibliography) since he was a leading member of the Vereinigung künstlerische Bühnenvorstände, which published the magazine. He also wrote often for Der Sturm and Sturm-Bühne (see the end of this part of the bibliography), both of which he edited. A more complete bibliography, including unpublished manuscripts, can be found in Wasserka, 1965.

SCHREYER, Lothar "Das Drama," Sturm, VII, 10 (1916), p. 119.

----- "Das Wort," Sturm, XIII, 9 (1922), p. 125; No. 10, p. 141; and No. 11, p. 168.

----- "Mensch und Maske," in Jugend und Bühne, L. Pallat and H. Lebede, eds., Breslau (Aufträge des Zentralinstituts für Erziehung und Unterricht): 1925, pp. 189-194.

----- "Darstellungsmittel der Jugenbühne," in Jugend und Bühne (see above), pp. 294-308.

----- "Das Bühnenkünstwerk," in Walden, 1918.

----- "Die Bühne des Menschen," in catalog no. 1.

----- "Das war der Sturm," in Minotaurus, Alfred Döblin, ed., Wiesbaden: 1953, pp. 112-130.

SCHWERDTFEGER, Kurt "Reflektorische Lichtspiele," Sturm, XV (March 1924), p. 46.

SIMON, Werner "Ideen zu einem Theater des 20. Jahrhunderts," Baukunst und Werkform, VIII, 4 (1955), pp. 223-233. (Includes discussion of Gropius, Molnar, and Weininger of the Bauhaus.)

STABER, M. "Oskar Schlemmer und die abstrakte Bühne," Werk und Zeit (Krefeld), No. 8, 1961, pp. 2-3.

STENEBERG, Eberhard "Mensch und Raum in Oskar Schlemmers Werk," Aktion (Frankfurt), II, 20 (1952), pp. 82-85.

STUCKENSCHMIDT, H. H. "Musik am Bauhaus," lecture given at the Bauhaus Archive, Berlin, May 11, 1976.

UTZINGER, R. "Abstrakte Bühne," Annalen (Zürich), I (1926/27), pp. 955-957. (On Schlemmer.)

WALDEN, Herwarth "Theater," Die vierte Wand, Organ der deutschen Theater-Ausstellung Magdeburg, No. 4 (November 1926), p. 8.

----- "Theater," in catalog no. 1. (Not the same article as above.)

WINGLER, Hans "Xanti Schawinsky," aujourd'hui (Boulogne-sur-Seine), VII (1963), p. 20.

Periodicals

Following are periodicals selected for their contribution to the development of modern art and theater in Germany between the wars, or for their research value in connection with the Bauhaus. Many German library holdings were destroyed in WW II, so that pre-1945 issues are very difficult to locate in German libraries. However, some American university libraries have excellent collections of German periodicals prior to 1945.

(1) Anbruch: Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Musik. Vienna, 1919-1938.

(2) bauhaus: zeitschrift für gestaltung. Dessau, 1927-1931.

(3) Blätter des deutschen Schauspielhaus Hamburg. Lothar Schreyer, editor. 1917-1923.

(4) Bühnentechnische Rundschau. Stuttgart, 1907-current.

(5) Cicerone. Leipzig, 1909-1930.

(6) Deutsche Bühne: amtliches Blatt des deutschen Bühnenvereins. Berlin, 1909-1935.

(7) Deutsches Bühnen-Jahrbuch. Hamburg, 1889-current.

(8) Die Form: Zeitschrift für gestaltende Arbeit. Leipzig, 1925-1935.

(9) Der Kritiker. Berlin, 1920-1927.

(10) Kunstblatt. Berlin, 1917-1933.

(11) Melos. Mainz, 1920-current. Hermann Scherchen, founding editor.

(12) Die Neue Schaubühne. Dresden, 1919-1922.

(13) Die Scene: Blätter für Bühnenkunst. Berlin, 1911-1933.

(14) Die Schaubuhne. Berlin, 1905-1917. Siegfried Jacobsohn, editor.

(15) Schrifttanz: Organ der deutschen Gesellschaft für Schrifttanz. Vienna. 1928-?

(16) Der Sturm. Berlin, 1910-1928. (Copies are very rare. The University of California, Berkeley has most issues for the years 1910-1922, either bound or on microfilm.)

(17) Sturm-Bühne. Berlin, 1918-1919. (Eight issues only.)

(18) Das Theater: Illustrierte Halbmonatsschrift für internationale Bühnenkunst. Berlin, 1909-1939.

(19) Die Vierte Wand: Organ der deutschen Theaterausstellung Magdeburg (Mitteldeutsche Ausstellungsgesellschaft), 1923-1927. (Also, Die Maske: Organ der deutschen Theaterausstellung Magdeburg, 1926, one issue only.)

(20) Vivos voco. Leipzig, 1919-1926. Hermann Hesse, founding editor.

Special Issues

Junge Menschen (Hamburg), V, 8 (1924), "Bauhaus Weimar."

Anbruch (Vienna), No. 3/4, 1926, "Tanz in dieser Zeit" (Dance in Our Time).

Kunstwerk (Baden-Baden), VII, 1 (1953), "Bühnenkunst" (Theater Art).

Baukunst und Werkform (Nuremberg), VIII, 4 (1955), on theater.

Architekt (Essen), IV, 4 (1955), "Der Architekt und das Theater" (The Architect and the Theater).

Aujourd'hui (Boulogne-sur-Seine), May 1958, "Spectacles: 50 ans de recherches," Jacques Polieri, editor.

Kunstwerk, XII, 8 (1959), "Ballett und bildende Kunst" (Ballet and the Fine Arts).

du-Atlantis (Zürich), November 1964, "Die Künstler und das Theater". (The Artist and the Theater).

Addenda:

MARKS, Claude "Art Nouveau and the Bauhaus: Freedom and Structure in Twentieth Century Art," lecture series, Metropolitan Museum of Art, October-December, 1970.

SCHEFFAUER, Herman "Newest Ballets Scorn the Merely Human Form," New York Times Magazine, July 4, 1926, p. 22 (illus.).

WUENSCHE, Konrad "Plädoyer für ein abstraktes Theater," Theater Heute, IX, 1 (January 1968), pp. 1-4.

V. Books

ADLER, Bruno Das Weimarer Bauhaus, Darmstadt (Bauhaus-archiv): 1963.

ANDERSON, Stanford Peter Behrens and the New Architecture of Germany, dissertation, Columbia University, 1963. (See Chapter 3, "Peter Behrens' Highest Kultursymbol: the Theater.")

BAB, Julius Das Theater der Gegenwart, Geschichte der dramatischen Bühne seit 1870, Leipzig (Weber): 1928.

BARRY, Jackson Dramatic Structure, University of California Press: 1970. (See Chapter 6, "Structure and Form.")

BAYER, Herbert, and Walter Gropius Bauhaus 1919-1928, N.Y. (Museum of Modern Art): 1938; 2nd ed., Boston (Branford): 1952, 1959.

BEHRENS, Peter Feste des Lebens und der Kunst, Eine Betrachtung des Theaters als höchsten Kultursymbols, Leipzig: 1900, 25 pp. (Copy at Harvard University Library.)

BILL, Max, ed. Kandinsky, Essays über Kunst und Künstler, Teufen: 1955; Bern: 1963.

FISCHEL, Oskar Moderne Bühnenbild, Berlin (Wasmuth): 1923.

FITCH, James M. Walter Gropius, N.Y. (Braziller): 1960.

FRANCISCONO, Marcel Walter Gropius and the Creation of the Bauhaus in Weimar, University of Illinois Press: 1971. (Excellent bibliography.)

FRETTE, Guido Stage Design, 1909-1954, Milan (Görlich): 1955

FUERST, Walter, and Samuel Hume Twentieth Century Stage Decoration, 2 vols., N.Y.: 1929; 2nd ed., corrected, N.Y. (Blom): 1967. (Vol. 1: text; vol. 2: plates.)

FUELOP-MILLER, Rene and Joseph Gregor The Russian Theater, London: 1930; reprinted N.Y. (Blom): 1968, 405 illus. (A particularly rich source for surveying the variety of tendencies in Russian theater from the late nineteenth century to post-WW I period.)

GARTEN, H. F. Modern German Drama, Oxford: 1959; N.Y. (Grove): 1960.

GIEDION, Siegfried Walter Gropius, Work and Teamwork, N.Y. (Reinhold): 1954. (See especially "Walter Gropius and the Bauhaus," pp. 27-44, and "The Modern Theater: Interplay Between Actors and Spectators," pp. 61-66; includes bibliography by Gropius.)

GORELIK, Mordecai New Theaters for Old, N.Y.: 1940.

GROHMANN, Will Kandinsky, Paris (Editions Cahiers d'Art): 1930.

----- Kandinsky, Life and Work, N.Y. (Abrams): 1958; London (Thames): 1959. (Includes oeuvre-catalog and bibliography selected from comprehensive unpublished bibliography by Bernard Karpel.)

GROHMANN, Will, and Tut Schlemmer Oskar Schlemmer, Zeichnungen und Graphik, Stuttgart (Hatje): 1965. (Oeuvre-catalog, excluding theater work.)

GROPIUS, Walter, ed. Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar 1919-1923, Bauhausverlag: 1923. (Limited edition: 2,000 copies in German, 300 in English, 300 in Russian.)

-----, ed. Bauhausbauten Dessau, Munich: 1930. (Part of the Bauhausbücher series.)

----- Apollo in the Democracy, N.Y. (McGraw-Hill): 1968; original German edition, Mainz: 1967 (in which see the chapter "Theaterbau," p. 115ff.)

HAFTMANN, Werner Painting in the Twentieth Century, 2 vols., London (Lund Humphries): 1961; 2nd ed., 1965; the English edition is expanded and modified from the original German, Munich (Prestel): 1954, 1955; 2nd ed., 1957. (Vol. 1, text; vol. 2 plates.)

HILDEBRANDT, Hans Oskar Schlemmer, Munich (Prestel): 1952. (Only monograph on Schlemmer; includes oeuvre-catalog and bibliography compiled by Tut Schlemmer from published and unpublished manuscripts by Schlemmer; excludes treatment of Schlemmer's theater work.)

HILL, Claude, and Ralph Ley The Drama of German Expressionism, A Bibliography, University of North Carolina Press: 1960; no. 28 in the series "U.N.C. Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literature.

HOELZEL, Adolf Gedanken und Lehren, Stuttgart: 1933.

HUEBNER, Herbert Die soziale Utopie des Bauhauses, Ein Beitrag zur Wissensoziologie in der bildenden Kunst, dissertation, Wilhelms-Universität, Münster; printed 1963, Darmstadt (Hoppenstedt & co.).

ITTEN, Johannes Design and Form, Basic Course at the Bauhaus, tr. John Maass, N.Y. (Reinhold): 1964.

JACOBSOHN, Siegfried, ed. Das Jahr der Bühne, 10 vols., Berlin: 1911/12-1920/21.

JANSSEN, Franzjosef Bühnenbild und bildende Künstler, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des modernen Bühnenbildes in Deutschland, dissertation, Munich, 1956; printed 1957, Frankfurt.

KANDINSKY, Wassily The Art of Spiritual Harmony, tr. and introduction by M.T.H. Sadler, Boston (Houghton Mifflin): 1914.

----- Concerning the Spiritual in Art, N.Y. (Wittenborn Schultz): 1947; no. 5 in the series "Documents of Modern Art." (Version of The Art of Spiritual Harmony with considerable retranslation.)

----- Kandinsky, Essays über Kunst und Künstler, edited by Max Bill, Teufen: 1955; Bern: 1963.

----- Black and White and Green Sound, unpublished. (Two "stage compositions" written 1909 in Russian; mss. in Städtische Museum, Munich.)

----- Yellow Sound (der gelbe Klang); a "stage composition written 1909 and published in Der blaue Reiter, 1912.

----- Violett, unpublished. ("Stage composition" written in German in 1911; was to have been published by the Bauhaus as part of its Bauhausbücher series; fragment published in bauhaus, I, 3 (1927); ms. in Städtische Museum, Munich.)

KANDINSKY, Wassily, and Franz Marc, eds. Der blaue Reiter, Munich (Piper): 1912; 2nd ed., 1914; a documentary facsimile edition was issued by Piper in 1965, edited and with an introduction by Klaus Lankheit; English edition of the latter published by Viking (N.Y.), 1972.

KIRBY, E. T., ed. Total Theater, A Critical Anthology, N.Y. (Dutton): 1969.

KIRBY, Michael, ed. Futurist Performance, N.Y. (Dutton): 1971. (Outgrowth of the author's doctoral dissertation.)

KIRSTEIN, Lincoln Dance, A Short History of Classical Theatrical Dancing, N.Y.: 1935; reissued 1969.

KOMISARJEVSKY, T., and Lee Simonson Settings and Costumes of the Modern Stage, N.Y.: 1933.

LANG, Lothar Das Bauhaus 1919-1933, Idee und Wirklichkeit, Berlin (Zentral-Institut für Formgestaltung): 1965. (See especially "Bühne und Tanz," pp. 119-127.)

LEDERMANN, Minna, ed. Stravinsky in the Theater, N.Y. (Pellegrini & Cudahy): 1949. (See especially the extensive bibliography, pp. 191-228, and the table of productions, pp. 179-184.)

LEY-PISCATOR, Maria The Piscator Experiment, N.Y.: 1967.

LINDSAY, Kenneth An Examination of the Fundamental Theories of Wassily Kandinsky, dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1951.

LASSAIGNE, Jacques Kandinsky, Biographical and Critical Study, N.Y.: 1964.

MEYERHOLD, Vsevolod Meyerhold on Theater, tr. and edited, with critical commentary, by Edward Braun, N.Y. (Hill & Wang): 1969. (Collected writings.)

MILDENBERGER, Marianne Film und Projektion auf der Bühne, Verlag Lechte: 1961; vol. 57 in the series "Die Schaubühne," Carl Niessen, editor. (See especially "Lichtregie im szenischen Expressionismus--Bauhaus," p. 127ff.)

MOHOLY-NAGY, Lazlo Mechanische Exzentrik, privately printed off-print as a Bauhaus manifesto, Dessau, ca. 1925; part of the article "Theater, Zirkus, und Variete," in Bühne im Bauhaus, 1925.)

MOHOLY-NAGY, Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, Experiment in Totality, N.Y. (Harper): 1950; rev. ed., M.I.T. Press: 1969. (Biography, main work on Moholy-Nagy.)

MUCHE, Georg Blickpunkt, Sturm-Dada-Bauhaus-Gegenwart, Munich: 1961; 2nd ed., Tübingen (Wasmuth): 1965. (Collected essays, reminiscences.)

NIESSEN, Carl Das Bühnenbild, Bonn: 1927.

----- Das deutsche Opernbild im Gegenwart, Regensburg: 1944.

NEUMANN, Eckhard, ed. Bauhaus and Bauhaus People, N.Y. (Van Nostrand Reinhold): 1970. (Collection of reminiscences by former Bauhaus students and teachers.)

PISCATOR, Erwin Politisches Theater, Berlin: 1929; Hamburg (Rowohlt): 1963, documentary edition; Hamburg (Henschelverlag): 1968, facsimile of 1929 edition; English edition in preparation, Avon Books, N.Y.

POPPER, Frank Origins and Development of Kinetic Art, London (Studio Vista): 1968.

POERTNER, Paul Experiment Theater: Chronik und Dokumente, Zürich (Schifferli Verlag): 1960.

----- Literatur-Revolution 1910-1925: Dokumente, Manifeste, Programme, 2 vols., Darmstadt: 1960, 1961.

RAABE, Paul Die Zeitschriften und Sammlungen des literarischen Expressionismus 1910-1921, Stuttgart (Metzlersche): 1964.

RICHTER, Horst El Lissitzky--Sieg über die Sonne (zur Kunst des Konstruktivismus), Cologne: 1958; 11 plates, 7 pp. bibliography.

RICKEY, George Constructivism, Origins and Evolution, N.Y. (Braziller): 1967.

RISCHBIETER, Henning, ed. Art and the Stage in the 20th Century, N.Y. (N.Y. Graphic Society): 1969; original German edition Bühne und bildende Kunst im XX. Jahrhundert, Hanover: 1968. (Collection of original statements by artists not principally identified with the theater.)

RITCHIE, Andrew, ed. German Art of the Twentieth Century, N.Y. (Simon & Schuster): 1957.

ROH, Franz German Painting in the Twentieth Century, N.Y. (N.Y. Graphic Society): 1968; enlarged from the original 1958 German edition.

ROMSTOECK, Walter Das antinaturalistische Bewegung in der Szenegestaltung des europäisches Theaters zwischen 1890-1930, dissertation, Munich, 1955, 2 vols.

ROOSE-EVANS, James Experimental Theater, N.Y. (Avon): 1971.

ROTERS, Eberhard Painters of the Bauhaus, London: 1969; English edition of the German original.

RUHLE, Gunther, ed. Theater für die Republik 1917-1933, im Spiegel der Kritik, Frankfurt: 1967. (Collected criticism of the Berlin theater.)

RUEHLE, Jurgen Das gefesselte Theater, Cologne and Berlin: 1957.

SCHEIDIG, Walter Crafts of the Weimar Bauhaus, N.Y.: 1967; English edition of the original German.

SCHEPER, Dirk Oskar Schlemmer: Das Triadische Ballett und die Bauhausbühne, dissertation, University of Vienna, 1970.

SCHEYER, Ernst Die Kunstakademie Breslau und Oskar Moll, Würzburg (Holzner): 1961; no. 236 in the series "Der Gottinger Arbeitskreis. (See "Oskar Schlemmer, pp. 93-101.)

---- The Shapes of Space: The Art of Mary Wigman and Oskar Schlemmer, no. 41 in the monograph series Dance Perspectives (Spring, 1970). (Scheyer was art critic for Kölner Tageblatt, covered the 1929 Dance Congress in Essen, and reviewed dance for Schlesische Zeitung, Breslau, 1930-1933.)

SCHLEMMER, Oskar Man: Teaching Notes from the Bauhaus, Cambridge, Mass. (M.I.T. Press): 1971; original German edition Der Mensch: Unterricht am Bauhaus, Mainz (Kupferberg): 1969, in the series "Neue Bauhausbücher." (Lecture notes and drawings compiled and edited by Heimo Kuchling.)

SCHLEMMER, Oskar, and L. Moholy-Nagy Theater of the Bauhaus, Wesleyan University Press: 1961; 2nd ed., 1967; English edition enlarged from the original German Die Bühne im Bauhaus, 1925, no. 4 in the Bauhausbücher series, with additional photos and second essay by Schlemmer, "Bühne"; reissued in German, Munich (Kupferberg): 1965, in the series "Neue Bauhausbücher," Hans Wingler, editor.

SCHLEMMER, Tut, ed. Letters and Diaries of Oskar Schlemmer, Wesleyan University Press: 1972; original German edition Briefe und Tagebücher, Munich (Langen-Müller): 1958.

----- Oskar Schlemmer zum 4. September 1958 (Gedenkschrift), privately printed, 1958. (Collection of statements and brief articles on Schlemmer by his friends.)

SCHMIDT, Diether Bauhaus Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, Dresden (VEB Verlag der Kunst): 1966.

SCHREYER, Lothar Jungfrau (play), Sturmverlag: 1917. (Copy in Harvard University library.)

----- Meer-Sehnte-Mann (three plays), Sturmverlag: 1918. (Copy in New York University library. Meer also published in Sturm, VII, 7 (1916), p. 76.)

----- Klage (play), published in Sturm, IX, 2 (1918), p. 19.

----- Nacht (play), Sturmverlag: 1919. (Copy in Northwestern University library. The play is also published in Sturm, VII, 4 (1916), p. 40.)

----- Kindsterben (play), published in Sturm, XI, 11/12 (1920), p. 148.

----- Kreuzigung (play), Hamburg: 1920; text published in Sturm, XI, 5 (1920), p. 66, and in Erinnerungen an Sturm und Bauhaus, L. Schreyer, pp. 183-192; bound edition is hand-printed from woodcuts. (Copy of the bound edition in the Bauhaus Archive, Berlin.)

----- Mondspiel (play), published in Sturm, XIV, 4 (1923), p. 56.

----- Verantwortlich, Hamburg: 1922.

----- Expressionistisches Theater, Hamburg: 1948.

----- Erinnerungen an Sturm und Bauhaus, Munich (Langen-Müller): 1956; abridged paper edition Munich (List-verlag): 1966.

----- Kurt Schwerdtfeger, Munich (delp'sche): 1962.

SCHREYER, Lothar, and Nell Walden Erinnerungsbuch an Herwarth Walden, Baden-Baden: 1954. (Contains index to the periodical Sturm, list of Sturm Circle exhibitions, and Sturm publications.)

SELZ, Peter German Expressionist Painting, University of California Press: 1957.

SOERGEL, Albert Dichtung und Dichter der Zeit, Leipzig (Voigtländers): 1926, in the series "Neue Folge im Banne des Expressionismus."(See especially the section "Sturmlehre," which includes major excerpts of Schreyer's writings.)

STUCKENSCHMIDT, Hans Heinz. Neue Musik, Berlin (Suhrkampf): 1951, vol. 2 in the series "Zwischen den beiden Kriegen."

TAIROV, Alexander Notes of a Director, tr. William Kuhlke, University of Miami Press: 1969; original Russian edition Zapiski rezhissëra, Moscow: 1922; German edition Das entfesselte Theater, Potsdam: 1923.

VON MAUR, Karin, ed. Oskar Schlemmer: Sculpture, N.Y. (Abrams): 1972.

WALDEN, Herwarth, ed. Expressionismus: Die Kunstwende, Berlin: 1918.

----- Einblick in Kunst: Expressionismus, Futurismus, Kubismus, Berlin (Sturmverlag): n.d. (Deutsches Bucherverzeichnis has "Leipzig (Otto Klem): 1917").

WASSERKA, Ingo Die Sturm- und Kampfbühne, Kunsttheorie und szenische Wirklichkeit im expressionistischen Theater Lothar Schreyers, dissertation, University of Vienna, 1965. (Contains excellent bibliographic research on Schreyer's published writings, papers, letters, etc.; University of Vienna library code: D15.9995.)

WILLETT, John The Theater of Bertolt Brecht: A Study from Eight Aspects, London (Methuen): 1959; 2d rev. ed., 1960; 3d rev. ed., 1967; also published in a simplified edition (footnotes deleted, bibliography abridged, etc.) by New Directions, 1968. (See especially "Theatrical Influences," "The Music," and "Theatrical Practice.")

WINGLER, Hans, ed. Bauhaus, M.I.T. Press: 1969; expanded and modified from the original German edition, Bauhaus, Cologne: 1962; 2d ed., 1968.

WOLF, Friedrich Zeitprobleme des Theaters:Die kulturpolitische Situation und die Bedeutung der Volksbühne, Berlin: 1948.

ZUCKER, Paul The Blue Bird Theater, Berlin (Preuss' Institut Graphic): 1922. (Published in English only, on behalf of the "publishing office" of the Blue Bird Theater. Copy in the Kunst-Bibliothek Berlin; photocopy in the possession of the author. The work is largely illustrations and statements from theater artists and critics on the Blue Bird cabaret.)

Addenda:

SHAPIRO, Theda Painters and Politics: The European Avant-garde and Society, 1900-1925, New York (Elsevier): 1976.

JAPPE, Georg La Marionette Artistique, dissertation, University of Vienna, 1961.

KAMM, Otto Oskar Kokoschka und das Theater, dissertation, University of Vienna, 1958.

MERTZ, Peter Das Bühnenbild der Zwanziger-Jahre unseres Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachraum, dissertation, University of Vienna, 1960.

VI. Selected Exhibitions and Films

The following are exhibitions that included theater work by Schlemmer. A fairly complete list of exhibitions on or including Schlemmer can be found in catalogs nos. 14 and 15 below.

(1) International Ausstellung der Theatertechnik (International Exhibition of Theater Technology), Vienna (sponsored by the city), 1924.

(2) Theaterausstellung (Theater Exhibition), Magdeburg, 1927. The Bauhaus had a special alcove in this important exhibition, including costumes of Schlemmer's "Triadic Ballet," and a model stage setting. Cf. part IV of the bibliography, Die vierte Wand.

(3) Problemtheater, Folkwang Museum, Essen, 1930. Arranged by the Institut der Theaterwissenschaft, University of Cologne. Includes Schlemmer and Moholy-Nagy. This exhibition emphasized the heavy influence of the Russians on the development of the German theatrical avant garde.

(4) Theaterkunst Ausstellung (Theater Art Exhibition), Kunstgewerbemuseum, Zürich, April 25-May 31, 1931 (museum catalog no. 102). Schlemmer and Carl Niessen organized this monumental exhibition of avant-garde theater. Moholy-Nagy and several former students of the Bauhaus were well represented along with Schlemmer. The show included every important European theater reformer of the early twentieth century, including Appia, Bakst, Craig, Meyerhold, Caspar Neher, Teo Otto, and Pitoeff.

(5) Oskar Schlemmer, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, Winter 1954-1955 (museum catalog no. 121).

(6) Henry Moore--Oskar Schlemmer, Kunsthalle, Basel, January 12-February 13, 1955. Catalog texts by Hans Hildebrandt, Gropius, and Dieter Keller.

(7) Oskar Schlemmer, Kunsthalle, Bern, June 20-July 19, 1959. Catalog text by Franz Meyer.

(8) Bühnenbild und bildende Kunst, Kulturamt der Stadt Iserlohn, 1959.

(9a) Oskar Schlemmer und die abstrakte Bühne, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Zürich, June 18-August 27, 1961. Shows Schlemmer's

relationship to Appia and Craig, among others. Catalog includes excerpts from many previously unpublished manuscripts of Schlemmer.

(9b) Oskar Schlemmer und die abstrakte Bühne, same exhibition as above, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, "Die neue Sammlung," November 20, 1961 - January 8, 1962. Catalog text by Günther Schöne.

(10) Oskar Schlemmer, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome, 1962. Catalog texts by Palma Buccarelli and Hans Curjel.

(11) Oskar Schlemmer, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, September 22-October 27, 1963. Catalog texts by Heinrich Lauterbach, Georg Schmidt, and Hans Eckstein.

(12) Bild und Bühne: Bühnenbildner der Gegenwart und Retrospektive (Art and the Stage: Stage Designers Present and Past), Staatliche Kunsthalle, Baden-Baden, January 30-May 9, 1965. Includes Schlemmer's 1929 lecture "Bühnenelemente."

(13) Julius Bab (1880-1955) und das Theater der Republik (1918-1933), Akademie der Künste, Berlin, October-November, 1967.

(14) Oskar Schlemmer, Ausstellung zum 80. Geburtstag (80th Birthday Commemorative Exhibition), Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, May 3-July 14, 1968. Exhibition excludes theater work, but is the largest single exhibition on Schlemmer. Catalog is extensively illustrated with a variety of Schlemmer's graphic work. Text by Karin von Maur; 126 pages.

(15) Oskar Schlemmer, Spencer A. Samuels, Ltd., New York, October 22-November 20, 1960. Exhibition was largely built from the 1968 Stuttgart exhibition, and was the first one-man show of Schlemmer's work in North America. Text by Karin von Maur; 180 pages.

(16) Bauhaus--Fifty Years, Art Gallery of Toronto and the National Design Council (Design Canada Centre), Toronto, December 6, 1969-February 1, 1970. A richly illustrated catalog of the comprehensive exhibition prepared by the Bauhaus Archive and the Württembergischer Kunstverein, Stuttgart. The same catalog was used during the tour of this exhibition in London, Amsterdam, Paris, Chicago, Toronto, and Pasadena. A valuable document, 365 pages, many color plates.

(17) Lothar Schreyer, Gimpel and Weitzenhoffer, Ltd., New York, May 5-23, 1970. First showing of Schreyer's work in North America; show included theater work.

Films

(1) Man and Mask (Mensch und Kunstfigur), Bavaria Atelier, Munich, 1968. Color recreation of several of Schlemmer's dance works from 1926-1929. The recreated dances were first performed during opening festivities of the exhibition Bauhaus--Fifty Years, Stuttgart, 1968. The film is available from the Canadian Film Institute, Ottawa.

(2) Colour Reflection Plays, DKP, 1967, BW and color. Demonstration of Kurt Schwerdtfeger's 1924 experiments in color projections at the Bauhaus. Available from the German Embassy, Ottawa.

(3) Das Triadische Ballett (Triadic Ballet), Bavaria Atelier, Munich, 1970, color. Recreation of the "Triadic Ballet" under the supervision of Tut Schlemmer, Xanti Schawinsky, and Ludwig Grote.

Addendum (Exhibitions):

(18) Bauhaus: Idee--Form--Zweck--Zeit, Göppinger Galerie, Frankfurt am Main, 1964.

VII. Selected Bauhaus Documents

Documents are in the Bauhaus Archive, Berlin, unless otherwise indicated.

General

(1) "Program des staatlichen Bauhauses in Weimar," April 1919, W. Gropius. (Facsimile and translation in Neumann, 1970.)

(2) "Der Austausch," publication of students at the Weimar Bauhaus: May 1919: "Erstes Flugblatt" (First Issue), 2 pp; May 1919, 4 pp; June 1919, 6 pp; July 1919, 4 pp. (Microfilm of the originals located in the library of the School of Design, University of California, Berkeley.)

(3) Statutes of the Staatliches Bauhaus in Weimar, 1922, folder with six small brochures: (A) curriculum, 8 pp; (B) rules of administration, 4 pp; (C) appendix 1: teachers and plans of subjects, 4 pp; (D) appendix 2: subjects of the training workshops, regulations for conducting the examinations, 4 pp; (E) appendix 3: publishing, theater, 2 pp; (F) appendix 4: kitchen, housing, 2 pp.

(4) Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar 1919-1923, Bauhausverlag, 1923; 226 pp, 147 illus, 20 color plates. (Quasi-official review of the Bauhaus during its Weimar period.)

(5) "Die bisherige und zukunftige Arbeit des staatlichen Bauhauses" (The Present and Future Work of the Bauhaus), W. Gropius, ms., 1924, 7 pp.

(6) "bauhaus dessau," statutes and curriculum, ca. 1925.

(7) "bauhaus dessau--hochschule für gestaltung," prospectus, 1927, 34 pp. (Includes two articles by Gropius.)

(8) "bauhaus," prospectus, 1929.

(9) "junge menschen kommt ans bauhaus!", prospectus, 1929.

Theater

(10) "Die Bauhausbühne, erste Mitteilung" (The Bauhaus Stage, First Communication), December 1922, two drafts, 2 pp each draft, typescript, L. Schreyer and

W. Gropius. (In Staatsarchiv Weimar, "Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar" file no. 56. See appendix 1 here for a translation.)

(11) "Mitteilungen von und an die Bauhausbühnen" (Communications to and from the Bauhaus Theater), 1922-1925. (In Staatsarchiv Weimar, "Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar" file no. 56.)

(12) "Schriftwechsel mit Theaterdirektionen, Verlagen, und dem Thüringischen Staatsarchiv über Angelegenheiten der Bauhausbühne und Räumung des Tempelherrenhauses zu Weimar" (Correspondence with Theaters, Publishers, and the Thüringian Government Concerning Opportunities for the Bauhaus Theater and Clearing of the Tempelherrenhaus in Weimar), 1922-1925. (In Staatsarchiv Weimar, "Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar" file nos. 57-58.)

(13) "Studienplan der Versuchsbühne am Bauhaus Weimar" (Study Plan for the Experimental Theater at the Bauhaus Weimar), 1923?, O. Schlemmer. (In Staatsarchiv Weimar, "Staatliches Bauhaus Weimar" file no. 56. See appendix 1 here for a translation.)

(14) "Studienplan der Versuchsbühne am Bauhaus in Dessau" (Study Plan for the Experimental Theater at the Bauhaus Dessau), 1927. (First published in bauhaus, vol. 1, no. 3; see appendix 1 here for a translation.)

(15) Schlemmer's Course: Stage, Second and Later Semesters, 1928. (Published in the catalog for the International Congress of Art Teachers, Prague, 1928; see appendix 1 here for a translation.)

(16) "Semester Plan," ca. 1928, from a prospectus that includes the theater workshop. (Published in English in Wingler, 1969, p. 121, and reproduced here in appendix 1.)

VIII. General References

Bibliographie der deutschsprachigen Hochschule Schriften zur Theaterwissenschaft (1885-1952), vol. 58 in the monograph series "Schriften der Gesellschaft für Theaterwissenschaft," 1956.

DIETSCH, Carl, ed. Bibliographie der Germanistischen Zeitschriften, Leipzig: 1927. (See "Theaterschriften," pp. 111-132, with supplement, pp. 356-358.)

Minerva. Internationales Verzeichnis wissenschaftlicher Institutionen (series). Titles include Archives (1970) and Forschungs-Institute (1972).

KOSCH, W., ed. Deutsches Theater-Lexikon, in progress (issued periodically), 20 issues to date (1951-1956): "A - Rostock." Issues 1-9 bound as vol. 1, issues 10-18 bound as vol. 2. Munich (Francke): 1951-current.

VEINSTEIN, Andre, ed. Performing Arts Collections, Paris (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique): 1960. Reprinted in 1967 under the title Performing Arts Libraries and Museums of the World.

Verzeichnis der im Entstehen begriffenen Dissertationen aus Gebiete der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, issued annually. List I-X (1958-1967) published (mimeograph) by the Zentrale Kartei germanistischer Dissertationen, Germanisches Seminar der freien Universität Berlin, and thereafter published in Germanistik.

IX. Collections

Following is a list of highly specialized collections pertaining to the history of the Bauhaus. Several important collections in libraries and museums, such as the theater museum of the University of Cologne or the art library (Kunstbibliothek) of the Prussian Cultural Foundation (Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz), include important holdings for research, but these are not specifically pertinent to the history of the Bauhaus theater work or Oskar Schlemmer.

BAUHAUS-ARCHIV (Museum für Gestaltung) D-1000 Berlin 19, Schlossstrasse 1 (Has addresses of former Bauhaus students and faculty; includes library, with collections donated by individuals, e.g., Gropius; publishes occasional pamphlets, exhibition catalogs, etc.)

SCHILLER NATIONALMUSEUM 7142 Marbach am Neckar, Schillerhöhe 10 (Includes Bildarchiv and Bibliothek; collected papers and portfolios of Lothar Schreyer.)

SCHLEMMER-ARCHIV, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart 7000 Stuttgart, Konrad-Adenauer-Strasse 32 (Collected papers, portfolios, and some works and memorabilia, except those pertaining to theater work, which remain in the possession of Schlemmer's widow, Frau Tut Schlemmer.)

STAATSARCHIV WEIMAR (formerly Thüringisches Landeshauptarchiv) 53 Weimar, Beethovenplatz 3 (Official papers pertaining to the Bauhaus during its tenure in Weimar, 1919-1925; see appendix VII here.)

STADTARCHIV DESSAU (Over several years of research no information on records of this important office has been uncovered. The City of Dessau sponsored and funded the Bauhaus during its tenure in that city, 1925-1932, which was the most notable period of the life of the Bauhaus. At the time, Dessau was also the capital of the state of Anhalt in the Weimar Republic and both state and local records have undoubtedly been intermingled in the intervening years. Locating public records prior to 1945 in the German Democratic Republic and former German-governed areas of Poland requires infinite patience. For example, two years were required to obtain a single document from the Staatsarchiv Weimar.)

STURM-ARCHIV HERWARTH WALDENS, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1 Berlin 30, Potsdamer Strasse 33 (A report on the collection appears in "Das 'Sturm-Archiv' Herwarth Waldens," W. Gebhardt, in Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft, II (1958), pp. 348-365.)

APPENDIX I

Bauhaus Statements Concerning the Theater

The Bauhaus Stage
Lothar Schreyer, director
First Communique (1922)

The collective work of the Bauhaus derives from our effort to participate actively in the building of a new philosophy of life, the outlines of which are beginning to appear in the area of space and its design. We wish to inject a new unifying spirit of building [Bau-Geist] into all creative work and to help rally the work of every individual to this spirit.

Our field of work embrances all areas of the visual arts, led by architecture.

We are also working on the development of the theater. The purification and renewal of today's theater, which appears to have lost its most intimate connections with the world of human feeling, can only be accomplished by those who, free from personal interests and the limitations of the commercial theater and starting with a common goal, work devotedly toward a fundamental clarification of the whole problem of theater, in all its practical and theoretical ramifications.

Original ms in two drafts (deposited in Staatsarchiv Weimar,"Staatliche Bauhaus Weimar" file n s. 57-58). This translation is of the second draft, distributed in December 1922. Variations in the first draft are included here in brackets. The author of this document is presumably Gropius, although Schreyer's influence is obvious in the allusions to the mystical nature of theater.

Originally the theater grew out of a religious [metaphysical] longing of the soul (theater = religious vision); and thus it serves to manifest a transcendental idea. The power of its effect on the soul of the spectator is therefore dependent on translating an idea into palpable (visual and audible) space.

The phenomenon of space is defined by finite limitations in infinite free space, by the movement of mechanical or organic bodies in this limited space, and by the vibration of light and sound. Moving, living, artistic space can only be created by those whose knowledge and ability include all the natural laws of statics, mechanics, optics, and who find in the command of these things the right [best] means of giving body and life to the ideas within themselves.

This perception dictates the work of the Bauhaus theat a clear redefinition of the whole complicated problem of the theater and its development from primitive beginnings forms the starting point for our work. We are investigating the individual problems of space, body, movement, form, light, color, and sound. We are shaping the movement of the organic and mechanical body, shaping music-speech-sound, and creating performance space and stage figures. Conscious application of the laws of mechanics,optics, and acoustics is crucial to the form of our theater.

[Of particular significance to our work is the architectonic problem of stage space. Today's proscenium stage, which allows the spectator to look in on the other world of the stage as if through a window, or which separates the two by a curtain, has almost entirely displaced the spacious arena stage of the ancients, which formed an indivisible spatial unity with the auditorium and practically drew the spectator into the action, instead of separating him from it. The spatial problem of the proscenium stage is two-dimensional; the field of vision defined by the proscenium represents an optical plane comparable to the field of projection in the cinema or to a framed painting. By contrast, the problem of the arena stage is three-dimensional; instead of an animated visual plane, there is a visual space in which filled-out forms move.

Both types of stages have their artistic justification, but the creative conditions and the formal organization of the two are fundamentally different, somewhat like the difference between a painting and a sculpture.

In our work we intend to include the important but neglected problem of the arena stage and investigate it on a practical basis.]*

---

*The above three paragraphs were deleted in the second draft.

These are the general goals of our work in theater. Individual artists within the Bauhaus will direct their own creative powers in many different ways toward these goals. For we will try to grapple with the problem of theater in many ways, instead of the usual one-sided approach.

The Bauhaus theater hopes to discover new possibilities, to nourish that metaphysical longing, and perhaps even satisfy it. It hopes through its creative work to once again provide spontaneous joy, instead of only aesthetic pleasures, a joy that is felt by all the senses.

Theory and Organization
of the Bauhaus

The Stage (1923)

In its orchestral unity the theatrical work is closely related to architecture. Like architecture, in which all components give up their uniqueness in order to bring to life a superior, common Gesamtkunstwerk, the theatrical work combines a variety of artistic problems in a new, higher unity with a law of its own.

In its origins theater grew from a metaphysical longing; consequently, it is the realization of an abstract idea. The power of its effect on the spectator and listener thus depends on the successful translation of the idea into optically and audibly perceptible forms.

This the Bauhaus attempts to do. Its program consists in a new and clear formulation of all problems peculiar to the stage. The special problems of space, of the body, of movement, form, light, color, and sound are investigated; training is given in body movement, in the modulation of musical and spoken sounds; the stage space and figures are given form.

The Bauhaus theater seeks to recover primordial joy for all the senses, instead of mere aesthetic pleasure.

Excerpt from "Idee und Aufbau des staatlichen Bauhauses Weimar," in Gropius, 1923. This was Gropius's quasi-official review of the activities of the Bauhaus in its first four years. Note that this document borrows some of the language of the "first communique of the Bauhaus Stage" (1922).

APPENDIX II

Theater Curriculum at the Bauhaus (Dessau)

The Stage Workshop of the Weimar Bauhaus (1923?)

The stage workshop of the Bauhaus in Weimar

Direction: Oskar Schlemmer

Technical direction: the master craftsmen of the Bauhaus

Internal department

Field of activity: investigation of the basic elements of stage production and design: space, form, color, sound, movement, light.

Practical experiments

Independent designs

External department

Field of activity: taking charge of production (designs of sets and figures in theaters of every kind: opera, play, ballet, circus, variety theater, cinema).

Preparation of designs and models. Consultation.

Production of costumes, masks, stage machinery, props.

Design for festivities. Decoration of shop windows.

Approved. Gropius.

From the "Staatliche Bauhaus Weimar" file, Staatsarchiv Weimar.

Study Plan for the Preliminary Course (1925-26)

PURPOSE:

Introduction into the theory and work of the Bauhaus through knowledge of the principles of form, material, and production. Guidance in its practical utilization.

CURRICULUM:

Division same as in the general course: practical instruction and form instruction.

I. Basic practical instruction:

Practical exercises

Draftsmanship and projection drawing

II. Basic form instruction:

Study of nature

Study of the elements of form

Design

III. Scientific subjects:

Mathematics, mechanics, physics, chemistry

SEQUENCE OF INSTRUCTION:

Theory and actual work are closely interrelated.

I. Basic practical instruction:

Becoming acquainted with various types of materials and tools; devising and building useful objects in the special workshop for the basic course.

From Wingler, 1969, p. 109. The preliminary course was required of all Bauhaus students; it was modified from time to time.

Working out original designs and justifying them with respect to the choice of material, economy, and technique.

Independent execution of designs.

Mutual criticism of the finished product with respect to its function and expressiveness and the possibilities for improvements with respect to form (scale, material, color), material (quantity, value), economy (expenditure, return) and techniques (construction, production).

Collecting and systematically tabulating samples of materials.

Guided tours through workshops and plants.

Projection and draftsmanship constitute an introduction to the specialized graphic art of the general course.

II. Basic form instruction:

Theory and practical exercises:

Analysis of the elements of form (orientation, designation, and terminology).

Organic and functional relationships (principles, construction, structure).

Introduction to the principles of abstraction (appearance, nature, scheme).

Primary and secondary, elementary and mixed application of the means of design.

Design exercises:

Drawing, painting, building.

III. Scientific subjects:

Basic laws of mathematics, physics, mechanics, and

chemistry with respect to their practical application and the logical understanding of the significance of number and measurement, substance and form, force and motion, proportion and rhythm for the processes of design.

The basic course is the indispensable prerequisite for all further work of the Bauhaus, and is therefore compulsory for every newly admitted student.

DURATION:

The basic form course two semesters, the basic practical instruction one semester. Thereafter, the student may be admitted to one of the teaching workshops.

RESULT:

Selection of special field according to personal inclination and talent, through increased understanding of personal relationship to the various materials and fields of work.

In case of satisfactory achievement, final admission and transfer to the general course of instruction.

Curriculum for the Experimental Theater in the Bauhaus Dessau (1927)

Director: Oskar Schlemmer

---

1. General:

A. The stage department offers practical and theoretical training of theatrical talent, with a view toward collaboration in arriving at new stage forms.

B. The stage department is divided into a stage workshop for painters and technicians and an experimental theater for dancers, actors, and directors.

C. Since the department is primarily of an experimental character, no course of studies will be contracted also no definite training in a fixed specialty will be guaranteed.

2. Application:

Applications to the stage department must be in writing with the following enclosures:

A. Individual drawings or handwork, photos.

B. Curriculum vitae (general education, citizenship, personal circumstances and means of support--for minors, by a parent or guardian).

From bauhaus, vol. 1, no. 3, July 1927.

C. Police certificate.

D. Report of medical examination.

E. Photograph.

F. If necessary, certificates of previous practical or theoretical training.

3. Registration:

Registration in the stage department is subject to approval following:

A. Successful completion of the mandatory half-year Basic Course of the Bauhaus; and,

B. After final acceptance the student is expected to participate at least one year in the work of the stage department.

C. Fees: registration, Mk. 10.-; basic course, Mk. 30.- per half year; main course and workshop, free; audit, Mk. 50.- per half year.

4. Course:

A. In the stage department particular problems will be set up by the staff for solution. According to the capabilities of the individual, these problems will be either hypothetical-creative or technical-practical in nature.

B. These problems will relate above all to the elements of the theater: form, color, space, and movement.

C. In addition, the problems of speech and sound, the theatrical "concept," and composition will be taken up.

In all these areas, elemental forms and a variety of shapes will be researched, tested, and applied with the object of arriving at a new theatrical "context."

5. Productions:

The results of studies within the department shall from time to time be organized into public shows, at first within the Bauhaus, later for the general public.

6. Fields of work:

Work in the stage department is distributed according to the study plan established by the department director, covering:

A. Mask and costume construction.

B. Construction of stage machinery and props.

C. Design of scenic space; equipping the stage.

D. Preparation of stage models, elevations, and perspectives.

E. Gymnastics, dance
F. Music
G. Speech
} Study and creative work

H. Improvisation, impromptu scenes, dramatic composition.

I. Choreography, notation, and musical scoring.

7. Study group:

The multifaceted nature of theater makes a division of labor and organization of a study group necessary. This group (performers and technicians) consists of the follow-

ing groups of people:

I. Students of the stage department, devoted exclusively to one or several fields within the department;

II. Students of the Bauhaus who participate in the work of the stage department in their free time and whenever occasion requires them; and

III. Those not belonging to the Bauhaus but who are active in some field of theater or are talented in some area, and who participate in the work of the department only occasionally and when the need arises.

8. Certification:

Official certificates of study are available, if desired, upon leaving the stage department.

Semester Plan, ca. 1928

Sculpture/ Painting	Theater	Advertising	Architecture	
Instruction in basic principles of design General introduction: a) Abstract elements of form • Analytical drawing (2 hrs) b) Supervised work in various materials (12 hrs) General skills: a) Applied geometry (4 hrs) b) Lettering (2 hrs) c) Physics or chemistry 2 hrs) d) Gymnastics or dance (optional) (2-4 hrs)				1st Semester
Introduction to special training Practical work in a Bauhaus workshop (18 hrs) Lectures and exercises: a) Elementary design in flat plane (2 hrs) b) Volumetric construction (2 hrs) General skills: a) Applied geometry (2 hrs) b) Technical drawing (2 hrs) c) Lettering (2 hrs) d) Physics or chemistry (2 hrs) Advanced students: Building construction(4 hrs) Statics (2 hrs) Exercises (2 hrs)				2nd Semester
	Work in the workshop Gymnastics Dance Musical and vocal exercises			3rd Semester
	Work in the workshop Dramaturgy Theater history			4th Semester
	Work in the workshop Independent collaboration on stage experiments and performance			5th Semester

From a Bauhaus prospectus, undated; quoted in Wingler, 1969, p. 121.

Schlemmer's Course: Stage
Second and Later Semesters (1928)

Workshop for full-time students: 3 times per week (7-12 a.m., 3-5 p.m.)

Specialized drawing for the stage, 2 hours; stage theory, 2 hours.

Areas of study. Study of the means at the disposal of the stage, their origin and simplicity, as a way toward a new kind of design. Primarily form as line, plane, and volume; color and light; space; the human being as spectator and actor, as technician and participant in action; movement, dance, and pantomime; mask, costume, and properties.

Method. Not "design of stage sets" but rather practical work in the workshop (construction of masks, costumes, and machinery) and on the stage (composition and acting).

Technical drawing; diagrams and choreography.

Shows on the stage of the Bauhaus and elsewhere.

From the catalog for the International Congress of Art Teachers, Prague, 1928; quoted in Wingler, 1969, p. 146.

APPENDIX III

The Bauhaus Stage (Dessau)

Of the three Bauhaus locations (Weimar, Dessau, and Berlin), only the Dessau facilities included special accomodations for a theater workshop. The building of the new Bauhaus in Dessau, designed by Gropius and completed October 1926, one and half years after the move from Weimar to Dessau, provided the opportunity to build a stage particularly suited to the requirements of the theatrical experiments conducted by Schlemmer. However, the entire plant at Dessau had to be built with the strictest economy. For this reason, the stage workshop finally built at Dessau did not reflect Schlemmer's particular requirements. Rather, the stage was combined with a canteen and general-purpose auditorium, with the stage itself separating the two. It was the first instance of the "cafetorium," which proved a popular solution in American public schools to the need for both dining facilities and auditorium.

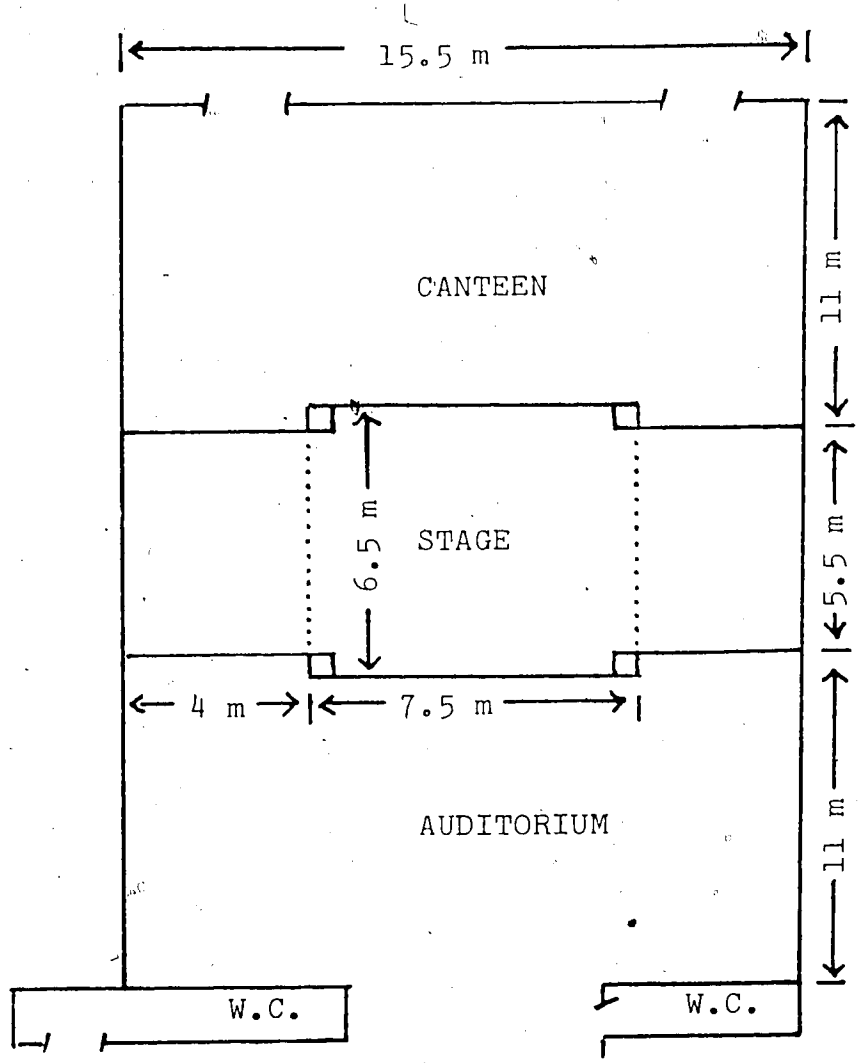
The technical design of the stage proper was under the direction of Joost Schmidt, a member of the Bauhaus faculty and sometime colleague of Schlemmer in the theater workshop at Weimar. Lighting was designed and built by Allgemeine Elektrizitäts Gesellschaft, Berlin. The ceiling immediately over the stage contained a four-row track system for hanging movable walls, props, etc.

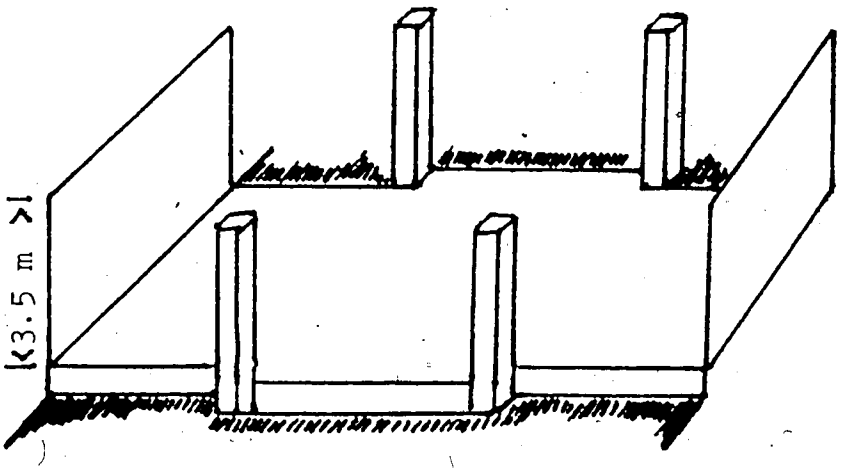
The floor of the auditorium sloped toward the raised

stage. The floor of the canteen was even with that of the stage floor. The stage area was divided into a center stage and two side stages (see the plan, next page). The stage opening (either the center stage, or the side stages, or both) on the auditorium side could be closed off with drapes. The opening onto the canteen could be closed off with accordion doors.

Several skeletal platforms, each 50 cm high, were built for use on the stage, thus allowing the stage to be raised an additional 50 cm. Or they could be combined in various ways as modular components of a set; several scene photos taken at the Dessau Bauhaus stage show these units in use (see the illustration p. 205).

The stage was located in an elevated one-story wing connecting two multistory buildings, one housing workshops, the other studios. The workshop for the theater department was located in the workshop building; a gymnastics or rehearsal room was located in the first floor of the studio building.





Floor plan of the cafetorium of the Dessau Bauhaus and elevation of the stage area from the viewpoint of the auditorium.

View of the auditorium from the stage. As can be seen here, the floor slopes toward the stage, whereas the floor of the canteen was even with that of the raised stage. (From bauhaus, vol. 1, no. 3)

View of the stage from the auditorium. In this photo the side stages are exposed to view by having the drapes withdrawn. Note the skeletal platforms on stage, used to raise the stage floor or as set modules.

APPENDIX IV

The Bauhaus and Theater: A Chronology

The Bauhaus and Theater: Chronology

1918 Lothar Schreyer founds the Sturm-Bühne, Berlin

1919 Bauhaus founded in Weimar by Walter Gropius (April); Schreyer moves his theater work to Hamburg, founds the Kampfbühne.

1920 Schlemmer appointed to Bauhaus as form master of the mural and metal workshops (Dec); Klee appointed to the Bauhaus.

Moholy-Nagy: Prinz Hagen (Sinclair), Proletarisches Theater (Piscator), Berlin.

1921 Schreyer appointed to Bauhaus (summer) to direct theater activity; performs his Mondspiel; Kandinsky appointed; Schlemmer becomes form master of the stone workshop.

Schlemmer: Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen (Kokoschka & Hindemith) and Nusch-Nuschi (Blei & Hindemith), Landestheater Stuttgart.

1922 Schlemmer becomes form master of the wood workshop, relinquishes the mural workshop.

Schlemmer: Triadic Ballet, premiere of full work, Landestheater Stuttgart;
Figural Kabinett, Bauhaus festival;
Faust, project (not performed).

1923 Schreyer resigns as head of informal theater workshop (March); Schlemmer assigned to direct theater activities, relinquishes teaching in wood, stone and metal workshops; Moholy-Nagy appointed.

Schlemmer: Triadic Ballet, Aug. 16, Bauhaus Week, National Theater, Weimar;
Figural Kabinett, Aug., Bauhaus Week, Stadttheater Jena;
Triadic Ballet, Aug. 25, Jahresschau Deutscher Arbeit, Dresden;
Der abtrünnige Zar (Carl Hauptmann), Oct. 10, Volksbühne Berlin.

Moholy-Nagy: Menschen (Hasenclever), theater unknown;
Othello, project (not performed).

Bauhaus theater: Mechanical Ballet, Aug. 17, Bauhaus Week, Stadttheater Jena.

1924 Dissolution of the Bauhaus announced in September for April 1925, following political pressure from conservative elements in Weimar.

Schlemmer: König Hunger (Andrejev), Volksbühne Berlin;
Der arme Konrad (Wolf), Volksbühne Berlin.

K. Schwerdtfeger and

L. Hirschfeld-Mack: Reflected-Light Plays, dev-

eloped independently by students of the Bauhaus, public premiere at a film matinee, Volksbühne Berlin (May), and Festival of Music and Theater, Vienna (Sept.)

1925 In January several cities bid for the Bauhaus after its removal from Weimar; Dessau is selected and the institute moves in April; Schlemmer not immediately appointed to the Dessau faculty; he is offered a position with Piscator at the Volksbühne Berlin but does not accept, and instead proposes creation of an "abstract, experimental demonstration theater" at the Volksbühne (rejected); Schlemmer called to Dessau in September; formal (curricular) theater workshop established with Schlemmer as head.

Schlemmer: Wer weint um Juckenack? (Rehfisch), Volksbühne Berlin (Jan.);
Hamlet, Volksbühne Berlin (April);
Don Juan und Faust (Graabe), National Theater Weimar.

Joost Schmidt: Design for a mechanical stage by Schlemmer's student, intended for new Bauhaus buildings in Dessau (not adopted)

1926 Bauhaus buildings in Dessau completed in the Fall,

and include separate theater facilities; Xanti Schawinsky, a student of Schlemmer's, appointed staff designer at Stadttheater Zwickau (to 1927); Felix Klee, son of Paul and student in the Bauhaus, becomes production assistant at Friedrich Theater Dessau (to 1928).

Schlemmer: Four ballets: Petruschka (Stravinsky), Der holzgeschnitzte Prinz (Bartok), Ein kurzes Leben (de Falla), and Don Juan (Gluck), Städtische Bühnen Magdeburg; Triadic Ballet (new music by Hindemith), Musikfest Donaueschingen (July 25), Festhalle Frankfurt (Aug.), Metropol-Theater Revue, Berlin (Sept.); Figural Kabinett, performed with the Triadic Ballet (Aug., Sept., see above).

Schawinsky: Morn to Midnight (Kaiser) and "Robbers' Ballet" from Two Gentlemen of Verona. Stadttheater Zwickau; Spectrodrama, initial experiments (conducted continuously through 1936 at Black Mountain College); design for a "space theater.

A. Weininger: Design for a "spherical theater" by student of Schlemmer.

1927 Schlemmer: Figural Kabinett, Bauhaus (July 9); Les Noces (Stravinsky), project with Hermann Scherchen (not performed).

Gropius: Design for the "Total Theater" commissioned by Piscator for his theater in Berlin (not built).

Bauhaus theater: Major lecture by Schlemmer, using the theater workshop company for demonstration, Bauhaus (March 16); I Congress of the Dance, Magdeburg, in conjunction with Deutsche Theaterausstellung (June 25); performance at Bauhaus (July 9).

1928 Gropius resigns as director of the Bauhaus; Moholy-Nagy resigns; Hannes Meyer elected director, beginning of the "Meyer Era" with emphasis on architectural training.

Kandinsky: Pictures at an Exhibition (Moussorgsky), Friedrich Theater, Dessau (April).

Bauhaus theater: II Congress of the Dance, Essen (June); performance at Bauhaus (July 7).

Schlemmer: Die Vogelscheuchen (Gutheim), Kammertanztheater, Hagen i.W. (Nov.); Spielzeug (Tchaikovsky), version of the "Nutcracker Suite," Sächsische Staatsoper Dresden (Nov.); Figural Kabinett, Halle; major lecture, "Verteidigungs-

rede in Sachen Bühne" (In Defense of the Stage), presented to faculty and students, Bauhaus (Sept. 26).

1929 Schlemmer resigns from the Bauhaus in July, after deemphasis of theater by Meyer following a tour by the theater workshop company; Schlemmer appointed to the Art Academy in Breslau; Felix Klee becomes independent producer at the Stadttheater Breslau; Roman Clemens, a student of Schlemmer's, appointed assistant designer at the Friedrich Theater in Dessau (to 1931); "junge Bauhaus Bühne" formed.

Schlemmer: Le Chant du Rossignol (Der Nachtigall) and Renard (Stravinsky), Stadttheater Breslau.

Moholy-Nagy: Tales of Hoffmann (Offenbach), Krolloper Berlin (Feb.); Der Kaufmann von Berlin (Mehring), Piscator-Bühne, Berlin (Sept.).

Bauhaus theater: Tour (performances, preceded by lectures by Schlemmer): Volksbühne Berlin (March 3), Stadttheater Breslau (March 24), Schauspielhaus Frankfurt (April 20), Landestheater Stuttgart (April 25), Stadttheater Basel (April 28).

Roman Clemens: Play of Form, Color, Light, and

Sound (own composition), Dessau; Douaumont (Möller), Friedrich Theater, Dessau.

1930 Schlemmer: Die glückliche Hand (Schönberg), Krolloper Berlin (June).

Moholy-Nagy: Hin und Zurück (Hindemith), Krolloper Berlin (June); Marriage of Figaro, project (not performed).

Clemens: USA with Music and News of the Day (Hindemith), Friedrich Theater Dessau.

1931 Meyer forced to resign as head of Bauhaus; Ludwig Mies van der Rohe appointed director.

Schlemmer: Major lecture and exhibition, "Bühnenelemente," Kunstgewerbemuseum Zürich.

Moholy-Nagy: Madame Butterfly, Krolloper Berlin (Feb.).

1932 Roman Clemens appointed chief designer and Ausstattungsleiter at the Stadttheater Zürich (to 1943); Dessau city council dissolves the Bauhaus.

Schlemmer: Triadic Ballet, International Congress of the Dance (placed sixth in competition), Theatre des Champs-Elysee, Paris (July 4); major lecture, "Formale Bühnenelemente," for Freundekreis der staatlichen Kunstbibliothek Berlin (March 7).

1933 After a brief attempt to continue the Bauhaus as a private institute in Berlin, the school is dissolved by a vote of the faculty at the beginning of the summer term.

APPENDIX V

Professional Productions Designed by Schlemmer

June 4, 1921	Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen (Hindemith & Kokoschka) and Nusch-Nuschi (Hindemith); Württembergisches Landestheater, Stuttgart; Otto Erhardt, director.
Sept. 30, 1922	Triadic Ballet, premiere of complete work; Württembergisches Landestheater, Stuttgart.
Oct. 10, 1923	Der abtrünnige Zar (Carl Hauptmann); Volksbühne, Berlin; Fritz Holl, director.
Feb. 28, 1924	King Hunger (Andrejev); Volksbühne, Berlin.
Oct. 14, 1924	Der arme Konrad (Friedrich Wolf); Volksbühne, Berlin; Fritz Holl, director.
Jan. 31, 1925	Wer weint um Juckenack? (Rehfisch); Volksbühne, Berlin; Erwin Piscator, director.
April 3, 1925	Don Juan und Faust (Grabbe); Deutsches Nationaltheater, Weimar.
April 4, 1925	Hamlet (Shakespeare); Volksbühne, Berlin.
Oct. 18, 1926	Petruschka (Stravinsky), Der holzgeschnitzte Prinz (Bartok), Ein kurzes Leben (de Falla), and Don Juan (Gluck), four ballets; Städtische Bühnen, Magdeburg.
Nov. 7, 1928	Nutcracker Suite (Spielzug) (Tchaikovsky); Sächsische Staatsoper, Dresden.

Nov. 14, 1928	Vogelscheuchen (Frombgen & Gutheim); Kammertanztheater, Hagen i. W.
Dec., 1929	Der Nachtigall and Renard (Stravinsky); Stadttheater, Breslau.
June 7, 1930	Die glückliche Hand (Schönberg); Krolloper, Berlin; Arthur Maria Rabenalt, director.

Triadic Ballet

Schlemmer's own composition, originated 1912 in Stuttgart with the dancers Albert Burger and Elsa Hötzel, and with Oskar's brother, Carl.

Performances:

1916, December; parts of the ballet performed in the Stadtgarten, Stuttgart, as part of a charity benefit for Schlemmer's regiment; music by Bossi.

1922, Sept. 30; premiere of complete work, Württembergisches Landestheater, Stuttgart; preceded by a reading of Kleist's "Ueber das Marionettentheater"; music by Bossi, Haydn, Mozart, others.

1923, July 2; performed as part of a program of the Stuttgarter Landestheaterballett, Württembergisches Landestheater, Stuttgart.

1923, Aug. 16; performed as part of Bauhaus Week, National Theater, Weimar.

1923, Aug. 25-26; performed in the "Grossen Saal," Jahresschau Deutscher Arbeit, Dresden.

1926, July 25; sixth annual Kammermusikfest, Donaueschingen; new music for mechanical organ by Hindemith.

1926, Aug. 15-18; performed as part of the "Grossen Brückenrevue," Frankfurter Festhalle.

1926, Sept. 16; performed as part of the "Wieder Metropol" revue, Metropol Theater, Berlin.

1932, July 4; performed as part of the International Congress of the Dance, Theatre des Champs-Elysee, Paris; placed sixth in competition; music by Wagner-Regeny.

Collections:

Designs. The majority of the designs and miscellaneous notes to various realized and planned productions (1918-1936) are in the Schlemmer Archive, Stuttgart. Some designs are in the following collections: Mrs. Suzanne Smith Frantz, Wellesley Hills, Mass.; Museum of Modern Art; Dr. Hans Curjel, Zürich; and the Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University.

Scene photos. Schlemmer Archive, Stuttgart; Bauhaus Archive, Berlin; Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University; Museum of Modern Art, New York; Mr. T. Lux Feininger, Cambridge, Mass.

Published photos. Wingler, 1969, pp. 362, 363, 473; Schlemmer and Moholy-Nagy, 1961, pp. 34, 35, 36, 37, 38; Bayer and Gropius, 1938, pp. 60-64, 165; Hildebrandt, 1952, p. 128; Schünemanns Monatsheft, October 1928, pp. 1062, 1065, 1072; Gropius, 1923, p. 149; exhibition catalogs nos. 9a and 16 (see part VI of the bibliography).

Miscellaneous. Nine of the 18 original costumes from the 1922 performance are preserved in the Schlemmer

Archive, Stuttgart. Of the specially designed curtains for performances, two (from the 1922 and 1926 Donaueschingen performances) are in the Schlemmer Archive.

Figural Kabinett

Schlemmer's own composition; technical direction by his brother, Carl. Like the Triadic Ballet, this work was continuously revised from its original conception in 1912, and was performed in at least two versions (indicated below as I and II).

Performances:

1922, spring; Bauhaus, Weimar (I).

1923, Aug.; performed as part of Bauhaus Week, Stadttheater, Jena (I).

1926, Aug. 15-18; performed as part of the "Grossen Brückenrevue," Frankfurter Festhalle (I).

1926, Sept. 16; performed as part of the "Wieder Metropol" revue, Metropol Theater, Berlin (I).

1927, July 9; Bauhaus, Dessau (II, new music by Georg Munch).

1928; Halle (no further information).

Collections:

Designs, scene photos, and script notes in the Schlemmer Archive, Stuttgart; one design owned by Xanti Schawinsky, New York.

Published photos. Bayer and Gropius, 1938, pp. 61, 64; Lang, 1965, plate 73; Wingler, 1969, p. 364; Hildebrandt,

1952, p. 130; Schlemmer and Moholy-Nagy, 1961, pp. 39, 41, 42; bauhaus, I, 3 (1927), p. 4; Baukunst und Werkform, VIII, 4 (1955), p. 213; exhibition catalogs nos. 9a and 16; Tut Schlemmer, 1972, pp. 115-116.

Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen

Performance: June 4, 1921, Württembergisches Landestheater, Stuttgart.

Work: Script by Oskar Kokoschka (original performance 1909), music by Paul Hindemith (opera form).

Director: Otto Erhardt

Musical director: Fritz Busch

Design: Schlemmer

Collections: Schlemmer Archive (5 designs)

Illustrations: Rischbieter, 1969, plate 153; Schlemmer and Moholy-Nagy, 1961, p. 45; Fischel, 1923; Cicerone, XIX, 3 (1927), pp. 91-92; du-Atlantis, November 1924, p. 17; exhibition catalog no. 12.

Reviews (dates not established);

Stuttgarter Neues Tagblatt, Konrad Düssel

Württembergische Zeitung(Stuttgart)

Staatsanzeiger Stuttgart

Schwäbische Tagwacht (Stuttgart)

Neckarzeitung, No. 132, Eduard Reinacher

Sonntagszeitung Heilbronn

Der Bund (Bern)

Deutsches Volksblatt

Kunstführer, Erich Dürr

Berliner Tageblatt, Hans Hildebrandt

Das Nusch-Nuschi

Performance: With Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen

Work: Opera by Paul Hindemith, text by Franz Blei

Design and choreography: Schlemmer

Director: Otto Erhardt

Conductor: Fritz Busch

Collections: Schlemmer Archive, Stuttgart (13 designs).

Der abtrünnige Zar

Performance: Berliner Volksbühne, October 10, 1923

Work: Carl Hauptmann

Director: Fritz Holl (Württembergisches Landestheater)

Design: Schlemmer

Collections: Schlemmer Archive (one design)

Illustrations: Die Form, I, 5 (1926), pp. 92, 99.

Reviews:

Berliner Tageblatt, Oct. 11, Fritz Engel

Vossische Zeitung (Berlin), Oct. 11, Monty Jacobs

Berliner Börsen-Courir, Oct. 11, Herbert Ihering

8 Uhr Abendblatt (Berlin), Oct. 11, Kurt Pinthus

Berliner Morgenpost, Oct 12, Max Osborn

Die Welt am Montag (Berlin), Hans Fischer (date?)

Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger, Oct. 11, Franz Servaes

Berliner Zeitung am Mittag, Oct. 11, Paul Wiegler

König Hunger

Performance: February 28, 1924, Berliner Volksbühne

Work: Leonid Andrejev

Design: Schlemmer

Collections: Schlemmer Archive

Reviews:

Berliner Börsen-Courir, Feb. 29, Herbert Ihering

Berliner Tageblatt, Feb. 29, Alfred Kerr

Vossische Zeitung (Berlin), Feb. 29, Alfred Klaar

Berliner Zeitung am Mittag, Feb. 29

8 Uhr Abendblatt (Berlin) (date?)

Deutsche Tageszeitung (Berlin) (date?)

Die Weltbühne, Siegfried Jakobsohn (date?)

Der arme Konrad

Performance: October 14, 1924, Berliner Volksbühne

Work: Friedrich Wolf

Design: Schlemmer

Director: Fritz Holl

Collections: Schlemmer Archive

Illustrations: Wolf, 1947, p. 25 (scene photo)

Reviews:

Berliner Börsen-Courir, Oct. 15, Herbert Ihering

Berliner Tageblatt, Oct. 15, Ludwig Marcuse

Die Welt am Montag (Berlin), Oct. 15

Die Welt am Morgen (Berlin), Oct. 15

Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger, Oct. 15

8 Uhr Abendblatt, Oct. 15

Wer weint um Juckenack?

Performance: January 31, 1925, Berliner Volksbühne

Work: Hans Rehfisch

Director: Erwin Piscator

Technical director: Hans Sachs

Design: Schlemmer (not credited on program)

Collections: Schlemmer Archive (one design)

Reviews:

Berliner Börsen-Courir, Feb. 2, Herbert Ihering

Berliner Tageblatt, Feb. 2, Alfred Kerr

Berliner Zeitung am Mittag, Feb. 2, Franz Leppmann

Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger, Feb. 3, Franz Servaes

Berliner Morgenpost, Feb. 3, St.-R.

Don Juan und Faust

Performance: March 4, 1925, Deutsches Nationaltheater, Weimar

Work: Christian Grabbe

Director: Franz Ulrich

Design: Schlemmer

Collections: Schlemmer Archive (2 designs); Institut

für Theaterwissenschaft, Cologne (2 designs).

Illustrations: Das Theater, 1925, p. 177; Baukunst und Werkform, No. 4, 1955, p. 240; Theater Heute, September 1960, p. 3; Schünemanns Monatsheft, October 1928, p. 1064; Fuerst-Hume, 1967, plate 154; L. Schrickel, Geschichte des Weimarer Theaters, 1928.

Reviews:

Berliner Tageblatt, March 4, Johannes Schlaf

Thüringer Allgemeine Zeitung (Erfurt) (date?)

Hamlet

Performance: [redacted] 1925, Berliner Volksbühne

Work: Shakesp[redacted]

Design: Schlem[redacted]

Collections: Schlemmer Archive (4 designs)

Illustrations: Rischbieter, 1969, plate 154

Reviews:

Berliner Zeitung am Mittag, No. 95

Berliner Börsen-Courir, No. 162

Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, Nos. 162-163

Deutsche Tageszeitung (Berlin), No. 163

Vossische Zeitung (Berlin), April 6, Artur Michael

Die Welt am Mittag (Berlin), No. 14

Four Ballets

Performance: October 18, 1926, Städtische Bühnen, Magdeburg

Works: Petruschka (Stravinsky), Der holzgeschnitzte Prinz (Bartok), Ein kurzes Leben (de Falla), Don Juan (Gluck)

Design: Schlemmer

Collections: Designs for all but Ein kurzes Leben in the Schlemmer Archive.

Reviews:

Magdeburger Generalanzeiger, Oct. 19

Spielzug

Performance: Premiere, November 7, 1928, Sächsische Staatsoper, Dresden

Work: Version of Tchaikovsky's "Nutcracker Suite" by Ellen von Cleve-Petz, choreographer with the Staatsoper.

Design: Schlemmer

Collections: Schlemmer Archive (1 design, scene photos)

Vogelscheuchen

Performance: Premiere, November 14, 1928, Kammertanz-theater, Stadttheater, Hagen/Westfalia

Work: Original ballet-pantomime with words, by Hans Frömbgen (text) and Karlheinz Gutheim (music), 30 minutes

Musical director: Gutheim

Choreography: Inge von Tramp

Design: Schlemmer

Collections: Schlemmer Archive (4 designs, scene photos)

Illustrations: Rischbieter, 1969, plate 157; 3 figure

designs reproduced in the program.

Der Nachtigall

Performance: December 1929, Stadttheater, Breslau

Work: Opera (Rossignol), Stravinsky

Design: Schlemmer

Collections: Schlemmer Archive (4 designs); Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Kunstbibliothek Berlin (15 designs).

Illustrations: Rischbieter, 1969, plate 156; exhibition catalog no. 9a.

Renard

Performance: With Nachtigall

Work: Ballet, Stravinsky

Design: Schlemmer

Illustrations: Bühnentechnische Rundschau, No. 5 1930, p. 14.

Die glückliche Hand

Performance: June 7, 1930, Krolloper (Staatsoper am Platz der Republik), Berlin

Work: Opera, Arnold Schönberg, 25 minutes

Director: Arthur Maria Rabenalt

Conductor: Otto Klemperer

Design: Schlemmer

Collections: Schlemmer Archive (1 design); Hans Curjel, Zürich (1 design).

Illustrations: Kunstblatt, XIV, 8 (1930), p. 243; Bühnentechnische Rundschau, No. 5, 1930, p. 14; Komisarjevsky and Simonson, 1933, p. 66 ("Krem" mistakenly identified as designer); Niessen, 1944, p. 235.

Reviews:

Berliner Börsen-Courir, June 10, Oskar Bie

Berliner Zeitung am Mittag, June 10, Hanz Heinz Stuckenschmidt

Berliner Tageblatt, June 10, Karl Westermeyer

Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger, June 10, Adolf Diesterweg

8 Uhr Abendblatt, June 10, Nora Pisling-Boas

Vossische Zeitung (Berlin), June 10