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Source: *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (Dec., 1984), pp. 495-504
Published by: The Johns Hopkins University Press
Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/3206737
Accessed: 15-05-2020 20:22 UTC

Appia's Theatre at Hellerau[1]

Mary Elizabeth Tallon

In 1906, Frederic Nauman, a Christian socialist who had abandoned theology for politics, decided to form an association of artists, manufacturers, and merchants whose aim was to "cleanse the public's taste and to promote an artistic style in accord with the technical resources of the modern world."[2] In 1907, the Werkbund was founded, based on the desire for a social art, for a collaboration of art and industry, for a more beautiful and harmonious life for workers bonded in an artistic/labor community. Among the co-founders with Nauman of the Werkbund was Karl Schmitt who, in 1907, in connection with his manufacturing enterprise in Dresden, established a "garden-city" in the hills outside of Dresden in eastern Germany. Hellerau, as it was named, was a village of homes and educational and recreational facilities for the Schmitt workers, the "rhythm" of whose design was intended both to influence and reflect the harmony of the community.

In 1907, Schmitt and Wolf Dohrn, the secretary of the Werkbund, attended a demonstration of rhythmic gymnastics given by the students of Emile Jaques-Dalcroze. Dalcroze, a professor of music education at the Geneva Conservatory, had devised a

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[1] This paper was written in response to the excellent but somewhat misleading article by Arnold Aronson in the December, 1981 issue of *Theatre Journal*, "Theatres of the Future." In this article, Mr. Aronson makes the following statements: "But even Appia ultimately sought plasticity on a proscenium stage" (p. 491); "Appia . . . attempted to come to terms with this inherent perceptual difficulty within the context of the existing architecture" (p. 492). Mr. Aronson has omitted Appia's name from a list of "artists over the past eighty years . . . [who seem] to have conceived of a theatre of the future based on the architecture of the theatre itself" (p. 491). In fact, Appia was not only the "theatrical consultant" for the theatre at Hellerau, but in his writings – principally in "Monumentalité," "Art vivant ou nature morte," and "Expériences de théâtre et recherches personnelles" – he has described theatres of his own design which were truly revolutionary in the early 1900s, theatres which were essentially related to the events which were to take place within them.

[2] Alfred Berchtold, "Emile Jaques-Dalcroze et son temps," in *Emile Jaques-Dalcroze: L'Homme, le Compositeur, le Créateur de la Rythmique*, ed. Frank Martin (Neuchatel: Eds de la Baconnière, 1965), p. 86. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

system of "Eurythmics" by which he taught children not only the basics of music but also to be able to express themselves in the rhythmic movement of their bodies. Schmitt and Dohrn, hoping to center the education at Hellerau around the Dalcroze system, officially invited Dalcrose in 1909 to become a part of that experimental community. Dalcroze responded with a plan to create at Hellerau, by virtue of rhythm, "a moral and esthetic architecture identical to that of the buildings, to raise rhythm to the level of a social institution . . . to harmonize, thanks to a special education, the village and its people."[3] Schmitt proposed to provide Dalcroze with an Institute built to his exact specifications, which would include classrooms, work spaces, gardens, air and sun baths – and a theatre, to "replace the missing church."[4]

In 1906 Adolphe Appia attended a demonstration in Geneva of the Dalcroze Method. He was moved to tears to find there "the answer to his passionate desire for synthesis"[5] – the music/body/space synthesis foreseen in his early works. More significantly, Appia remembered the experience as the awakening of a new force in him, completely unknown; he felt that he was with the students, on the stage, in some kind of an unlimited space.[6] Appia wrote to Dalcroze to express his gratitude and admiration, beginning a fruitful correspondence and friendship between them. Dalcroze, for his part, recognized Appia's growing reputation as a scenic reformer. He began to rely on Appia for the decor, the lighting, and often the staging of his musical works. Faced with having to specify his wishes exactly for the new theatre at Hellerau, Dalcroze turned naturally to Appia, whose ideas on theatre architecture, and on the theatrical event as a whole, guided the design of this unique new theatre.

From the beginning of his career as a scenic reformer, Appia was sensitive to the influence of architecture on the theatrical event. Although he had at first accepted the Festspielhaus at Bayreuth as the ideal of theatre architecture, by the time he wrote the last chapters of *La Musique et la mise en scène* (1896) he had begun to question Bayreuth, using as his model the antique theatre wherein "the act" and "the desire"[7] (actor and spectator) were part of the same space. Appia noted the falseness of nineteenth-century theatre buildings, wherein brick and concrete sheltered equally the painted cardboard and canvas of the decor and at the same time the real bodies of actor and spectator. He implied that his architectural settings, designed to relate to the solid, tri-dimensionality of the actor, related thus to the "reality" of the auditorium – and that a picture-frame proscenium was unnecessary to his non-"picture" settings. In 1902, in a detailed critique of the Prinzregenten-theater in Munich,[8] Appia challenged the disparity between the form and the function of the theatre, manifesting his sensitivity to a new theme in architecture which was to play an important

[3] Dalcroze quoted by Berchtold, p. 87.

[4] William Martin, a Swiss journalist, quoted by Berchtold, p. 88.

[5] Adolphe Appia, *La Musique et la mise en scène* (Bern: Theater Kultur- Verlag, 1963), p. xi.

[6] Appia recounts this experience in his unpublished memoires, "Expériences de théâtre et recherches personnelles." This essay will be included in one of the forthcoming volumes of *Adolphe Appia. Oeuvres Complètes*, edited by Marie L. Bablet-Hahn. The first number of this important collection is already in print (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1983).

[7] Appia, *La Musique*, p. 38.

[8] Adolphe Appia, "Der Saal des Prinzregenten-Theaters," *Gesellschaft* 18 (1902), pp. 198–205.

role in the design of Hellerau. In "Retour à la musique" (1906), Appia criticized the passivity of the public which allowed a work of art to be placed "in front of us, outside of us . . . it is there, we are here, always distinct."[9] He blamed this passivity ("anaesthesia") in part on the theatres, "ugly and built contrary to good sense."[10] In 1908, Appia wrote: "In our modern theatres, the places meant for the public are as distinct as possible from the space where the action takes place; and perfection seems to us attained at Bayreuth: there, the proscenium frame is no more than an immense keyhole (pardon me!) through which we indiscretely surprise mysteries which are not meant for us."[11] It was also in 1908 that Jean and Rene Morax, following a suggestion made by Appia,[12] built the Theatre du Jorat, whose prominently "new" feature was a proscenium-wide staircase, which joined the stage to the house. In 1909, Appia wrote "Style et Solidarité," an article which he named his "testament" in a conversation with Jacques Copeau:[13] "We know perfectly well that art must be lived and not simply contemplated"; we must learn to "vanquish *the public* in ourselves," to hate the "barbarism" of modern theatre buildings which are no better than art museums; "it is from our common heart that art must spring forth and our common body must represent it."[14]

It was shortly after the publication of "Style et solidarité" that Schmitt invited Dalcroze to Hellerau. Dalcroze "notified Appia immediately as he wished to undertake nothing without his friend."[15] He wrote to Appia: "When the time comes to be precise [regarding the theatre building] I count on your detailed instructions."[16] He spoke of the "luminous and radiant vision that I owe to you, my dear and genial friend."[17] The Hellerau experiment, Dalcroze promised, "will be signed by your name beside that of your faithfully affectionate E J Dalcroze."[18]

However, in the "Prospectus" for the Dalcroze Institute published in the late spring of 1912, Appia is mentioned only as the "inspired esthetician" who pointed out the usefulness of the new lighting system.[19] Credit for the design of the Hellerau theatre is given to Heinrich Tessenow, the general architect of the Institute, and to Alexander von Salzmann, the man who engineered the lighting system. But just as the Bayreuth Festspielhaus, the Munich Art Theatre, and the Berlin Schauspielhaus embody the ideas of Wagner, Fuchs, and Reinhardt (the credited architects Bruckwald, Littman,

[9] *Journal de Genève*, August 20, 1906, n. pag.

[10] Adolphe Appia, "Comment reformer notre mise en scène," *La Revue des Revues* 1, no. 9 (1904), p. 349.

[11] Adolphe Appia, "Notes sur le thèâtre," *La Vie Musicale*, April 1, 1908, p. 235.

[12] Denis Bablet, *Le Décor de théâtre* (Paris: Eds du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1965), p. 278.

[13] Appia quoted by Jacques Copeau, "Visites à Gordon Craig, Jaques-Dalcroze et Adolphe Appia, 1915," *La Revue d'Histoire du Théâtre* 10 (1963), p. 374.

[14] Adolphe Appia, "Style et solidarité," *Le Rythme* 1, no. 6 (1909), pp. 50–52.

[15] Edmond Stadler, "Jaques-Dalcroze et Adolphe Appia," in *Emile Jaques-Dalcroze, L'Homme, le Compositeur, le Créateur de la Rythmique*, ed. Frank Martin (Neuchatel: Eds de la Baconnière, 1965), p. 428.

[16] Dalcroze quoted by Stadler, p. 428.

[17] Dalcroze quoted by Stadler, p. 428.

[18] Dalcroze quoted by Stadler, p. 439.

[19] In "Prospectus et notes sur Jaques-Dalcroze, sa méthode et son institut, 1912–1917," pp. 6–9. Fonds Rondels (R.O. 9910), Bibliothéque de l'Arsenal, Paris.

and Poelzig notwithstanding), so the theatre at Hellerau embodies the ideas of Appia; it was built "according to his principles."[20] "There is no doubt that the fundamental plan of the theatre was his."[21]

The theatre at Hellerau was a radical departure from the known and accepted theatre design of the early 1900s. Appia described his ideal theatre as simply a space, oblong, bare and empty,[22] "no stage, no amphitheatre, only an empty room, waiting,"[23] a space, "free, vast, and transformable."[24] The theatre at Hellerau – given the compromises imposed by time, money, and the conflicting opinions of stronger personalities – approached Appia's ideal. It was a neutral space, a rectangular box (49m long x 16m wide x 12m high); it was free of all decorative detail, its walls were covered with plain, beige-colored fabric; its only lines were architectural.

Appia believed that the purpose of a building should be immediately and clearly revealed in its design: "The function creates the organ."[25] The first function of the theatre at Hellerau was, as it had been in Appia's scenic spaces, to express human presence, to emphasize the beauty of the human body. To this end, the theatre space appeared empty (especially by comparison with the over-whelming clutter of 19th century theatres); it was a dynamic void which attracted the presence of actor and

[20] Bablet, p. 106.

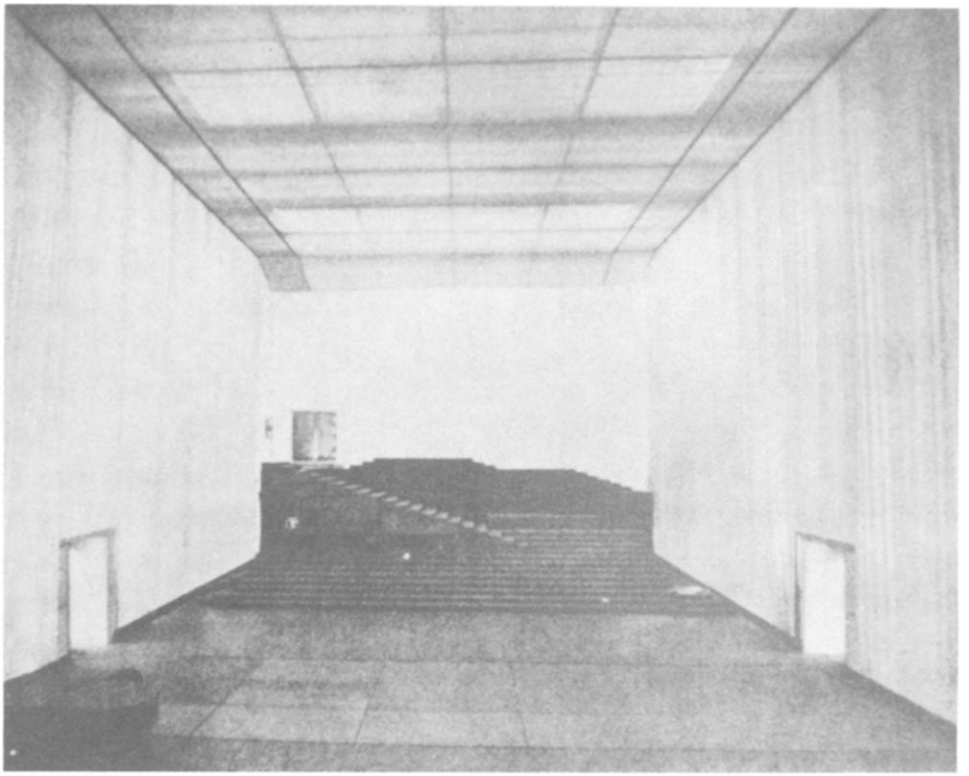
[21] Walther Volbach, *Adolphe Appia. Prophet of the Modern Theatre* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), p. 88. The reader may understandably consider the foregoing slim justification for naming the theatre at Hellerau "Appia's theatre." There are, however, reliable sources for such a claim. In the first place, scholars who have had access to the complete works of Appia (including unpublished manuscripts and correspondence) consider the design of the theatre at Hellerau to be Appia's. Edmond Stadler names Appia the "spiritual father" of Hellerau (Stadler, p. 438); Walther Volbach believes that the Hellerau theatre was based on Appia's plan. Above all, Denis Bablet and Marie-Louise Bablet-Hahn, whose statements on Appia must be considered authoritative not only because of their access to the Appia materials but because of the rigor and honesty of their scholarship, state that the theatre at Hellerau was truly "Appia's theatre" (from the catalog of an exposition entitled "Adolphe Appia: acteur -espace - lumière"). Also, Dalcroze's letters to Appia during the time of the design and building of the Hellerau theatre (Appia's letters to Dalcroze are lost) are mirrors of Appia's passionate interest in the new theatre space and of his precise and detailed suggestions regarding it. Dalcroze, for his part, shows his eagerness – and that of Tessenow, von Salzmann, and Dohrn – to include Appia as a principal in the decision-making regarding this theatre. These letters give weighty evidence of Appia's involvement at Hellerau – not as architect nor technician, but as "theatre consultant" on a grand scale. The most persuasive proof, however, that the Hellerau theatre was "Appia's" comes from his own writings; those characteristics of Hellerau which made it unique were rooted in Appia's early work – in the simplicity of his designs, in his desire for artistic synthesis, in his insistence on a carefully lighted architectural environment for the human body, and especially, in his rejection of the traditional aspects of stage/house separation and his relentless quest for union of art and public.

[22] Appia, "Expériences."

[23] Adolphe Appia, "Living Art or Frozen Nature," trans. Marvin Carlson, *Players Magazine* 33, no. 4 (1962), p. 126.

[24] Appia, *La Musique*, p. xiii. Although the more precise descriptions of Appia's ideal theatre were written some years after the Hellerau experience (e.g., those in the "Seconde Preface" to *La Musique*, and in "Art Vivant ou nature morte," "Monumentalité," and "Expériences"), there is no question that the paradigm for these ideal spaces was Hellerau. It seems appropriate, therefore, where Appia is describing characteristics which were unequivocally true of Hellerau, to cite these later works.

[25] Adolphe Appia, *L'Oeuvre d'art vivant* (Geneva-Paris: Atar, 1921), p. 29.



The Great Hall (theatre) of the Dalcroze Institute; view of the stage. Gerda Wangerin and Gerhard Weiss, *Heinrich Tessenow* (Essen: Bacht, 1976).

spectator alike. Its stark and flat simplicity offset the detailed plasticity of the body. Its rectilinear form emphasized by opposition "the round contours of the body and the curved paths of its movements."[26] Appia later wrote: "It is necessary to provide the people with the vivid, the unforgettable impression that it is they, their living bodies, which progressively create and limit the space."[27]

Another of the expressed purposes of the Hellerau theatre was that it had to be "suitable for the presentation of a *new* theatre, for Germany lacked at that time an experimental stage – from a strictly artistic viewpoint – in stylized simplicity of theatre equipment and in the interaction of lighting and scenic forms."[28] Appia wanted the theatre not only to attract the presence of actor and spectator, but also to stimulate their creative activity, to encourage experimentation. He loved process, change, the living sense of on-going movement. He had exorcized from his hierarchical synthesis any art which was, of its nature, fixed (e.g., painting and sculpture). He considered architecture dynamic by virtue of the activity which it both sheltered and encouraged. And the theatre space, already "living" by virtue of its material "resistance" to the

[26] Appia, "Living Art," p. 126.
[27] Adolphe Appia, "Monumentalité," *Revue d'Esthétique* 6, no. 4 (1953), p. 366.
[28] Gerda Wangerin and Gerhard Weiss, *Heinrich Tessenow* (Essen: Bacht, 1976), p. 29.

human body,[29] became active in its transformability. All that Appia designed as part of the Hellerau theatre could be set up, moved, removed, and/or greatly modified – expressing his belief in experimentation. He provided for the scenic space a set of "practicals" – platforms, ramps, step-units, screens, drapes, pillars, "of carefully measured dimensions"[30] built to attach to or to fit inside of one another – "the arrangement of which could therefore be infinitely varied."[31] Rectilinear in form, these "practicals" were neutral in color, covered with unbleached muslin. Like the setting, the lighting system was flexible in regard to area, intensity, and quality. Appia also specified that the amphitheatre-style seating units be removable so that the students could be free to create in a space wherein the idea of "the public" was not expressed. Believing that the students' exposure to the public should be strictly controlled, he intended the theatre space to be used primarily for non-public experimentation.

The most striking and prophetic aspects of the Hellerau theatre were those which expressed the actor/spectator relationship. Appia wrote: "We have the obligation to diminish progressively the abyss which separates the spectator from the actor, to shake up our egotistical torpor, to take, little by little, an active part in what we name haughtily 'the production,' and finally to live *ourselves* and *in common* the work of art."[32] There were no barriers at Hellerau, no "absurd and inhuman separation"[33] between the spectator space and the stage – no proscenium arch, no act curtain, no footlights, no light/dark separation, no raised stage. The necessary orchestra pit could be covered so that there was nothing between spectator and actor "except for the open space of shining floor."[34]

Nothing of the activity of the actor (whom Appia now named the "performer") was hidden from the spectator (now hopefully named the "participant"). There were no flies, no traps, no wings ("'wings' made him [Appia] shudder"),[35] no tricks, no theatrical sleight of hand. The total theatrical event was visible to the public. Even set changes, when they occurred, were intended to take place within the full view of the audience.

The quality of the theatre space at Hellerau suggested a unique kind of participation. Both actor and spectator entered through common doors located in the middle of the theatre space, doors which were passages from adjacent foyers – common rooms where performer and participant would socialize between acts and then re-enter the theatre at the space of "shining floor" common to both. In a section through of the theatre space with the risers and the great *Orpheus* stairs set up (those which occur in published photos of the Hellerau theatre) the actor and the spectator spaces seem nearly mirror images of one another – each an area of steeply graded levels

[29] See Appia, "L'Espace vivant," in *L'Oeuvre*, pp. 39-45.

[30] Appia, "Living Art," p. 125.

[31] Henry Bonifas, *Adolphe Appia* (Zurich: Orell-Fussli, 1929), p. 9.

[32] Adolphe Appia, "L'Enfant et l'art dramatique," *Pour l'Ere Nouvelle* 2, No. 5 (1923), p. 3.

[33] Copeau, "Visites," p. 370.

[34] Beryl De Zoete, *The Thunder and the Freshness* (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1963), p. 20.

[35] Jacques Copeau, "Adolphe Appia et l'art de la scène," *Cahier de la Compagnie Madeleine Renaud-Jean Louis Barrault* 1, no. 2 (1950), p. 94.

"projecting" both performer and participant down into the common space which joined them.

At Hellerau, the performer and the participant related frontally, through unencumbered space. Although the right and left walls of the stage space could be slid aside to extend the area laterally, Appia did not suggest using this space as seating space for the public.[36] Appia generally saw the theatrical event as a dynamic exchange between performer and participant, neither the "act" nor the "desire" being dominant. There are two exceptions to this in Appia's work, exceptions which demonstrate his later view of the actor/spectator union as a movement from house to stage. In the Theatre du Jorat, the staircase joining house to stage is, from the view of the house, concave; it appears to draw the spectator onto the stage rather than to thrust the actor into the house. In a sketch done for *Hero et Leandre*, the spectator space is surrounded on three sides by the stage. In his scenario for this work, Appia encourages the audience to take part in the action on the stage.[37]

The kind of performer/participant exchange proposed by Appia and reflected in the theatre space at Hellerau was not active in the sense that either one physically entered the other's space during performance. The performer did not intrude or encroach, he "entrained,"[38] invited; he created a magnetic attraction. The spectator responded directly, kinesthetically, to the physical proximity of the body of the performer – who was moving rhythmically in formal, plastic space to the music felt in common by performer and spectator. This response, Appia believed, was heightened by the diminishment of the representational aspects of the performance; he considered fiction as great an impediment to performer/spectator intimacy as the act curtain or the proscenium frame. The spectator, then, responding openly and intensely to the performer, became a virtual participant. Thereafter, ideally, the participant would wish to become an active part of the artistic event by becoming, himself (after necessary training) a performer.

The lighting system at Hellerau also contributed to the actor/spectator relationship. Originally, Appia had specified a Fortuny installation; he had worked with Mariano Fortuny on a production in Paris in 1903 and was pleased with the quality of indirect light his system offered.[39] However, at Hellerau, "the Germans (from Berlin) spoiled the whole Fortuny apparatus which they have made ponderous and immobile and . . . not transportable."[40] So von Salzmann, "who has the same ideas as Appia but possesses a real genius for realization,"[41] devised a new system based on the "active" and "diffuse" light suggested by Appia in *La Musique et la mise en scène*.[42] The ceiling and walls of the theatre were divided into separate panels, or shallow recesses, which were covered with "something resembling balloon silk, covered with cedar

[36] See Dalcroze, quoted by Stadler, p. 429.
[37] See Copeau, "Visites," p. 374.
[38] Appia, *La Musique*, p. xii.
[39] Appia designed and staged excerpts from *Manfred* and *Carmen* for the Countess de Béarn in Paris.
[40] Dalcroze quoted by Stadler, p. 439.
[41] Helene Brunet-LeCompte, *Jaques-Dalcroze* (Geneva: Jeheber, 1950), p. 123.
[42] *La Musique*, p. 97.

oil."[43] Each panel held a bank of lights, separately dimmer-controlled, which produced the ambiant general lighting. In addition, the ceiling panels, which were hinged to open toward the stage space, held dimmer-controlled spots which produced the active light. The entire system, attempting to recreate natural daylight, heightened the moving plasticity of the actor's body, therefore intensifying the audience's response to the "reality" of that body which was the principle of performer/spectator entrainment. The "resounding light,"[44] like the resounding music, filled the entire theatre space, enveloping the audience in the same diffuse glow as the performer.

There were three productions done in the theatre at Hellerau. The first of these, which featured a mounting of the second act of Gluck's *Orpheus and Eurydice*, was done in the summer of 1912, and was the occasion of a serious misunderstanding between Appia and Dalcroze.

The problem was related directly to the design of the theatre. Appia had conceived of a theatre whose most prominent feature was union between stage and auditorium. He had removed all of the traditional physical barriers. He had neutralized the division of difference: the stage and the house spaces were identical. He had eliminated the barrier of representationality from the physical space; there were no golden cherubs, no gleaming statues, no mirrors – no picture-frame boxes for those in the role of spectator.

But the space was not enough. It was among Appia's most precocious intuitions to realize that actor/spectator intimacy is as much dependent on the nature of the theatrical event as on physical proximity. Thus there was a great deal at stake for him in the choice and style of the first production to be done in the Hellerau theatre; he wanted the event to be appropriate to the space. The issue was this: Appia believed that representation was the chief psychological barrier between actor and spectator. His ideal synthesis – music, moving body, lit space – took place at the level of abstract form, whose abstraction encouraged not only the "perfect fusion of all means of expression,"[45] but also the fusion of performer and participant.

Gluck's *Orpheus* was a promising choice. This work was considered revolutionary even in its time for its focus on music and dance rather than on story. For this *Orpheus*, Dalcroze created a mise-en-scène "stripped of anecdote,"[46] using the "bare arms and legs of children"[47] to figure in space the abstract patterns of Gluck's music. Appia designed a "scenic architecture, a luminous milieu . . . elements of beauty having in themselves no characteristic, like the notes of a symphony."[48] He designed "a

[43] Kenneth MacGowan, *The Theatre of Tomorrow* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1921), pp. 190–91.

[44] Alexander von Salzmann, "Licht, Belichtung und Beleuchtung," *Das Claudel Programm-Buch* (Hellerau: Hellerauer Verlag, 1913), p. 89.

[45] Appia quoted by Denis Bablet, "Adolphe Appia, Art, Revolte et Utopie," in *Adolphe Appia. Oeuvres Complètes*, p. 24.

[46] Ernst Ansermet, "La Gymnastique Rythmique à Hellerau," S.I.M., 97 (July/Aug., 1913), p. 58.

[47] Upton Sinclair, *World's End* (New York: Literary Guild of America, 1940), p. 5.

[48] Ansermet, p. 58.

light which vibrated according to the music of Gluck," a light which "came from nowhere and everywhere,"[49] filling both stage and house and drawing the spectators into the sphere of the performer. And for the costumes? Dalcroze spent "hundreds of marks" on various projects for representational costuming.[50] "Adolphe Appia tore his hair at each of these projects; he recommended – as it was not a question of a theatrical production but of a demonstration of the year's work – the simple exercise leotard, and for the Kindly Spirits, the long coat which the students wore between classes. It was the advice of Appia which triumphed, and the future proved him right."[51] But Appia, bitterly disappointed, left Hellerau. He never returned, not even for the 1913 Festival for which Dalcroze did the complete *Orpheus,* using the setting designed by Appia in 1912.[52]

In the autumn of 1913, Paul Claudel convinced Wolf Dohrn (then the director of Hellerau) to let him produce *The Tidings Brought To Mary* in the Hellerau theatre. Von Salzmann, using Appia's "practicals," designed the setting. Appia, critical of their using a non-representational space for a more realistic drama, commented, "What folly to want to use a space and materials – which are the exact expression of a great idea, which only live of it and by it – for that old declamatory acting business. It's just like putting a new patch on an old suit . . . but the reverse."[53]

Thus the productions at Hellerau were significant to Appia in the fashion in which they related to the theatre itself, in the successful articulation of space with action. It was during Appia's first, overwhelming experience with Dalcroze's Eurhythmics that he "felt that he was with the students, on the stage, in some kind of an unlimited space." Inspired by this experience, he had designed a space which would reflect it and encourage it. And he was unwilling that such a space should receive another action. "Appia's theme," said Copeau in his eulogy of the great man, "was an action in relationship with an architecture."[54] And the Hellerau experiment might have been, for Appia, its finest embodiment.

Although Appia had suggested that the back wall of the theatre at Hellerau be able to open to the gardens beyond, that idea was too costly to be realized. But had it been possible, and had there been a Festival in 1914 (there was none as Dalcroze was in Geneva working on the Festival de juin), the audience might have looked beyond the young performers and seen the future of Hellerau – "bright meadow." "On a wide plain just below Hellerau was an exercise ground of the German army. Here almost every day large bodies of men marched and wheeled, ran and fell down and got up again . . . the sound of all this floated up to the tall white temple, and when the wind

[49] Ansermet, p. 58.

[50] Brunet-LeCompte, p. 161.

[51] Brunet-LeCompte, pp. 161–62.

[52] Appia sketched added designs for the 1913 Festival, including the well-known "Champs Elysses," published in *L'Oeuvre.* Judging from accounts of the production, however, these designs were never built. Rather set pieces were placed on or in front of the great *Orpheus* staircase to change the setting.

[53] Appia quoted by Stadler, p. 448.

[54] Jacques Copeau, "l'Art et l'oeuvre d'Adolphe Appia," *Comoedia,* March 12, 1928, n. pag.

was right, the dust came also. But the dancers and musicians paid little attention to it."[55]

On September 27, 1914, *La Suisse* published a protest against the German bombing of Rheims and the burning of the library at Louvain. It was signed by Emile Jaques-Dalcroze. Dalcroze was no longer welcome at Hellerau and the great experiment, as he and Appia had known it, was over.

During the Second World War, the "balloon silk" was torn from the walls of the Hellerau theatre to make bandages for the German soldiers and in the 1950s, the Dalcroze Institute was designated a caserne for Russian soldiers billeted at Hellerau.[56] Appia's theatre, unused for many years, was refitted as a recreation hall.

[55] Sinclair, p. 9.

[56] Personal interview with Ned A. Bowman whose source of information was Henrietta Rosenstrauch. Miss Rosenstrauch, who was a colleague of Dr. Bowman at the University of Pittsburgh, had been a student of Dalcroze during the Hellerau years.