DORE HOYER'S *TÄNZE FÜR KÄTHE KOLLWITZ*: REFRAMING *AUSDRUCKSTANZ* IN POST-WORLD WAR II GERMANY

by

ALAINE LAMBERTSON

(Under the Direction of Nell Andrew)

ABSTRACT

Dore Hoyer's *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz*, a major cultural and commemorative event, premiered in the decimated city of Dresden in 1946. In the wake of mass devastation, death, and political upheaval, German cultural and theatrical production was at an impasse, and Hoyer sought to build a postwar Expressionist dance to articulate grief and unburden *Ausdruckstanz's* appropriation by the Nazi regime. This thesis analyzes Hoyer's efforts to rehabilitate *Ausdruckstanz* by fashioning it as the preeminent dance form in postwar Germany and linking it to Expressionist cultural productions of the Weimar Republic. The dance reintroduced *Ausdruckstanz* to post-war German audiences and employed visual and gestural motifs from the work of the celebrated and recently deceased Expressionist artist Käthe Kollwitz. *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* was one, if mostly forgotten, effort to foreground the individual human condition in order to revive modern German art in the face of its recent disastrous and collectivist past.

INDEX WORDS: *Ausdruckstanz*, Dore Hoyer, Expressionism, Käthe Kollwitz, German Modernism, Cultural Memory, *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz*

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"This family knew that Dresden was gone. Those with eyes had seen it burn and burn, understood that they were on the edge of a desert now."[1]

Kurt Vonnegut, *Slaughterhouse 5*

"There was an indescribable roar in the air: the fire. The thundering fire reminded me of the biblical catastrophes… I can't describe seeing this city burn in any other way. The color had changed as well. It was no longer pinkish red. The fire had become a furious white and yellow, and the sky was just one massive mountain of cloud. The blaze roared, with intermittent blasts..."[2]

Götz Bergander, Interview

Dore Hoyer's *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* premiered in the decimated city of Dresden in 1946, a year after the firebombing so horrifyingly described by the eyewitness and American novelist Kurt Vonnegut and the German survivor Götz Bergander. Allied bombardment rendered Dresden piles of charred rubble and gutted buildings, which Wilhelm Rudolph captured in an Expressionist style in over two hundred drawings, some of which he published in 1946 in a portfolio entitled *Das zerstörte Dresden* (*Destroyed Dresden*) (fig. 1). In Rudolph's images, shadows animate precariously leaning buildings, creating lifeless, spirit-filled ghostscapes. Kurt Schaarschuch's documentary photographs of the metropolis before and after the bombing, published by the Dresden City Council in *Bilddokument Dresden 1933–1945* (*Image Documents of Dresden 1933-1945*), underscore the destruction of the Baroque city of art and culture

[1] Kurt Vonnegut, *Slaughterhouse Five* (New York City: Delacorte Publishing, 1969), 230-231.

[2] Translations are by the author unless otherwise noted. Johanne Steinhoff ed., Peter Pechel, and Dennis E. Showalter, *Deutsche im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Zeitzeugen sprechen* (München: Schneekluth, 1989), 326-327. "Es war ein unbeschreibliches in der Luft, nur vom Feuer, ein Donnern… Die Farbe des Feuers hatte sich auch geändert, sie war nicht mehr Rosa and Rot, sondern vie einem wütenden Weiß und Gelb, und der Himmel, von dem sah man überhaupt nichts mehr. Es war nur noch ein einziges riesiges Wolkengebirge und dann dieses Dröhnen de Feuers un vereinzelt dazwischen immer noch Detonationen..."

nicknamed the "Florence on the Elbe."[3] For instance, a pair of Schaarschuch's photographs presents one image of the monumental statue of Martin Luther as it stood in front of the Frauenkirche opposite a second image of Luther's recumbent and broken body in front of the church's ruins (fig. 2). In the first picture we gaze up towards Martin Luther and the towering Baroque domed Frauenkirche, whereas in the second image, the viewer appears to be at the same vantage point as the fallen Martin Luther; we too have been reduced to rubble. The book's preface, written by a City Councilman, appealed for Dresden to be rebuilt in its former Baroque glory. It was this same City Council that would patronize Dore Hoyer's *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz*, but unlike the photograph's nostalgia for a once beautiful cultural city, Hoyer's work was an immediate attempt to reconcile war, loss, and grief with German culture and a postwar artistic future.[4]

Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz reintroduced *Ausdruckstanz* to post-war German audiences and employed visual and gestural motifs from the graphic and sculptural work of the celebrated and recently deceased Expressionist artist Käthe Kollwitz. In fact, Hoyer radically repositioned *Ausdruckstanz*, first by disassociating it from National Socialism, and second by infusing it with

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[3] Anne Fuchs, *After the Dresden Bombing: Pathways of Memory, 1945 to the Present* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012): 32. Rubble or wreckage photography, first popularized by Allied photographers, documented the destruction of German cities in the immediate postwar period. German photographers soon adopted this genre, so they too could record the devastation of numerous cities throughout Germany, raising questions of responsibility, victimhood, and obligation. Fuchs also examines the notion of impact narrative and the position of fine art and cultural production in the manifestation of cultural memory (10-12). In Fuchs discussion, impact narratives transmit forms of cultural memory after an impact event; an impact event is a historical occurrence which fractures the material and symbolic worlds we inhabit, like a major war or natural disaster. Impact narratives convey forms of cultural memory through images, stories, and other forms of cultural production; therefore, the images produced by Rudolph, Schaarschuch, and even Hoyer contribute to the shaping of German wartime memory.

[4] Fuchs, *After the Dresden Bombing: Pathways of Memory, 1945 to the Present*, 8, 22, 32. The post 1945 narrative in Dresden emerged as an opposing division between a culturally and artistically rich historical past of a "peaceful" city and an obliterated postwar reality. The nostalgic opinion of a better and more "perfect" past surfaced in postwar debates about reconstruction and some politicians and members of Dresden's City Council advocated for rebuilding of the city, especially the Altstadt, in its former Baroque architecture. This act of looking backwards at pre-World War II German culture is mirrored in Hoyer's *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz,* as she employs Expressionist visual motifs and the earliest iterations of *Ausdruckstanz* to propel German dance forward in the postwar period.

interwar Expressionist iconography that signaled the dance form's origins in the pre-WWII avant-garde.[5] Hoyer reestablished *Ausdruckstanz* as the preeminent dance form in postwar Germany by linking it to Expressionist cultural productions of the Weimar Republic, through its earliest iterations in founder Mary Wigman and the war images of her contemporary Kollwitz. Prior to the war, Kollwitz forged connections with dancers, and *Ausdruckstanz* had often comingled with Expressionism and Dadaism, as these artistic movements emerged in cities across Germany.[6] Unlike the work of her mentor Wigman and her inspiration Kollwitz, however, Hoyer's contributions to choreography and postwar German art have been largely overlooked.

Ausdruckstanz, also referred to as "absolute dance," New German dance, and Expressionist dance*,* is a very complicated idiom which embodies a heterogeneous group of choreographic voices, movement styles, and teaching practices that developed in German speaking lands at the beginning of the twentieth century. The dancer and choreographer Rudolf van Laban first coined the term *Ausdruckstanz* at the German Dance Congress in 1928. The term, however, only gained common usage after World War II and acquired its ideological and

[5] Tonja van Helden's dissertation, "Expressions of Form and Gesture in Ausdruckstanz, Tanztheater and Contemporary Dance" (PhD. diss., University of Colorado at Boulder, 2012) discusses the ephemeral nature of movement, as dance illustrated an immediate presence of expression, which was radically different than the static art forms of painting, architecture, and sculpture. *Ausdruckstanz* became an especially interesting and captivating avant-garde art form during the interwar period due to its immediacy of expression and emotive gestures. Furthermore, *Ausdruckstanz's* repudiation of the choreographed and controlled nature of ballet, which rejected personal agency, independent expression, and experimentation in music, costume, gesture, and design, was a new development in the early 20th century and mirrored many of the other avant-garde artistic movements and their rejection of tradition.

[6] Dee Reynolds, "Dancing as a Woman: Mary Wigman and "Absolute Dance," *Forum for Modern Language Studies,* volume XXXV, issue 3 (July 1999): 298. Mary Wigman moved in Expressionist and Dadaist circles during her time in Hellrau, Dresden, and Munich in the early twentieth century. Her exposure to Expressionist art led her to forge relationships with Emil Nolde and Ernst Ludwig Kirchner; both artists painted, sketched, and drew Wigman throughout the 1910s and 1920s. Wigman's "absolute dance" shared expressive individuality and inner emotive qualities with Expressionist visual artists.

aesthetic affinity with German Expressionism during the postwar period.[7] Although early scholarship on *Ausdruckstanz* focused on the biographies of major dancers, more recently, scholars have addressed *Ausdruckstanz's* relationship to German *Tanztheater*. During the early twentieth century, tensions emerged between Wigman's conception of "absolute dance" and theater dance of the opera house. At the German Dance Congress of 1928, Kurt Jooss suggested a synthesis of these two dance types to achieve a more comprehensive dance style, one indicative of German culture and creativity, to be known as *Tanztheater*, but built around *Ausdruckstanz's* compositional framework.[8] Late 1990s scholarship also acknowledged the dance form's ideological and aesthetic evolution from the Weimar Republic to National Socialism.[9] These studies outlined the problematic history and paradoxical nature of *Ausdruckstanz*. On one hand, the dance form accepted the artistic and social progress of modernity, and on the other hand many of its choreographic works embraced elements of fascist ideology such as the notion of *Gemeinschaft* (community), later transformed by the National Socialists into *Volksgemeinschaft* (national community or racial community).

My analysis of Hoyer's advocacy of *Ausdruckstanz* and her interpretation of Kollwitz's Expressionist images emerges from these recent interpretations to explain the position and

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[7] Kate Elswit, "Watching after Weimar: Dance's Intellectual Property and the Protection of Memory," in *Watching Weimar Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 146. "New German dance" in the 1920s and early 1930s was mostly discussed in loosely combined terms of "free, modern, artistic, or expressionist dance," and the term *Ausdruckstanz* only appeared in curricula of dance during National Socialism as a descriptor of classical dance training. Susanne Franco, "Ausdrucktanz: Traditions, Translations, Transmissions," in *Dance Discourses: Keywords in Dance Research,* edited by Susanne Franco and Marina Nordera (London: Routledge, 2007) argues that the monolithic image of *Ausdruckstanz's* ideological and aesthetic affinity with Expressionism after World War II is an example of a fusion of different eras in German cultural history; this blending of different styles emerged quickly in the post-war period. This discussion, however, merits further inquiry into cultural memory, and is addressed in this thesis. Lastly, Franco notes that the term "New German Dance" was transformed into *Deutscher Tanz* by the National Socialist regime.

[8] Elswit, "Watching After Weimar," 149. The patronage of post-World War II *Tanztheater* followed a model set forth by National Socialism; dance resided in the opera house and centralized cultural centers, not in independent schools as in the Weimar Republic.

[9] Susanne Franco, "Ausdrucktanz: Traditions, Translations, Transmissions," 84.

function of *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* in postwar Germany. Relying on an iconographical analysis and reception theory, this thesis positions Hoyer's *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* in postwar Germany's artistic scene, in which critics exalted the performance for achieving the emotional power of Expressionist painting, embodying Wigman's conception of "absolute" dance, and translating the experience of Kollwitz's images into kinesthetic movement.[10] The theatrical world in Germany was in flux after World War II, and by animating Kollwitz's familiar Expressionist imagery of national grief, Hoyer situated *Ausdruckstanz* in the art and culture of the Weimar Republic, unburdening it from Nazi appropriation and declaring it the future of German dance and cultural identity.

Hoyer appears only briefly in dance historiography, and in fact she is the subject of only one monograph, a biography published by the Tanz Archiv in Köln, Germany. Still, contemporary sources designate her as one of the most eminent *Ausdruckstänzerin* soloists and the last great "titan" of *Ausdruckstanz,* classifying her, like Kollwitz, as a late Expressionist.[11] In her own time, critics compared her to such dancers and artists associated with pre-World War I expressionism as Alexander Saccharoff.[12] As a student of Gret Palucca, and later a dancer for Mary Wigman, Hoyer inherited her mentors' views on *Ausdruckstanz* as movement emanating from boundless individualism and inner expression, rather than from abstract associations with

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[10] Expressionists emphasized gestures to create emotionally charged narratives, demanding an empathetic response by expressing a universal feeling; ultimately Expressionist visual artists sought to convey inner experiences and emotions just as Wigman and Hoyer in their choreographic works. Kinesthesia, as used in this thesis, foregrounds the relationship of the dancer's moving body to that of audience members; performers and audience members exchange an interactive and shared corporeal experience.

[11] Erwin Piscator, "Die Letzte Titanin: Dore Hoyer tanzte in der Freien Volksbühne," *Der Kurier,* March 8, 1965, Signature: Freie-Volksbühne-Berlin 151, Archiv Theater der Freien Volksbühne Berlin, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Germany. Kollwitz often appears in discussions of the second generation of Expressionists, but her work always remains on the margins of the movement, rarely considered in a significant way. Her clarity of form and renunciation of abstraction places her two-dimensional work in a conundrum. Her subjects and meaning coincide with the Expressionist deep emotional call for social and political revolution, but her style remains too traditional, rejecting the abstracted and distorted color and form of her Expressionist peers.

[12] Werner Suhr, "Dore Hoyer Tanzt," *Zeitungsartikel*, April 11, 1948, Signature: Waehner 241, Archiv Karin-Waehner Sammlung, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Germany.

rhythm, space, or music. The notions of boundless individualism and inner expression, found in Hoyer's choreographic practices, demonstrates a relationship to Expressionist visual art, which foregrounded human psychology, evoked a specific political and social context, and conveyed inner experience and emotion.

Born in Dresden on December 12, 1911, Hoyer experienced war, death, devastation, and governmental crisis at a young age. She also witnessed the flourishing of modern dance in Dresden, an important center for the arts in Germany in the first third of the twentieth century. Her formal dance training began at a Rhythmic Gymnastics School in Blasewitz, a small town outside the city, at the age of sixteen.[13] The individualism of *Ausdruckstanz* seeped into her own creative production; for Hoyer, the epitome of dance resided in her individual, yet universal, artistic voice. She began her career during the turbulent end of the Weimar Republic and gave her first solo performance in Dresden during the first weeks of National Socialist rule.[14] Although Hoyer made only brief comments in private on the National Socialist dance policies, she faulted the Nazis for their promotion of mediocrity and ballet in the dance sphere; the individualism of *Ausdruckstanz,* according to her, had been lost.[15]

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[13] Hedwig Müller, Frank-Manuel Peter, and Garnet Schuldt, *Dore Hoyer, Tänzerin* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1992), 15, 16, 17. After completing her diploma in Rhythmic Gymnastics, Hoyer registered at the Palucca school in 1930 to continue her formal training and graduated in 1931. Hoyer then joined the ensemble Das Balletensemble von Plauen im Vogtland as a soloist dancer for one year. This trend of dancing for one or two years in a company continued throughout her life, as her primary interest lay in creating her own solo and group work.

[14] In most of her notes and diaries, Hoyer did not mention the National Socialists and the ensuing political upheaval, remaining solely focused on her artistic career.

[15] Franco, "Ausdrucktanz: Traditions, Translations, Transmissions," 80. Susan Manning, *Ecstasy and the Demon: Feminism and Nationalism in the Dances of Mary Wigman* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993): 166, 171, 175, underscores that *Ausdruckstanz* flourished in the Third Reich due to the modification and adaptation of the dance form under Joseph Goebbels's directorship of the Cultural Ministry. Hitler appointed Goebbels with the task of "bringing into line" German dance, thus effectively resolving many of the clashes found within the movement during the late 1920s and early 1930s. For example, Goebbels's Cultural Ministry founded the Deutsche Meister-Stätten für Tänz (German Master Institute for Dance) in Berlin in 1935, which answered many of the demands from the 1930 Dancer's Congress for a Conservatory of Dance. In the Third Reich, however, this professionalization of dance also corresponded to the bureaucratization of dance, and the Ministry of Culture eventually linked the tenants of ballet, *Tanzkunst,* modern dance, and the *Volk* to create a cultural production of dance to express a racialized notion of the German *Volk.*

Unlike Expressionist visual art, which the Nazis labeled "degenerate" and then suppressed, *Ausdruckstanz* continued to flourish beyond 1933, and many of its primary figures, like Palucca, Wigman, and Hoyer, remained in Germany throughout the war. In contrast, Kollwitz lost her professorship at the prestigious Prussian Academy of Art in 1933, and the Nazis removed her work from museums and exhibitions. Although Hoyer was not sufficiently prominent to garner the attention of Nazi politicians, as her mentors Palucca and Wigman did, she benefitted financially from the regime when she performed with the Deutsche Tänzubuhne, a German dance company formed under the oversight of the Ministry of Propaganda. When this company disbanded after one season, Hoyer, like Wigman, continued to participate in Nationalist Socialist performances and receive financial support.[16] She remained in Dresden for most of the war and survived the firebombing of the city.

After the war no successor to the Third Reich's Cultural Ministry appeared at the national level, and independent dance schools had closed years earlier.[17] Thus, municipal governments, like Dresden's City Council, worked to rebuild and staff many of the dance and theater schools closed or destroyed during the war, including Mary Wigman's Dresden School. Tasked with "reconstructing the cultural life of the city" by the Dresden City Council in 1946, Hoyer reopened Wigman's school under her own name, D.-Hoyer-Studio, and organized the *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz*, which memorialized the prominent Expressionist and her visual motifs.[18] The school's relation to Wigman and the dance's celebration of Kollwitz reveal Hoyer's intent to

[16] Müller, Peter, and Schuldt, *Dore Hoyer, Tänzerin*, 100.
[17] Manning, *Ecstasy and the Demon,* 224.
[18] Müller, Peter, and Schuldt, *Dore Hoyer, Tänzerin*, 103; Fuchs, *After the Dresden Bombing*, 22. Immediately after the firebombing of Dresden in 1945, a postwar narrative emerged that described Dresden as a peaceful city of art, architecture, and culture with no military significance. Dresden viewed itself as the cultural center north of Florence and sought to re-establish and rebuild its artistic influence in the immediate postwar period.

rehabilitate *Ausdruckstanz* after the war, underscoring its "origins" in Wigman's absolute dance and Expressionism's avant-gardism.

Hoyer's program for the performance of *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* emphasizes the expressive power of the visual artist's work and its influence on her own:

> Käthe Kollwitz once carried the great longing of all children on earth for an existence of freedom and beauty in her unforgettable drawings and etchings. In the great fateful hours of history, when this longing erupted from the depths of the people, it showed us the mighty assault against the power of inadequate conditions: it was the flooding life of these events that inspired Dore Hoyer to her new dance creation. Individual motifs in Kollwitz's work were the direct reason for this and therefore continue to be inspiration....[19]

Hoyer pointed to emotion and strength after tragedy in Kollwitz's oeuvre and underscored the direct connection between Kollwitz's visual motifs and her own choreography. In her own words, Hoyer linked her *Ausdruckstanz* choreography to Expressionist art, an aesthetic and ideological affinity that rapidly reappeared in postwar Germany. Many artists after 1945, like Hoyer, desired to return to an interwar German avant-gardism, and thus *Ausdruckstanz* emerged as an artistic form comparable to Expressionism, due to a shared interest in individual emotive creative work. After the war, moreover, critics often referred to *Ausdruckstanz* as "Expressionist dance," equating the dance form to Expressionist movements. [20]

Critics who witnessed the performance of *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* also foregrounded its relation to Expressionism and its direct connection to Kollwitz's oeuvre. After the premiere of *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* in Dresden, an anonymous critic published the most complete overview

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[19] Müller, Peter, and Schuldt, *Dore Hoyer, Tänzerin*, 104. "Die großen Sehnsucht aller Erdenkinder nach einem Dasein in Freiheit und Schönheit hat einst Käthe Kollwitz zu ihren unvergesslichen Zeichnungen und Radierungen emporgetragen. An den großen Schicksalsstunden der Geschichte, da diese Sehnsucht aus den Tiefen der Völker hervorbrach, zeigte sie uns das gewaltige Anstürmen gegen die Macht unzulänglicher Verhältnisse: Das flutende Leben dieser Ereignisse war es, das Dore Hoyer zu ihren neuen Tanz Schöpfungen angeregt hat. Einzelne Motiv des Kollwitzwerks wurden unmittelbar Anlass dazu und führen deshalb ihre ursprüngliche Bezeichnung fort so Inspiration…"

[20] Franco, "Ausdrucktanz: Traditions, Translations, Transmissions," 80.

of the work's structure and proclaimed that the future of dance belonged to Hoyer's choreography. The review characterizes the dance as filled with life, like Kollwitz's own compositions, and documents that the dance opened with a group piece dedicated to the memory of Kollwitz, a scene of quiet remembrance and great expressiveness.[21] In her work, Kollwitz depicted harsh realities of her era and focused on the poor, destitute, and suffering; more representational than other Expressionists, her style evolved but always underscored the emotional, physical, and psychological state of her subjects manifested in physical expression and gesture. Such emotional expressiveness across Kollwitz's subjects animated Hoyer's dancers. More directly, *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* introduced dances based on Kollwitz's visual motifs, like those from her series *Bauernkriege* (*Peasants War*) and her celebrated print *Carmagnole* from 1901 (figs. 3, 4).[22]

The second half of the performance began with *Mütter in Krieg* and *Mütter im Leid* (*Mothers at War* and *Mothers in Sorrow*), which the critic described as "taken from real life," writing that the dancers, cloaked in grey, appeared desperate, driven by terror, and begging for help. In a final section, based on Kollwitz's numerous images of *Arbeiterfrauen* (*Waiting Female Workers or Female Workers*), a trio of dancers appeared, tormented, and awaiting liberation; the critic described their movement as wild, enrapturing rhythms that captured the turbulent times of postwar Dresden (fig. 5).[23] Overall, the exuberant expression of emotion, according to this

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[21] "Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz - Rezensionen," Zeitungsartikeln, ca. March 3, 1946, Signature: Kessler 378, Ulrich-Kessler-Archiv, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Germany.

[22] The *Bauernkriege* series depicts the Great Peasants' War in 16th century German speaking lands to comment on the oppressed and disempowered of the early 20th century peasants and workers. The seven etchings follow the peasants' rise to revolution, battle, and their subsequent humiliation and death. The etchings foreground the emotional, psychological, and physical nature of the peasants, as they sharpen their weapons, race into battle, and await their execution blindfolded. Kollwitz's *Carmagnole* print foregrounds a cluster of figures who dance and sing around a guillotine in a narrow German street, perhaps inspired by Charles Dickens's *A Tale of Two Cities.*

[23] In her numerous images of *Arbeiterfrauen* (working women), Kollwitz foregrounded the emotional and psychological state of the female figures, as they rest or begin their labor.

writer, turned a new page in the history of dance and revealed Hoyer's indebtedness to Wigman. Indeed, the legacy of *Ausdruckstanz* still held a powerful place to express lived grief in postwar German culture.[24] Among the eight sections that comprise Hoyer's *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz,* this paper explores the most well-documented part, *Mütter in Krieg* and *Mütter im Leid*, and its relation to Kollwitz's "mother" motifs from images created soon after World War I.[25]

Hoyer's own words make clear that she wished to participate in shaping perceptions of *Ausdruckstanz* in the interwar and post-war periods and positioned it as the ideal German dance form. In her post-1945 essay *Ausdruckstanz* entitled "*Warum moderner Ausdruckstanz*," Hoyer located Germany as the heart of modern expressive dance and identified Wigman as the mother of *Ausdruckstanz*, who liberated the medium from the constraints of ballet and made it an equal to painting, sculpture, and poetry. According to Hoyer, *Ausdruckstanz* speaks a more direct language than ballet and works in an analogous revolutionary manner to the transformation of classical music into dramatic opera. Unlike the artifice of ballet, *Ausdruckstanz* proceeds from experience to form in choreography and movement, allowing "modern man for the first time to throw off the shells and inhibitions of an outdated world against all tradition."[26] In addition,

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[24] "Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz - Rezensionen," Zeitungsartikeln, ca. March 3, 1946.

[25] Dore Hoyer's *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* included eight sections entitled, "In Memoriam," "Aus Bauernkriege," "Stille," "Carmagnole," "Mütter (includes *Mütter in Krieg* and *Mütter im Leid*)," "Das Warten," "Signale," and "Weg in die Freiheit." This paper focuses on the "Mütter" section due to limited archival materials and scholarly research on *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz.* My archival research at the Tanz Archive in Köln and Akademie der Künste in Berlin discovered more critical reviews and photographic documentation focused on the "Mütter" section of *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* than any other part of the dance. Furthermore, the surviving visual imagery of Dore Hoyer's "Mütter" section provides clear comparisons to Käthe Kollwitz's large oeuvre of "mother motifs", which merits further inquiry. Kollwitz employed mother motifs early in her career, as exemplified in her 1903 etching *Frau mit totem Kind* (*Mother with Dead Child*). After her son Peter's death at the beginning of World War I, Kollwitz increased her use of mother motifs as an expression of her grief. Her series *Krieg* (*War*), completed in the 1920s, illustrates the anger and pain caused by the death of her son in an unnecessary, bloody war. For example, such woodcuts as *Die Eltern* (*The Parents*), *Die Witwe I* (*The Widow 1*), *Die Witwe II* (*The Widow II*), *Die Mütter* (*The Mothers*), and *Das Volk* (*The People*), focus on maternal pain.

[26] Dore Hoyer, "Warum moderner *Ausdrucktanz*?" after 1945, Object Number 29.478, Dore Hoyer Collection, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln. "In ihrem Tanz warf der modern Mensch zum ersten Malle alle Hüllen und Hemmungen einer überalterten Welt von sich ab gegen alle Tradition."

Hoyer asserted that *Ausdruckstanz* acted as a technique that "is not automatically and mechanically imitated and appropriated, but is consciously experienced and thus leads to physical awareness."[27] She proclaimed that twelve years of the Nazi regime created a gap in the development of German *Ausdruckstanz* and led to the rise of "military style" ballet schools.[28] She also argued that Germany must re-embrace *Ausdruckstanz* to cultivate craft, expression, and individual personality, as well as to move forward after two wars and prevent the violence from occurring again. If Hoyer prioritized *Ausdruckstanz* in postwar Germany, it was not a given; there were other cultural figures who challenged the core values of *Ausdruckstanz*, pushed for a professionalized modern concert dance looking back to the tenets of ballet, or advanced the notion of *Stunde Null* or Zero Hour, which conceptualized the end of World War II as a blank slate – a time when artists could create "new" artistic practices.[29]

At its origins, the "new German dance," as early *Ausdruckstanz* was then known, presented multiple directions for development; but dance discussions from the 1920s to 1950s accentuate the fraught tensions underlying the conception and understanding of *Ausdruckstanz*.[30]

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[27] Dore Hoyer, "Warum moderner *Ausdruckstanz*?" "Eine Technik, die nicht automatisch und machanisch nachgemacht und sich angeeignet wird, sondern die bewußt erlebt wird und damit zum absoluten Körpergefühl führt."

[28] Dore Hoyer, "Warum moderner *Ausdruckstanz*?" Hoyer positioned *Ausdruckstanz* against ballet, underscoring its ability to "speak directly" to audiences, but paradoxically advocated for the creation of dance schools that marry the technical precision of ballet schools with the individuality, personality, and craft of *Ausdruckstanz*. In addition, she emphasized that *Ausdruckstanz* is the only dance form appropriate for a period that has artistic potential and freedom, and more importantly, the possibility of development without a one-sided commitment to certain technical specifications or "standards." The postwar period presented perfect circumstances to reintroduce Wigman's earlier conceptions of *Ausdruckstanz* to a German audience.

[29] The idea of professionalized modern concert dance followed many of the tenants of the Third Reich. *Stunde Null* translated in English is "Zero hour," and advances the notion of post-World War II Germany as a blank slate in terms of political alignment and artistic production.

[30] "New German Dance" in the early twentieth century was mostly discussed in loosely combined terms of free, modern, artistic, or expressive dance, as the term *Ausdruckstanz* appeared later in the 1930s during National Socialism as a descriptor of Weimar dance. Susan Manning and Lucia Ruprecht's latest anthology *New German Dance Studies* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012), engages with the term "New German Dance" and analyzes twentieth century dance practices in Germany. The term, "New German Dance" defined *Ausdruckstanz's* qualities and aesthetics; it is clear that the terms used to describe German dance in the early twentieth century were not fixed. I use *Ausdruckstanz* as developed after 1945 and understood by contemporary scholars.

Before World War I, many dancers and choreographers, like Mary Wigman and Rudolph Laban, experimented with rhythmic movement, moving away from Isadora Duncan's neo-Grecian, metaphysical, and materialist inspired movement qualities of the early twentieth century.[31] After World War I, "new German dance" became firmly established with the formation of independent schools like Wigman's in Dresden and Laban's in Hamburg.[32] During the interwar period, Wigman conceptualized the notion of "absolute dance" under the framework of "new German dance;" "absolute dance" encouraged the thematization of movement in time and space rather than a focus on narrative content thereby highlighting awareness of kinesthetic movement and expression rather than visual and formal concerns, and underscored the role of sensation and emotion.[33] In addition, "absolute dance" stressed an art form free from the impurities of the world and one that encouraged timeless truths about the human condition. Wigman's "absolute dance" dramatically differed from Laban's democratic dance ensembles, which prioritized improvisation, self-initiated movement vocabularies, movement notation, and large movement choirs of amateur participants. Hoyer, Wigman's student and dancer in her ensemble, absorbed many of the qualities of "absolute dance" within the frameworks of *Ausdruckstanz*, which is evident in the empathetic reactions to *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* in the German press.

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[31] Carrie Preston, "The Motor in the Soul: Isadora Duncan and Modernist Performance," *Modernism/Modernity* volume 12, no. 2 (April 2005): 275. Isadora Duncan asserted that dance emerged from the solar plexus, a region located in the center of the chest, below the collarbones. In this physical space, according to Duncan, resides the dancer's soul and the locus of movement; dance emerged from the solar plexus as a bodily response to an interior motorized power. This metaphysical and materialist approach to dance in the early twentieth century differs vastly from Wigman's conception of "absolute dance," which underscored the interior kinesthetic expression of movement over its exterior manifestation. The terms metaphysical and materialist are conflicting in nature, but Duncan's movement practices sought to merge the spiritual with the physicality of the human body's solar plexus region; there is clear dialectical opposition present in Duncan's conceptions of movement. The dialectical opposition of spirit and body in Duncan's conception of dance is extremely different from the absolutes of Wigman's and Hoyer's understanding of *Ausdruckstanz.*

[32] From the early to mid-twentieth century, both Wigman's and Laban's schools multiplied or moved throughout Germany. For example, Wigman developed schools in Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, and Leipzig.

[33] Reynolds, "Dancing as a Woman," 297.

If in the early twentieth century the "new German dance" was unified in opposition to the technical nature of classical ballet, by the early 1930s its expressive immediacy had become a cliché, and questions arose about its future.[34] During the Dancers Congress in 1930, conflicts emerged about the direction of *Ausdruckstanz*; younger dancers advocated for the greater professionalization of *Ausdruckstanz* through a synthesis of modern and ballet techniques and its integration into the opera house, municipal theaters, and governmental agencies. Older *Ausdruckstanz* dancers and choreographers, like Wigman and some younger dancers like Hoyer, advocated for the regeneration of "amateur" modern dance and "free dance," sustained by local schools and individual teachers.[35]

Beginning in 1933, the National Socialist government resolved many of the clashes found within *Ausdruckstanz*; in some ways the dance already aligned with the party's ideology due to its shared intellectual roots in neo-romanticism and life-reformism.[36] The Cultural Ministry of the Third Reich sought to integrate modern dance and ballet, which corresponded to the wishes of many of the younger *Ausdruckstanz* dancers, like Kurt Jooss, involved in *Tanztheater*. The fusion of modern and ballet, furthermore, advanced a dance form that conveyed the nativist notion of the German *Volk*.[37] The National Socialists effectively dismantled the

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[34] Elswit, "Watching After Weimar," 144.

[35] Manning, *Ecstasy and the Demon,* 171. Participants in the Dancers Congress of 1930 advocated and submitted a proposal for the founding of a Conservatory of Dance to different governmental agencies. The proposed dance conservatory would be comparable to the music, theater, and visual art conservatories present in various German cities and regions. According to the proposal, the conservatory would train performers, choreographers, and teachers for both professional and amateur dance. The Nazi *Gleichschaltung* later satisfied this demand.

[36] Manning, *Ecstasy and the Demon,* 172. Fascism drew on many of the same impulses that emerged at Hellerau and Monte Verita in the early twentieth century. The dance communities at Hellerau and Monte Verita sought to escape industrialization and return to nature and valued emotion, intuition, and utopianism; many of these values underlay in Nazi ideology. Dancers at Hellerau and Monte Verita believed movement could enhance a feeling of *Gemeinschaft* (community) and National Socialism advocated for a *Volksgemeinschaft* (national or racial community); Many German dancers made this ideological leap, allowing the National Socialist government to use and manipulate *Ausdruckstanz.*

[37] *Volk* translates to "people" in English. In National Socialism, *Volk* was used to describe a specific racial group of people, the German *Volk*.

private schools of *Ausdruckstanz* and relocated dance to the opera house and municipal theaters.[38] Wigman's and Hoyer's view of *Ausdruckstanz* as an independent form of "amateur" modern dance and "free dance," therefore, ceased to be widely practiced at the end of the war. [39]

By 1946, as Hoyer resurrected Wigman's school, renaming it D-Hoyer-Studio, and positioned herself heir to the expressionist tradition of *Ausdruckstanz,* her efforts notably confronted post-war debates about the future of modern dance and the prevailing notion *Stunde Null*. A writer for *Theater der Zeit*, for example, claimed in 1948 that "modern *Ausdruckstanz* consisted of individualistic-emotional and metaphysical-mystical dance that was simply no longer productive."[40] This writer clearly viewed *Ausdruckstanz* as an art form best left in the past, as it was no longer useful for German cultural production in the post-war period. Other cultural figures, like Theodor Adorno, questioned the very place of art in a post-holocaust world, famously declaring that "to write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric."[41] The reception of Hoyer's *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz*, performed in Dresden and Berlin in 1946 and documented in the press, offers insight into *Ausdruckstanz's* prominent and complex place in post-war German society.

Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz transported her audience to Weimar culture of the 1920s through its revival of *Ausdruckstanz* and its homage to Germany's famous Expressionist anti-war artist, who conveyed the collective war grief of the nation in her prints and sculptures following World War I.[42] Prior to the Great War, German art embodied patriotic cultural meaning,

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[38] Manning, *Ecstasy and the Demon,* 225.
[39] Lilian Karina and Marion Kant, *Hitler's Dancers: German Modern Dance and the Third Reich*, trans. Jonathan Steinberg (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2003) succinctly states that Wigman's early conception of *Ausdruckstanz* celebrated expressive individuality and promoted an "absolute" dance, stressing an art free from the "impurities" of the world and one that conveyed truths about the human condition.
[40] Quoted from Elswit, "Watching After Weimar," 143.
[41] Theodor W. Adorno, "Cultural Criticism and Society," in *Prisms*, translated by Samuel Weber and Shierry Weber (Cambridge: Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1967), 34.
[42] Germany's encounter with violent mass death during World War I radically altered the attitudes of civilians, soldiers, and artists. Amid unprecedented death, as a quarter of a million German soldiers died in the war's first five months, many on the home front, especially women, unavoidably experienced collective cultural trauma.

extolling an ideal national identity and such patriotic traits as honor, duty, sacrifice. The emotions of grief often served political purposes in Germany.[43] The experience of World War I, however, completely altered artistic depictions and representations of grief; the inconsolable woman, who did not stand tall and proud at death, affirmed the right for women to disregard social and cultural "norms" and grieve in a publicly "undignified" manner. For example, in Stella Hasse's *Heldenbeweinung* (*Lamentation for Heroes*) three women in mourning dress kneel and weep before a field of graves (fig. 6). Like Hasse, Kollwitz employed the subject of the lamentation of mothers to express the nation's deep anguish and uncontrollable loss.

As the daughter of upper middle-class Social Democrats, Kollwitz dedicated her artistic work to the poor, destitute, and suffering and conveyed their emotional and psychological state through physical expression and gesture. After her youngest son Peter was killed in combat in 1914, she condemned the war and expressed her motherly and universal grief through her lithographs, woodcuts, prints, and sculpture. If Kollwitz created a corpus of "mother" motifs before her son's death, as exemplified in her 1903 drawing *Frau mit totem Kind* (*Mother with Dead Child*), images of grieving mothers, parents, and dead children in her work expanded as she struggled with her loss (fig. 7). Her 1922 series *Krieg* (*War*) foregrounds the war experience and emphasizes the grief of mothers, parents, and children on the home front. In a 1922 letter to her friend, French novelist Romain Rolland, Kollwitz stated of *Krieg*, "these sheets should travel throughout the entire world and should tell all human beings comprehensively: this is how it was – we have all endured this throughout these unspeakably difficult years."[44] Kollwitz clearly

[43] Claudia Siebrecht, *The Aesthetics of Loss: German Women's Art of the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 75, 80.
[44] Quoted from Elizabeth Prelinger ed., *Käthe Kollwitz* (Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1992), 57-58.

yearned, therefore, to convey her personal suffering as universal, a grief shared by all who lost loved ones in war regardless of nationality.

The *Krieg* series, which remain among her most well-known prints, made an immediate emotional impact on the German public, appearing in numerous contemporaneous exhibitions and generating critical scholarly discussions during the Weimar years. In fact, two important catalogues published in 1930 highlight the grieving mother in interwar art and Kollwitz's own maternal heart. In the first of these, Hildebrand Gurlitt praised Kollwitz's commitment to social issues and the human cost of the war rather than focusing on aesthetic concerns grounded in an "other-worldly" sphere; Gurlitt believed that Kollwitz's "heart and great ability jumped over the wall between art and man that is all too high today."[45] In addition, she claimed that Kollwitz viewed the world primarily as a mother and that her artistic act of maternal love gave the German public the "best depiction of suffering and happiness that motherhood brings."[46] Louise Diel authored a second catalogue devoted to Kollwitz's three iconic series, *Weberaufstand* (*Weaver's Uprising*), *Bauernkrieg* (*Peasants' War*), and *Krieg* (*War*) that foregrounded Kollwitz's commitment to contemporary German social issues. Diel presented Kollwitz's *Krieg* series as a manifestation of her emotional distress after her son's death on the Western front. The author introduced her discussion with accounts of the public's emotional reactions to *Krieg's* first exhibition at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin in 1924. The series, given a special hall, elicited trembling, fainting, shock, silence, and one visitor noted, "for me, the experience is so powerful that I couldn't speak of anything else today."[47] Unlike the equally well-known artist

[45] Hildebrand Gurlitt, *Aus dem Käthe Kollwitz Werk* (Dresden: Carl Ressner Verlag, 1930), 6. "…ihres Herzens und ein großes Können übersprang die heute allzu hohe Mauer zwishen Kunst und Mensch."
[46] Gurlitt, *Aus dem Käthe Kollwitz Werk*, 6. "Ihr Größtes gab sie wohl in der Darstellung von Leid und Glück, das Muttertum bringt."
[47] Louise Diel, *Käthe Kollwitz: Ein Weberaufstand, Bauernkrieg, Krieg* (Berlin: Furche-Kunstverlag, 1930), 36. "Für mich ist das Erlebnis so stark, dass ich heute von nichts anderem sprechen könnte."

Otto Dix, who depicted violent battle scenes from the front in the 1920s and early 1930s, Kollwitz portrayed the consequences of death and deprivation from the war in the suffering of the mothers and their children, who were left behind (figs. 8, 9).

In a monograph dedicated to Kollwitz's entire corpus of work published in 1925, Arthur Bonus identified her as an Expressionist and claimed that her woodcuts from the *Krieg* series embodied pure expression.[48] Indeed, Kollwitz began her career as a printmaker, working in etching and lithography, but began experimenting with woodcuts after seeing an exhibition of Ernst Barlach in 1920. At this exhibition, Kollwitz realized that the woodcut, unlike other print media, could express her desired emotion. She believed that her overwhelming sentiments could only exist in this quintessential Expressionist medium.[49] Writing in her diary on June 25, 1920, Kollwitz emphasized the impact of Barlach's woodcuts on her series *Krieg*:

> I always hide behind many obstacles, and when I saw Barlach it suddenly occurred to me that perhaps it is not that at all. Why shouldn't I be able to do more? The basic conditions for artistic works were there, for example, in the war series. First of all, strong feeling – these things come from the heart – and secondly, they rest on the foundation of my previous works, upon a fairly good foundation of ability…For me the only issue is expression.[50]

In the *Krieg* series, harsh facial lines and strong gestures immediately express mourning and maternal suffering; mouths frown, brows wrinkle, and eyes close as hands embrace, hold, hide, and touch the body. For example, Kollwitz's *Die Witwe I* (*The Widow I*) depicts a female standing frontally with her head turned and tilted downwards to her left; deep shadows cover half of her face and slightly exaggerate her features, suggesting internal darkness (fig. 10). Her enlarged, but convincing, hands embrace her shrouded and possibly pregnant torso, conveying

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[48] Arthur Bonus intro. *Das Käthe Kollwitz Werk* (Dresden: Carl Reissner Verlag, 1925), 10.
[49] Rose-Carol Washton Long, Ida Katherine Rigby, and Stephanie Barron, *German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism* (New York: Toronto: New York: G.K. Hall; Maxwell Macmillan Canada; Maxwell Macmillan International, 1993), 165.
[50] Quoted from Rose-Carol Washton Long, *German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism,* 166-167.

her sorrow and a universally maternal grief. The austere composition, devoid of any background, focuses entirely on the female body, shrouded nearly from head to toe in black fabric.[51] *Die Mütter* (*The Mothers*), another plate from the series, presents a group of mothers tightly and almost frantically embracing in a dome-like shape (fig. 11). The mothers focus their attention outward, as they brace themselves for unknown danger, and create a sturdy architectural form from their bodies to help their children weather a storm. As in *Die Witwe I,* deep shadows exaggerate their features and define their hands and arms, as the faces and gestures of the women convey intense emotions of fear, despair, and shock.

An iconic post-World War I woodcut print, *Hunger* (*Hunger*), produced by Kollwitz and circulated in 1923, depicts a distraught seated woman with her hands thrust over her eyes (fig. 12). The force of her hands appears to push back her face and raise her chin, as her mouth seems to expel a shriek. Her tattered clothes reveal a skeletal figure, her ribs and breasts futilely exposed, underscoring her inability to provide nourishment to her child. Her child, with the same skeletal chest, lays between her two legs, with a gaunt face and distended stomach. Both mother and child starve; these are the victims of war as Kollwitz presents them. As in *Die Witwe I* and *Die Mütter* from the *Krieg* series, the background of the print is void, focusing attention on a starving mother and child as effects of war. Kollwitz conveys the emotional, psychological, and physical state of her subjects through the dense network of lines and contrast of light and dark in her woodcuts.

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[51]Hoyer's cloaked bodies recall Wigman's early *Ausdruckstanz* costuming, in which dark, long, and draped fabrics mask the moving body, as well as Kollwitz's woodcut series *Krieg* in which dark draped fabrics shroud most of the body but expose the face, hands, and feet. Unlike Wigman's early "absolute dance," Hoyer left the faces of her dancers unmasked, conveying intense human grief and loss like Kollwitz's prints. Claudia Siebrecht observed that Kollwitz's dark costuming may reference female mourning dresses (Siebrecht, *The Aesthetics of Loss,* 77). Hoyer wears this costume which performs psychological and social functions; it is a signifier of loss. Furthermore, the shrouded mourning female body appears throughout art history; a clear example is Giotto's early 14th century fresco *Lamentation*, located in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua, Italy.

Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz

A year after Kollwitz's death in 1945 at the end of another World War, Hoyer's homage in dance returned the printmaker's images of loss to public consciousness. Premiered in Dresden's firebombed cityscape, *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* elicited visceral reactions from theater goers who witnessed the dancers' grief and hardship, only to exit the theater to endure their own suffering, thus sharing cultural bereavement. Reconstructing the dance is very difficult, as the only extant primary documents on the piece and its premiere are a small number of photographs and few critical reviews; the remaining evidence, however, reveals Hoyer's *Mütter* section from *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* shares many visual affinities with Kollwitz's *Krieg* and mother images.[52] For example, six close-up photographs depict Hoyer's face, revealing her eyes shut, brow furrowed, and lips sealed; the lines on her face, convey a sense of intense bereavement and loss (fig. 13). Her hands extend forward in three of the photographs as if to reach, hold, or grasp something lost; her deeply sorrowful face and expressive hands are the only flesh evident in the photograph.

If most of Kollwitz's images of mothers include children, alive or dead, the photographs of Hoyer's "Mütter" section express absence; the mothers are present, but the children are gone. The dancer's covered body and exposed face and hands underscore the emotive intensity of her "mother figures." One photograph of Hoyer captures the dancer on her back staring towards her upward reaching arms (fig. 14). With her elbows still connected to the floor, her forearms remain parallel to each other as her fingers rise. The tension between the pull of the floor and the

[52] Two German photographers, Siegfried Enkelmann and Lenka von Koerber, took photographs of the *Mütter* section of Hoyer's *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* during the rehearsal process.

dancer's reach towards something intensifies her gesture; the absence of a child or another human figure amplifies her suffering and isolation. Additional photos mirror the gestures of longing, as Hoyer's hands reach outwards as they search the space for something or someone, or hold her face, chest, and stomach, perhaps as a way to alleviate pain or sorrow (fig. 15). A similar expression of solitude exudes from yet another photograph; Hoyer, kneeling on a slight diagonal, gazes towards her outstretched palms as her elbows lower to her side (fig. 16). Her eyes are closed, brow relaxed, and mouth open, and she appears to be in a moment of deep bereavement. Once again, Hoyer reaches for something absent, as she holds her forearms out with palms extended. Perhaps she images cradling a lost child or recognizes how much she has lost.

One last photograph captures Hoyer with closed eyes and an open mouth, as she stands and clutches the left side of her chest directly above the heart (fig. 17). Her face turns toward her right shoulder, as if she cannot bear to look at her outreached hands. The honesty of Hoyer's movement, in relation to Kollwitz's mother motifs, is clear in the intensity of gesture and emotive quality of the dancer's face and body language of loss. Hoyer recognized in Kollwitz a precise and eloquent language of gesture, an aspect of the printmaker's art often overlooked in historiography. Such scholars as Rebecca Schneider and Carrie Noland, who place gesture within the postural, underscore that gesture occurs in stillness and pose as well as in action or movement.[53] Therefore, gesturality and posturality may be interchangeable allowing Kollwitz's oeuvre of artistic production, and the gestures and postures within them, to be read as movement.

[53] Lucia Ruprecht, *Gestural Imaginaries: Dance and Cultural Theory in the Early Twentieth Century* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019), 33, 42, 62. Modernist gesture, according to Gabriel Brandstetter, develops cultural memory and attempts to reconstruct national heritage, whereas Carrie Noland emphasizes gesture as phenomenological experience rather than one of representation.

Three articles published after the dance's premiere in 1946 in *Neues Deutschland-Berlin, Die Freie Gewerkschaft,* and *Der Tagesspiegel* exalted Hoyer's new choreographic undertaking and referenced the clear visual and emotive affinities with Kollwitz's vast corpus of mother figures. Furthermore, reviews also identified a sense of unity in face of tragedy as the dance and relationship of the performers mirrored the dire circumstances of postwar German life. Jutta Raschke-Lucchesi, a dancer in the piece, explained the choreography developed from the "togetherness of the dancers." In fact, she stated that she often arrived at rehearsal after a foraging trip to find food for her children and would share "a hastily washed carrot" with her fellow dancers. In addition, the reviews related *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* to Expressionism in its emotive and universal expression in contrast to Nazi ideology.[54]

A critic writing under the name of Mahlke for the *Neues Deutschland-Berlin* stated that Hoyer translated the experience of Kollwitz's images into movement, achieving the same haunting expression. Furthermore, Mahlke maintained that Hoyer avoided embellishing the visual motifs for the sake of aestheticism or as an attempt to recreate Kollwitz's images, and instead conveyed honesty in her artistic oeuvre.[55] Rudolf Steffens's "Dore Hoyer-Gastspeil in der Staatsoper: Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz" in the Berlin newspaper *Die Freie Gewerkschaft* also proclaimed that *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* provided an exchange between Kollwitz's visual motifs, the dancer's movement, and the current historical moment of postwar Germany. In addition, Steffens asserted that Hoyer's choreography reached the level of "absolute dance," as

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[54] Müller, Peter, and Schuldt, *Dore Hoyer, Tänzerin*, 108. Jutta Raschke-Lucchesi; a dancer in Hoyer's *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* testified that the choreography grew from the dancers' own experiences of loss and efforts to survive in the devastated city. She reported that Hoyer constructed the *Mütter* section with few words or corrections, and that each dancer performed a solo. In recalling each dancer's brief solo, Raschke-Lucchesi effectively linked this approach to life in Dresden immediately after the war, and claimed this "solo effect," in a group piece could only emerge from a small group that had bonded in difficult times like those in the firebombed city.

[55] Mahlke, "In memoriam Käthe Kollwitz," *Neues Deutschland-Berlin*, May 25, 1946, Object Number 48.254, Dore Hoyer Collection, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, Germany.

did Ulrich Kessler's musical score. This language links Hoyer and Kessler's artistic production to the early twentieth century, and in Hoyer's case, to the beginnings of Wigman's conception of *Ausdruckstanz* that celebrated expressive individuality.[56] Lastly, Herbert Piel's review in *Der Tagesspiegel* connects Hoyer to Expressionism, stating: "The evening that Wigman's student Dore Hoyer gave with her Dresden group at the State Opera proved that modern dance can at least reach the peak performance of Expressionist painting."[57] Piel also claimed that if Hoyer's *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* had been performed during the Third Reich, Goebbels would have labeled it as degenerate, since the performance would have reminded him, and other National Socialists, of German dance of the Weimar era. According to Piel, however, *Ausdruckstanz* of the Weimar period and Expressionist art embodied the golden age of German culture.[58] The issues that unite Hoyer's and Kollwitz's expression, according to these critics, are the psychological reflections present in a postwar society, Hoyer's honest choreographic interpretations of Kollwitz's visual motifs, and the aesthetic affinities between *Ausdruckstanz* and German art, namely Expressionism with its raw emotion, before World War II.

These reviews highlight Hoyer's strength and explicitly connect the high quality of the dance to the resilience of the artist and her country. This power relies not on intellectual force, but on the expression of inner feeling.[59] Again, the language of the "expression of inner feeling"

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[56] Rudolf Steffens, "Dore-Hoyer-Gastspiel in der Staatsoper: Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz," *Die Freie Gewerkschaft,* 1946, Object Number 48.254, Dore Hoyer Collection, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, Germany.
[57] Herbert Piel, "Der Expressionistische Tanz: Die Gruppe Dore Hoyer in der Staatsoper," *Der Tagesspiegel,* May 25, 1946, Object Number 48.254, Dore Hoyer Collection, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, Germany. "Der Abend, den die Wigman Schülerin Dore Hoyer mit ihren Dresdner Gruppe in der Staatsoper gab, bewies, dass der modern Tanz die Höchstleistungen der expressionistischen Malerei zum mindesten ze erreichen vermag."
[58] Piel, "Der Expressionistische Tanz: Die Gruppe Dore Hoyer in der Staatsoper." Kate Elswit, "Watching After Weimar: Dance's Intellectual Property and the Protection of Memory," In *Watching Weimar Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 146. It is important to note that *Ausdruckstanz* was able to continue under National Socialist rule, so the idea of cultural eradication becomes problematic when looking at *Ausdruckstanz* in a post-World War II setting.
[59] Piel, "Der Expressionistische Tanz: Die Gruppe Dore Hoyer in der Staatsoper."

relates to early twentieth century and interwar iterations of Expressionism in visual art.[60] In 1949, Egon Vietta noted in a Program in the Hamburgische Staatsoper that Hoyer's *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* caused a stir with its realist depictions of human suffering and asserted that Hoyer mobilized Kollwitz's images to convey the human experience honestly in the postwar period. Vietta also related Hoyer's emotional honesty to the Expressionist painters Max Pechstein and Otto Dix, who "squeeze out the figure" and place importance on the emotive and psychological state of their subjects, as evident in Dix's *Sehnsucht* (*Longing*) from 1918, which conveys internal meaning, perhaps war trauma, through an enlarged, distorted, flattened, and abstracted androgynous blue face with red lips (fig. 18).[61] Furthermore, contemporaries understood Hoyer's dance as an honest expression of loss informed by Kollwitz; one critic in 1946 observed, "Hoyer's dance creations, which point the way to a new art of dance, are shaped directly from the experience of our time. Inspired by the work of Kollwitz, the form of the dance emerges from the mind and convinces in its truthfulness."[62] The contemporaneous reception to Hoyer's work clearly stressed its honest emotive and psychological power and its relationship to Expressionist visual art.

The performance of Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz seems to be ghosted by Kollwitz's gestural

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[60] Washton Long, Rigby, and Barron, *German Expressionism: Documents from the End of the Wilhelmine Empire to the Rise of National Socialism*, 161. After the war, a second wave of Expressionists created a new idea of universal humanity, identified with the working class, and more concerned with the collective human experience than the individual. The second generation, traumatized by the war, foregrounded the relationship between art and society, politics, and popular culture, thereby engaging the public in a broader way.

[61] Egon Vietta, "Dore Hoyer- Die Tänzerin," Hamburgische Staatsoper, Programmheft 9. Spielzeit, 1949-50, pg. 79-81, Object Number 46.903, Dore Hoyer Collection, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, Germany.
Kollwitz, however, was not the only artist to communicate the emotional, violent, and psychological effects of World War I. Otto Dix, for example, produced a series entitled *Krieg* from 1923-1924 and a 1929-1932 haunting triptych of the same name. George Grosz produced a painting entitled *Explosion* from 1917, which illustrates a cityscape subsumed by fiery red flames, half naked body parts, and suffering shadowy faces. In addition, Max Beckmann's 1918-1919 painting, *The Night,* foregrounds a family attic which has been turned into a torture chamber during a bloody war. Kollwitz's work, in contrast to Dix's, Grosz's, and Beckmann's images, foreground the experience of women and parents of soldiers in an unprecedented way; these images created a universal image of loss in the national iconography.

[62] "Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz," magazine article, ca. 1946, Signature: Waehner 304, Archiv Karin-Waehner-Sammlung, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Germany.

expressions and Wigman's kinesthetics. "Ghosting," a term coined by theater scholar Marvin Carlson, seeks to explain the impacts of cultural memory on cultural production. Under this paradigm, "ghosting" essentially presents the audience with something they have encountered before, but in a new context; in this case, Kollwitz's images are the "thing" which the audience has already encountered and Hoyer's *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* recycles and reuses Kollwitz's imagery for the second time in a different context–a dance performance–instead of prints, woodcuts, or sculpture. Furthermore, this relates directly to reception, or what an audience has encountered, as the memories of previous experiences aid comprehension and create new meanings.[63] Theatrical performances encompass a deep and rich relationship with cultural memory, which imparts meaning to the visual arts, theater, and dance, as they seek to depict "the full range of human actions within their physical context" and provide society with records of its own experience and memory as an attempt to understand the past.[64] Theater, and dance by extension, acts therefore as a repository of cultural memory and provides a continuation of memory in new contexts or situations. In short, past experiences "ghost" present artistic creations, but it is important to note that these "ghosts" constantly transform and recycle throughout time. *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* is a special and relatively unique form of "ghosting," as the visual arts inform dance. Kollwitz's visual motifs and imagery, which had circulated widely throughout Germany, reappeared, and transformed in Hoyer's choreography, eliciting interwar cultural memories from audiences in Dresden and Berlin in 1946.[65] This concept is an important interpretive paradigm for understanding Hoyer's Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz, as it relates to Hoyer's relationship to Ausdrucktanz, as well as her tribute to Kollwitz.

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[63] Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002) 1,5.
[64] Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine*, 3.
[65] Carlson, *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine*, 5.

Conclusion

After Hoyer's suicide in 1967, *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* remained her most memorable and influential work, despite only a handful of performances twenty-two years earlier. "*Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz: Erinnerung an Dore Hoyer*," an obituary published in January, 1968 after the dancers death, focuses on the expressive and emotional effects of her choreography, opening with a sentence highlighting the postwar turmoil in Dresden: "It was 1945, the 'art city' of Dresden was bleeding from a thousand wounds."[66] Hoyer and her group depicted this suffering, according to the article, in their dance, activating the memory and art of Kollwitz. Furthermore, Wigman wrote an open letter to Hoyer after her death, in which she stated her admiration for the dancer and celebrated her contribution to the "language of dance." Wigman praised Hoyer's impact on Germany's dance communities and her eternal place in the history of European art.[67] Clearly, Wigman, one of the founders of *Ausdruckstanz* and mentor to Hoyer, valued Hoyer's artistic production and recognized her impact on cultural life in Germany, especially in the post-war era.

Hoyer's *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* engages with the visual imagery from Kollwitz's post-World War I artistic production. In fact, Hoyer connected the origins of *Ausdruckstanz,* embodied in figures like Wigman and the notion of "absolute dance," with the second wave of German Expressionism, in its emphasis on universal loss and suffering, through her overt

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[66] "Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz: Erinnerung an Dore Hoyer," ca. January 20, 1968, Object Number 42.729, Dore Hoyer Collection, Deutsches Tanzarchiv Köln, Germany. "Es war im Jahr 1945." " Die Kunststadt Dresden blutete aus tausend Wunden." Translation of the title, "Dances for Käthe Kollwitz: Remembering Dore Hoyer."

[67] Mary Wigman, Farewell letter to Dore Hoyer, ca. January 1968, Signature: Palucca 4115, Archiv Gret-Palucca-Archiv, Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Germany.

reference to Kollwitz. Critics and performers understood the important cultural meanings of Hoyer's commemoration of the recently deceased Kollwitz and her interpretation of the visual gesture of grief in Kollwitz's prints in order to reinterpret and reintroduce *Ausdruckstanz* to post-war audiences.

Overall, Hoyer's *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* presented a major cultural and commemorative event in the decimated city of Dresden in 1946 and mobilized the memory of the early *Ausdruckstanz* and the revered Expressionist artist Kollwitz. Audiences and critics in Dresden and Berlin enthusiastically exalted *Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz* for achieving the emotional power of Expressionist painting, embodying "absolute" dance, and translating the experience of Kollwitz's images into movement. In the wake of mass devastation, death, and political upheaval after 1945, German cultural and theatrical production was at an impasse, and Hoyer sought to build a post-war Expressionist dance to articulate grief and unburden *Ausdruckstanz's* appropriation by the Nazi regime. Hoyer's was one, if mostly forgotten, effort to foreground the individual and human condition in order to revive modern German art in the face of its recent disastrous and collectivist past.

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Figures

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Figure 3: Käthe Kollwitz, *Die Pflüger* (from *Bauernkrieg* series), 1902-1908, Line Etching, Käthe Kollwitz Museum, Köln, Germany.

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Figure 9: Otto Dix, *Der Krieg,* 1929-32, Oil on Panel, Galerie Neue Meister, Dresden, Germany.

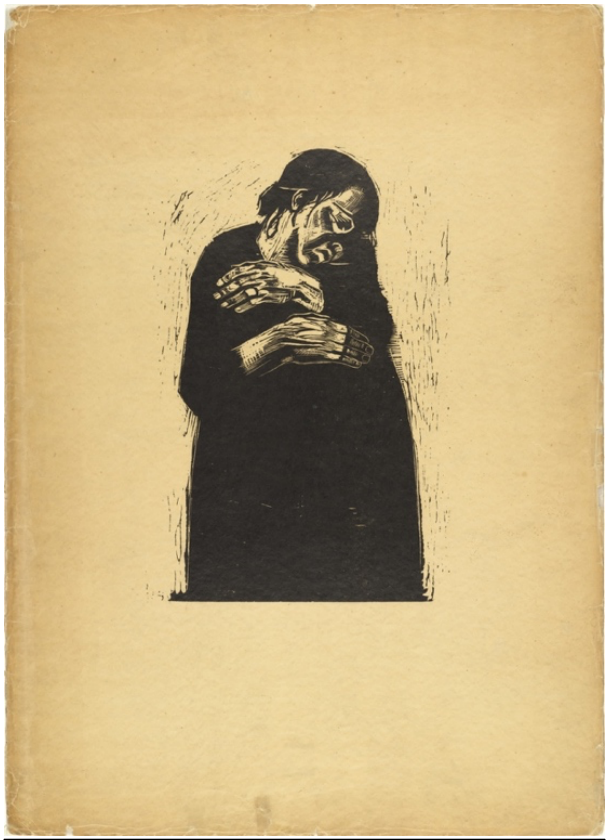

Figure 10: Käthe Kollwitz, *Die Witwe I* (from the *Krieg* series), 1922, Woodcut, Käthe Kollwitz Museum, Köln, Germany.

Figure 11: Käthe Kollwitz, *Die Mütter* (from the *Krieg* series), 1922, Woodcut, Käthe Kollwitz Museum, Köln, Germany.

Figure 12: Käthe Kollwitz, *Hunger,* 1922, Woodcut, Käthe Kollwitz Museum, Köln, Germany.

Figure 13: Siegfried Enkelmann, *Dore Hoyer Mütter im Leid (aus dem Zyklus Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz)*, 1946, Objektnummer 41.594 Seite 1, Tanzarchiv Köln.

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Figure 16: Lenka von Koerber, *Dore Hoyer – Gruppe in Mütter im Krieg (aus dem Zyklus Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz)*, 1946, Objektnummer 37.638, Tanzarchiv Köln.

Figure 17: Lenka von Koerber, *Dore Hoyer – Gruppe in Mütter im Krieg (aus dem Zyklus Tänze für Käthe Kollwitz)*, 1946, Objektnummer 41.596 Seite 4, Tanzarchiv Köln.

Figure 18: Otto Dix, *Sehnsucht,* 1918, Oil on Panel, Galerie Neue Meister, Dresden, Germany.