Aesthetic Conventions of Early Modern Dance Photography 1908-1925

Karl Toepfer

A peculiar set of conventions and aesthetic strategies controlled relations between dancers and photographers in the early years of modern dance (1908-1925). These conventions operated across Europe, often obscuring artistic distinctions between both dancers and photographers. In the early twentieth century, the primary purpose of photography was not to document dance but to create an idealized image of a dancer. From about 1908 until 1921, nearly all modern dance performance was the work of solo dancers.[1] Dancers used photographic images of themselves to promote their performance careers in newspapers and magazines and through the dissemination of postcards at newsstand kiosks and concert halls. The great majority of the public perceived modern dance through reports of it accompanied by photographs, not through performances. Dancers were overwhelmingly (though not entirely) young and female. Audiences for modern dance were much more diverse, as were the consumers of media reports about dancers and postcards of them. Both male and female photographers contributed to the international "look" of dance photography in the early twentieth century.[2]

Dancers, not photographers, initiated early modern dance photography. They saw photographic technology as an effective instrument for constructing images of dance and dancers that conformed to their desires rather than to some idea of photographic "objectivity" in seeing dance. Early modern dancers were clients of photographic studios, and they tended to favor studios that specialized in portraits. A dancer worked closely with a photographer to produce a public image that pleased the dancer. To see dance from outside of the dancer's perspective was not a governing nor even a significant goal of the earliest years of modern dance photography. Magazine and newspaper editors depended on photos supplied by dancers or concert agencies to illustrate stories related to dance; most periodicals did not have staff photographers to cover reportage. Hardly any photographers showed an inclination to treat dance as a subject independent of a dancer-client's commission. One probable reason for this disinclination is that photographers saw dance above all as an art of movement, and they lacked confidence in the technology to capture the kinetic energy of moving bodies. Inadequate light conditions combined with slow shutter speeds necessary for sufficient exposure of the film emulsion created blurry or muddled images that lacked commercial or artistic value. Ballet and theater companies often hired photographers to document scenes on a stage, but even these resulted from posing the dancers under optimum lighting conditions rather than viewing performances as they actually unfolded. Yet photographing people in movement on streets or at work was

not uncommon by the 1890s, and some photographers did attempt to photograph dancers performing dances. In 1896, American dancer Loie Fuller (1862-1928) photographed herself in Paris performing her flamboyant, swirling cloth dances, outdoors and within a studio, achieving a vivid image of bodily motion (Figure 1). In 1907-1908, Austrian photographer Rudolf Jobst (1872-1952) attracted widespread attention for his sunny, outdoor photo series of the Wiesenthal sister, especially Grete Wiesenthal (1885-1970), performing their famous waltz dances, with some pictures showing the sisters raising both feet off the ground (Figure 2).[3]

Figure 1: Loie Fuller performing, Paris, photographed by American photographer Isaiah West Taber (1830-1912) around 1896. Photo source: Musee D'Orsay, Paris.

Figure 2: The Wiesenthal Sisters (Berta, Else, and Grete), Vienna, 1908, photographed by Rudolf Jobst. Photo source: Österreichische Ludwigstiftung für Kunst und Wissenschaft.

But despite the technical and aesthetic success of these photos, they did little to inspire further attempts to photograph dancers in motion until 1914 and 1919, when Hugo Erfurth (1874-1948) photographed Mary Wigman (1886-1973) in movement within a studio and outdoors in Dresden.[4] Perhaps the most photographed dancer of the early modern dance era was the beautiful Russian ballerina Anna Pavlova (1881-1931); it was probably impossible for her to make a dull or unflattering photograph. Her great skill at using photographs to promote her enormously successful solo dance performances around the world inspired modern dancers to take photography seriously as a fundamental component of a dancer's professional identity. In many photographs, Pavlova signified her identity as a ballerina by posing on pointe, so that the camera captured, not a movement, but a frozen moment of delicate balance uniquely associated with ballet. However, because of their profound hostility toward ballet, modern dancers could not rely on the pointe pose to signify their modernity; they had to pursue another powerful idea of "dance." Pavlova also placed great importance on the making of facial photo portraits. She saw the image of the face as essential to amplifying viewer identification with body of the dancer and with dance. She was also innovative, beginning around 1912, in producing casual, "snapshot" photos of herself engaged in leisure time, non-dance activities, like gamboling in her garden, feeding swans, reading a book, having lunch with friends, and so forth, to

construct the perception of dance leading to an elegant, pleasurable, even luxurious way of life (Figure 3). But most modern dancers failed to explore these last two innovations.[5]

Figure 3: Casual photograph of Anna Pavlova reading in company with her small dogs around 1920. Photographer unknown. Photo source: Madge Abercrombie Collection in Keith Money, Anna Pavlova: Her Life and Art*, New York: Knopf, 1982, 300.*

Dance and dancers attracted the attention of many modernist visual artists, especially those affiliated with Expressionism, and their paintings, drawings, and prints did much to enhance the allure of early modern dance. But these artworks did little to reveal the uniqueness of a dancer, even when the artist depicted a specific, real dancer. Visual artists imagined performance contexts that did not match the reality of actual performance, or they tended toward caricaturization that hampered dancers from developing fluid identities. Photography was much more reliable in constructing viewer expectations of performance insofar as the dancer was in control of the image. Dancers had the greatest control over their images in photography studios, not on theater stages, which were

expensive to rent and difficult to schedule. Only rarely did dancers make images of themselves outdoors, such as the Wiesenthal sisters with Rudolf Jobst and German dancer Mary Wigman at Austrian Rudolf Laban's (1879-1958) movement school in Ascona, Switzerland in 1914. Like the students at Laban's Ascona school, dancers keen on outdoor photography of their movement exercises tended to belong to progressive schools affiliated with *Freikörperkultur* (nudism) and social transformation through emancipatory physical education, not with preparation for careers as professional dancers.[6]

In photography studios, images of dancers followed a set of conventions that prevailed until the early 1920s. The dancer posed in front of a white or a dark screen; sometimes the background consisted of a dark, heavy curtain. Regardless of the costume the dancer wore, the background consisted of a white or dark screen or wall. The dancer rarely stood more than a couple of feet from the wall. Pervasively, dancers did not wish to picture themselves within a particular scenic or narrative context. Most solo dancers could not afford to create scenic contexts for their dance concerts and largely performed on bare stages with rudimentary lighting. Scenic context anyway distracted from the goal of modern dance, which was to show the power of movement and the modern body to achieve a freedom to signify within any context and outside of any context. The purpose of the photographic image was to get the viewer to see the dancer, not a character nor a persona constructed by an image-making apparatus external to her. In other words, the viewer understood that the image depicted the dancer as she wished to be perceived and not as an "objective" or artistically independent observer saw her. The camera viewed the dancer at eye-level and perpendicular to the wall or screen. It is surprising how difficult it is to locate photos before about 1922 in which the camera views the dancer from a high, low, or oblique angle. Dancers also avoided the use of shadows or chiaroscuro effects until late 1921, when the German dancers Anita Berber (1899-1928) and Sebastian Droste (1898-1927) collaborated with the Viennese photographer Madame D'Ora (1881-1963) on their book *Die Tänze des Lasters, des Grauens und der Ekstase* (1923).[7] The Czech photographer Frantisek Drtikol (1883-1961) used chiaroscuro effects with the Russian dancer Olga Gsovska (1883-1962), who also posed nude (as Salome) in 1913. But in this case, along with other 1912-1913 chiaroscuro photos of models identified as "dancers," the photographer initiated the photo sessions, not the dancer.[8]

Dancers signified their identities as dancers, not fashion models, gymnasts, acrobats, or incarnations of statues, by employing a wide range of poses: 1) while facing to the left or right, arcing or arching the body backwards or forwards, on tip-toes or with one leg raised high or with knees dipping, with head pointed upward or toward the viewer or in profile, with arms extended backward or uplifted (Figure 4); 2) while facing the camera, cross stepping with arms lifted or hands clasping the waist and head tilted or turned and often

smiling; 3) while facing left or right, twisting the body toward the camera while cross-stepping with arms raised and head turned toward the camera or tilted upward or downward (Figure 5); 4) lunging, creeping, slinking, sprinting, or diving poses facing left or right or the camera with arms upraised; 5) leaps, in profile or facing the camera, with arms outspread or upraised, although this image did not happen in the studio until about 1919 when Hugo Erfurt in Dresden photographed Mary Wigman and another German dancer, Gertrud Leistikow (1885-1948). These conventions were ubiquitous throughout Europe until the early 1920s and didn't disappear until the 1930s. They were major signifiers of a "modern" body. It was not at all common in those years to see young women pose in these ways or move in ways implied by the photos. The dancers derived these poses from the dances they performed in concerts, and often photos carried titles bearing the names of the dances. The same movements could evoke a variety of moods or tonalities, depending on their relation to music and costumes. The Estonian dancer Ella Ilbak (1895-1997) liked moving with her body close to the ground, and she devised dances in which she kneeled or sat on the floor without rising to her feet.[9] In late 1921, in a Riga photo studio, she made photos of herself lunging or lounging very close to the floor, a quite unique image for a dancer (Figure 6); although the apparently German dancer Adoree Villany collaborated with unknown German photographers to pose on or very low to the ground in 1912, censorship obstacles made it difficult for her photos to achieve much circulation. Perhaps around the same time (1921), Ilbak's friend, the German dancer Edith von Schrenck (1891-1971), also began posing on or very low to the floor in German photo studios.

Figure 4: Left: Latvian-German dancer Sent M'ahesa (Else von Carlsberg) (1883-1970), photographed by Wanda von Debschnitz-Kunowski, Munich, 1920. Right: Mary Wigman, photographed by Hugo Erfurth, Dresden, 1920. Photo sources: Hans Brandenburg, Der moderne Tanz*, Munich: Müller, 1921, plates 22 and 73.*

Figure 5: Left: Gertrud Leistikow in a pose from her dance "Bird as Prophet," photographed by Hanns Holdt, Munich, 1920; Right: Laura Oesterreich, photographed by Minya Diez-Dührkoop, Hamburg, 1920. Photo sources: Hans Brandenburg, Der moderne Tanz*, Munich: Müller, 1921, plates 64 and 97.*

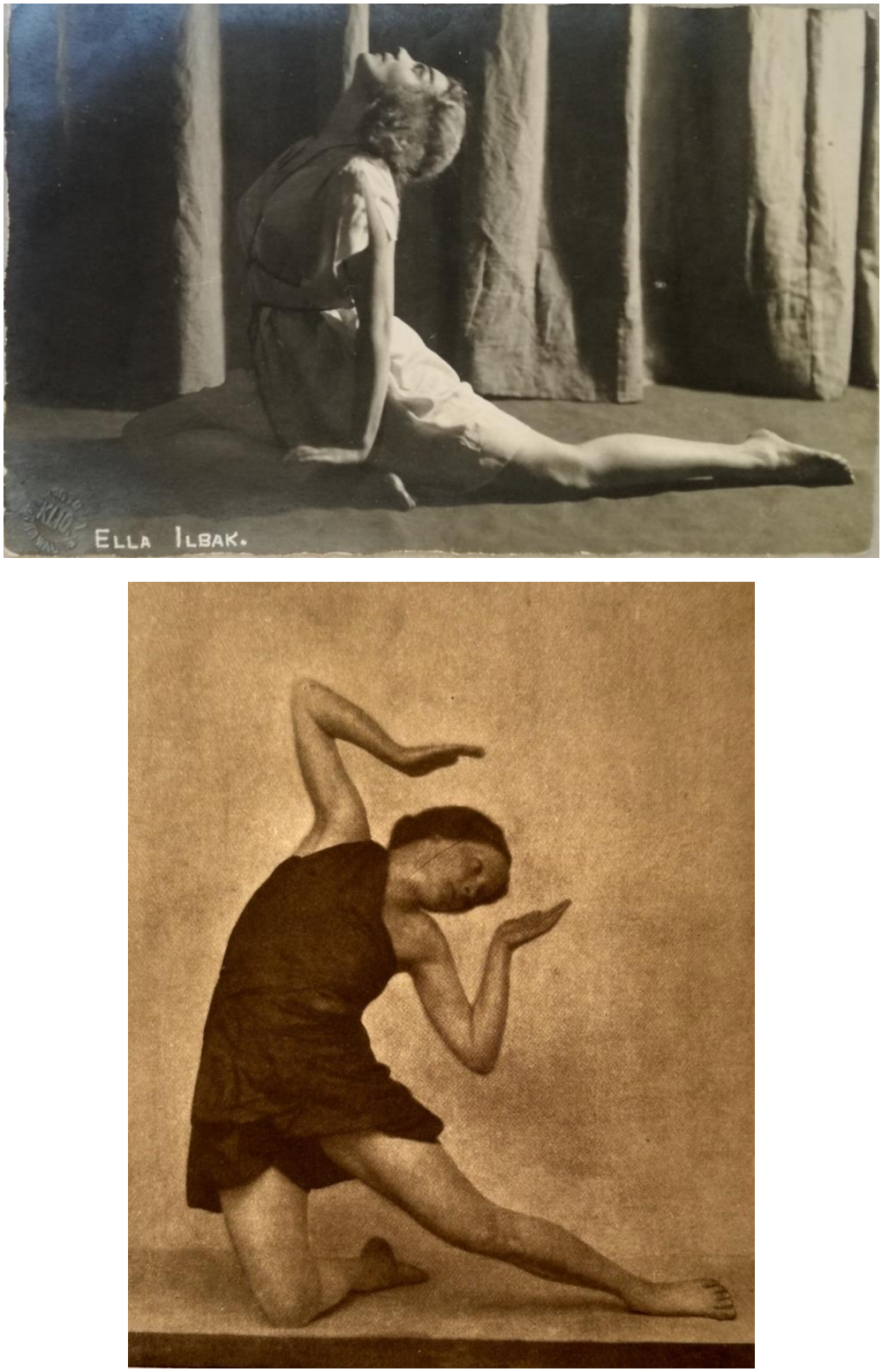

Figure 6: Top: Ella Ilbak, Klio Photo Studio, Riga, 1921. Photo source: Alvar Loog, Tallinn, Estonia. Bottom: Edith von Schrenck, photographed by Hanns Holdt, Munich, 1921. Photo source: Hans Brandenburg, Der moderne Tanz*, Munich: Müller, 1921, plate 84.*

Because of the similarity of posing tropes, costumes were important in establishing the unique photo identities of dancers. In the years 1908-1914, dancers strongly associated modern dance with exotic or foreign cultures, chiefly Asian or Classical Antiquity, so they contrived flamboyant, jeweled, or highly decorative costumes to signify their freedom from Western conventions of "proper" attire for women. Dancers covered up their bodies with long, flowing skirts, dresses, or veils that nevertheless allowed them to move freely. Only rarely did a dancer photograph herself wearing a (most likely dark) body stocking. American dancer Isadora Duncan (1877-1927) persistently favored wearing a nearly diaphanous, white "ancient Greek" chiton, but more importantly, she made modern dance practically synonymous with barefoot dancing.[10] However, many modern dancers still made photographs of themselves wearing sandals or low-heeled flats but very rarely, if ever, wearing higher heeled shoes, which, in popular consciousness, signified cabaret or vaudeville dancers, who often photographed themselves in modern dance posing tropes and sometimes barefoot. Some dancers, such as Clothilde von Derp (1892-1974) and the mysterious Jutta von Collande, leader of the highly innovative Hamburg-based Münchener Tanzgruppe (1920-1924), delighted in posing in a variety of costumes, even while performing the same posing tropes (Figure 7); Derp even appeared in "masculine" attire.[11] On the other hand, Ella Ilbak, following Duncan, consistently favored an image of herself in a short white chiton, which she applied to her performances, regardless of the mood or content of the dances. By contrast, Mary Wigman had a penchant for enshrouding herself in long, dark, vaguely medieval dresses with long sleeves. In any case, the photos reinforced a goal of performance: to show no corresponding or "proper" relation between movement and costume.

Figure 7: Jutta von Collande, wearing unusual dresses, wig, and hat, photographed by Elisabeth Morsbach, Munich, 1921. Photo source: Hans Brandenburg, Der moderne Tanz*, Munich: Müller, 1921, plates 88-89.*

Figure 8: Lavinia Schulz (1896-1924) in the costume she designed for her dance character "Bibo," photographed by Minya Diez-Dührkoop, Hamburg, 1923-1924. Photo source: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, Entfesselt: Expressionismus in Hamburg um 1920, *Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, 2006, 63.*

Adoree Villany achieved great notoriety for linking modern dance, in its "exotic" phase, to nudity. She performed nude only for private audiences, but in her huge and very entertaining 1912 autobiography, she published many photos of herself nude or semi-nude.[12] Efforts to prosecute her for pornography centered on the argument that her dances and photos would cause other modern dancers to emulate her. But modern dance had to move away from exoticism before dancers began baring their bodies. In a few of Rudolf Jobst's 1908 outdoor photos of her, Grete Wiesenthal wore a very short-sleeved, white

chiton or tunic that exposed her bare legs above the thigh, a very fresh, exuberant, athletic image that nevertheless failed to inspire other dancers to bare their legs. Sometime during the war—it's not clear exactly when—dancers began wearing skimpier attire that emphasized their slenderness and leanness. Possibly German dancers Grit Hegesa (1891-1972) or Niddy Impekoven (1904-2002) initiated the bare-legged dance at least by 1917-1918. In 1919, Impekoven published photos of herself in a mini skirt performing her immensely popular "Imprisoned Bird" dance (Figure 9), and another German dancer, Claire Bauroff (1895-1984) also published photographs of herself in very short skirts.[13] From then on, bare legs became a constant feature of photographic images of dancers. In 1920-1921, modern dance began aligning itself more closely with progressive schools of physical education, which advocated minimal "encumbrance" of the body with clothing and even nudism (Figure 10). Dance was "modern" to the extent that dancers constructed an athletic rather than exotic image of themselves. Yet nude dancing almost never occurred in public. Anita Berber performed some nude dances that, in collaboration with Madame D'Ora, she documented in her 1923 book, but these dances avoided any aura of hygienic athleticism and instead evoked a bewitching aura of morbidity and underworld glamor. However, in 1924, Ella Ilbak, working with the Swedish photographer Henry Goodwin (1878-1931), and Claire Bauroff, working with the Viennese photographer Trude Fleischmann (1895-1980), produced nude photos, even though neither dancer performed nude dances.[14] Bauroff published her nude photographs in magazines, but Ilbak's motive for making nude photographs remains obscure, because she never published them. In these and subsequent cases, dancers wanted photography to signify that dance embodied a desire for nakedness, for a revelation of emotional nakedness.

Figure 9: Niddy Impekoven barefoot and bare legged in her miniskirt and wings for her "Imprisoned Bird" dance, photographed by Hanns Holdt, Munich, 1919. Photo source: Hans Brandenburg, Der moderne Tanz*, Munich: Müller, 1921, plate 99.*

By 1921-1922, the vogue for solo dancing had reached its apex and declined precipitously. So many solo dancers had emerged that they found it very difficult to sustain careers or to attract large enough audiences with sufficiently innovative programs. Dancers discovered they could earn more money by organizing schools of modern dance than by giving modern dance concerts. With the formation of modern dance schools, education increasingly focused on collaborative experiences, and modern dance concerts favored ensemble performances rather than programs of solo dances. Audiences wanted dance (and the body) to provide understanding of group or collective activities.[15] The aesthetic shift from solo to group performances created new relations between dancers and photographers. The introduction of high-speed, lightweight cameras made it easier for

photographers to capture movement in natural light conditions, and ensemble performances compelled photographers to shoot in dance studios rather than photo studios (Figure 10). Yet photographers exerted much greater control over the image, viewing dancers from different angles and distances, introducing chiaroscuro and backlighting effects, and employing amplified lenses. In photographing ensembles, photographers developed casual, observational styles to show interactions, indoors and outdoors, between teachers and students, group dynamics, and unique spatial relations between bodies and architectural contexts. This observational aesthetic, which included photos taken without dancers knowing it, intensified the viewer's sense of involvement in the dance activity. Solo dance did not disappear entirely, but new solo dances and dancers emerged out of the school-ensemble performance aesthetic. In the 1920s, several major photographers shaped their artistic identities around dance photography, such as Suse Byk (1884-1943), Gerhard Riebecke (1879-1957), Charlotte Rudolph (1896-1983), Grete Kolliner (1892-1933), Aarne Tenhovaara (1890-1945), Georg Fayer (1892-1958), Lotte Jacobi (1896-1990), Hanns Holdt (1887-1944), Minya Diez-Dührkoop (1873-1929), and Wanda von Debschnitz-Kunowski (1870-1935).

Figure 11: Students at the Hedwig Hagemann school in Hamburg, performing group movements nude outdoors and indoors, 1926, photographed by Gerhard Riebecke and Olga Linckelmann (1886-1957). Photo source: Hedwig Hagemann, Über Körper und Seele der Frau*, Leipzig: Grethlein, 1927, plates 61 and 62.*

In 1999, Nicoletta Misler curated a large exhibit in Rome on modernist relations between the visual arts and body culture in Soviet Russia, chiefly Moscow, of the 1920s. In this exhibit, Misler excavated from archive obscurity many dance photographs that reveal a concurrent alignment of Soviet dance photography with the stylistic innovations of German dance photography, even if the Soviet venture was not as large or varied as the German. The exhibit reinforced the idea that the 1920-1921 shift in dance culture awakened the innovations in photography and were not applications of innovations developed previously in other photographic genres.[16] In 2017, Misler expanded on the Rome exhibit by publishing an enormous book on *The Russian Art of Movement 1920-1930*.[17] In this book, she greatly amplified the relation between modernist visual arts (Futurism, Cubism, Constructivism) and the various experimental movement studios in Russia, mostly in Moscow. She included many photographs taken in the studios, mostly between 1924 and 1927, many by photographers who remain "unknown." Quite often, the images represented dance in a manner that could not happen on stage. Photographers used techniques like

soft focus, filters, and graininess to produce images of dancers that did not exist in live performance. Misler's book describes the "research" activities pursued by these mostly short-lived studios, the constant construction of "exercises" and improvised kinetic experiments. Hardly any of this research produced much in the way of fully formed performances for the public. The idea was to discover and document "scientific" principles for the construction of a new, socialistic human body emancipated from the constraining pressures and inhibitions of the past. Dance movement achieved its most expressive or freest manifestation in the improvisatory environment of the studio, not in stories or polished programs presented on stage. The image of dance became an end in itself, not a means for promoting dancers, dance performance, or even schools of dance (Figure 12). In a sense, whereas in the early years of modern dance, photography was in the service of dance, by 1926 dance was in the service of photography. This transformation was not entirely unique to Soviet Russia, although perhaps most obvious there, due to economic and political constraints on stage and school performance. But Misler's scholarship has revealed the transformation more transparently than any other work describing the astonishing achievements of the bodily movement culture of the 1920s.

Figure 11: Self-consciously artistic, soft-focus, oblique angle photograph by an unknown photographer of the Moscow Free Ballet studio production or experimental ballet, "Sappho. Greek Dances," choreography by Lev Lukin (1892-1961), Moscow, 1923. Photo source: Lukina-Rink Archive at A. A. Bakrushin State Central Theatre Museum, Moscow; Nicoletta Misler, The Russian Art of Movement 1920-1930, *Turin: Allemandi, 2017, 218.*

Notes

1 For detailed accounts of early solo modern dance, see Hans Brandenburg, *Der moderne Tanz*, München: Müller, 1921; Frank Thiess, *Der Tanz als Kunstwerk*, München, 1920; Karl Toepfer, *Empire of Ecstasy: Nudity and Movement in German Body Culture 1910-1935*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, 154-206; Karl Toepfer, "Aesthetics of Early Solo Modernist Dance in Central Europe," in Claudia Gitelman and Barbara Palfy (eds.), *On Stage Alone: Soloists and the Modern Dance Canon*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012, 73-118.

2 For collections of early modern dance photographs, see Monika Faber, *Tanz: Foto*, Wien: Österreichisches Fotoarchiv im Museum moderner Kunst, 1990; Andrea Amort (ed.), *Alles tanzt: Kosmos Wiener Tanzmoderne*, Wien: Österreichisches Theater Museum, Hatje Cantz, 2019; Hanna-Leena Helavuori et al (eds), *Valokuvan tanssi: Suomalaisen tanssin kuvat 1890-1997*, Oulu: Pohjoinen, 1997; Adrien Sina (ed.) *Feminine Futures: Performance, Dance, War, Politics and Eroticism*, Dijon, 2011; Hedwig Müller and Patricia Stöckemann (eds.), *Jeder Mensch ist ein Tänzer!: Ausdruckstanz in Deutschland zwischen 1900 und 1945*, Giessen: Anabas, 1993; Nils Jockel and Patricia Stöckemann (eds.), *Flugkraft in goldene Ferne . . . Bühnentanz in Hamburg seit 1900*, Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1989; Brandenburg and Thiess, cited above.

3 For a comprehensive selection of Jobst's photos of the Wiesenthal sisters, see Andrea Amort (ed.), *Alles tanzt: Kosmos Wiener Tanzmoderne*, Wien: Österreichisches Theater Museum, Hatje Cantz, 2019, scattered unnumbered pages.

4 Erfurth's photos appear in Adrien Sina (ed.) *Feminine Futures: Performance, Dance, War, Politics and Eroticism*, Dijon, 2011, 358-359; Hedwig Müller, *Mary Wigman: Leben und Werk der grossen Tänzerin*, Berlin: Quadriga, 1986, 38-39, 52.

5 Keith Money, *Anna Pavlova: Her Life and Art*, New York: Knopf, 1982, offers perhaps the most comprehensive (and opulent) survey of Pavlova's photographic record.

6 For photo documentation of Laban's movement school in Ascona, see Giorgio J Wolfensberger (ed.), *Suzanne Perrottet: Ein bewegtes Leben*, Bern: Benteli, 1989. An

excellent example dance education aligned with the Hamburg nudist culture is Hedwig Hagemann, *Über Körper und Seele der Frau*, Leipzig: Grethlein, 1927, which contains many superb photos of nude women dancers indoors and outdoors by Olga Linckelmann and Gerhard Riebecke.

7 Anita Berber and Sebastian Droste, *Die Tänze des Lasters, des Grauens und der Ekstase*, Wien: Gloriette, 1923.

8 See Kateřina Klaricová, *František Drtikol*, Praha: Panorama, 1989, 69-78.

9 For a detailed account of Ilbak's relation to photography in the 1920s, see Karl Toepfer, "A Foreign Perspective of Early Modern Dance in Estonia: How Ella Ilbak's Photographic Image (1915-1948) Changed My Life," 2024, online essay (PDF) at https://karltoepfer.com/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/ella-ilbaks-image.pdf.

10 For extensive photo documentation of Duncan's dance aesthetic, see Dorée Duncan, Carol Pratl, and Cynthia Splatt, *Life into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*, New York: Norton, 1993, especially 68-69.

11 On photo documentation of Clothilde von Derp, see Patrizia Veroli, *I Sakharoff: un mito della danza fra teatro e avanguardie artistiche*, Bologna: Bora, 1991; Brandenburg 1921, cited above, plates 43-50. On Jutta von Collande and the Münchener Tanzgruppe, see Brandenburg 1921, cited above, 205-207; Toepfer 1997, cited above, 238-241.

12 Adorée Villany, *Tanz-Reform und Pseudo-Moral Kritisch-satyrische Gedanken aus meinem Bühnen- u. Privatleben*, privately printed, 1912. The Dutch dancer Mata Hari (Margarethe Zelle) (1876-1917) may have performed nude solo dances as early as 1905-1906; she certainly made photographs of herself posing nude in her dance costumes; see Sam Waagenaar, *Niet zo onschuldig,* Bussum: Van Holkema & Warendorf, 1976, 50, 57.

13 On Grit Hegesa, see Toepfer 1997, cited above, 167-171. On Claire Bauroff, see Ralf Georg Czapla, *Die ungleichen Geschwister: Der Unternehmer Friedrich Baur und die Tänzerin Claire Bauroff,* München: Piper, 2015. Leo Impekoven, *Niddy Impekoven*, Berlin: Reiss, 1920.

14 On Ilbak's nude photos, see Toepfer 2024, cited above, 42-45. On Bauroff's photos taken by Fleischmann, see Hans Schreiber, Trude Fleischmann: *Fotografin in Wien 1918-1938*, Wien: Wirtschafts-Trend Zeitschriften, 1991, 117-119. Fleischmann also did photos of Latvian dancer Mira Cirul (1901-1967) in 1926, but Cirul never performed nude; see Schreiber 1991, 120.

15 On the formation of dance schools and their connection to the *Freikörperkultur*, see Toepfer 1997 cited above, 97-154.

16 Nicoletta Misler, *In principio era il corpo . . . l'Arte del Movimento a Mosca negli anni '20, Milano*: Electa, 1999.

17 Nicoletta Misler, *The Russian Art of Movement 1920-1930*, Turin: Allemandi, 2017.