

5-2019

Dance of Exile: The Sakharoffs' Visual Performances in Montevideo (1935–1948)

Pablo Munoz Ponzo

How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!

Follow this and additional works at: https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds

Part of the [Art Education Commons](#), [Dance Commons](#), [Fashion Design Commons](#), [Fine Arts Commons](#), [Graphic Design Commons](#), [History of Gender Commons](#), [Holocaust and Genocide Studies Commons](#), [Illustration Commons](#), [Interactive Arts Commons](#), [Interdisciplinary Arts and Media Commons](#), [Latin American History Commons](#), [Latina/o Studies Commons](#), [Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Studies Commons](#), [Liberal Studies Commons](#), [Modern Art and Architecture Commons](#), [Museum Studies Commons](#), [Oral History Commons](#), [Other Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Commons](#), [Other History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons](#), [Other Music Commons](#), [Other Theatre and Performance Studies Commons](#), [Painting Commons](#), [Performance Studies Commons](#), [Photography Commons](#), [Printmaking Commons](#), [Sculpture Commons](#), [Theatre History Commons](#), [Theory and Criticism Commons](#), and the [Visual Studies Commons](#)

DANCE OF EXILE
THE SAKHAROFFS' VISUAL PERFORMANCES IN
MONTEVIDEO (1935–1948)

by

PABLO MUÑOZ PONZO

A Master's thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, The City University of New York

2019

© 2019

PABLO MUÑOZ

All Rights Reserved

Dance of Exile
The Sakharoffs' Visual Performances in Montevideo (1935–1948)

by
Pablo Muñoz Ponzo

This manuscript has been read and accepted by the Graduate Faculty in Liberal Studies in satisfaction of the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

Date

Edward D. Miller

Thesis Advisor

Date

Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis

Executive Officer

ABSTRACT

Dance of Exile

The Sakharoffs' Visual Performances in Montevideo (1935–1948)

by

Pablo Muñoz Ponzó

Advisor: Edward D. Miller

This thesis explores the life-work chronology of the dancers and choreographers Clotilde von Derp (whose surname then was Sakharoff) and Alexander Sakharoff, who were exiled in Montevideo, Uruguay, and Buenos Aires, Argentina, between 1941 and 1948. During their stay in the Río de la Plata region, the Sakharoffs stirred up the art scene by performing extremely detailed dances with great attention to costume design. This thesis begins with a review of the reception of the dancers' performances by the artistic and cultural circles in Montevideo, arguing that the Sakharoffs' "queer" trajectory resonated with the Uruguayan artistic community, influencing the creation of the Uruguayan national ballet, *Cuerpo de baile del SODRE*. Methodologically, this research is based on archival research and on visual and cultural analysis of press, photography, and printmaking related to the Sakharoffs. My analysis discusses the cross-pollination between the Sakharoffs and the Uruguayan art community, problematizing the center-periphery hierarchical relationship that typically describes South America as a recipient of European artistic cultures.

Keywords: ARCHIVE, DANCE HISTORY, VISUAL CULTURE, DESIGN, MONTEVIDEO

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First I would like to thank Edward D. Miller, who advised me in the process of writing this Thesis, and for his encouragement to follow dance studies at the Graduate Center (CUNY) with special attention to the geographical and cultural diversities. I want to specially acknowledge profesoras Karen Miller, Ángeles Donoso and Patricia Tovar who provided generous support and scholarly criticism on the research process for the Thesis. I also want to express my gratitude to professors at the Graduate Center: Claire Bishop, Steve Brier, Anne Donlon, Romy Golan, Marta Gutman, Lev Manovich, Katherine Manthorne and Paul Ramirez Jonas from whom I learned a great deal from throughout the two-year MA in Liberal Studies (MALS) program.

Thank you very much to Elizabeth Macaulay-Lewis and Katherine Koutsis from MALS, professor Andrea Parmegiani for helping me improve my writing skills, Omar Al Jamal for copy-editing, Tia Fletcher, Bertha Fountain, Amy Martin, Nga Than, Aaron Botwick, Daniel Hengel, and Kwame Kuw Ocran for reviewing the documents so generously. I also want to acknowledge support from New Media Lab at the Graduate Center.

Thanks for unconditional support to my family, parents Hilda and Roberto, partner Stuart Shugg, sister Helena, brother-in-law Juan, niece and nephew Valentina and Luciano, aunt Jacqueline and cousin Fernanda.

My gratitude to members of the Uruguayan dance community, who have helped and contributed to this Thesis in multiple ways: Ximena Castillo, Lucía Chilibroste, Analía Fontán, Egon Friedler, Juan Miguel Ibarlucea, Sofia Lans, Annick Macouvert, Marcelo Marascio, Iris Mouret, Elisa Pérez, Mariana Porciúncula, Claudia Pisani, Marcos Ramírez, Hebe Rosa and Gabriela Sáez.

I could not have completed the MA program without the support of Facultad de Arquitectura, Diseño y Urbanismo (Universidad de la República Uruguay). In Montevideo I want to give special thanks to Mónica Farkas, Camilo Mejías, Mariana Picart, María Emil Saldaña, Jessica Stebniki and Martín Tarallo. Thank you all for your guidance.

Furthermore, I want to thank Ramiro Rodríguez for his honest encouragement, to María Girard from *Centro de Investigación, Documentación y Difusión de las Artes Escénicas* (CIDDAE), Teatro Solís for providing key documents, Viviana Ruiz from *Centro Nacional de Documentación Musical “Lauro Ayestarán”*, and to the personnel at the *Biblioteca Nacional de Uruguay*.

April 26th, 2019

The Graduate Center (CUNY). New York City.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction		1
Methodology	Archival dispersion	5
	State of the Sakharoff’s archives and sources	6
	Archival research	8
Chapter 1	CONTEXT AND THE SAKHAROFFS’ CONTRIBUTION	9
	<i>Uruguay del centenario</i>	9
	Antisemitism and international relations	11
	European dance cultures in Montevideo	13
	The Sakharoffs’ contribution to dance in Uruguay	14
Chapter 2	GENDER ROLE GAMES AND	
	CLOTILDE AND ALEXANDER’S “MASQUERADE”	19
	Reception and eurocentrism	24
	Body aesthetics and gender norms in Montevideo	26
	Dressing up as women. Ramón Collazo as Alexander Sakharoff	31
	<i>Commedia dell’Arte</i> and concert dance	34
	Ugo Ulive’s <i>Danzas tristes</i>	37
	A queer history of Uruguayan ballet	38
Chapter 3	THE SAKHAROFFS’ RECEPTION AND	
	THEIR VISUAL PERFORMANCES	41
	The Sakharoffs according to Uruguayan critics	41
	Boris Bernstein’s <i>18 pochoirs originaux</i>	49
	Clotilde von Derp and dance photography	50
	Sakharoffs’ images in Río de la Plata	52
	The Sakharoffs’ romantic style	55
Conclusion		59
Appendix		63
Bibliography		77

LIST OF FIGURES

- Figure 1:** Olímpica Tribune from Estadio Centenario. Game in the Soccer World Cup. Date: July 1930. Producer: Intendencia de Montevideo. Photographer: unknown. Technique: Silver gelatin. On glass support. Photography available at Centro de Fotografía, Montevideo: <http://cdf.montevideo.gub.uy>. Reference code: 0083FMHD. 10
- Figure 2:** Troupe Ateniense in Buenos Aires. From left to right: the seventh is Roberto Fontaina, the tenth is Gerardo Matos Rodríguez, the thirteenth is Ramón Collazo and the fourteenth is Juan Antonio Collazo. 1926. (Photo: Matos Rodríguez Archive. Unknown photographer) Available at: http://agadu.org/pmb/opac_css/doc_num.php?explnum_id=3244 10
- Figure 3:** *El País* (Newspaper). (1941, Aug 19). *La producción norteamericana representada en el Uruguay* (The north american production represented in Uruguay). Advertising. Available at Biblioteca Nacional Uruguay. Photo by author. 12
- Figure 4:** *El País* (section of the Newspaper cover) (1935, Oct 17). *Alcanzó Gran Éxito La Conferencia de Clotilde Sakharoff* (Clotilde Sakharoff's conference had a great success). Available at Biblioteca Nacional Uruguay. Photo by author. 18
- Figure 5:** *El País* (section of the Newspaper article). (1935, Oct 18). Sakharoff, Clotilde. *Lo que es la danza para nosotros* (What dance is to us), p4. Available at Biblioteca Nacional Uruguay. Photo by author. 18
- Figures 6 and 7:** Alexander and Clotilde, 1913/14. Photos by Hans Holdt. German Dance Archives Cologne (DTK). Published in (Peter 2002:201) 21
- Figure 8:** Alexander and Clotilde, 1913/14. Photos by Hans Holdt. German Dance Archives Cologne (DTK). Published in (Peter 2002:201) 22
- Figures 9:** Alexander and Clotilde. Section from a Program from February 1936. German Dance Archives Cologne (DTK). Published in (Peter 2002:213). 22
- Figure 10:** Alexander and Clotilde, 1913/14. Photos by Hans Holdt. German Dance Archives Cologne (DTK). Published in (Peter 2002:201). 23
- Figure 11:** *La belleza clásica de la coreografía moderna de Clotilde Sakharoff* (The classical beauty of Clotilde Sakharoff's modern choreography) *Mundo Uruguayo* (cover) (1941, July 10). Uruguayan popular magazine. Biblioteca Nacional Uruguay (microfilm, photo by author). 28

- Figure 12:** Original photograph of a roll photo, signed by Clotilde Sakharoff. Mounted on backing board. Photographer unknown. About 14 x 10 cm. Private collection Buenos Aires, Argentina. Stader Kunst-Buch-Kabinett ILAB (Stade, Germany). 28
- Figure 13:** Performance program for Montevideo (1941, July 30). “Last concert of the famous poets of dance”. CIDDAE, Teatro Solís, Montevideo. 29
- Figure 14:** A photo from d’Ora on the cover of the magazine *L’Art Musical*, 12 May 1939. Published in (Peter 2002:214) 29
- Figure 15:** Composition of images made by the author taken from several advertisements and articles from magazine *Hogar y decoración* (Uruguayan popular magazine) from 1941-1948. 30
- Figure 16:** Ramón Collazo. Unknown author. 32
- Figure 17:** Alexander Sakharoff. Unknown author. 32
- Figure 18:** *Las ingenuas*. Typical comical orchestra from Troupe Ateniense. c. 1940, From left to right, on top: Lalo Etchegoncelay y Mario Orrico, middle Ramón Loro Collazo y Rolando Gavioli, bottom Romeo Gavioli. Photography from Eugenio Luciani’s archive. Published in Borteiro, M., Chiappara, R.; Puga, B. (2013). *Tango revelado*. Montevideo: CdF Ediciones. 33
- Figure 19:** Alexander Sakharoff in *Gollwong’s Cake Walk*, 1913. Photo by Hans Holdt. Deutsche Theatermuseum, Munich. Published in (Peter 2002:197) 33
- Figure 20:** Alexandre Sakharoff. Costume from *Bournée Fantasque*. 20 x 15 cm. Costume design by Philippe Petit. Dedicated and signed by Alexandre Sakharoff, Buenos Aires 1935. Stader Kunst-Buch-Kabinett ILAB Stade, Germany. 36
- Figure 21:** Arlechino (1671) by Maurice Sand. Published in Sand, M. (1860). *Masques et Bouffons. Comédie italienne*. Paris:Michel Levy Freres. 36
- Figure 22:** From 3rd right: Ramón Rodríguez Soca, Alberto Soriano, Roberto Lagarmilla. Headboard: Alberto Pouyanne. Seated: Saúl Sempol (costume designer). 2nd standing: Alejandro Sahkaroff, following seated: founder Francisco Ghigliani and next to her Clotilde Sahkaroff plus two ladies (unknown). Photography from *Archivo Nacional de la imagen y la palabra SODRE*, Montevideo, Uruguay. 46
- Figure 23:** Alexander Sakharoff en *Exotique*. c.1935 Photography by Georges Saad (Paris). In *Archivo Nacional de la imagen y la palabra SODRE*, Montevideo, Uruguay. 46

- Figure 24:** Clotilde and Alexandre Sakharoff, poster by George Barbier. 1921 / De Agostini Picture Library / G. Dagli Orti / Bridgeman Images. 47
- Figure 25:** top: Alexander Sakharoff in *Pavane Royale* and *Golliwog's Cake Walk*. bottom: Clotilde Sakharoff in *Danza de Delfos y Según Cantar de los Cantares. Pochoirs* by Boris Bernstein (1949). Published in (Peter 2002:68) 48
- Figure 26:** Clotilde Sakharoff in *Según el cantar de los cantares*. c.1937. Photo by Georges Saad (Paris). In *Archivo Nacional de la imagen y la palabra SODRE*, Montevideo, Uruguay. 51
- Figure 27:** Clotilde von Derp. A photo from the series Hugo Erfurth made of her dancing in Dresden, 1912. German Dance Archives Cologne (DTK). Published in (Peter 2002:109). 51
- Figure 28:** Clotilde Sakharoff. Dedicated by herself *À Saul Sempol avec mon plus amical souvenir* (To **Saul Sempol** with my most friendly memory). Photography taken in the studio Harcourt, Paris. 53
- Figure 29:** Portrait of Violeta López Lomba (Solarization), Montevideo, approx. 1952. by Jeanne and Arno Mandello. Available at: <http://jeannemandello.com/por-trait-of-violeta-lopez-lomba-solarization-montevideo/> 53
- Figure 30:** Clotilde Sakharoff. Photo by Annemarie Heinrich. Buenos Aires, Argentina, c.1935. Published in (Peter 2002:155). 56
- Figure 31:** “The dancer Sakharoff” (Alexander). Painting by Marianne von Werefkin, Tempera on cardboard, 1919. Municipal museum of modern art. Ascona, Switzerland. Published in (Peter 2002:63). 56
- Figure 32:** Portrait of Alexander Sakharoff by Alexander Jawlensky, 1909. Oil on canvas. 69.5 × 66.5 cm. *Städtische Galerie* in Lenbachhaus, Munich. 56
- Figure 33:** Clotilde Sakharoff. 11,6 x 17,3 cm. c.1930. Photography by Annemarie Heinrich, Santa Fe 1026, Buenos Aires (on the back of the studio stamp). Private collection Buenos Aires, Argentina. Dedicated and signed: “*Para Juanita Blasco Moll recuerdos Clotilde Sakharoff*”. From Stader Kunst-Buch-Kabinett ILAB (Stade, Germany) 57
- Figure 34:** Clotilde Sakharoff. c.1920. 15,5 x 11 cm. Published in: Nino Vela, Jorge. (1972). “*La mujer en la danza. Conferencia Interamericana Especializada sobre Educación Integral de la Mujer*”. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Cultura y Educación. 58

Figure 35: <i>Au temps du Grand Siècle / Pavane Royale</i> (section of the photograph). c.1919. German Dance Archives Cologne (DTK) Published in (Peter, 2002:185)	61
Figure 36: Alexander Sakharoff in <i>Vision from the 15th century</i> (section of the photograph), c.1913. German Dance Archives Cologne (DTK) Published in (Peter 2002:42)	62
Figure 37: Alexander Sakharoffc.1914. (section of the photograph). Photo by Hans Holdt. German Dance Archives Cologne (DTK) Published in (Peter 2002:42)	62
Figure 38: <i>La Mañana</i> . (1942, May 10). <i>Ayer en el Estudio Auditorio, La Mañana</i> , p6.Biblioteca Nacional Uruguay, photo by author.	63
Figure 39: Sakharoffs' Performance program (1935, October 19) (CIDDAE). Full data in tables 1 and 2.	71
Figure 40: Sakharoffs' Performance program (1941, July 30). (CIDDAE). Full data in tables 1 and 2.	72
Figure 41: Sakharoffs' Performance program (1941, October 2). (CIDDAE). Full data in tables 1 and 2.	73
Figure 42: Sakharoffs' Performance program (1941, Oct 18). (CIDDAE). Full data in tables 1 and 2.	74
Figure 43: Sakharoffs' Performance program (1942, May 9). (CIDDAE). Full data in tables 1 and 2.	75
Figure 44: Sakharoffs' Performance program (1943, October 9). (CIDDAE). Full data in tables 1 and 2.	76

LIST OF TABLES

- Table 1:** Performances done by the Sakharoff in Montevideo. Data taken from performance programs provided by *Centro de Investigación, Documentación y Difusión de las Artes Escénicas* (CIDDAE), Teatro Solís, Montevideo. 64
- Table 2:** Choreographies done by the Sakharoff in Montevideo. Data taken from performance programs provided by *Centro de Investigación, Documentación y Difusión de las Artes Escénicas* (CIDDAE), Teatro Solís, Montevideo. 66

INTRODUCTION

The dancers and choreographers Clotilde von Derp (whose surname at that time was Sakharoff) and her partner Alexander Sakharoff first performed in Montevideo, Uruguay, at Estudio Auditorio SODRE in 1935, travelling there from Buenos Aires between two performances in the Argentinian capital city's main theatre "Teatro Colón." These performances were part of a tour that included shows in Havana, Cuba, and Sao Paulo, Brazil. After they left Latin America, the Sakharoffs toured many European countries between 1935 and 1939 (Peter 2002, 256).

Like many other Europeans seeking asylum due to the catastrophe of World War II (WWII), the Sakharoffs¹ found a home away from home, between 1941 and 1948, in both Montevideo and Buenos Aires. At the outbreak of WWII, the Sakharoffs were in Portugal; unable to return to their apartment in Paris, they stayed in Portugal until their relocation in 1941, when the Sakharoffs travelled to South America, probably by sea. While detailed information about the Sakharoffs' point of arrival, their hosts, and their first performances is unavailable, it is clear that this certainly was not the first time that Clotilde and Alexander were experiencing exile as a result of war.

Biographical information

Clotilde von Derp (1892–1974) was born Clotilde Margarete Anna Edle von der Planitz to an aristocratic family in Berlin, Germany. Alexander Sakharoff² (1886–1963) was born Alexander Zuckermann to a Jewish bourgeois family in Mariupol, Russia. Both Clotilde and Alexander started their dance careers as soloists in Munich in 1910, where they participated in visual art social circles that included artists from "*Der Blaue Reiter*," particularly Marianne Werefkin and Alexander Jawlensky, who were satellites of the main group. Clotilde and Alexander shared the stage for the first time in *Fasching*³ in a performance organized by

1 From this point on, the Sakharoffs shall be addressed as Clotilde and Alexander (by their first names) when discussed individually, and as "the Sakharoffs" when jointly.

2 Also spelled Sacharoff and Sakharov.

3 Fasching is a diversity of customs and traditions associated with Carnival celebrations in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria.

the press in Munich in 1913, in which they performed as opera characters from Strauss: Clotilde as Rosenkavalier and Alexander as Bacchus.

In 1916, at the dawn of World War I, Alexander moved to Lausanne in Switzerland accompanied by Clotilde and her mother. Clotilde and Alexander married in 1919, with Marianne Werefkin as their witness. That same year, they befriended Edith Rockefeller, who sponsored their performance at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York in 1920. Clotilde changed her surname to Sakharoff, and they began presenting themselves as “The Sakharoffs.”

Chronologically, the Sakharoffs performed for the first time in Paris at Theatre de Champs Elysee in 1921, and between 1923 and 1930 they toured Europe and the Middle East (the latter period is also significantly understudied). With the support of the impresario Strok, they performed on two occasions in different cities in Asia (1930 and 1934). Shortly after their return to Europe, the dancers cross the Atlantic to perform in Canada and the United States before continuing south, stopping in Cuba and eventually arriving at the Río de la Plata region, first visiting Buenos Aires and then Montevideo (Peter 2002).

Dance studies in Uruguay

Since 2005, with the creation of the contemporary dance pilot program at the Universidad de la República in Montevideo (UDELAR) (the only public university in Montevideo), there has been a growing interest in revisiting dance histories in Uruguay. After 13 years of continuous work with the dance community towards an accessible public education, *Instituto Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes* at UDELAR started the *licenciatura* (bachelor’s degree) program in Dance Studies in 2018.⁴

The opening of a space for Dance Studies in the context of Uruguayan higher education—which, before 2005, had been pretty much absent from the academic sphere—encouraged critical inquiries into the standardized dance histories and dance genealogies in Uruguay. Considering that UDELAR is the main center for research and “knowledge cre-

4 For an overview of Dance Studies in Uruguay, see AAVV (2015), as well as the blog of a research group based at the School of Humanities and Educational Sciences: <http://estudiosdeladanzaenuruguay.blogspot.com>, and the website of the undergraduate program in Dance: <http://www.enba.edu.uy/index.php/licenciatura-en-danza>

ation” in the country, compared to other universities in Latin America, the emergence of research about dance, as well as dance itself, at the institution was considerably delayed and not prioritized in the university’s politics. Conducting research about dance in Uruguay is still an emergent, if flourishing, field, despite challenges related to the availability of sources. Even Theatre Studies does not have a consolidated place in the public university, though such studies have emerged from a (post-) graduate program in the history and theory of theatre and a new degree program in Dramaturgy at the School of Humanities and Education Sciences (UDELAR).

This thesis is aligned with the trajectories of other research projects that have explored modern and contemporary dance in Uruguay (Friedler 2001; Carrera 2009; Pérez 2012; Marsascio 2018) and aims to contribute to the literature on the Sakharoffs’ South American period, as an entry point to explore multiple circumstances that led to early expressions of modern dance in Uruguay. Furthermore, this thesis is in line with other visual studies (Wünsche 2018; Travnik 2004; Mandello 2016) that have examined the lives and works of exiled European artists in South America, most specifically in Uruguay during WWII, in order to shed light on how transnational contact between artists helped shape cultural sensitivity in South America. Throughout this thesis, I will point out resources, such as archives and secondary sources, that may prove useful to further research.

The first chapter starts with an introduction of the socio-political context in Uruguay at the beginning of the 1940s, analyzing how the Sakharoffs’ stay in Montevideo contributed to the city’s enthusiasm for dance. The second chapter focuses on how the Sakharoffs played with gender roles on stage as in their reception in Montevideo. Moreover, the chapter discusses how Alexander’s sexuality was perceived or imagined by Uruguayans—taking specific forms such as Ugo Ulive’s fiction novel *Danzas tristes* or the untitled parody by Ramón “Loro” Collazo, the leader of the carnival group Troupe Ateniense. The third chapter will focus on the Sakharoffs’ reception by Montevideo’s journalists and critics as well as on the printed images of them in the daily press, postcards, and programs and how this exposure is related to the dancers’ earlier reception in Europe.

Literature review

The Sakharoffs have been widely studied by dance and visual art historians. The most recent exhibition project, conducted by German art scholars Frank-Manuel Peter and Rainer Stamm (2002)⁵, incorporates an article by Italian dance historian Patricia Veroli (1991), who was responsible for a previous exhibition of the Sakharoff archives⁶. Both research projects are based on the documents and materials surrounding the Sakharoffs, which includes photographs, drawings, costume and stage designs, and letters and other correspondences, all of which are kept mainly in archives. Even though these research projects represent an enormous contribution to the comprehension of the Sakharoffs' participation in European artistic circles, their exile in South America is not within the scope of these works. In the chronology of the Sakharoffs' lives and *oeuvre* elaborated by Peter and Stamm, the information regarding 1941 says that they emigrated to South America, where they eventually separated. According to the chronology, Alexander stayed relocated to Buenos Aires and Clotilde stayed in Montevideo, although they would reunite later to dance (Peter 2002, 256).

Peter and Stamm (2002) and Veroli (1991) have designed exhibition projects based on academic research drawing from archives and archival materials on loan from various collections. Nevertheless, with a few exceptions, visual representations associated with Clotilde and Alexander in South America appear in both book projects as anecdotal, almost suggesting the idea that the Sakharoff's were in South America merely in the context of a tour.

Most recently, German dance scholar Gabriele Brandstetter (2015) dedicated part of a chapter of her book *Dance in the museum* to analyze Alexander Sakharoff's dance sketches and their resonance with Antiquity and Renaissance art.

The Sakharoffs have been cited as more or less relevant to the dance histories of Uruguay (Friedler 2001; Chilibroste 2017; Silveira 2014; Fontán 2012) and in Argentina (Isse Moyano 2006; Falcoff 2008; Kriner 1948). Fontán's (2012) work, which is the most detailed

5 Peter and Stamm's catalog is centered on the activities in which the Sakharoffs engaged in Munich prior to 1919. The exhibition was the result of the acquisition of the Sakharoffs' dance archives in Köln with the financial support of some private organizations.

6 Veroli's catalog provides a more detailed account of the Sakharoffs' stay in Buenos Aires and Montevideo. She mentions two written texts that Alexander produced while living in South America: "Reflexiones sobre la danza y la música," published in Buenos Aires in 1943, and "Espirít et Art de la Danse," published in 1968 in Lausanne as part of the exhibition organized at the Maurice Bridel gallery. Veroli also cites photographs by Annemarie Heinrich and press releases published in Montevideo (Luisi de Podestá 1936).

account of the Sakharoffs' participation in Montevideo's dance scene, is the result of a two-year research project—from which my thesis draws and to which I contributed as an assistant from 2011 to 2012 at the UDELAR School of the Arts—about modern and contemporary dance in Uruguay.⁷

For this research, I decided to focus on the Sakharoffs in Montevideo, whose story appears in many of the interviews pertaining to the aforementioned project. Also as specific study considering previous research (Peter 2002) which contribution informed my project thoroughly. I will argue that the Sakharoffs followed their own “queer trajectory” and inspired “queerness” basically by playing with gender ambiguity and sexuality on and off stage.

METHODOLOGY

Archival dispersion

The Sakharoff's silence about their condition of exile in South America can be perceived not only in the literature, but also in their archives and elaborated chronologies, and it is probably one of the reasons why their archive and lineage is so dispersed throughout the world. If we interpret archives as constitutive of narratives (Nakajima 2015; Lepecki 2016), we will arrive at the conclusion that the Sakharoffs did indeed perform in South America, though they did so not as touring artists but as exiles during WWII. In fact, they only returned to Europe after the war had ended. If we look at the chronologies closely, the eight years they spent in Latin America does not convincingly suggest that the Sakharoffs were on a regular touring schedule. The relative silence about the Sakharoffs in the official archives, such as those of SODRE⁸, in Montevideo, where they performed regularly, is a relevant consideration in this research as well.

7 *Danza moderna y contemporánea en el Uruguay (1955–2000)* (Research project coordinated by Diego Carrera and financed by UDELAR (CSIC). More info at: <https://archivodanza.wordpress.com/about/>

8 *Servicio Oficial de Difusión, Representaciones y Espectáculos* (SODRE) is a public organization in Uruguay dedicated to promoting artistic culture. In 1971 the SODRE's main auditorium underwent a fire that destroyed most of the theater complex and probably most of the SODRE's archive.

State of the Sakharoff archives and sources

The introduction to Peter's catalog points to a paradox: even though there is an abundance of materials about the Sakharoffs in several archives across Europe, the US, and South America, information about them is still quite vague. This vagueness can be attributed not only to their lifestyles of frequent touring and relocation, but also to the fact that Clotilde donated and sold many materials, such as valuable paintings and correspondences, during economic hard times. For example, Alexander Sakharoff's portrait painted by Alexander Jawlensky in 1909 (figure 32) and notebooks with choreographic notes were bought by *Städtische Galerie* in Lenbachhaus, Munich. Another example is the correspondence that Clotilde had with Rainer Maria Rilke, which is held at Yale University.

The major archives that hold the artifacts of the Sakharoffs' artistic and personal lives are in Germany and in Italy; these are the sources for Peter and Stamm's and Veroli's studies, and they include documentation, though not in abundance, of the dancers' lives in South America.

In the United States, Houghton Library, which is Harvard College's principal repository for rare books and manuscripts, holds in its collection the "Alexander Sakharoff and Clotilde Sakharoff papers." These papers consist mainly in correspondences between the Sakharoffs and Leon Bernstein—who was an impresario of the Sakharoffs in the United States—and the other Bernstein family members with whom Alexander corresponded while living in Montevideo and Buenos Aires.

Another repository related to the Sakharoffs is the Dance Collection at the New York Public Library, which contains archival material related to the Sakharoffs. This collection is made up mainly of photographs, most of them undated or by anonymous photographers, which also speaks to the attention that these materials have had. Probably, as Toepfer (1998, 221) mentions, this is likely due to the lukewarm enthusiasm and mild appreciation with which US audiences received the Sakharoffs.

In Uruguay, the *Biblioteca Nacional* (National Library) in Montevideo is an important repository through which one can access the popular magazines and newspapers in which

critical reviews of the Sakharoffs' performances were published. Also, the online site *Anáforas*⁹ was useful in helping track down reviews and other related information from that historical period. The *Centro de Investigación, Documentación y Difusión de las Artes Escénicas* (CIDDAE) (Center for Research, Documentation, and Diffusion of Performing Arts) at The Solís Theatre in Montevideo, has been responsible for the preservation, restoration, and exhibition of archival materials related to Performing Arts in Uruguay. CIDDAE provided the majority of the Sakharoffs' performance programs in Montevideo analyzed in the present research (see appendix).

In relation to the sources' creation, I have interviewed Hebe Rosa specifically about the Sakharoffs (2019) and also turn again to interviews between Uruguayan dance artists Hebe Rosa and Hugo Capurro, Teresa Trujillo, and Iris Mourtet, who provided accounts of the Sakharoffs in more or less detail for a previous research project, namely "Danza Moderna y Contemporánea en el Uruguay (1955–2000)." For this research, oral histories are invaluable, as they open the present work and analysis to interpretations of the Sakharoffs' reception comparable to the printed press reviews. This work endeavors to integrate oral histories with archival materials such as critical reviews and interviews in the press, performance programs, and the existing literature about the Sakharoffs in Uruguay.

William Garrett Acree raises the question of just what made *Rioplattente* (belonging to the Rio de la Plata region) print culture unique in the context of Latin America. Acree proposes the following:

The study of print culture, whose primary focus is the printed word in all its manifestations, also embraces, for example, the image that appears in a newspaper or magazine, the pasquinade or advertisement posted in the town square, the use of portraits on currencies and postal stamps, the act of reading out loud to a group of gauchos (cowboys from the Río de la Plata). (Acree 2011, 2)

9 <http://anaforas.fic.edu.uy/jspui/>

Archival research

The Sakharoffs' exile from Europe during WWII would generate documentation in the form of photographs, drawings, paintings, press reviews, and costumes. The privileged medium was photography. Even though they produced visual material through drawing when designing costumes and sets, most of their work aimed to create dance performances.

According to Allan Sekula, the archive, in structural terms "is both an abstract paradigmatic entity and a concrete institution. In both senses, the archive is a vast substitution set, providing for a relation of general equivalence between images" (Sekula 1986, 17). This "equivalence between images" sometimes tends to flatten the interpretations of them. Often, most of the materials that are conserved in the Performing Arts repositories are not thought of as being archived in the sense of "domiciled" (Derrida 1996), and the vicinities between photography, drawing, sketches, and choreographic notes trouble the organizer, but also excite the interpreter.

The *mise-en-scène* of the archive, the spatial arrangements, and the beholder, who looks, lives, and is physically present, appear to be critical if we are talking about a Performing Arts archives. Generally, in Performing Arts archives, we get to experience renowned actors and performers as objects for contemplation, but rarely do we get to experience the views of non-experts (different from critical reviews and academic scholarship) on the archived subjects. So, in order to address questions related to the Sakharoffs' reception and provocation in Montevideo, I will look into the press and popular magazines that wrote about them in combination with archives and secondary sources.

CHAPTER 1: CONTEXT AND THE SAKHAROFFS' CONTRIBUTION

Uruguay *del centenario*

As the Uruguayan historian Gerardo Caetano argues (2018), Uruguay has developed an image of itself as an outsider nation with a European rather than Latin American heritage, a view that has its roots back in the beginning of the 20th century, with several attempts to advance this idea during periods of nationalistic celebration. The *centenario* or 100 years celebration of the first Uruguayan Constitution (1930) is relevant to an understanding of what came afterward. Uruguay celebrated its first constitution by inaugurating a stadium in which the first Soccer World Cup would be held, and in which the Uruguayan team would prove the victor. During the stadium's inauguration, an all-male, university student carnival group called "La Troupe Ateniense," led by Ramón "Loro" Collazo, to whom I will later return, carried out a significant performance (figures 1 and 2). The fact that Soccer, an English invention appropriated by Uruguayans and Argentinians, was so popular—it is still very popular among Uruguayans—speaks to the triumph of eurocentrism in Uruguayan popular culture during their celebration of the nation's 100 years.

In the same city, five years after the centenarian celebration, in the Performing Arts, a less popular field than Soccer, the Sakharoffs performed for the first time in Montevideo, a few months before the *Cuerpo de baile del SODRE* was created (today it is known as the SODRE National Ballet). 1930 was also the year that Alberto Pouyanne (1899–1971), founder of the *Cuerpo de baile del SODRE*, came back to Uruguay from Europe with the idea of teaching piano, though he ended up founding a ballet school instead, to which I will return in my analysis.



Figure 1: *Olimpica* Tribune from Estadio Centenario. Game in the Soccer World Cup. Date: July 1930. Producer: Intendencia de Montevideo. Photographer: unknown. Technique: Silver gelatin. On glass support. Photography available at Centro de Fotografía, Montevideo: <http://cdf.montevideo.gub.uy>. Reference code: 0083FMHD.



Figure 2: Troupe Ateniense in Buenos Aires. From left to right: the seventh is Roberto Fontaina, the tenth is Gerardo Matos Rodríguez, the thirteenth is Ramón Collazo and the fourteenth is Juan Antonio Collazo. 1926. (Photo: Matos Rodríguez Archive. Unknown photographer) Available at: http://agadu.org/pmb/opac_css/doc_num.php?explnum_id=3244

Anti-semitism and international relations

The Sakharoffs lived in the Río de la Plata region during World War II (WWII) and in the post-war years that followed. However, the first time they travelled through South America performing was in 1935; by that time Nazism had already gained power in Europe and some German dance artists were leaving, while others were negotiating with the Third Reich.¹⁰

In 1933, Gabriel Terra, who was the Uruguayan president at that time, declared a dictatorship, which lasted until 1938. In 1936, the parliament approved a law called “*ley de indeseables*” (law of undesirables), which was a result of the anti-communist politics of Terra’s dictatorship. As a corollary of this law, some governors considered forbidding Jewish immigration to Uruguay and proposed controlling the activity of those Jewish immigrants already in the territory. This was due to prejudiced fears of the persecuted group’s association with communism (Porzecanski in Aldrichi 2000, 24). Porzecanski asks if this suspicion and hostility regarding Jewish immigration in Uruguay is indicative of Uruguayan alignment with Nazi Germany, likely due to the fact that Uruguay depended on trade with the Nazis (Aldrichi 2000, 26).

The case of the Italian ship called *Conte Grande*, which had many Jews onboard and, for that reason, was not allowed to land in Montevideo—finally ending up in Buenos Aires—is evidence of anti-semitism in Uruguay. At the outbreak of WWII, several xenophobic expressions circulated in the press, but after Pearl Harbor (1941) and the US involvement in the War as a consequence, the climate started to change and anti-semitism in Uruguay decreased, while the attention to the US and its alliances increased. Uruguayan newspapers often were a means of distributing propaganda for the US and by association for the Allied Powers (figure 2).

¹⁰ In 1935, Rudolf Laban, a key figure in the development of modern dance in Germany, wrote a letter to Hitler—signed “Heil Hitler”—in which he offers a definition of German dance (Kant 2004, 112). For an extensive study of the relationship between German modern dance and the Third Reich, see Karina and Kant (2003).

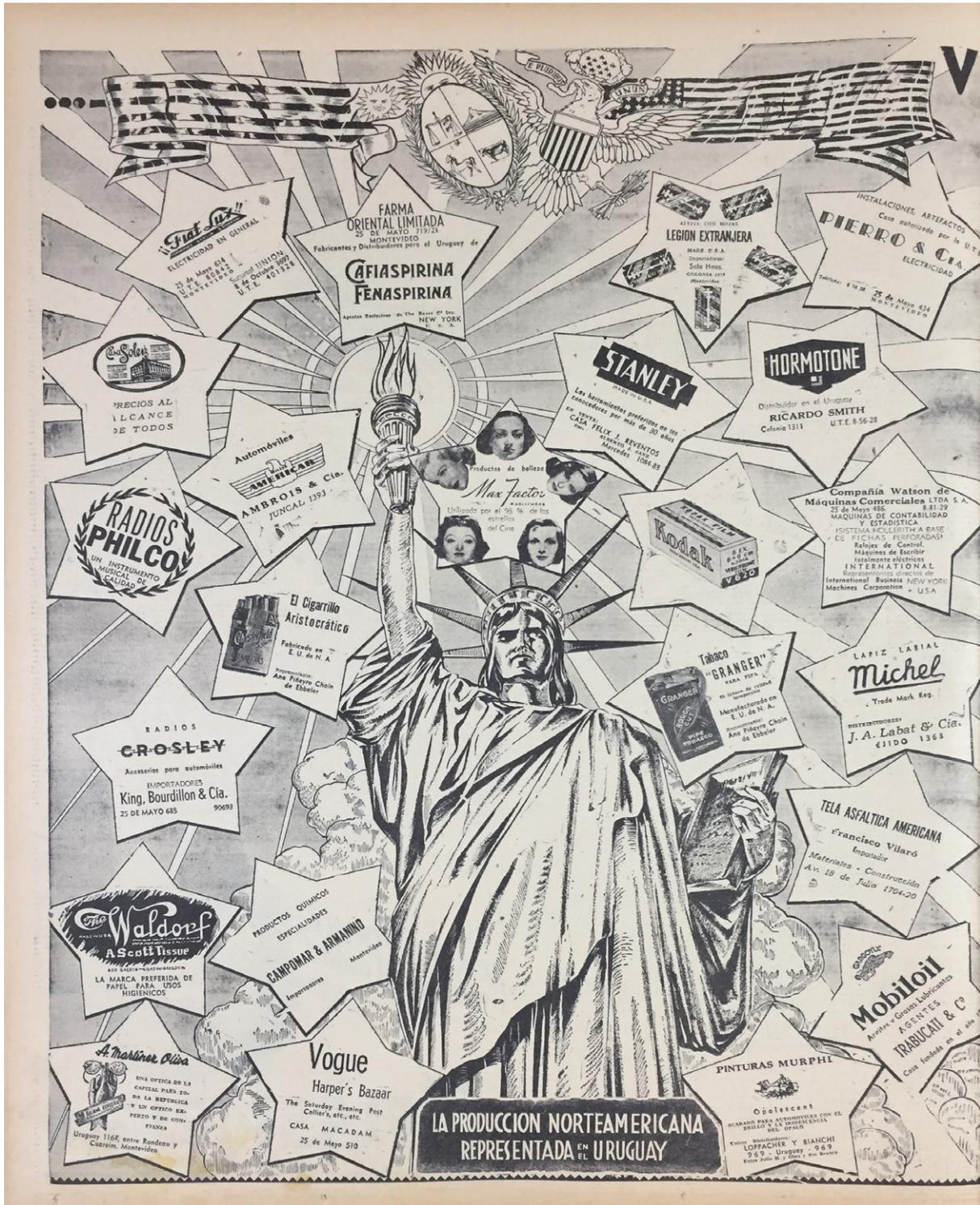


Figure 3: *El País* (Newspaper). (1941, Aug 19). *La producción norteamericana representada en el Uruguay* (The north american production represented in Uruguay). Advertising. Available at Biblioteca Nacional Uruguay. Photo by author.

Although Uruguay proclaimed its neutrality at the beginning of WWII, some governmental decisions post-1940 indicated sympathy with the Allied Powers and the US, as suggested by the creation of the Inter-American Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, which proclaimed that the U.S. was a non-belligerent nation and immediately established the first agreement to acquire military armament. Strategically, this position of neutrality shifted toward one of a nation committed to Pan-American security (Nahum 2007, 40).

Acknowledging Alexander's Jewish background, it makes sense for the Sakharoffs to settle in Montevideo after 1941, despite the fact that Alexander would move to Buenos Aires shortly after, in 1942 to be exact. In line with what Feldman (2001) wrote about Jewish immigration in Uruguay, the Sakharoffs can be classified as "intellectuals and artists;" in Uruguay, such groups generally did not suffer the same degree of rejection as other members of the Jewish community. Among other artists working in Montevideo since 1933, Feldman mentioned Arcadio Linsky, founding member of the SODRE's symphonic orchestra, the dramaturge Jacobo Langsner, and the painters Zoma Baitler and Zusmanas Gurvicius (the latter is better known as José Gurvich). Both painters had ties to the *Taller Torres García*

European Dance cultures in Montevideo

Argentinian dance historian and theoretician Susana Tambutti refers to the notion of "*danza espectacular de occidente*" which basically refers to "Western concert dance" in English, meaning dance performed for an audience. In order to analyze the genealogy composed by classical, modern, and contemporary dances, Tambutti defines "danza espectacular" as a term used to refer back to the academic ballet tradition, which starts with the creation of the Royal Academy of Dance in France as a foundational moment in which Dance acquires legitimacy and autonomy as an art form. This moment is characterized by the organization of dance production/reception modes in a sole program. In other words, it marks the beginning of an emergent "dance culture." Tambutti consciously excludes ethnic, social, or folk dances, which are functions of other disciplines subject to study (2014, 23).

One of Alexander Sakharoff's choreographies, in which he imitated Louis XIV, was called "The royal pavanne." For this performance, Sakharoff studied Louis XIV portraiture

at the Louvre museum and dressed up as the king to dance the piece. Alexander travelled back to the seventeenth century, to the creation of the Royal Academy of Dancing (1661), the birthplace of concert dance at the core of French aristocracy. It is not surprising that, given his obsession with dance ontology (meaning what is essential about dance), Alexander would set out to emulate the royals. This exercise of reflection on dance and its own means and history, related to a certain fluidity of gender roles in staged dance, created a “culture for dance” around the Sakharoffs, which probably was exciting for younger generations of dancers and choreographers in Uruguay.

The process of going to the museum to find inspiration or of actually modeling before dance mirrors some of the postures of figures represented on Greek urns is Isadora Duncan’s method of creating dance, which Alexander replicated. Alexander also would experiment with forms that were far from royal courts and the Greek models, such as Italian *Commedia dell’arte* impersonations and folk expressions such as the *cakewalk* (figure 19), a dance form that originated in the United States’ southern plantations.

Appropriating Tambutti’s method regarding the organization of dance production/reception modes as definitions for dance types, Sakharoffs’ performances in Montevideo can be considered “concert dance,” not just in the sense of performance before an audience, but also as a music concert. Almost all of the performances were collaborations with musicians. Indeed, some shows were referred to as “symphonic-choreographic performances,” which was the way the organizers found to combine music and dance in the same program—the dance section was usually the larger one.¹¹

The Sakharoffs’ contribution to dance in Uruguay

Uruguayan dance critic Egon Friedler writes that the Sakharoffs’ visits to Montevideo provided a groundwork for the first appearances of modern dance made in Uruguay (2001). It is well known that the Sakharoffs taught classes at the Ballet Academy of Alberto Pouyanne, founder and director of the *Cuerpo de baile del SODRE* (Garibaldi 2001, 51). Though this is

11 View appendix with all the performances in Montevideo listed on a spreadsheet.

still to be proven, Alberto Pouyanne most likely invited the Sakharoffs to perform at Estudio Auditorio in 1935.

The Sakharoffs' performances and legacy in Montevideo actually encouraged dancers and choreographers to create their own work, such as Violeta Lopez Loma (figure 29), Hebe Rosa, Hugo Capuro, Wilfredo Toamarán, and Alfredo Corvino, who were students at Pouyanne's private ballet academy and interacted with the Sakharoffs.

Dance researcher Analía Fontán (2012) refers to Uruguayan dance artists, such as Hebe Rosa, Hugo Capurro, Iris Mouret, and Teresa Trujillo, and their recollections on the Sakharoffs' performances and classes in Montevideo, proving the impact that the Sakharoffs had upon the city's dance community. Fontán pointed out that exchanges between Alexander Sakharoff and Alberto Pouyanne on dance pedagogy and on flourishing European dance styles helped shaped modern dance's first generation of dancers in Uruguay (2012:14). Hugo Capurro and Hebe Rosa¹², in conversation with Analía Fontán¹³, talked about the Sakharoffs' shows in Montevideo, which Hugo Capurro recalled as being:

(...) marvelous, I can say. They had something that only a few people have, a natural magnetism such that when they started talking, you would be fascinated. I danced in SODRE, where they performed "Tocata y fuga" from Bach. I was always Clotilde's favorite. I remember that when the performance was over, I stayed in the crowd and she came, held my hand, and took me to the front. For me it was very exciting, one of those things that you will never forget.¹⁴

Hebe and Hugo's recollections are related to their personal experiences with the dancers and their genuine appreciation of the Sakharoffs' dancing and performances, but these memories are unable to account for why the Sakharoffs stayed in Montevideo and what their reason was for leaving. Also, most interviewees or sources still alive today (2019) saw the Sakharoffs' perform in the 1940s when they were very young, so their memories are not nu-

12 In 1956, Hebe Rosa, Hugo Capurro, and Eugenio Parma founded "Ballet de Cámara de Montevideo," one of the first independent dance groups in Uruguay's capital city. It still exists today and is represented in the "First Modern Dance School of Uruguay" directed by Hebe Rosa.

13 Interview with Hebe Rosa and Hugo Capurro for the research project "Danza moderna y contemporánea en Uruguay 1955-2000" (CSIC, UDELAR).

14 The translation is mine.

merous. Hebe Rosa (2019) said that Capurro took classes with the Sakharoffs in Montevideo outside of Pouyanne's academy, though Hebe can't remember specifically where the classes were held.

The beginnings of institutional dance in Uruguay are marked by the foundation of the first official dance company, which is directly connected to the first presentations of international modern dance by artists such as the Sakharoffs in Montevideo. This movement in dance in Uruguay was also related to the visits of the Ballet Russes in Montevideo. The company performed in Montevideo in 1913 and 1917 (Pérez 2012). The Sakharoffs had contacts among many of the members of the Ballet Russes, and Alberto Pouyanne also trained with some of them in Paris.

In 1935, a month after the Sakharoffs performed in Montevideo for the first time, the *Cuerpo de baile del SODRE* led by Alberto Pouyanne was inaugurated, premiering the piece *Nocturno native*: a one-act ballet divided into four "frames," directed by Victor Pérez Petit, with music by Vicente Ascone, choreography by Alberto Pouyanne, set design by José R. Olivetti, and costumes by Lagardera and Omar Mantero Blanco.¹⁵

The Sakharoffs' involvement in Uruguay and Argentina was such that later, in a 1946 performance in Montevideo, some of the new choreographies that they created were explicit homages to Uruguayan and Argentinian artists: "*Triste (evocación criolla)*"¹⁶ (Sad, creole evocation), with music by Eduardo Fabini, and a dance dedicated to the Argentinian Alberto Ginastera's "Canción al árbol del olvido," ("Song to the tree of oblivion"), which included an homage to the Uruguayan artist Pedro Figari (1861–1939), a very relevant figure in the development of art and crafts in Uruguay who also was key in the depiction of folkloric dances and Afro-Uruguayan culture.¹⁷

The notorious "shift" between dance trajectories in Europe and the US in comparison to those in Latin American allowed encounters between early European modern dance models and the beginnings of institutional ballet in Uruguay.¹⁸ Although the foundation of *Cuerpo de*

15 Rosa (2010) recalled that Omar Mantero Blanco was usually next to the piano in Pouyanne's classes with the Sakharoffs. Blanco also translated the book *Mitología del ballet de vigano a lifar* by author Anatole Schaichkevitch. Buenos Aires: Ed. Luis Mera. 1942.

16 The title of this choreography might be related to Ugo Ulive's book titled *Danzas tristes*.

17 For an extended study on the relationship between Figari and Uruguayan folk dance, see Fontán (2013).

18 According to Garibaldi (2001), the Sakharoffs performed a show organized by Ballet del SODRE in

baile del SODRE played a role in the reception of the Sakharoffs in the 1940s, it took around 15 years for the first modern dance group to appear in Montevideo. In fact, such a group was only founded in 1956 under the leadership of Hebe Rosa, Hugo Capurro, and Eugenio Parma, who were Pouyanne's students and saw the Sakharoffs' performances.

During their exile, traveling between Montevideo and Buenos Aires, apart from performing already existing choreographies, the Sakharoffs created new dances and presented the theoretical background on their creative activity. In chronological order, Clotilde held a conference in Montevideo in 1935 called "Lo que es danza para nosotros" (What dance is to us), the transcription of which was published in the newspaper "El País." (figures 4 and 5). In 1943, Alexander wrote a book called *Réflexions sur la Danse et la Musique (Reflections on Dance and Music)*, written in French in Buenos Aires and translated into Spanish the same year by Pedro Sájaroff.¹⁹ Also, while in Uruguay, Alexander wrote "Esprit et art de la danse" (Spirit and Art of Dance) which was later published in Lausanne, Switzerland, by Maurice Bridel in 1968.

An important question arises about the Sakharoffs' exile in Argentina and Uruguay: was their condition of exiles in a sense liberating on and off stage?

Parque Rivera (an outdoor park in Montevideo), in which Clotilde danced "Nocturno" beneath a full moon.

¹⁹ Pedro Sájaroff wrote for the literary journal called "*Babel*," which started in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and then continued in Santiago, Chile.

CHAPTER 2: GENDER ROLE GAMES AND CLOTILDE AND ALEXANDER'S “MASQUERADE”

According to dance historian Karl Toepfer, Alexander Sakharoff and Clotilde von Derp were one of the most outstanding dance couples in European dance history. Toepfer describes the Sakharoffs' aesthetics as very highly produced and stylized, actually artificial, and marked by a playfulness with gender representation, which could explain the couple's enduring relevance in and influence on modern dance (1998, 219).

The preface to the *International Dictionary of Modern Dance* starts by listing a number of “dedicated individuals”²⁰ from countries around the world who performed regularly towards the end of the 19th century, among them the Russian Alexander Sakharoff. The idealization of Greek and Roman models, or the Renaissance spirit, is what aligns the works of this particular group of artists along the same avenue. In Alexander's creations, the use of classical imagery worked as a sort of “masquerade” for acceptability of a modern male dancer in the context of Munich in the 1910s (McDonagh 1998).

This chapter will focus on how the gender games the Sakharoffs' played in their performances, both on and off stage—that is, in their personal lives too²¹—had an impact on their reception by audiences, critics, and artistic and intellectual circles during their exile in Uruguay, particularly in Montevideo (Goffman 1959).

Though they did not resort to divorce, the Sakharoffs “separated” while living in Montevideo—still, they continued dancing together as “Alexander and Clotilde Sakharoff.” According to the Uruguayan dance artist Hebe Rosa, Clotilde started dating someone from Galería “La Madrileña” in Montevideo, which devastated Alexander, who would move to Buenos Aires. However, Hebe Rosa remembers Alexander as being “not just homosexual, but quite homosexual” (2019), adding that “it was hard for them to have sexual relationships” (Rosa 2019). The information that Rosa has provided is valuable because it gives insights into the relationship the dancers established with the new society they were entering. Such

20 Loie Fuller, Ruth St. Denis, Isadora Duncan, and Ted Shawn (all in the United States), Rudolf Laban (Hungary), Maud Allan (Canada), Margaret Morris (England), Alexander Sakharoff (Russia), Grete Wiesenthal (Austria), and Sada Yacco (Japan).

21 In Goffman's, *Presentation of self in everyday life* (1959) theatrical strategies are a set of tools for performing in everyday life in order to project specific images to society.

insights into and details about the dancers' ethnicities or sexual orientations are pretty much absent from biographies or chronologies about the Sakharoffs.

Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (1993:1), describes "Performativity" as putting theater and theatrical performance front and center to question preconceptions about subjectivity and sexuality, which resonates with what the Sakharoffs were doing in the late 1930s and early 1940s. Although it could be considered problematic to apply this "US-queer" terminology without carefully considering the geographic context and although Queer theory has been disseminated mainly through the work of Judith Butler in Argentina and Uruguay, the language of difference matters, different cultural-linguistic contexts matter, when applying theoretical frameworks (such as performativity) to subjects far removed from the space where the theory was first conceived (Yuderkis 2003; Nazareno Saxe 2015).

In the context of World War II (WWII), the Sakharoffs' exile can be seen also as a venture to survive extermination or genocide. This extermination entails not only physical killings, but also historically, the extermination of cultural memory. Despite the fact that many projects have traced the Sakharoffs' European trajectories, the insistence of tracking their steps through South America during their exile, has the aim of rescuing from erasure the Sakharoffs' "queer memory."²²

Why is it important in 2019 to reclaim the Sakharoffs' legacy in the broad picture of Dance Studies in Uruguay today? I believe that apart from revising the eurocentrism behind the enthusiastic reception of the Sakharoffs by Montevideo's audiences, their story is crucial in unveiling the "queer" legacy the Sakharoffs carried with them throughout Latin America. Reclaiming the Sakharoffs' queerness, meaning their departure from the norm of a female-male dance couple, could be a useful tool for analyzing the Sakharoffs' impact on later generations of dancers and choreographers in Uruguay, which has not been particularly amplified in dance stories in Uruguay. Their openness and daring to explore non-conforming gender roles as dance partners called the attention of audiences and critics since they first started performing together in Europe, a fact which I will analyze before discussing the Sakharoffs' Uruguayan performances.

22 Ricardo Llamas (1998) proposes *Teoría torcida* as a translation of "Queer theory" into Spanish.



Figures 6 and 7. Alexander and Clotilde, 1913/14. Photos by Hans Holdt. German Dance Archives Cologne (DTK). Published in Peter (2002, 201).



Figure 8: Alexander and Clotilde, 1913/14. Photos by Hans Holdt. German Dance Archives Cologne (DTK). Published in (Peter, 2002:201)



Figures 9: Alexander and Clotilde. Section from a Program from February 1936. German Dance Archives Cologne (DTK). Published in (Peter, 2002:213).



Figure 10: Alexander and Clotilde, 1913/14. Photos by Hans Holdt. German Dance Archives Cologne (DTK). Published in (Peter, 2002:201)

Reception and Eurocentrism

The Sakharoffs' performances and regular presence at Alberto Pouyanne's academy—not to mention their engagement in Montevideo's artistic circles by holding conferences, attending art exhibitions, and giving interviews, exposed the Sakharoffs to individuals in those circles who had predilection for European taste. The Sakharoffs' daring to play gender games on stage, their defiance of fixed female-male roles in dancing, was somehow applauded by audiences in Montevideo; however, this applause could have been the result of a celebration of Western European cultural values by particular audience members who aspired to emulate Europe. In order to revise some of these Western European cultural values, I will provide a summary of the Sakharoffs' reception in Europe.

Since their first solo performances in Germany in 1910 and later as a dance couple, Clotilde and Alexander were reviewed by many critics and scholars such as Rudolf von Delius, Hans Brandenburg,²³ and Friedrich Markus Huebner.

When Clotilde and Alexander started dancing as a couple in 1913, the reception from the critics was favorable for Clotilde and for the duet, but not so much for Alexander as a soloist. Some of the critics expressed the attitude that "his clothing was in poor taste, as it seemed unbecoming of a man and effeminate." In other reviews, critics even express a visual discomfort and an attitude of rejection (Peter 2002, 28).

Few of the reviews described Clotilde and Alexander free from their pronounced gender identities. Toepfer states that "Brandenburg's anti-semitism somewhat clouded his perception of the couple, but as a dance pair they hardly embodied the qualities pervasively associated with a distinctively German impulse in dance." Furthermore, he argues that: "Indeed, the great message of the Sakharoffs was that sexual identity, pairing, and marriage itself were all masquerades, the consequences of perfect artificiality rather than 'nature'" (Toepfer 1998, 220).

Hans Brandenburg regarded the Sakharoffs' partnership as a mistake, saying that Clotilde was denying her blood and intellectuality, in order to go for an aesthetic that made Alex-

23 Hans Brandenburg promoted the perception that modern dance was an art form at the same level as painting, music, and literature when he wrote, "Free dance is a completely independent art whose only duty is to its own law" (Dickerman 2012).

ander look more masculine (Peter 2002, 155). Brandenburg's take on Alexander's masculinity is striking as he thinks that it was his pairing with Clotilde that made him look more "masculine," without ever considering that one's masculinity and femininity are not necessarily determined by one's biological gender or one's relationship to another person. Today, following years of Gender and Sexuality Studies, we can reflect upon the Sakharoffs' performances with a clearer distinction between gender and sexuality. According to Veroli (1992), the femininity that Alexander celebrates "is never voluptuously sensual or even vaguely perverse (...) Sakharoff's woman becomes a pagan Goddess." Furthermore, we have to remember that it was unusual for men to dance *Ausdruckstanz*.²⁴

Toepfer's focus on the "masquerade" is key in unveiling the Sakharoffs' ethos in some of their performances in which they actually wore masks and very elaborate costumes which were enormously important for their theatrical transformations as dance partners. Also, their predilection for *Commedia dell'arte*'s characters speaks to their interest in role-playing as a subversion of the everyday rules. It is important to keep in mind that Clotilde and Alexander first danced together in a carnival celebration (*Fasching*) in Munich. According to Toepfer, Brandenburg could not understand this haunting aspect of the Sakharoffs but ventured to explain that their success was not rooted in a mutual desire but in narcissism. The Sakharoffs relied not only on elaborate "masks" and costumes, but also on an extremely detailed movement rhetoric based on academic ballet.

On another note, the German writer Friedrich Markus Huebner describes Alexander Sakharoff's art as extremely progressive; however, apart from Huebner, there were very few critics who described the couple as complementary, free from a strong fixed or stereotypical gender identity. Moreover, Marianne von Werefkin's and Alexei Jawlensky's portraits along with Boris Bernstein's "*18 pochoirs originaux*" could be considered celebrations of the couple's gender nonconformity. In clear exploitation of painting and the printmaking medium specifically, these artists blurred their gender boundaries, an idea on which I expand in the third chapter.

24 "Ausdruckstanz has been predominantly discussed as a sign for increasing emancipation of women in dance and society in general. However, *Ausdruckstanz* also provided a chance to "rediscover" dance for men" (Fisher 2010, 259). Other European artists who circulated in South America and who were associated with the Sakharoffs were Harald Kreutzberg (Peter 1997) and Antonia Mercé, known as "La Argentina" (Bennahum 2009). The first modern dances in the Río de la Plata region were, to a large extent, amalgams and hybridizations of artistic and corporeal expressions that make visible contact with the *Ausdruckstanz* (Dorin 2011).

The fact that Marianne von Werefkin and Alexei Jawlensky were the Sakharoffs' friends explained the mutual support between the couples. Marianne was a witness at Clotilde and Alexander's wedding in 1919 in Zurich and also acted as a stage manager for their tours. Switzerland was a breeding ground for sexual experimentation among intellectuals, artists, and whomever decided to seek refuge there from the World War I. The utopian community "Mont Verità" was probably the most prominent place of escape; started in Ascona by Henry Oedenkoven and Ida Hofmann, a couple from Antwerp who purchased a piece of land to create a free community, "Mont Verità" held as baselines nudism, vegetarianism, and rejection of social conventions such as marriage and etiquette. There is no record of the Sakharoffs visiting "Mont Verità," nor is it clear if Alexander and Clotilde met Rudolf Laban, who conducted an art school at "Mont Verità," in Munich between 1913 and 1918.

Body aesthetics and gender norms in Montevideo in the early 1940s

At the beginning of the 1940s in Montevideo, gender roles were clearly emphasized in the city's body aesthetics²⁵. Gender norms and roles were exaggerated with help from visual media mainly through popular magazines such as *Mundo Uruguayo* (*Uruguayan world*) and *Hogar y decoración* (*Home and décor*) for example, which are the old versions of today's popular visual communication platforms.

Through the works of historians such as Broquetas (2015) and Bruno and Broquetas (ed.) (2018), and also in the collection by de Torres (2017), recent photography studies in Uruguay have focused on printed photography in the daily press. "Mundo Uruguayo," for example, was a popular magazine printed between 1919 and 1967 that reached wide circulation. Although the magazine had specific "female" sections dedicated to the mundane, it also published feminist related articles, for example, on female voting rights (1933) and reviews of women photographers.

Later on, in 1941 Clotilde Sakharoff was featured on the front cover of *Mundo Uruguayo* (figure 11). Clotilde probably represented a female role model, in her femininity and

25 "Aisthētikos is the ancient Greek word for that which is "perceptive by feeling." *Aisthēsis* is the sensory experience of perception. The original field of aesthetics is not art but reality—corporeal, material culture (Buck-Morss 2002, 101).

emancipation related to her bodily movements, and maybe in her alternative relationship with Alexander.

According to the US historian James Knarr:

Uruguayan feminism built on European and Argentine, not North American, models. Key Oriental feminists such as Paulina Luisi traveled extensively in France and around the Southern Cone to discuss their movements with other women's rights advocates. Upon returning home, they built their organizations on a French model—emphasizing positive versus negative eugenic theories, for example—and learned from Argentine mistakes in organizational structure. (2011,138)

Hogar y Decoración magazine (1938) usually published special articles for the (female) homeowner (“dueña de la casa”) section in which several recommendations appear about how to keep the house in order, such as tips for buying furniture, hosting guests, polishing furniture, hanging plates on the wall, and even keeping flowers in vases alive longer by adding aspirin. Many of these articles are full of male chauvinist expressions and the photographs usually portrayed female figures cleaning and doing maintenance (figure 15). Along the magazines' pages, foreign artists such as the Sakharoffs are depicted with a sense of pride for having them in the Uruguayan territory.

The Sakharoffs' gender identity was not only displayed through visual representation, but also kinesthetically reinforced in their movement quality. Clotilde and Alexander fit the expected muscular tones for their biological genders at that time. She was light, volatile, and romantic, while he was strong, with a dramatic presence (Ulive 2007). Hebe Rosa remembers Alexander as remarkably strong, much like many European critics described him, and she pointed out that if you looked at a series of three photos²⁶ from the choreography “Martirio de San Sebastian” you would have a clear idea of the way he danced, “either as a woman or as a man” (Rosa 2019). The Sakharoff's game was not intrinsically kinesthetic, but far more theatrical. With the help of haute couture costumes, developed choreographic arrangements, and an impressive display of academic ballet technique, the Sakharoffs indulged Montevideo's audiences.

26 Some of the photos are dedicated to Luis Eduardo Pombo in Alexander's handwriting.



Figure 11: *La belleza clásica de la coreografía moderna de Clotilde Sakharoff* (The classical beauty of Clotilde Sakharoff's modern choreography) *Mundo Uruguayo* (cover) (1941, July 10). Uruguayan popular magazine. Biblioteca Nacional Uruguay (microfilm, photo by author).



Figure 12: Original photograph of a roll photo, signed by Clotilde Sakharoff. Mounted on backing board. Photographer unknown. About 14 x 10 cm. Private collection Buenos Aires, Argentina. Stader Kunst-Buch-Kabinett ILAB (Stade, Germany).



Figure 13: Performance program for Montevideo (1941, July 30). “Last concert of the famous poets of dance”. CIDDAE, Teatro Solís, Montevideo.



Figure 14: A photo from d’Ora on the cover of the magazine *L’Art Musical*, 12 May 1939. Published in (Peter, 2002:214)

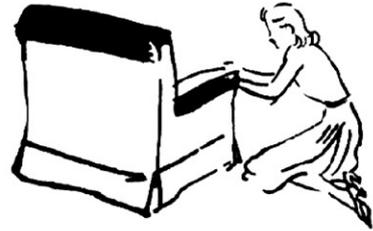


Figure 15: Composition of images made by the author taken from several advertisements and articles from magazine *Hogar y decoración* (Uruguayan popular magazine) from 1941-1948.

Dressing up as women. Ramón Collazo as Alexander Sakharoff

What is particularly striking about the Sakharoffs' performances in the Uruguayan context is the incorporation of *Commedia dell'arte* characters, which are part of the Uruguayan carnival tradition. It is precisely these borrowings between Uruguayan carnival and *Commedia dell'arte* that provoked and encouraged Ramón "Loro" Collazo, leader of the carnival group "Troupe Ateniense," to parody Alexander Sakharoff.

Collazo's characterization of Alexander was not unusual in the context of the "Troupe Ateniense." Men who perform in carnival groups frequently dress up as women and parody celebrities and characters from high society. At this point, we do not have more details about Collazo's specific interpretation of Alexander Sakharoff other than the fact that it happened. However, we could compare Collazo's parody of Alexander to others he did of similar celebrities at that time, such as the Italian actress Anna Magnani, the Spanish singer Miguel de Molina, and the Spanish dancer Carmen Amaya.

Collazo's multiple comical impersonations of celebrities can be interpreted not only as a carnivalization of elite culture, but also as a desire to transform his identity through dance (figures 16 to 19). We don't know if Clotilde was also parodied; however, if we look at Collazo's literature and memoirs of "el bajo" (Collazo 1967) in which he describes in detail prostitutes and homosexuals, we might suspect that parodying homosexuals produced comical reactions from his audiences in comparison to parodying other social groups. This humor aligns with a long tradition of specifically homophobic parodies that date back to Aristophanes' Greek comedy.



Figure 16: Ramón Collazo. Unknown author.



Figure 17: Alexander Sakharoff. Unknown author.



Figure 18: *Las ingenuas*. Typical comical orchestra from Troupe Ateniense. c. 1940, From left to right, on top: Lalo Etchegoncelay y Mario Orrico, middle Ramón Loro Collazo y Rolando Gavioli, bottom Romeo Gavioli. Photography from Eugenio Luciani's archive. Published in Borteiro, M., Chiappara, R.; Puga, B. (2013). *Tango revelado*. Montevideo: CdF Ediciones.



Figure 19: Alexander Sakharoff in *Gollwong's Cake Walk*, 1913. Photo by Hans Holdt. Deutsche Theatermuseum, Munich. Published in (Peter, 2002:197)

***Commedia dell'Arte* and concert dance**

The carnival was actually a predecessor of Italian *Commedia dell'arte*, which was the beginnings of professional theatre in Europe between the 16th and 18th century. The most noticeable characters from *Commedia dell'arte* are Arlequín (a male servant behind a mask, described as foolish and rude and with a childish sexuality, who hides secrets), Colombina (a female servant with a torn dress and without a mask who wears a lot of makeup²⁷ and beats a drum to ward off the character “Pantaleón”), and Pierrot (who is in love with Colombina, even though she cheated on him). The choreography created by Alexander Sakharoff with the same title as the music piece *Bourrée fantasque*²⁸, incorporated these three characters of the *Commedia dell'arte*. This piece was performed at least four times in Montevideo (once in 1935, twice in 1941, and again in 1943) always with a textual description in the performance program that contextualizes the performance creation and describes it as “plastic dialogue, driven in a satanic movement by the three eternal personalities of *Commedia dell'arte*.”²⁹

The coincidence between *Bourrée fantasqué* and the carnival tradition in Uruguay is at least surprising. It is hard to know if the Sakharoffs were aware of the fact that *Commedia dell'arte* characters were inspired by old carnival tradition and brought back in the Uruguayan carnival. We can imagine that some of the audiences, however, might have made the connection. As we read in Ulive’s memoirs (2007), “the carnival aspect” of the Sakharoffs performance could have played a good part in the positive appreciation of the audiences in Montevideo. Evidence of this is the presence of *Bourrée fantasqué* in four of the seven concerts offered in Montevideo by the Sakharoffs.

Considering the contact zones between carnival and dance performances is probably enough material to start writing a mixed history between concert dance and carnival in

27 Make up for the Sakharoffs was something highly relevant, the same as the use of wigs. Some of their technique drew from Kabuki theatre.

28 *Bourrée fantasque* is a piece of music for solo piano by Emmanuel Chabrier (1841–1894). According to Veroli (1992: 85), *Bourrée fantasqué* is an evocation of the spirit itself of *Commedia dell'arte* and of Callot’s fantastic world.

29 The translation is mine from: “Tres distintas personalidades son simultáneamente personificadas en una. Tres diferentes estados de la mente, el alma y el corazón, todos expresados por movimientos y plástica propia de cada personalidad. En la eterna tragicomedia de la verdad y la belleza escondidas en una concha fea y repulsiva, y de lo feo y bestial cubiertos por una forma de belleza todo atractivo. Entre ellos, juego de coquetería frívola, vana y cruel. Y que puede definirse como un ‘diálogo plástico,’ es conducido en un movimiento satánico por las tres eternas personalidades de la comedia italiana” (excerpt from performance program in appendix).

Uruguay. Taking carnival as one of the most ancient performing arts expressions in the world and in Uruguay, we could shift the question from the Sakharoffs' contributions to modern dance in Uruguay to carnival's contributions to the Sakharoffs aesthetics and, by extension, carnival's contribution to the formation of modern dance. The multiple influences that the Sakharoffs experienced were expressed in their interest in carnival characters and other popular dances such as the *cakewalk*, rather than typical modernist themes. Nevertheless, they frequently used mixed visual references along with an academic ballet vocabulary. Also, according to Veroli, Alexander's early passion was the circus, together with the world of *Commedia dell'arte* (1992, 85).

Visual evidence of the connection between Troupe Ateniense and the Sakharoffs are in a Troupe's poster with an Arlequin and in the costume design for the *Bourée fantasque*. The Arlequin was probably the most notorious character in the piece, which appears several times in the Uruguayan press, particularly in one double page review in the magazine *Mundo Uruguayo*.



Figure 20: Alexander Sakharoff. Costume from *Bourrée fantasque*. 20 x 15 cm. Costume design by Philippe Petit. Dedicated and signed by Alexander Sakharoff, Buenos Aires 1935. Stader Kunst-Buch-Kabinett ILAB Stade, Germany.



Figure 21: Arlecchino (1671) by Maurice Sand. Published in Sand, M. (1860). *Masques et Bouffons. Comédie italienne*. Paris: Michel Levy Freres.

Ugo Ulive's *Danzas tristes*

A Sakharoff-inspired reverberation that stands out is the novel written by the dramatist Ugo Ulive³⁰ titled *Danzas tristes (Sad dances)* (2009) in which he fictionalizes the visits of Clotilde and Alexander in Montevideo based on actual facts. In this novel, he remembers how the carnival group “La Troupe Ateniense” did a parody of Alexander Sakharoff performed by the Troupe’s leader Ramón “Loro” Collazo. Ulive also represents the parody in a previous non-fiction book titled *Memorias de Teatro y Cine* (2007), which confirms that Collazo’s parody of Sakharoff actually happened. Collazo’s re-performance³¹ opens up the discussion to the question of elite and popular cultures and how they were juxtaposed in Montevideo by the 1940s. Actually, Ulive’s text is quite telling of Collazo’s parody:

I did not miss any of their many goodbye-concerts, and I got to admire with teen enthusiasm her lightness and delicacy and his powerful and dramatic presence, although I had to see them from afar because my economic situation afforded me only the cheapest ticket. Aware of the imitation that “Loro” Collazo was doing of Alexander, who resembled Alexander due to his prominent nose, I went to see a performance of Troupe Ateniense and even though the parody bothers me for being grotesque, I went back several times to see other shows by that group of boys, almost all dressed up as women.”³² (Ulive 2007, 12)

The fascination that the dancing couple generated among Uruguayan artists was probably best documented by Ulive, who saw the Sakharoffs’ performances when he was a pre-teen. The fiction novel *Danzas tristes* is entirely based on the Sakharoffs’ stint in Montevideo. The main character in Ulive’s novel is a journalist called “Ariel,” whose project is to write a book about the Sakharoffs. Throughout the book, homosociality³³ and homophobia appear several times in the tale, between the characters, suggesting but not fully affirming, as Rosa (2019) has, Alexander’s homosexuality. An example is when Ariel describes the situation in

30 Ulive (1933–2018) was a filmmaker, theatre director, and dramatist, first in Uruguay and then as an exile in Venezuela.

31 For a discussion on the “archival turn” in dance and performance and about terminology such as “reenactment,” “restaging,” “reconstruction,” “remixing,” etc., see Blades (2017) and Franko (2018).

32 The translation is mine.

33 For an application of the notion of “homosociality” in Uruguayan literature see Wasem, 2015.

which he enters a coffee shop with Alexander, which is full of old ladies, and Ariel mentions: “they all know what to think when they see Mr. Sakharoff entering the place with a young man” (Ulive 2009). Also, there is a moment when Ariel expresses that he received a “wet look” from a famous pianist, a “bold and large man” who was talking to Alexander and who can’t remember his name. Like these quotations, there are others from Ariel, the novel’s main character, who express an aversion to “homosexually flamboyant” environments.

A queer history of Uruguayan ballet

In order to understand the resonances of the performances and the presence of the Sakharoffs in Montevideo, it is crucial to remember the figure of Alberto Pouyanne, founder of the Cuerpo del baile del SODRE in 1935, who created a space for the Sakharoff to exist first in 1935 and later in 1941 when he welcomed them to his academy. Unfortunately, we do not have a lot of information about Alberto Pouyanne apart from the fact that he was studying piano in Europe when he “discovered” dance and changed his focus (Chilibroste 2017, 55).

Uruguayan dance historian Lucía Chilibroste resumes Uruguayan dance critic Washington Roldán’s reviews from 1958 in order to provide more details about Alberto Pouyanne, about whom we do not have much information. Roldán describes Pouyanne as a master teacher in classical aesthetics, always aware of plasticity. According to Roldán, Pouyanne avoided rigidities of the strict academicism, practiced and trained dancers in forms derived from modern dance, oriental dances, and a foreshortening that resembles the Sakharoffs’ (Chilibroste 2017, 55).

Pouyanne studied in Paris with Gustave Ricaux, a main dancer from the Paris Opera who then became the Paris opera teacher with the responsibility of teaching only men. Pouyanne also studied with Ballet Russes dancers Alexander Volinine and Gala Chabelska, and he performed in France with Ballet Romano, under a different name. In Paris, both Pouyanne and the Sakharoffs saw Isadora Duncan and became familiar with Michel Fokine’s ballets. Pouyanne took many ideas from Fokine, such as the idea that the dancer should be expressive, putting strict technique aside from the core of the performance. Sometime after 1938, Pouyanne invited Gala Chabelska to teach and perform in Uruguay.

Pouyanne and the Sakharoffs' lives overlapped many times, although we don't know exactly where and when they got to know each other. If we look closely at both Pouyanne's and the Sakharoffs' chronologies during their times in Paris, they might have crossed paths sometimes, because they frequented similar artistic and social circles. Both Pouyanne and Alexander went to Paris with a certain plan, studying painting in Alexander's case and studying music in Alberto's case, but they both encountered dance which constituted a one-way ticket.

Pouyanne hid from his family his decision to shift from music to dance while in Paris for fear they would "cut off his financial support" (Lille 2010). The author does not tell us how she got this information but pointed out the prejudiced view that dance as being just for women and, it would go without saying, that those men who did devote their lives to dance were probably homosexuals. Unlike the US choreographer Ted Shawn who focused on the virile body to deny the prejudice of homosexuality in male dancers (Desmond 2001), we can say that Alexander Sakharoff, inspired by Isadora Duncan, elaborated dance creations in resemblance of classic Greek dancing, with a focus on femininity, but with defined masculine muscular shapes. Pouyanne returned to Montevideo in 1930, the year of the Centenarian, thinking of teaching piano, but he ended up teaching ballet and choreographing. He founded a private ballet academy, pretty much resembling the French style, which was the beginnings of the National Ballet.

The Uruguayan dancer Alfredo Corvino started taking private classes with Pouyanne at his academy. According to Lille "Eventually, he took group classes and joined a small corps of boys who were separated from the larger group in order to help them develop more quickly as dancers." Alfredo Corvino was Pouyanne's star pupil. According to Corvino, "Pouyanne's style was influenced by a bound of classical ballet from Paris Opera, Enrico Cecchetti's ballet technique,³⁴ and elements from Isadora Duncan and Modern dance." (Lille 201, 6)

³⁴ Enrico Cecchetti (1850–1928) was an Italian ballet master, dancer, and choreographer, creator of the "Cecchetti" method. The Cecchetti ballet technique is crucial to the understanding of a common ground for the development of concert dance in Uruguay. The Uruguayan dancer and ballet teacher Alfredo Corvino, who was Alberto Pouyanne's star pupil at the beginning of the 1930s, would later develop his own method based on Cecchetti's. Clotilde's classes at Pouyanne's academy might have played a part in this understanding of movement and the use of muscular tone.

All in all, ballet in the 16th Century French courts and Carnival shared a similar gender configuration group history: both started as all-male groups who interpreted both male and female characters, and this was the reason why men were pressured to dress up as women. From the very beginning dance and carnival were intertwined, in a similar fashion as in Sakharoffs' artistic careers. Through years of stage performance in Uruguay, there is a rich and old tradition in carnival performing arts, which has involved the work of many artists (dancers, actors, dramaturges, set and costume designers, musicians, theatre directors, etc.). Most of the times there is "stigma" surrounding artists coming from the "academic" arts to participate in carnival. Carnival and academic arts have a shared history, despite the fact that their audiences had also been "stigmatized" as consumers of high and low art.

The fact the Sakharoffs were coming from Europe with accumulated Western European experiences and values, which was usually underlined in their advertising, played a particular role in their reception in Montevideo. The emulation of Western European cultural values of particular audiences' members in Montevideo's theatres could have worked as a "screen" for acceptability of their "hermaphroditism." Some audience members probably accepted the Sakharoffs' queerness in terms of unconventional male-female dance pairing because of their Frenchness. Actually, some of the names of the dance pieces in the performance programs were in French and the communication they had with critics and reviewers was in French.

The Sakharoffs according to the Uruguayan critics

Since their first performance in Montevideo in 1935, Clotilde and Alexander Sakharoff were positively reviewed by the local press. The newspapers that published announcements and reviews of the Sakharoffs' performances were: *La Mañana*, *El País*, *Marcha*, *El Plata*, and *El bien público*. They also appeared in magazines such as *Mundo Uruguayo* and *Alfar*. Actually, a photograph of Clotilde made the front cover of *Mundo Uruguayo* in 1941 with the title: "La belleza clásica de la coreografía moderna de Clotilde Sakharoff" (The classical beauty of Clotilde Sakharoff's modern choreography).

The Sakharoffs' performances in Montevideo were celebrated by audiences, journalists, and intellectuals and were described as "ballets" or "prodigious revelations." Since the Sakharoffs' first performance, the advertising campaign in the press presented their performances always as their "last performance" before making their way back to Europe. The reviewers presented the Sakharoffs almost as local residents of Montevideo, urging them to stay in the city for longer in an attempt to adopt them as citizens, in a clear affirmation of Montevideo as a cosmopolitan and "European" city.

Apart from the Sakharoffs' performance announcements, which sometimes included critical notes by unknown authors, the critics that signed their reviews were Lauro Ayestarán³⁵ and Alberto Soriano³⁶. Generally speaking, the critical reviews were done mostly by men (such as Soriano and Ayestarán), while the interviews were conducted by women (Clotilde Luisi³⁷ and Nadine Haber³⁸).

The reviewers in the Uruguayan press generally described the audiences as enthusiastic about the Sakharoffs' art, which built a feeling of admiration for them. In a review in the

35 Lauro Ayestarán (1912–1966) was probably the most prolific Uruguayan musicologist, who served as an art critic since 1933. He wrote at least 6 critical reviews of the Sakharoffs' performances in Montevideo between 1941 and 1943. To see more bibliographical information on Ayestarán, go to: <http://www.cdm.gub.uy/lauro-ayestaran/bibliografia/bibliografia-tematica>

36 Alberto Soriano Thebas (1915–1981) was an Argentinian musicologist and musician who worked in Uruguay and founded the musical ethnology department at the School of Humanities and Educational Sciences (UDELAR) in Montevideo.

37 Clotilde Luisi was a lawyer, professor, and feminist activist in Uruguay. She was the first woman who studied law in Montevideo in 1906 and among her sisters, Luisa and Paulina were the first female professionals in Uruguay.

38 Nadine W. de Haber was a contributor to the journal *Marcha*.

newspaper *La Mañana* (July 31, 1941) the reviewer (unknown author) asks: what is the essence that the Sakharoffs employ in order to impose with such clarity, so eloquently, and with such aesthetic virtue that which possesses their audiences? The response the reviewer gives to the question is that the dance couple inspires such admiration and astonishment not only because they rely on three fundamental elements of the art of dancing (namely rhythm, plasticity, and color), but also because of the music soul imprisonment of their interpretation. It is also said that the Sakharoffs gave to art something that “escapes the boundaries of the mind.” The review continues by comparing the Sakharoffs’ “angel” to Federico García Lorca³⁹ from Andalucía, who was present at a conference in Montevideo at the beginning of 1934.

Looking at several press reviews and show announcements, it is striking to see the juxtapositions of news about World War II (WWII) beside announcements of the Sakharoffs’ performances. Reading the reviews, omissions about the political situation in which Clotilde and Alexander were living in Europe stands out. In an interview between the Sakharoffs and the Uruguayan journalist Nadine Haber (1942) in Montevideo, which was conducted in French and translated into Spanish for publication in the newspaper *Marcha*, the interviewer centered the conversation on the Sakharoffs’ visit to Uruguay and their artistry. In the conversation, there is no mention of WWII or any reminiscence to their past lives in Europe. There is a mutual silence between the interviewer and the interviewees.

Contrary to what Nadine Haber said in the interview with the Sakharoffs in Montevideo, when she portrayed Alexander as a theoretician while describing Clotilde as someone adding sparkling notes to the conversation, actually it was Clotilde who held a conference the first time the Sakharoffs performed in Montevideo in 1935. The topics of the conference were related to choreographic creation and its relationships to other artistic disciplines.⁴⁰ It was a common practice at that time to have artists hold conferences to discuss their art, as Joaquín

39 For more about Federico García Lorca in Montevideo and Buenos Aires, see Anderson (1981) and Salvador Novo’s “Encuentro con Federico García Lorca en Buenos Aires” in Quiroga (2010).

40 One of the ideas that Clotilde raises in the conference is their talent as tied to their roles as mediums between divinity and the real world. Clotilde talked about “inspiration” as something quite difficult to express, as a balance between the soul and the senses. When describing where their dance comes from, she compares her work to that of a sculptor. She talks about the spiritual body and how it already contains dance. According to her understanding, the dancer’s duty is to create form within that body to release the dance. Clotilde goes on saying that the rules that govern the compositions of a painting are the same that govern the compositions of their dancing—i.e., plastic equilibrium, contrast, emphasis on tall and short, and accentuation of the unity in the diversity. She mentions that compositions should be simultaneously plastic, musical, and poetic.

Torres García did at the Facultad de Arquitectura when he returned from Europe in 1934, celebrating the city of Montevideo as a place to be represented, and discouraging the production of art based on nativism.

Uruguayan audiences

If we follow Friedler's suggestion that the Sakharoffs helped build an enthusiastic audience for dance in Uruguay, we shall arrive at the conclusion that the enthusiasm for ballet was created as a top-down movement, led by a tastemaker audience mainly composed of middle-upper-class and upper-class citizens, individuals who would influence bigger audiences afterwards.

The assumption that concert dance and particularly classical ballet, or "dance culta" (cult dance) (Kriner 1948) is for the educated and the upper strata is not innovative. In Uruguay, the audience who saw the Sakharoffs and paid the highest admissions probably belonged to the upper class. Going to the theatre to see European modern dance was a sign of social class membership. Names and surnames of audience members are listed in one of the reviews from 1942 in "La mañana" newspaper. Particularly, the names of the ladies and girls that attended the performance "in colorful dresses and elegant hats."⁴¹ The enthusiasm that the Sakharoffs inspired among the "educated class" in Montevideo was celebrated in different forms, as a role model for modernist achievement.

Another example of audiences' devotion to the Sakharoffs in Montevideo were the frequent requests for encores during applause, with the Sakharoffs giving their audiences just what they wanted. The audiences' attitude turns the Sakharoffs' performances into dance "concerts" rather than any other kind of dance performance. Aside for the dance encores, one reviewer said that every piece was applauded with a warmth and conviction that seldom manifests with such a sincerity during an applause.

Hebe Rosa, both in an interview with Hugo Capurro (2011) and in a conversation with myself (2019) remembered when she saw Clotilde dancing Chopin's minute waltz (called "Vals" on the 1941 program). The dancer suddenly fell—Clotilde had a long gauze dress that

41 List of names in appendix 1.

became tangled. Hebe's recollection is that the whole theater did a standing ovation for Clotilde because "she was fantastic!"

Undoubtedly, there was a growing interest in the Sakharoffs' art in Montevideo and this warm welcome probably influenced Clotilde and Alexander's decision to stay some time longer in the city, although Alexander would eventually leave for Buenos Aires. According to Hugo Capurro, Clotilde had a relationship with the owner of the Madrileña gallery in Montevideo, which pushed Clotilde to stay in Montevideo and probably motivated Alexander to leave Uruguay.

The Sakharoffs' interdisciplinary artistic education

From very early on Alexander integrated painting and dance into his choreographies, which will remain a constant in the creations with Clotilde that followed, the integration of art mediums would be a source of inspiration for theoretical meditations. According to the Sakharoffs, everything in the arts, no matter the discipline, had "sonority" (Laguardia 1946)⁴². The Sakharoff said that "if you can hear the silence, then you can view sounds and hear movements." Related to these synesthetic ideas, it is good to recall Alexander's and Clotilde's early education and involvement with visual art and photography.

The Sakharoffs enjoyed an interdisciplinary education in the arts before turning their studies to dance. Before meeting in Munich in 1913 and seeing each other dance, both Clotilde and Alexander experimented with the interstitial zones between movement (dance) and the still image (Clotilde in photography and Alexander in painting). Alexander studied painting in Paris at the Academy of Fine Arts and at the Academy of William Adolphe Bouguereau—Clotilde first studied violin in Munich.⁴³

In 1916, at the outbreak of World War I, Alexander moved to Lausanne. Clotilde was living between Germany and Switzerland, familiarizing herself with Serguéi Diaghilev, Igor

42 Listed in bibliography under "Other press releases."

43 William Adolphe Bouguere's Academy was founded by Rodolphe Julian in 1868 and was frequented by Paul Gauguin, André Derain, Henri Matisse, and the Nabis. Symbolist painters such as Sérusier Bonnard and Maurice Denis were also part of the academy, as well as Leon Bakst (Veroli 1991).

Stravinsky, and the members of the Ballet Russes. Due to her involvement with some members of the Ballet Russes, Clotilde adopted some Cecchetti technique. Between 1916 and 1919, Clotilde and Alexander toured throughout Switzerland, mainly hosted by their friends Marianne Werefkin⁴⁴ y Alexei Jawlensky⁴⁵.

During World War I, Switzerland, and particularly Zurich, was not only a peaceful place for refugees and European intellectuals, and for sexual liberation, but also an avant-garde artistic center—a place of Dadaism (Wunsche 2017, 53). Café Voltaire’s performances took place along with Rudolf Laban’s dance schools. Visual artist Sophie Taeuber along with Katja Wulff attended the performances, also performing at the Café, where they met the Sakharoffs.

As a result of their education and participation in visual art circles in Munich and Switzerland, many painters and photographers crafted portraits of Clotilde and Alexander. Alexei Jawlensky, Marianne von Werefkin, and Karl Hofer portrayed Alexander several times figuratively, while Felicitas Trillhaase called “Chichio” Haller, and Christian Rohlf’s represented Clotilde and Alexander more abstractly. Other artists and designers such as Georges Barbier, Natalia Gontcharova, Boris Bernstein, and Philippe Pettit designed costume sketches, while the latter designed brochures and Mstislav V. Doboujinsky made the posters for their performances. However, the most reproduced poster of the Sakharoffs is the one illustrated by Georges Barbier (figure 24), which today is even being commodified in the form of bags and rugs. Moreover, the sculptor Hermann Haller crafted three different sculptures of Clotilde in 1919.

The Sakharoff’s exchanges with the European avant-gardist painters, sculptors, and designers is materialized in specific works of art, which are now not only part of art collections held by museums and private collections, but also reproduced in many forms of visual communication design. The Sakharoffs’ visuality is usually presented along with other art histories of painting, sculpture, and stage design, though not as often in dance histories.

44 According to Isabel Wunsche, Marianne Werefkin received a pension from Russia that was cut in half at the beginning of World War I and suspended at the October Revolution in 1917. In order to find ways to survive economically, Marianne joined the Sakharoffs on tour between 1919–20 to the United States as a stage manager (Wünsche 2017, 51).

45 Alexander Sakharoff was used as a model for Spanish women’s portraits by Alexei Jawlensky.



Figure 22: From 3rd right: Ramón Rodríguez Soca, Alberto Soriano, Roberto Lagarmilla. Headboard: Alberto Pouyanne. Seated: Saúl Sempol (costume designer). 2nd standing: Alejandro Sahkaroff, following seated: founder Francisco Ghigliani and next to her Clotilde Sahkaroff plus two ladies (unknown). Photography from *Archivo Nacional de la imagen y la palabra SODRE*, Montevideo, Uruguay.



Figure 23: Alexander Sakharoff en Exotique. c.1935 Photography by Georges Saad (Paris). In *Archivo Nacional de la imagen y la palabra SODRE*, Montevideo, Uruguay.

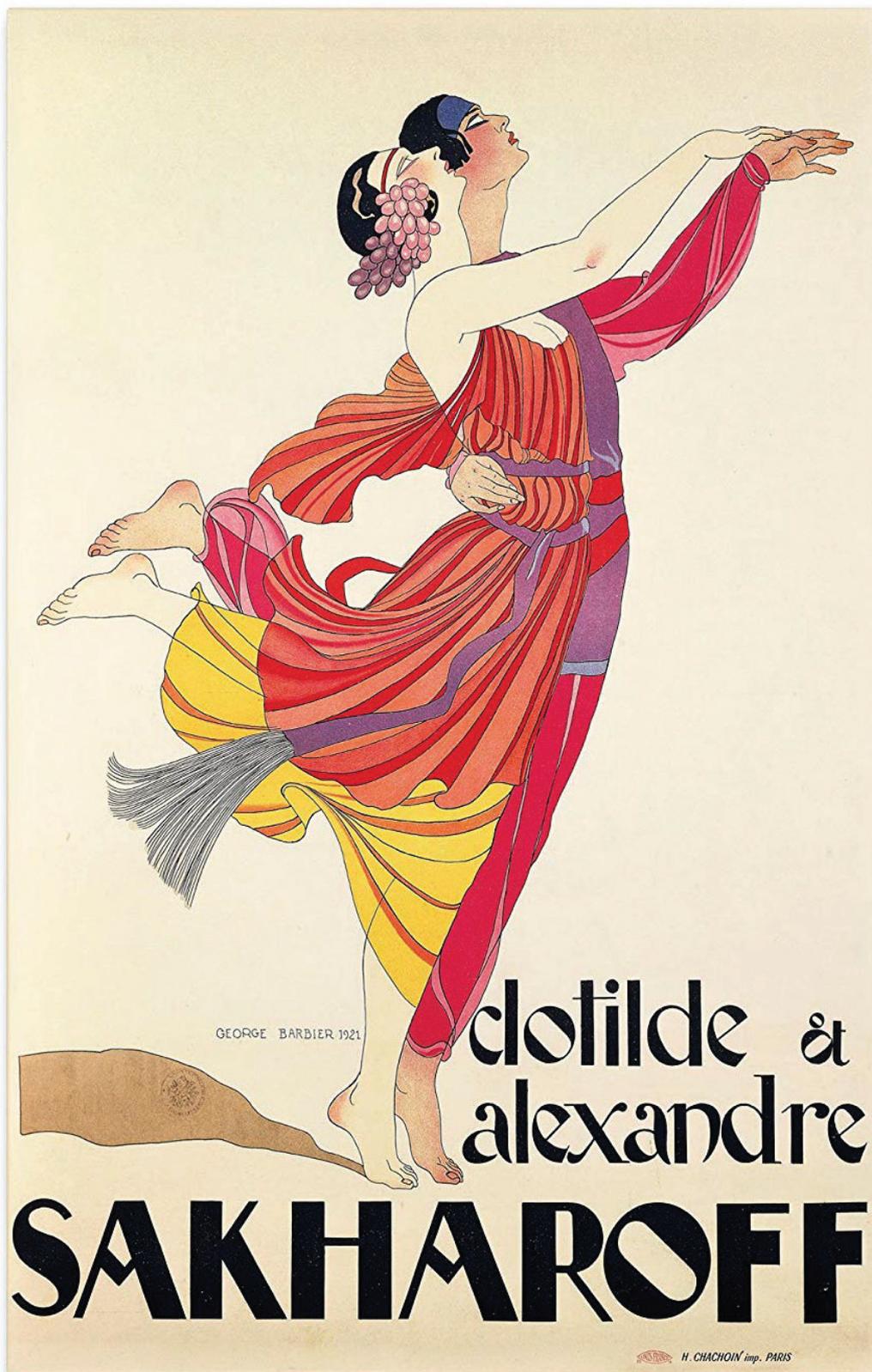


Figure 24: Clotilde and Alexander Sakharoff, poster by George Barbier. 1921 / De Agostini Picture Library / G. Dagli Orti / Bridgeman Images.



Figure 25: top: Alexander Sakharoff in *Pavane Royale* and *Golliwog's Cake Walk*. bottom: Clotilde Sakharoff in *Danza de Delfos* y *Según Cantar de los Cantares*. *Pochoirs* by Boris Bernstein (1949). Published in (Peter, 2002:68)

Boris Bernstein's *18 pochoirs originaux*

One of the works in which the Sakharoffs' visual representations particularly stand out is the album called "*18 pochoirs originaux*" by Boris Bernstein, which features work similar to contemporary stencils, with texts by Jean Lauret (1949)⁴⁶ (figure 26).

The "*18 pochoirs originaux*" album is a valuable source that visually connects the Sakharoffs not only with the historic European avant-garde movements, such as the Ballet Russes (Bakst), and *Der Blaue Reiter* (Jawlensky and Werefkin), but also with the costume designs of the Russian avant-garde (Tatlin, Rodchenko, Stepanova, and Popova) as well as with Sonia Delaunay—linking painting and costume.⁴⁷

Boris Bernstein's album is a very good entry point to the intersection between dance and design, particularly in terms of the illustration of the body. Boris Bernstein makes a geometric abstraction of the body, focusing on the lines that define the shape, with little attention to a gendered body. Although each illustration has a title, which identifies the figures as Clotilde or Alexander, sometimes it is hard to tell the characteristics that make the figure female or male. In this sense, I will argue that Boris Bernstein actually captures some of the spirit of the Sakharoffs' gender game, with strong foundations on their costume design.

"*18 pochoirs originaux*" is a hybrid object within Sakharoffs' many archival materials that was published in portfolio form but cataloged in different ways. Veroli (1991) listed it as a book, but New York Public Library cataloged it as "Prints (Graphic arts)." In the National Library of France (Paris Opera), Bernstein's "pochoirs" is cataloged as "costume designs" and their description say: "Text. Still image: no mediation." These are a few examples of the arbitrariness of cataloging systems and how this "domiciliation" posits materials at one or another address, which inscribe them in specific territories and make them more or less easily accessible. The variability in how archival materials are cataloged as a "whole system of domiciliation" in Derrida's terms (1996, 2) matters for archival research methodology.

The intersections between the visuality of the European avant-garde movements, such as *The Blaue Reiter* and Dadaism, and the Sakharoffs' dance forms is key to the comprehension of Clotilde and Alexander's work. We might assume that the Sakharoffs' collaborations

46 The copy No 32 of the album I consulted is the one held at the Jerome Robbins Dance collection at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

47 For more about the relationship between dance annotations and Russian avant-garde see Muñoz 2016

with visual artists influenced their choreographic work enormously, which derives in creating dances as moving visual works and sometimes as animated characters from specific paintings. An example of the Sakharoffs' inspiration on painting was their choreography "Dance", based on two Botticelli's "Allegory of Spring" characters with music by J.S. Bach, presented at least 4 times in Montevideo. Probably the three dancing graces were the inspiration for the dance.

Moreover, the relationship between dance and the visual arts (Perez, 2012) is key to understanding the Sakharoffs' reception in Montevideo, where the avant-garde visual art movements already had a trajectory in the 1930s in figures such as the Uruguayan artist Joaquín Torres García, who arrived in Montevideo in 1934, a year before the Sakharoffs performed for the first time in Montevideo. Although, the Sakharoffs' artistic philosophy differed from Torres García's, since the Sakharoffs were more representational than Torres García, who advocated for abstractionism, the eagerness for European avant-gardism in Montevideo, no matter the form, was a comfortable environment for the Sakharoffs to perform.

Clotilde von Derp and dance photography

Clotilde's images of her solo performances are accessible pretty much through photography, which deserves a separate research agenda investigating Clotilde von Derp's photography. Some of the photographers that rendered images of Clotilde were: Hugo Erfurth, Sasha Stone, Brassai, E.O. Hoppé, and Madame d'Ora (figure 14). Looking broadly at the body of work of these photographers, there is a common ground in representations of night-life and celebrities.

A relevant figure in the development of Clotilde's career is the German art historian Max Lehrs, who specialized in the study of engraving and was a promoter of dance who hosted several artistic personalities in Dresden. What stands out in the relationship between Clotilde von Derp and Max Lehrs is the emphasis on the photographic more than on any other medium. Lehrs' decision to establish his own artistic photographic studio in 1899 in conjunction with the gallery *Kupferstichkabinett* in Dresden, apparently was a key event in the consideration of photography as art to be conserved. Lehrs also sponsored the work of the dancers called the "Wiesenthals." According to Frank Manuel Peter, the photographs of the

Wiesenthals⁴⁸ are considered the beginning of dance photography “in motion,” particularly because the shots were taken indoors and with artificial light (2002, 111). Due to the fact that hiring a portrait photographer was very expensive, it was assumed for a long time that being photographed was a luxury reserved for aristocratic dancers; however, according to Peter (2002, 114), it was Max Lehrs who arranged the sessions between Clotilde and the photographer Hugo Erfurth in 1912.



Figure 26. Clotilde Sakharoff in *Según el cantar de los cantares*. c.1937. Photo by Georges Saad (Paris). In *Archivo Nacional de la imagen y la palabra SODRE*, Montevideo, Uruguay.



Figure 27. Clotilde von Derp. A photo from the series Hugo Erfurth taken of her dancing in Dresden, 1912. German Dance Archives Cologne (DTK). Published in Peter (2002, 109)

48 The Wiesenthals were a family of female dancers, the most outstanding of which was Grete Wiesenthal.

Sakharoffs' images in Rio de la Plata

During the Sakharoffs' exile in Buenos Aires and Montevideo, they were photographed by another previous exile in Argentina, the German photographer Annemarie Heinrich (1912–2005)⁴⁹. Annemarie's family emigrated from Germany to Argentina in 1926. The story goes that Annemarie wanted to become a modern dancer, but when she explained her aspirations to her father, he exclaimed "a harlot, no!" Annemarie also wanted to study scenography; however, thanks to the numerous artists' portraits she did and her passion for scenery, she managed to create a new genre of photography that combines visual arts, scenography, dance, and theatre (Travnik 2004, 15). Heinrich's photography was dance photography in the sense that she cared about each shot the way a choreographer cares about each movement (see figures 30 and 33).

It is not surprising that Heinrich photographed the Sakharoffs while they were in Buenos Aires. Some of these photographs circulated as autographed portraits (*carte de visite*), which the Sakharoffs gave to people as gifts. Also, Veroli (1991) listed a number of photographs taken by Annemarie which are part of the Sakharoff archive in Italy.

Following a similar path to that traversed by the Sakharoffs, the German photographer Jeanne Mandello (1907–2001) emigrated to Uruguay in 1941. Her name was unknown for a long time, and her archive was dispersed. Jeanne married Arno Grünebaum, and they started to be called "The Mandellos," in a similar fashion to "The Sakharoffs." The reason why there are no photographs of the Sakharoffs taken by Mandello is unknown; however, there are some dance photographs taken by Mandello in Uruguay, one of them of Violeta Lopez Lomba, who was part of the first cast of the National Ballet SODRE and previously a pupil of Alberto Pouyanne. According to Friedler and Fontán, Violeta Lopez Lomba was one of the most personal expressions of Modern Dance in Uruguay. Dressed in a short hair bob, Mandello positioned herself as a woman with a new role in society (Mandello 2016, 10) which resembles the hair styles that Clotilde and Alexander wore, in a genealogy with some Russian avant-garde female artists.

⁴⁹ Annemarie Heinrich has recently been studied in Argentina (Foster 2014; Gluzman 2017). A common ground for these researches is the focus on gender identity within the privileged social classes.

During their South American exile, it appears that the Sakharoffs traveled with a stack of photographs with them which they would give away as gifts or for advertising purposes. We can suspect that neither Clotilde nor Alexander had access to the images previously taken of them while in Europe, which are now part of the archives and were shown in exhibitions. This might be the reason why they needed to take new photographs in the local studios for the beginning of their lives in Buenos Aires and Montevideo.



Figure 28: Clotilde Sakharoff. With a dedication from the dancer to Saul Sempol that reads “À Saul Sempol avec mon plus amical souvenir” (To Saul Sempol with my most friendly memory). Photograph taken at the studio Harcourt, Paris.



Figure 29: Portrait of Violeta López Lomba (Solarization), Montevideo, approx. 1952. by Jeanne and Arno Mandello. Available at: <http://jeannemandello.com/portrait-of-violeta-lopez-lomba-solarization-montevideo/>

In relation to the Sakharoffs’ printed images, which circulated in performance programs, Uruguayan press, and popular magazines, as well as in the form of postcards or autographed photographic portraits, it is possible to identify a certain normativity in Clotilde’s and Alexander’s gender representation. Could Clotilde and Alexander have manipulated their own images to that extent as a survival strategy as exiles? If we compare the published images in Uruguay to previous visual representations of the Sakharoffs, it appears that their choice

was to present themselves as a constituent artistic heterosexual couple, with standard gender representations. The only photograph that slightly deviates from the male-female standard is one of Alexander in “Lamento,” a choreography that was not performed, according to the printed performance programs.

Neither the performance programs nor the press in Montevideo published a substantial amount of the Sakharoffs’ visual repertoire. The Uruguayan press actually reprinted more or less the same pictures, with very little or no attention to their gender game play, which was substantially part of their performances, as far as we can tell from the images of the same performances previously shown in other locations and publications.

All in all, the European photographic practices associated with the Sakharoffs open up a forum for discussion about gender identity and sexuality. Their photographic collections, which are dispersed in several archives around the world, show the different personas and characters that Clotilde and Alexander played during their careers, which has been explored in previous research (Toepfer 1998), but did not echo while they were exiled. Both Annemarie Heinrich and Jeanne Mandello experimented with photographic solarizations and nude portraits, which associates their work with the European modernist tradition. This opens an avenue for further research: the intersection between dance and photography among European artists in exile in Montevideo and Buenos Aires. (Heinrich 1987 and 2015, Gluzman 2017).

The Sakharoffs' romantic style

The Sakharoffs' romantic and theatrical dance style, as Friedler described it, is readable in many of the Sakharoffs' gestures in photographs, scrapbooks, and even in Alexander's writing. In many portraits, the gestures that both Clotilde and Alexander decide to perform are the ones typical of Romanticism, with personality exaltations and cult for subjectivity. If we look at the portraits, we will recognize the special attention paid to the arrangements of hands, and their alignment with facial features. Indeed, Heinrich would photograph only Alexander's hands (Veroli). What is quite distinguishable in the Sakharoffs' case is the gender game at play in the painted portrait by Marianne von Werefkin (figure 31) and Alexei Jawlensky (figure 32).

The celebration of the Baroque era, and the construction of the baroque body (Veroli) was an obsession that Alexander Sakharoff took very seriously. Alexander's concern about concert dance's ontology left traces in his creations that were exaggerations of royal gestures. "The royal Pavanne" was performed only once in Montevideo (1935), and it probably didn't produce any fascination among the audiences, due to the fact that it was not repeated in forthcoming performances, as happened with other choreographies danced by the Sakharoffs in 1935. The enchantment with aristocracy was picked up by the Uruguayan reviewers describing the Sakharoffs' performances as "de aire aristocrático" (of an aristocratic air).

The excess, the opulence, the aristocratic exuberance, related to the borrowings between carnival and dance, was probably an aesthetic to which Montevideo's audiences in the 1940s were not apparently responsive. On the contrary, exemplary modernist forms were more related to technological achievement and "the new," accompanied with intellectual rigor, but not necessarily with romanticism about a past era.



Figure 30: Clotilde Sakharoff. Photo by Annemarie Heinrich. Buenos Aires, Argentina, c.1935. Published in (Peter, 2002:155)

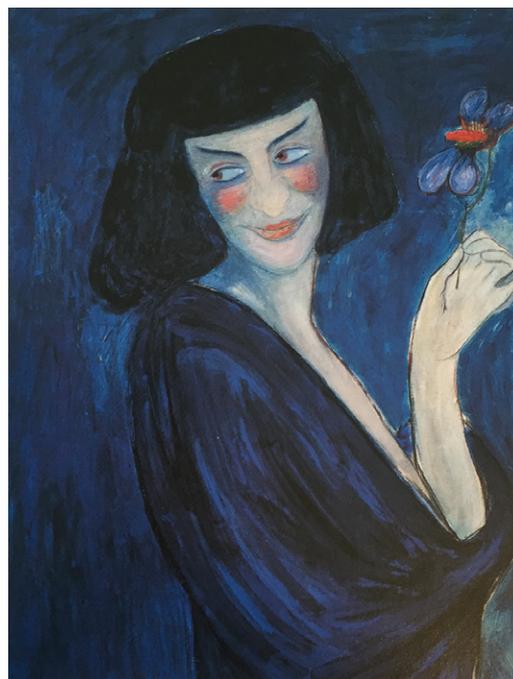


Figure 31: "The dancer Sakharoff" (Alexander). Painting by Marianne von Werefkin, Tempera on cardboard, 1919. Municipal museum of modern art. Ascona, Switzerland. Published in (Peter, 2002:63)

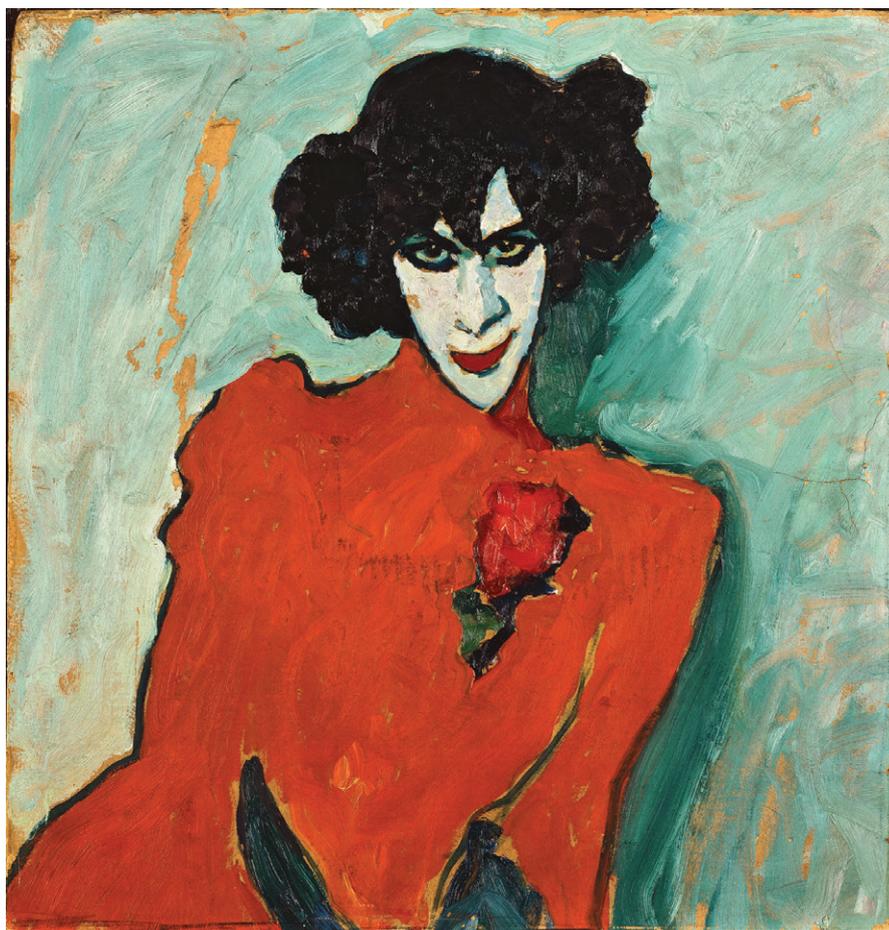


Figure 32: Portrait of Alexander Sakharoff by Alexander Jawlensky, 1909. Oil on canvas. 69.5 × 66.5 cm. *Städtische Galerie* in Lenbachhaus, Munich.

The theatricality of dance in the French royal courts was clearly different from the theatricality of the Sakharoffs' performances and creations. Nevertheless, the Sakharoffs managed to create a combination of forms that allowed Montevideo's audiences to identify with them in a positive way. Wearing a corset and tutu and with a cover on his back and a wig, Alexander embodied an aristocrat from the Baroque era in some choreographies such as "Pavanne royale." However, it is worth asking how this aristocratic imagery related to Montevideo's leading class, or "*clase dirigente*" in Real de Azúa's terms (1969), and to the development of a cult audience for dance. Maybe the reviewers and the audiences preferred to ignore Baroque style choreographies, viewing them as being in "bad taste."

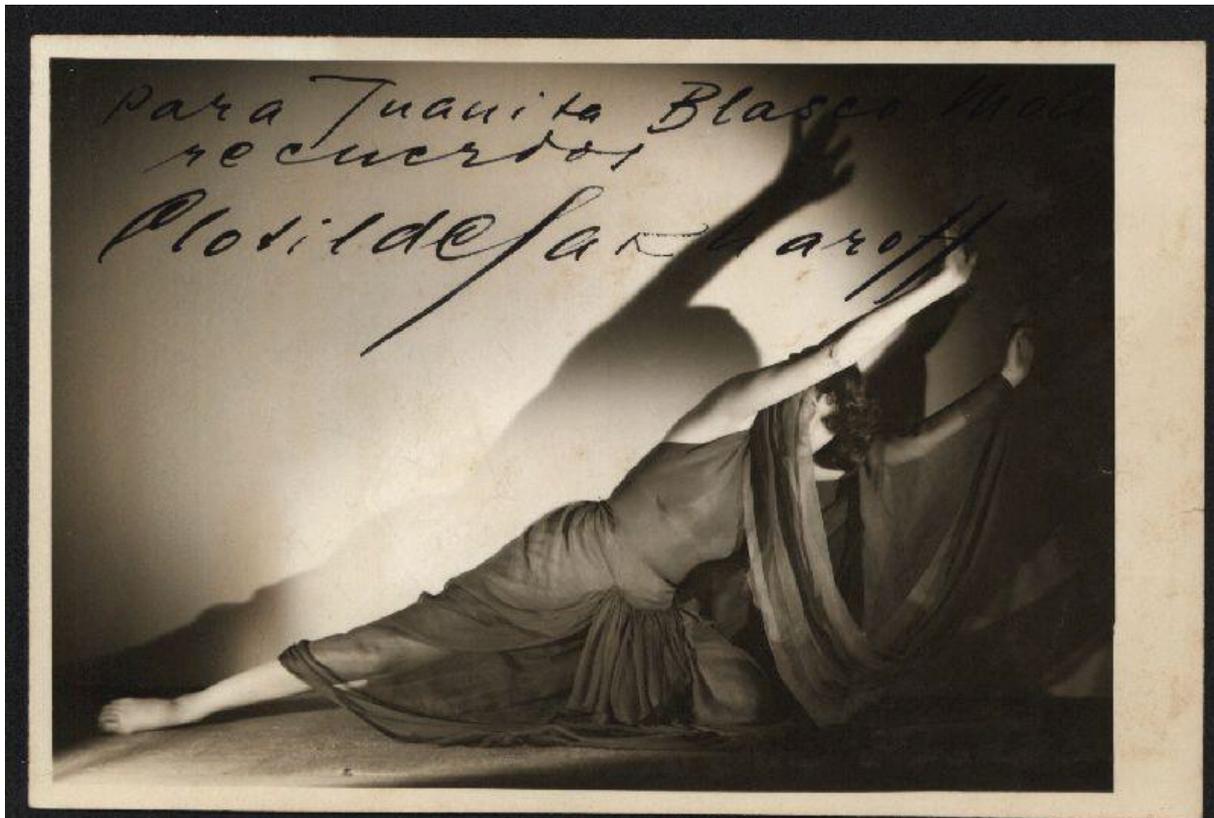


Figure 33: Clotilde Sakharoff. 11,6 x 17,3 cm. c.1930. Photography by Annemarie Heinrich, Santa Fe 1026, Buenos Aires (on the back of the studio stamp). Private collection Buenos Aires, Argentina. Dedicated and signed: "*Para Juanita Blasco Moll recuerdos Clotilde Sakharoff*". From Stader Kunst-Buch-Kabinet ILAB (Stade, Germany)



Figure 34: Clotilde Sakharoff. c.1920. 15,5 x 11 cm. Published in: Nino Vela, Jorge. (1972). *“La mujer en la danza. Conferencia Interamericana Especializada sobre Educación Integral de la Mujer”*. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Cultura y Educación.

Conclusion

By analyzing visual materials and press articles, this thesis has set out to examine the cultural exchanges the Sakharoffs facilitated during their exile in the Río de la Plata region and particularly in Montevideo between 1941 and 1948.

The presence of the Sakharoffs in Montevideo during and after WWII raises the question of how the Sakharoffs' exile can be seen as an endeavor to survive extermination. Despite the fact that many projects have traced the Sakharoffs' European trajectories, my insistence in bringing them back to South America, tracking their movements through the Río de la Plata region as exiles, has the aim of undoing the erasure of a "queer memory," fighting against the concomitant extermination of cultural memory.

The body (aesthetics) and its visual representation in the press and magazines in Montevideo in the 1940s were strictly marked by gender stereotypes. The Sakharoffs not only provided a new air to concert dance through their performances—their shows were frequently deemed as "eccentric," but also provoked specific reactions from audiences—in Montevideo, performances that took the form of carnivalesque parody (carnival is, arguably, a safety valve for society). Nonetheless, the Sakharoffs appear as chameleonic in many aspects, malleable beings who knew what to present and where to do so in order to be accepted. The Sakharoffs' intermediality (their integration of art mediums such as painting, costume, theatre, and dance) probably was a tool reflective of their adaptability and freedom to travel not only across mediums, but also across geographies and cultures.

Looking at the exile of European artists in South America also raises questions about what the exchanges between South American and European artistic cultures specifically entailed, and how these international interactions took place immediately after the centenarian independence celebrations of the South American nations. The question of cultural independence from the Western European powers is inquired by the presence of the Sakharoffs and other European artists in Montevideo during WWII and is a promising avenue for further research.

The notorious "shift" between dance trajectories in Europe and in the US in comparison to South American ones allowed the encounter between early European modern dance

and the beginning of institutional ballet in Uruguay. Although the foundation of *Cuerpo de baile del SODRE* played a role in the reception of the Sakharoffs' in the 1940s, it took around 15 years for the first modern dance group to appear in Montevideo in 1956, led by Hebe Rosa, Hugo Capurro, and Eugenio Parma, who were Alberto Pouyanne's pupils and who interacted with the Sakharoffs in different ways.

The main aim of this thesis is to create a space for future conversations and further research. One question that I want to raise for further research is whether institutional dance, meaning academic ballet in Uruguay, was the result of an interdisciplinary relationship between artists and art forms.

The institution of concert dance in Uruguay formed by the creation of *Cuerpo de baile del SODRE* in 1935 came out almost at the same time as the first appearance of the Sakharoffs in Montevideo and in the aftermath of the Uruguayan centenarian celebrations. As Chilbroste (2018) has concluded, the creation of national ballets, both in Buenos Aires (1925) and Montevideo (1935), are interrelated with the nations' respective state-image creation and with the visits of foreign ballet companies—which signaled that a state was in touch with an emergent modernism. However, it could be productive to analyze how the politics of body aesthetics in Uruguay in the 1940s relates to other forms of dance and spectacle, such as modern dance styles, carnival, and social dances.

It might also be interesting to further research how the interactions with the Sakharoffs impacted ballet training and aesthetics in Montevideo at the time of the creation of the *Cuerpo de baile del SODRE* during their exile in the 1940s.

The eclecticism of Alberto Pouyanne, founder of the *Cuerpo de Baile del SODRE* played a key role in the agglutination of styles in the formation of the Uruguayan ballet company in 1935, a result of an experiment Pouyanne undertook between 1930 and 1935 at his private ballet academy. Further study of Alberto Pouyanne is critical to the development of a better understanding of the consolidation of dance cultures in Montevideo during the mid-thirties.

In line with the eclectic beginning of institutional dance in Uruguay, it is problematic to think of a “pure” Uruguayan ballet or dance, considering this country's economic de-

pendence on European powers. Most of the elements with which Pouyanne played were of European influence and tended to obscure or erase native or folk forms of dance. Although Uruguay's National Ballet was founded as a sign of the nation's modernism in the context of the centenarian celebration of the Uruguayan state, given Pouyanne's aesthetics and circumstances, cross-pollination between the various forms of dance aesthetics, visual art, theatre, and carnival prevalent in Montevideo at that time would prove unavoidable.

Concert dance and carnival are usually intertwined, in a similar fashion as in the Sakharoffs' artistic careers. More research is recommended on Uruguayan carnival traditions and on the contributions to and intersections of the histories of carnival and Uruguay's Performing Arts, in order to explore micro and mixed narratives about the consolidation of the latter in Uruguay and in the region. It is also worthwhile exploring the hybridization of dance forms, focusing on *el interior* of Uruguay, meaning the provinces, and displacing the capital city as the center of attention.



Figure 35: *Au temps du Grand Siècle / Pavane Royale* (section of the photograph). c.1919. German Dance Archives Cologne (DTK) Published in (Peter, 2002:185)



Figure 36: Alexander Sakharoff in *Vision from the 15th century* (section of the photograph), c.1913. German Dance Archives Cologne (DTK) Published in (Peter, 2002:42)



Figure 37: Alexander Sakharoffc.1914. (section of the photograph). Photo by Hans Holdt. German Dance Archives Cologne (DTK) Published in (Peter, 2002:42)

Appendix 1: Surnames of the “ladies and girls” from the “haute” listed in *La Mañana* (Newspaper) (1942, May 10). Note 41 in the text.

“Montero Uriarte Posadas, Caprile de Perisco, Netto de Meldiharsu, Rodriguez Larreta de Aguirre, Sosa Días de Cardoso, Arroza de Storace, Bosasso de Aramendia, Frejero de Maxi, Lanza de Gómez Harley, Beltrán de O’Neill, Lussich Nin de Navarro, Lussich Nin, Puig, Turenne Puig de Amorin, Antuña Zumarán, Regules de Gache, Terra Llarraz de Bullrich, Repetto Sienra de Jiménez de Aréchage, Fillol Orueta, Pacheco Zubillaga, Lussich Nin, Mousques de Vidal, Rodriguez Llarraz Bonomi, Mousques Bonomi, Turenne Puig de Victoria, Castells Carafi, Sorouhet de Pérez, Munro de Garramón de Haedo, Narnondo, Castro Pérez de Starcio, Martinez Correa de Folle, Giuffra Simoes, Gorlero Delger, Alvarez Requena de Correa Luna, Montaldo Ponce de León de Tiscornia, Ricci de Graux Puig, Moratorio de Lapido, Ricci Platero de Real de Azua, Balparda de Balparda, Colombres de Morelli, Colombres de O’Brien, Gómez Guillor de Vedovelli, Geilli de Sayagues Lasso, Iraola de Márque, Castro, Llambias de Acevedo, Marexiano de Beisso, Cardoso de Gill de la Tourette, Barreiro Brunel, Zumarán Risso, Pons Tiscornia, Alvarez Aguiar Risso, Urioste de Strauch, Preve Fontán, Durán de Bolx, Amestoy de Solari, Solari de Devoto, Orlandi de Larramendi, Silva de Orlandi, Rodríguez Larreta Sienra, Shaw Villegas de Rodriguez Larreta, Aguirre de Serrato, Maldonado de Ojeda, Trabucatti de Hill, Pou Cardoso de Cusano, Pou Cardoso Herrera de Lacall, Martínez de Vidal, Ameglio de Quagliotti, Comas Nin Bordaberry, Iraztorza Larralde, Larralde, Caprile Zumarán, García de Loigorri, Barriere de Santos, Pena Gómez Cibils, Varela Acevedo, Mourigan de Vázquez, Ferrando Bonavia, Aldavo Bonavia, Baque Vega, Blengio de Manini Rions, Solari de Dubra Beltrán, Riet Correa de Storm, Pereda Valdez de Escuder Núñez, Sharbabaro de Rinaldo Guerra, Etchegoncelay de Santini, Folle Larreta, Gutiérrez Herrera, Pintos de Cordara Methol, Méndez Gomensoro, Peixito Nin, Ruy Aldabalde, Serratos de Vilaró Rudio, Baroffio Riestra, etc.”

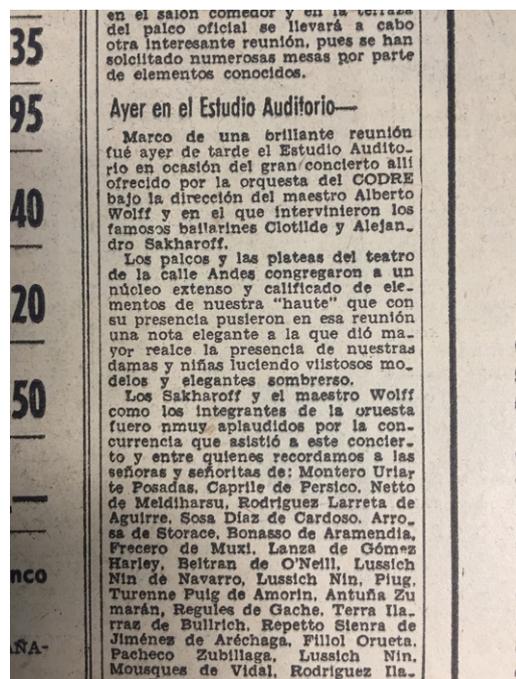


Figure 38: La Mañana. (1942, May 10). Ayer en el Estudio Auditorio, *La Mañana*, p6. Biblioteca Nacional Uruguaya, photo by author.

Appendix 2: Tables 1 and 2

Table 1: Performances done by the Sakharoff in Montevideo. Data taken from performance programs provided by *Centro de Investigación, Documentación y Difusión de las Artes Escénicas (CIDDAE)*, Teatro Solís, Montevideo.

Performances	year	date	theatre	musician	price	choreographies	music pieces
Los famosos poetas de la danza Clotilde y Alejandro Sakharoff en el concurso del pianista Emile Baume	1935	Oct,19	Estudio Auditorio SODRE	Emile Baume	from 0,5 to 8	Danza en estilo de Goya N 2, Danza sombría, Cavota, Muchacha en el jardín, Preludio y Fuga, Scherzo N3, Preludium, Poema Primavera, Bourrée fantasque, Bailarina de Delfos, Pavana real, Canción negra	
Último recital de los Célebres Poetas de la Danza Clotilde y Alejandro Sakharoff	1941	Jul,30	18 de Julio	Federico Longas y Alberto Castellanos	from 1 to 15	D'Aprés Goya (N2) (Habanera), Bailarina de Delfos, Gavota, Nocturno, Danza macabra, Poema Primavera, Pavana real, Prélude a L'après - midi d'un faune, Serenata de Don Juan, Vals, Danza.	Gavota, Bulerías, Minuet, Bolero rítmico
Recital de Danzas por Clotilde y Alejandro Sakharoff	1941	Oct,2	Solis	Hugo Balzo	from 1 to 20	"Visione del Quatrocento, Flora, Granada, Nocturno, Bourrée fantasque (Scenes danseés), Preludio y Fuga, Sarabande, Según "El Cantar de los Cantares", Golliwog's Cake Walk, Muchacha en el jardín, Danza.	"Alma brasileña, Triste N 1, Le petit âne blanc, Danse"
Concierto Sinfónico Festival de Música Francesa	1941	Oct,18	Estudio Auditorio SODRE	Albert Wolff	from 1 to 6	D'Aprés Goya (N2) (Habanera), Bailarina de Delfos, Le Petit Berger, Bourrée fantasque, Nocturno, Prélude a L'après - midi d'un faune, Golliwog's Cake Walk, Muchacha en el jardín (a pedido), La muerte de San Sebastián	

Último Concierto Sinfónico Coreográfico	1942	May,9	Estudio Auditorio SODRE	Alberto Wolff	from 1 to 6	Visione del Quattrocento, Sueño de Amor, Gavota, A Ma Grand Mere (D'Aprés Blanes), Danza Macabra, Prélude a L'après - midi d'un faune, Golliwog's Cake Walk, Claro de Luna, Tristan e Isolda.	
Último concierto de abono. Bajo la dirección de César de Mendoza Lassalle con la intervención de los "Poetas de la danza" Clotilde y Alejandro Sakharoff.	1943	Oct,9	Estudio Auditorio SODRE	César de Mendoza Lassalle	from 0.8 to 10	Granada, A Ma Grand Mere (D'Aprés Blanes), Danza, Nocturno, La muerte de San Sebastián, Le Petit Berger, Bourrée fantasque, Poema Primavera, Serenata de Don Juan, Tristan e Isolda.	Obertura de "El Matrimonio secreto", Preludio et Fileuse, "Pelleas et Melisande" Siciliana, Danzas Fantásticas - Evocación y Ensueño
En base a nota en "El Bien publico"	1946	Sep,29		Mercedes Olivera y María L. Fabini de West		Preludio, A Ma Grand Mere (D'Aprés Blanes), Gavota, Green, Triste (evocación griolla), Ginastera: Canción al árbol del olvido, Serenata de Don Juan, Nocturno Clotilde, Nocturno Alexander, Danza.	Le temps a laissé sonnanieau (Rondel), Alborada del gracioso, Green: C'est l'extase langoureuse, Fantoques, Alborada del gracioso

Table 2: Choreographies done by the Sakharoff in Montevideo. Data taken from performance programs provided by *Centro de Investigación, Documentación y Difusión de las Artes Escénicas (CIDDAE)*, Teatro Solís, Montevideo.

Choreographies	Author	Music	Description in Program	First Date of presentation in Montevideo	Second	Third	Fourth
Premieres in 10/19/1935							
Danza en estilo de Goya N 2	A	Chabrier	Goya I y II - No son danzas españolas propiamente dichas, sino la evocación de España, una y múltiple, tal como lo ha visto el pintor Goya donde la pasión, la violencia, lo novelesco y voluptuoso, el espíritu aristocrático y el alma popular pasan cada cual a su vez - Goya N 1 Inspirada por las obras de juventud del artista tienen más alegría y elementos anecdóticos - Goya N2 Tiene carácter sombrío y funesto como un drama interior concentrado, cuya desesperación traspasa las apariencias de calma y de insensibilidad.	10/19/1935	7/30/1941	10/18/1941	
Danza sombría	C	Turina	Una fuga plástica. Una cadena de movimientos que expresa los tormentos de una alma femenina, presa de triunfos temerosos o embargada de angustia.	10/19/1935			
Gavota	A	Bach	Esta no es una imitación de las danzas del siglo XVIII, sino interpretando el espíritu de Watteau Lancret, Faragonard, Boucher y los ornamentistas de aquella época, una psicología de esa era llena de encanto, descuido y vivacidad, que hicieron a Talleyrand exclamar: "Los que no vivieron en aquella época, ignoran la dulzura del vivir".	10/19/1935	7/30/1941	5/9/1942	9/29/1946
Muchacha en el jardín	C	Mompou	Un poema de la adolescencia. Una danza que transpone al plano plástico los sentimientos del corazón de una niña adolescente, con todo lo que su edad tiene de variable, espontáneo, alegre e inseguro. Juega en un jardín, donde salta, anda con la arena, con las flores, con el agua, arrodillándose para cuidar las plantas y entonces se acuesta en la yerba al sol, para contemplar la fuga de las nubes, levantándose súbitamente para bailar con aquello que la rodea tanto espiritualmente como en realidad.	10/19/1935	10/2/1941	10/18/1941	

Choreographies	Author	Music	Description in Program	First	Second	Third	Fourth
Preludio y Fuga	CA	J.S. Bach	Acompaña al piano Emile Baume. Un homenaje a Bach. Una danza en la cual las leyes y reglas de la forma de música clásica se trasponen a un plano plástico en el cual lo abstracto toma forma concreta y se visualiza lo auditivo.	10/19/1935	10/2/1941		
Preludium	A	Bach		10/19/1935			
Poema Primavera	C	Krug	La ingenua felicidad de una joven campesina mientras danza por su propio gusto y quien al percibir a sus amigas las invita a bailar como un tributo a la Primavera y el Amor.	10/19/1935	7/30/1941	10/9/1943	9/29/1946
Bourrée fantasque	A	E. Chabrier	Tres distintas personalidades son simultáneamente personificadas en una. Tres diferentes estados de la mente, el alma y el corazón, todos expresados por movimientos y plástica propia de cada personalidad. En la eterna tragicomedia de la verdad y la belleza escondidas en una concha fea y repulsiva, y de lo feo y bestial cubiertos por una forma de belleza todo atractivo. Entre ellos, juego de coquetería frívola, vana y cruel. Y que puede definirse como un “diálogo plástico”, es conducido en un movimiento satánico por las tres eternas personalidades de la comedia italiana.	10/19/1935	10/2/1941	10/18/1941	10/9/1943
Bailarina de Delfos	C	Debussy	En las formas más puras de plástica arcaica, esta danza representa el divino servicio de los Antiguos, durante lo cual, los pasos y gestos de los bailarines sagrados evocan lo mágico, los misterios y los terrores de un culto pagano.	10/19/1935	7/30/1941	10/18/1941	

Choreographies	Author	Music	Description in Program	First	Second	Third	Fourth
Pavana real	A	Couperin	No es una reconstrucción coreográfica de la antigua danza. Es una libre evocación de la era de Louis XIV. Todo lo que crea la grandeza de una época y dicta la jerarquía de sus elementos, está aquí agrupado alrededor de la figura real más altanera y gloriosa.	10/19/1935			
Vals romántico	CA	Chopin		10/19/1935			
Premieres in Performance 7/30/1941							
Nocturno	C	Gabriel Fauré		7/30/1941	10/2/1941	10/18/1941	10/9/1943
Danza macabra	A	Saint-Saens	La música de Saint-Saens ha sido inspirada por una poesía de Henry Casalle. Esta nos representa el comentario de un pueblecito al sonar las doce de la noche en un reloj vecino. Las almas en pena se despiertan y comienzan una danza, atormentadas por las tribulaciones y deseos de su vida pasada. Al cantar el gallo en el amanecer estos seres irreales vuelven a la quietud de las horas eternas.	7/30/1941	5/9/1942		
Prélude a L'après - midi d'un faune	C	Debussy	La esencia de esta obra no está en la personalidad del fauno, sino más bien está en la personificación sensual de la naturaleza de las horas "fauves" - como dice Mallarmé - de un alrededor de estilo. Clotilde Sakharoff no ha cesado de espiar, tanto en los animales como en el mundo vegetal, las innumerables expresiones y manifestaciones de la naturaleza, todo lo que pudiera orientarla e inspirarla para poder expresar la poesía de Mallarmé y la música de Debussy. Durante dos largos años este trabajo ha conformado lentamente lo que es hoy día un poema coreográfico.	7/30/1941	10/18/1941	5/9/1942	

Choreographies	Author	Music	Description in Program	First	Second	Third	Fourth
Serenata de Don Juan	A	Albéniz		7/30/1941	10/9/1943	9/29/1946	
Vals	C	Chopin		7/30/1941			
Danza	CA	J.S. Bach	Homenaje a Botticelli. Dos figuras que parecen desprendidas de “La primavera”, la obra maestra de Botticelli. Ellas expresan por la pureza de su baile y dulzura, una serena simplicidad y la tierna melancolía del espíritu de Botticelli.	7/30/1941	10/18/1941	10/9/1943	9/29/1946
Premieres in Performance 10/2/1941							
Visione del Quattrocentro	A	Frescobaldi		10/2/1941	5/9/1942		
Flora	C	Carlo Boller		10/2/1941			
Granada	A	Albéniz		10/2/1941	10/9/1943		
Sarabande	A	Debussy		10/2/1941			
Según “El Cantar de los Cantares”	C	Dénéréaz	a) La espera b) La slega c) Portadora de anafora d) Sulamita. Hace millones de años que la caravana sigue, en el desierto, la pista estrecha... En los pueblos quemados por el sol, las estaciones y los días pasan y traen siempre los mismos trabajos. Las mujeres con túnica de lino, reniegan, atan los haces, recogen las últimas espigas cuando el estilo llega y cuando cae la tarde van por agua a la fuente. Luego se sientan, inmóviles en sus gestos de eternidad y esperan... No tienen prisa saben que la pista ‘árida no tiene fin. Pero por allí vendrá la caravana, vendrá el reposo con el fin del día y el bien amado aparecerá en su hora... Porque es así desde el Rey Salomón. El horizonte no ha cambiado desde entonces, ni la vida de las mujeres de Arabia... Y el Cántico es siempre el Cántico	10/2/1941			

Choreographies	Author	Music	Description in Program	First	Second	Third
Golliwog's Cake Walk	A	Debussy	Pertenece a la suite "El Rincón de los Niños". A. Sakharoff es un muñeco que se anima por las noches, para vivir su vida de fantoche.	10/2/1941	10/18/1941	5/9/1942
La muerte de San Sebastián	A	Debussy	Según la leyenda dorada, San Sebastián, después de ser acribillado de flechas, no murió de sus heridas. Cuidado secretamente curó, y presentándose luego humildemente ante el que había ordenado su suplicio, trató, con dulzura, de convertirlo. Por segunda vez se le impuso el suplicio, y 'este fue definitivo, pues acabó con su vida. Pero antes de morir, el santo gozó de una beatitud perfecta, de la alegría celeste de los elegidos.	10/2/1941	10/18/1941	10/9/1943
Premieres in Performance 10/18/1941						
Le Petit Berger	C	Debussy		10/18/1941	10/9/1943	
Performance 5/9/1942						
Sueño de Amor	C	Liszt		5/9/1942		
A Ma Grand Mere (D'Aprés Blanes)	C	Vincet D'Indy	"A mi abuela"	5/9/1942	10/9/1943	9/29/1946
Claro de Luna	A	Debussy		5/9/1942		
Tristan e Isolda	C	Wagner	Preludio (Orquesta), Muerte de Isolda	5/9/1942	10/9/1943	
Premieres in Performance 9/29/1946						
Preludio	A	Chopin		9/29/1946		
Green	C	¿?		9/29/1946		
Triste (evocación criolla)	C	Fabini		9/29/1946		
Canción al árbol del olvido	C	Ginastera	Homenaje a Figari	9/29/1946		
Nocturno	A	Chopin		9/29/1946		

**UNO DE LOS ÚLTIMOS
JUICIOS CRÍTICOS SO-
BRE LOS SAKHAROFF**

El tiempo, que es en arte el más inexorable de los jueces, ha dado ha-
ce mucho su fallo en favor de Clotilde y Alejandro Sakhárov. Un cuarto
de siglo hace que esta pareja admirable pasea sus concepciones plás-
ticas por los grandes escenarios del mundo, y sus sesiones tienen cada vez
mayor interés, porque el atractivo y la evolución continua se suma al de
una directriz invariable, inspirada en el supremo refinamiento. Por eso los
Sakhárov no son simplemente dos intérpretes, sino una de las institucio-
nes de la danza moderna, que han creado un género personalísimo, inconfun-
dible, que tuviera ocasión de analizar cuando su primera visita,
hace seis años.

Desde entonces el arte de los Sakhárov ha alcanzado un grado de re-
finamiento cuya superación resulta prácticamente imposible concebir. Es
el análisis perfecto del espíritu de cada una de las composiciones musi-
cales elegidas, que sirve de base a la síntesis plástica de la respectiva in-
terpretación, realizada con una sutileza, una linaria y una aristocracia es-
pirituales únicas en el mundo de la danza. Aun en las creaciones más abstrac-
tas el lenguaje plástico de los Sakhárov se impone por su nobleza,
por su equilibrio perfecto, por su lógica erudita y elevada. Desde luego,
sólo intérpretes del rango de ellos, que basan su arte en un dominio per-
fecto hasta lo infinito de la técnica clásica de la danza y de los recursos
expresivos del cuerpo humano, podrían realizar esas coreografías, com-
plejidad por tres maravillosamente bellas.

Clotilde Sakhárov, que en estos últimos años ha depurado su plástica
y afeitado su expresividad, presentó como novedades un "Nocturno"
de Fauré, de extrema delicadeza y magnífica armonía rítmica y una ver-
sión de "L'après-midi d'un faune", de Debussy, que resulta una evocación
suave y ricamente matizada del poema. Alejandro Sakhárov estrenó "Gra-
nada" y "Serenata de Don Juan", basadas en obras de Albéniz, y "Danza
Macabra", de Saint-Saens.

Son los primeros evocaciones coloridas y sumamente elocuentes; y la
última es una de las creaciones geniales del gran artista. La sobriedad im-
presionante con que Alejandro Sakhárov ha combinado aquí lo trágico y
lo grotesco, lo vulgar y lo sublime, y el ritmo maravilloso con que se ar-
ticula coreográficamente su concepción hicieron de ella la nota máxima
de la velada de anteanoche.

L. A. G. (EL MUNDO)

B. AIRES — MAYO 1941

PRECIOS DE LAS LOCALIDADES

Palcos avant-scène, sin entrada	\$ 15.00	Tertulia 1ª fila, con entrada	\$ 3.00
Palcos Balcon y Balcones, sin ent.	15.00	Tertulia, otras filas, con entrada	2.50
Entrada a Palco	2.50	Lunetas de Consejo, numerada	1.50
Fianca c/ent. desde 1ª a la 14 fila	4.10	Lunetas de Paraiso, numerada	1.50
Fianca c/ent. desde 15 a la 23 fila	3.10	Entrada Consejo y Paraiso	1.00

PRU 000292

TEATRO 18 DE JULIO

Dirección: MESSUTI Hnos.

Teléfono Boletería: 8 58 75

Miércoles 30 de Julio de 1941

A LAS 18 V 45

**ULTIMO RECITAL DE LOS
Célebres Poetas de la Danza**

Clotilde
y
Alejandro

SAKHAROFF



Teatro CLOTILDE Y ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF

MIERCOLES 30 DE JULIO,
DE 1941

Célebres POETAS DE LA DANZA

CON LA COLABORACION DE

FEDERICO LONGAS Y ALBERTO CASTELLANOS

ULTIMO RECITAL

A LAS 18 V 45

PRIMERA PARTE

Gavota Prokofiev
ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF

D'Après Goya (Nº 2) (Habenera) Chabrier
FEDERICO LONGAS Y A. CASTELLANOS

Las creaciones tituladas "Après Goya", Nros. 1 y 2, no constituyen
danzas españolas propiamente dichas, sino la evocación de la España
salvaje, la voluptuosidad del espíritu aristocrático, y el alma poseída
pasa en singular destino. En "Après Goya Nº 2", tiene un carácter
sombrio y fúnebre el ritmo es muy notable. El drama interior, con-
trastado, la desesperación, se desahoga a través de aperturas de
calma e imposibilidad.

Bailarina de Daños Debussy
CLOTILDE SAKHAROFF

En las formas más puras de plástica arcaica, esta danza representa el
divino servicio de los antiguos, durante el cual los pasos y gestos de
los bailarines sagrados evocan lo sagrado, los misterios y los terrores
de un culto pasado.

Gavota J. S. Bach
ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF

Esto no es una imitación de las danzas del siglo XVIII, sino, inter-
pretando el espíritu de Wajstata, Lohengrin, Tristan, Parsifal, y los
ornamentales de aquella época, una psicología de esa era llena de
cristiano, desahogo y vivacidad que habitan a Talizmad exultar: "Lo
que no vivieron en aquella época temoran la danza del vivir".

Nocturno Gabriel Fauré
CLOTILDE SAKHAROFF

Bulerías Federico Longas
FEDERICO LONGAS

Danza macabra Saint-Saens
ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF

La música de Saint-Saens ha sido inspirada por una poesía de Henry
Casas. Esta nos representa el cementerio de un pueblo al amanecer
las doce de la noche en un redol vecino. Las almas en pena se des-
pertan y comienzan una danza atormentada por las tribulaciones y
deseos de su vida pasada. Al cantar el gallo en el amanecer estas
almas irreflexas vuelven a la quietud de las horas eternas.

CLOTILDE SAKHAROFF

en "L'Après-midi d'un faune"

Clotilde Sakhárov nos presenta una transposición
que respeta escrupulosamente el espíritu y la letra
de la obra maestra de Debussy. Su cuerpo dibuja
en el espacio toda una serie de armonías ar-
bitrarias. Todas las intenciones de la música están
subrayadas con una intensidad y una penetración
extraordinarias. Desde el comienzo su gesto per-
fecto y alitero en la larga inmovilidad que permite
a los miembros dibujar rápidamente a los de-
sueso en su vuelo voluptuoso el perfil del tema cromá-
tico ascendente y descendente de la flauta del fau-
ne. Su cuerpo adormecido es ya desde el extremo de
sus dedos hasta sus caderas una inmensa antena
de exquisitas intenciones que traduce los primeros
comandos de la partitura sin necesidad de una sola
contracción muscular.

Y pero aún que tanto y así agilidad de atenua mu-
sical la vida renace en las faunas somnolienta. Un
imperceptible movimiento de cabeza será el punto
de partida y el punto de llegada del magnífico des-
arrollo plástico que ampara. Los miembros, las bra-
zos flexibles como lianas obedecen al aliento acari-
ciador de la partitura, rodeando en el aire los pla-
nes y los volúmenes de la composición en sus más
minúsculas detalles. A cada momento los hallazgos de
orden estrictamente musical nos maravilla, por ejem-
plo, ese impulso de una bracia animal, ese salto fle-
xible y ligero de pantofo que la estría, la proyecta
hacia adelante y la tiende amorosamente sobre el
suelo para estrechar todo la voluptuosidad de la tie-
rra. Será imposible en instante separar este acen-
tan justo del ataque de la frase que lo ha engen-
drado. Y que decir del melodismo constante y del
"fraseo" de esta estatura viviente, en la cual todas
las actitudes, dóciles al impulso musical, se alían con
la técnica cinematográfica del "fondu eclairé" que
es la esencia misma del impresionismo debussyano. Sin
pausas anecdóticas, sin ambiciones espectaculars,
Clotilde Sakhárov realiza aquí la síntesis de todas
las fuerzas esperadas del deseo, de toda la difusa
voluptuosidad de un patrimonio embriagador. Es im-
posible mirar más de cerca el sueño de Mallarmé y
el de Debussy.

EMILE VUILLERMOZ.

Coreografía de Clotilde y Alejandro Sakhárov.

Los trajes son de Alejandro Sakhárov.

Peluquería especialmente creada p. Antoine (París)

Poema primaveral A. Krug
CLOTILDE SAKHAROFF

La sagrada felicidad de una joven campesina mientras danza por su
propio gusto y al pedirle a sus amigos, les invita a bailar como
tributo a la primavera y al amor.

SEGUNDA PARTE

Minuet Debussy
FEDERICO LONGAS Y A. CASTELLANOS

Pavana Real Couperin
ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF

No es una reconstrucción coreográfica de la antigua danza. Es una
libre evocación de la era de Luis XIV. Todo lo que crea la evocación
de una época y dicta la jerarquía de sus elementos, está aquí agrupado
alrededor de la figura real más alta y gloriosa.

Prélude a L'après-midi d'un faune Debussy
CLOTILDE SAKHAROFF

La esencia de esta obra no está en la personalidad del fauno, sino
más bien ésta en la personificación animal de la naturaleza en las
horas "faunescas"—como dice Mallarmé—de un atardecer del este. Clo-
tilde Sakhárov no ha cesado de aspirar, tanto en los animales como
en el mundo vegetal, las innumerables expresiones y manifestaciones
de la naturaleza, todo lo que pudiera orientarla e inspirarla para
poder expresar la poesía de Mallarmé y la música de Debussy. Durante
dos largos años este trabajo ha formado lentamente lo que es hoy día
su poema coreográfico.

Serenata de Don Juan Albéniz
ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF

Vals Chopin
CLOTILDE SAKHAROFF

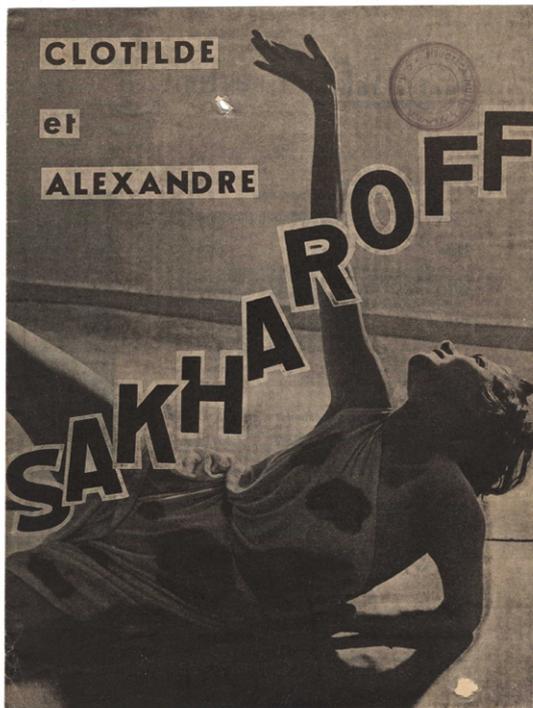
Bolero rítmico F. Longas
FEDERICO LONGAS

Danza J. S. Bach
CLOTILDE Y ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF

Homenaje a Botticelli. Dos figuras que parecen dependidas de "La
Primavera", la obra maestra de Botticelli. Ellas expresan por la ma-
nera de su baile y danza una serena simplicidad y la tierra mika-
cola del espíritu de Botticelli.

IMP. BENEDETTI — ANDES 1210

Figure 40: Performance program (1941, July 30). (CIDDAE). See Bibliography



PRO 010529

Fragmentos de algunos juicios críticos de la prensa local:

"EL PLATA". — Creemos que la diversidad cubana lo mismo que a las plagaras benditas, la danza de los elegidos; y según son Clotilde y Alejandro Sakharoff en la autorizada de sus poemas basados en el sentido de sus poemas angélicos, y en el privilegio sublime de sus armonías plásticas.

"LA MARIANA". — Un espectáculo en su género con el espectáculo de Clotilde y Alejandro Sakharoff para impresionar con tanta claridad, con tanta elegancia, para apoderarse con tal virtud estética del espectador? Su presencia significa un acontecimiento artístico de tan singular importancia, que en muchas oportunidades pueden repetirse.

"EL PAPE". — Lo primero que llama la atención en el espectáculo que ofrecen los Sakharoff, radica en su superada academia. Los pasos todos revelan su estilo clásico y sin embargo en sus líneas y noble origen se conforma para dar paso a una expresividad original y nueva, quedando así de las posiciones académicas un helado y delicioso perfume.

"BUNDO UNDOYAY". — Gracia seducida de un arte comprendido hasta todos los límites, y versado en todas sus posibilidades, es el espectáculo de danzas que ofrecen Clotilde y Alejandro Sakharoff.

ALIMENTA SIN ENGORDAR
Y además...
es riquísimo!
Por eso las chicas prefieren
COMPLETO PURITAS

SOLIS
CIDDAE

PRO 010599

PRECIOS DE LAS LOCALIDADES:

Palcos avant-scène s/e	\$ 25.-	Terzallas altas 1ª y 2ª fila	\$ 2.-
Palcos bajos o balcón s/e	15.-	Terzallas altas otras filas	1.50
Palcos altos s/e	10.-	Delanteras de casulla	2.-
Palcos de casulla s/e	5.-	Delanteras de palcos	1.-
Entrada a palco	2.50	Entrada a casulla	1.-
Terzalla habón	1.-	Entrada a palcos	1.-
		SILLONES DE PLATEA	\$ 4.10

Lapiz, A. Montenegro y Cia

Teatro Solís

RECITAL DE DANZAS POR
CLOTILDE Y ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF
Con la colaboración de HUGO BALZO

Jueves 2 de Octubre
1941
a las 18.30 horas

PRIMERA PARTE

Vision del Quattrocento Frescobaldi
ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF
Alejandro Sakharoff ha querido expresar en esta danza la psicología y la mística de la edad media, sirviéndose de la plástica de esa época.

Flora Carlo Boller
CLOTILDE SAKHAROFF
Esta danza forma parte del poema coreográfico "Hades et Ceres". La diosa de la Primavera, después de su estadía en el Infierno, regresa a la tierra reviviendo la naturaleza y apareciendo flores y arbustos.

Granada Albéniz
ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF

Nocturno Gabriel Fauré
CLOTILDE SAKHAROFF

Bourrée fantasque (Scenes danseés) ... E. Chabrier
Personajes: Pierrot, Arlequín, Colombina.
ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF

Tres distintas personalidades son simultáneamente personificadas en una. Tres diferentes estados de la mente, el alma y el corazón, todos expresados por movimientos y plásticos propia de cada personalidad. En la eterna tragicomedia de la verdad y de la belleza escondidas en una concha fea y repulsiva, y de lo feo y bastial cubiertos por una forma de belleza todo atractivo. Entre ellos, juegos de coquetería frívola, vana y cruel. Y que puede decirse como un "diálogo plástico", es conducido en un movimiento satánico por las tres eternas personalidades de la comedia italiana.

Alma brasileña Villa Lobos
Triste N° 1 Pabini
HUGO BALZO

PRELUDIO Y FUGA J. S. Bach
CLOTILDE Y ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF

Las obras de Bach, Albeniz y Boller son acompañadas en segundo piano por ADHEMAR SCHENONE

SEGUNDA PARTE

Sarabande Debussy
ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF

Según "El Cantar de los Cantares" Déniz
a) La espera - b) La siega - c) Perdición de Anhora - d) Sulamita.
CLOTILDE SAKHAROFF

Hace millones de años que la caravana sigue, en el desierto, la pista estrecha... En los pueblos quemados por el sol, las estaciones y los días pasan y tracen siempre los mismos trabajos. Las mujeres, con túnica de lino, resacas, atan los bultos, recojen las últimas esencias cuando el estilo llega; y cuando cae la tarde van por agua a la fuente. Luego se sientan, sumidas en sus actos de eternidad y esperan... No tienen prisa; saben que la pista árida no tiene fin. Pero por allí vendrá la caravana, vendrá el reposo con el fin del día y el bien amado aparecerá a su hora... Porque es así desde el Rey Salomón. El horizonte no ha cambiado desde entonces, ni la vida de las mujeres de Arabia... Y el Cántico es siempre el Cántico...

Gollivog's Cake Walk Debussy
ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF
Pertenece a la suite "El Rincón de los Niños". A Sakharoff es un muñeco que se anima por las noches, para vivir su vida de fantoche.

Muchacha en el jardín Mompou
CLOTILDE SAKHAROFF

La muerte de San Sebastián Debussy
ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF

Según la leyenda dorada, San Sebastián, después de haber sido acerbado de flechas, no murió de sus heridas. Cuidado secretamente curó y presentándose luego humildemente ante el que había ordenado su suplicio, trató con dulzura, de convertirlo. Por segunda vez se le inmuso el espíritu, y éste fue definitivo, pues así como su vida. Pero antes de morir, el santo gozó de una beatitud perfecta, de la alegría celeste de los elegidos.

Le petit âne blanc J. Ibert
Danse Debussy
HUGO BALZO

Danza J. S. Bach
CLOTILDE Y ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF

Homenaje a Botticelli. Dos figuras que parecen desprendidas de "La Primavera", la obra maestra de Botticelli. Ellas expresan por la pureza de su bello y delgada, una serena simplicidad y la tierna melancolía del espíritu de Botticelli.

Coreografía de Clotilde y Alejandro Sakharoff.
Los trajes son de Alejandro Sakharoff.
Peluquería especialmente creada por Antoine (París)

Figure 41: Performance program (1941, October 2). (CIDDAE). See Bibliography

SODRE ESTUDIO AUDITORIO

TEMPORADA OFICIAL 1942

Sábado 9 de Mayo, a la hora 18

ULTIMO CONCIERTO SINFONICO - COREOGRAFICO

DESPEDIDA DE
**CLOTILDE y ALEJANDRO
SAKHAROFF**
con sus últimas y más famosas creaciones
DIRECTOR:
ALBERT WOLFF



Clotilde Sakharoff



Albert Wolff



Alejandro Sakharoff

PROGRAMA

PRIMERA PARTE

Las bodas de Figaro Mozart
ORQUESTA
Visione del Quattrocento Frescobaldi
(Orquestación de E. Halffter)
ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF
Sueño de Amor Liszt
CLOTILDE SAKHAROFF
Suite de Ballet Rameau
ORQUESTA
Gavota J. S. Bach
ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF
A Ma Grand Mere (D'Aprés Blanes) Vincent D'Indy
(Orquestación de Albert Wolff)
CLOTILDE SAKHAROFF
Danza Macabra Saint Saens
ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF

SEGUNDA PARTE

Prélude a L'après - midi d'un faune Debussy
CLOTILDE SAKHAROFF
Golliwog's Cake Walk Debussy
ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF
Petite Suite Debussy
ORQUESTA
Claro de Luna Debussy
(Orquestación de Albert Wolff)
ALEJANDRO SAKHAROFF
Tristán e Isolda (Preludio (Orquesta) / Muerte de Isolda) Wagner
CLOTILDE SAKHAROFF

Precios de las Localidades fuera de Abono

Palcos bajos y balcón sin entradas	\$ 6.00
Plateas	5.00
Entrada a Palco	5.00
Tertulias 1ª Fila	5.00
" " otras filas	4.00
Galería Baja 1ª Fila numerada (mixta)	3.50
" " otras filas numerada (mixta)	3.00
Entrada de Galería Baja sin numerar (mixta)	1.00
Galería Alta 1ª Fila numerada (mixta)	3.00
" " otras filas numerada (mixta)	2.50
Entrada a Galería Alta sin numerar (mixta)	1.00

Casa Romano - Sierra 1219

Figure 43: Performance program (1942, May 9). (CIDDAE). See Bibliography

SODRE
ESTUDIO AUDITORIO

TEMPORADA OFICIAL 1943

Sábado 9 de Octubre a la hora 18 y 30

ULTIMO CONCIERTO DE ABONO

Bajo la Dirección de
César de Mendoza Lassalle

CON LA INTERVENCIÓN DE LOS

"POETAS DE LA DANZA"

CLOTILDE y ALEJANDRO
SAKHAROFF

JUICIOS DE LA PRENSA MUNDIAL



FLORENT SCHMIT (Le Temps). "Los Sakharoff (Cuántas imágenes surgen a este nombre, imágenes de gracia, de belleza, de nobleza! Qué tacto, qué distinción, qué inteligencia en el arte de estos magos; arte que es un milagro de equilibrio espiritual!"

DIMITRI MEREJKOWSKY, el glorioso autor de "Résurrection des Dieux" resume así sus impresiones de un espectáculo de los Sakharoff: "Los mito y no creo a mis ojos; es como si existiera a la realización de un milagro. La ley de la gravitación, la pesantez, el orden de la muerte es vencido por otro orden."

Y. KIN LEUNG, renombrado crítico de arte, dijo, en China, de los Sakharoff "sus danzas a cada instante provocan pensamiento... ¡Os hacen reflexionar!"

M. L. VENTURI, el más reputado crítico de arte de Italia, llama a Clotilde Sakharoff: "Una enfant prodige de la danse" y agrega: "Se comprende por cada uno de sus movimientos que ella ha nacido para danzar". Dice también de Alejandro Sakharoff: "El personifica por sí mismo, habiendo llegado a resolver todos los problemas de los pasos y de la indumentaria, de la perfección técnica y de la impresión subjetiva que los renovadores de la danza se piden desde hace 20 años."



"SPHERE", "Son inigualables en plástica y en la acción mímica son geniales."

Iniciado el Concierto no se permitió la entrada a la sala, hasta la terminación de la primera obra.

Por razones de fuerza mayor, el maestro Theo Buchwald que debía dirigir el Concierto Sinfónico de Abono fijado para esta fecha, no se ha podido trasladar a Montevideo. En su lugar ha sido invitado a dirigir esta audición el maestro **CÉSAR DE MENDOZA LASSALLE**

PRECIOS DE LAS LOCALIDADES FUERA DE ABONO	
Palcos bajos y Balcón, sin entradas	\$ 10.00
P. E. A. T. E. A.	5.00
Entrada a Palco	5.00
TERCERA, 1ª Fila	5.00
Termino, otras filas	4.00
Galería Baja, 1ª fila numerada, (Mista)	3.00
Galería Baja, otras filas numeradas (Mista)	2.50
Entrada de Galería Baja, sin numerar (Mista)	0.80
Galería Alta, 1ª fila, numerada, (Mista)	2.50
Galería Alta, otras filas numeradas, (Mista)	2.50
Entrada de Galería Alta, sin numerar	0.80

Bomano - Sierra 1939

PRU 000370

CESAR DE MENDOZA LASSALLE
(Director)



César de Mendoza Lassalle nació en Valladolid el 13 de enero de 1910, y en esa ciudad cursó sus estudios de Filosofía y Letras, conjuntamente con el estudio de la música.

En Madrid continuó sus estudios musicales bajo la dirección del maestro Julio Gómez, profesor y bibliotecario del Real Conservatorio de Música y con la tutela de su tío el célebre maestro José Lassalle, director que fue de la famosa orquesta "Kaim Saal" de Munich, en Alemania.

Al terminar sus estudios en Madrid se trasladó a Pau (Francia), debutando en enero de 1935 al frente de la orquesta del Conservatorio de esa ciudad. Su éxito inicial le valió el ser nombrado director titular de esa orquesta durante dos años, asumiendo al mismo tiempo la dirección de diferentes orquestas en España, Francia y Portugal tales como las Orquestas Sinfónica y Filarmónica de Madrid, Orquesta Nacional de Francia, Association des Concerts Classiques de Marseille, Société Sainte Cécile de Burdeos, etc., desarrollándose en esta forma la portentosa carrera de este joven maestro que, en el espacio de siete años, ha dirigido en Europa más de 300 conciertos y representaciones teatrales de importancia, tales como los **Festivales Manuel de Falla**, celebrados en las Operas de Marsella y Niza, en el año 1937.

Ha actuado así mismo en el teatro "El Liceo" de Barcelona dirigiendo la ópera "Goyescas" de Granados, con clamoroso éxito.

Ha dirigido también la Orquesta Filarmónica de Barcelona, de la cual fué designado Director - presidente, y las orquestas Sinfónica y Filarmónica de Madrid.

Ha actuado últimamente con éxito en los teatros Colón y Odeón de Buenos Aires.

PROGRAMA

PRIMERA PARTE

× CIMAROSA Obertura de "El Matrimonio Secreto"
Orquesta.

× ALBENZ Granada
Alejandro Sakharoff.

× D'INDY V. A mi Abuela (d'Après Blanes)
Clotilde Sakharoff.

× FAURE "Pelleas et Melisande"
(Preludio et Fileuse).
Orquesta.

BACH J. S. Danza (Homenaje a Botticelli)
Clotilde y Alejandro Sakharoff.

"La Primavera", la obra maestra de Botticelli. Ellas expresan por la pureza de su baile y dulzura una serena simplicidad y la tierna melancolía del espíritu de Botticelli.

× FAURE "Pelleas et Melisande" - Sicilia
Orquesta.

× FAURE Nocturno
Clotilde Sakharoff.

× DEBUSSY La Muerte de San Sebastián
Alejandro Sakharoff.

Según la leyenda dorada, San Sebastián, después de haber sido acribillado de flechas, no murió de sus heridas. Cuidado secretamente curó, y presentándose luego humildemente ante el que había ordenado su suplicio, trató con dulzura, de convertirlo. Por segunda vez se le impuso el suplicio, y éste fué definitivo, pues acabó con su vida. Pero antes de morir, el santo pasó de una beatitud perfecta, de la alegría celeste de los elegidos.

SEGUNDA PARTE

× TURINA Danzas Fantásticas - Evocación y Ensueño
Orquesta.

× DEBUSSY Le Petit Berger
Clotilde Sakharoff.

× CHABRIER Bourré Fantasque
Alejandro Sakharoff.

Tres distintas personalidades son simultáneamente personificadas en una. Tres diferentes estados de la mente, el alma y el corazón, todos expresados por movimientos y plástica propia de cada personalidad. Es la eterna tragicomedia de la verdad y de la belleza escondidas en una caparazón feo y repulsivo, y de lo feo y bestial cubiertos por una forma de belleza todo atractivo. Entre ellos, juegos de coquetería frívola, vana y cruel. Puede definirse como un "diálogo plástico" conducido en un movimiento satánico por las tres eternas personalidades de la comedia italiana.

× KRUG Poema Primavera
Clotilde Sakharoff.

La ingenua felicidad de una joven campesina mientras danza por su propio gusto y, al percibir a sus amigos, les invita a bailar como tributo a la primavera y al amor.

× ALBENZ Serenata de Don Juan
Alejandro Sakharoff.

× WAGNER Preludio
Clotilde Sakharoff.
Muerte de Isolde

Figure 44: Performance program (1943, October 9). (CIDDAE). Full data in tables 1 and 2.

Bibliography

Archives

Jerome Robbins Dance Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

The Dance Collection includes a series of undated photographs, drawings, and compositions about the Sakharoffs by unknown authors. The material I worked closely with is listed in books as (Berstein 1949).

Centro de Investigación, Documentación y Difusión de las Artes Escénicas (CIDDAE), Teatro Solís, Montevideo

All of the programs of the Sakharoffs' shows in Montevideo are held at CIDDAE.

Interview

Rosa, H. (2019, January 24). *Interview by Pablo Muñoz* at Primera Escuela de Danza Moderna del Uruguay, Montevideo. Recording in possession by Pablo Muñoz.

Programs of performances in Montevideo (Organized chronologically)

Sakharoff, Alexander & Clotilde. (Directors). (October 19, 1935). "Los famosos poetas de la danza Clotilde y Alejandro. En el concurso del pianista Emile Baume." [Program of the show at Estudio Auditorio del SODRE, Montevideo]. CIDDAE, Teatro Solís, Montevideo, Reconquista S/N esq. Bartolomé Mitre.

Sakharoff, Alexander & Clotilde. (Directors). (October 2, 1941). "Recital de Danzas. Con la colaboración de Hugo Balzo." [Program of the show at Teatro Solís, Montevideo]. CIDDAE, Solís Theatre, Montevideo, Reconquista S/N esq. Bartolomé Mitre.

Wolff, Albert. (Director). (October 18, 1941). "Concierto Sinfónico Festival de Música Francesa. Solistas Clotilde y Alejandro Sakharoff." [Program of the show at Estudio Auditorio del SODRE, Montevideo]. CIDDAE, Teatro Solís, Montevideo, Reconquista S/N esq. Bartolomé Mitre.

Wolff, Albert. (Director). (May 9, 1942). "Último Concierto Sinfónico-Coreográfico. Despedida de Clotilde y Alejandro Sakharoff" [Program of the show at Estudio Auditorio del SODRE, Montevideo]. CIDDAE, Teatro Solís, Montevideo, Reconquista S/N esq. Bartolomé Mitre.

De Mendoza Lassalle, César. (director). (October 9, 1943). Último Concierto de Abono. Con la intervención de los "Poetas de la Danza" Clotilde y Alejandro Sakharoff. [Program of the show at Estudio Auditorio del SODRE, Montevideo]. CIDDAE, Teatro Solís, Montevideo, Reconquista S/N esq. Bartolomé Mitre.

Uruguayan Press

Reviews from Lauro Ayestarán

(1942, Jul. 31). “En torno al Arte de la Danza de Alejandro y Clotilde Sakharoff.” *El País*, p.9.

(1942, Oct. 3). “La notable sesión de los Sakharoff.” *El País*, p9.

(1942, Jul. 24). “Una descomedida actitud para con la prensa en el Recital Sakharoff.” *El País*.

(1942, May 4). “La despedida de los Sakharoff.” *El País*.

(1943, May 30). “Con gran éxito se presentaron ayer los Sakharoff en el SODRE.” *El País*.

(1943, Oct. 11). “Los Sakharoff y Mendoza Lasalle.” *El País*.

Other Press Releases

D.M.B. (1949, Jun 24). “La Danza en los últimos años.” *Marcha*, p17.

Espínola, Francisco. (1939, Jul 7). “Novedades extranjeras.” *Marcha*, p18.

El País. (1935, Oct 17). “Alcanzó Gran Éxito La Conferencia De C. Sakharoff.” *El País*, p1.

Haber, Nadine. (1942, Apr 24). “Tomando una taza de té con Clotilde y Alejandro Sakharoff...” *Marcha*, p2.

La Mañana. (1935, Oct 18). “Los Sakharoff ofrecieron anoche otro espectáculo.” *La Mañana*, p2.

Laguardia, Adda. (1946). “Alejandro y Clotilde Sakharoff, poetas de la danza.” Especial para *Diario El Día*, Montevideo.

Romero-Nervegna, M. Inés. (1941, Jul 30). “Canto a los Sakharoff.” *El País*, p7.

Sakharoff, Clotilde. (1935, Oct 18). “Lo que es la danza para nosotros.” *El País*, p4.

Soriano, Alberto. (1941, Jul 31). “Clotilde y Alejandro Sakharoff se despidieron ayer por la tarde.” *El Plata*, p7.

Popular Magazines

Mundo Uruguayo. (1941, July 10). "Clotilde y Alejandro Sakharoff." *Mundo Uruguayo*.

Luisi de Podestá, Clotilde. (1936, August). "Los Sakharoff." *Alfar*. 76, 39–47.

Books and articles

AAVV. (2015). *El libro de la danza uruguaya*. Montevideo: HUM. Available at: https://issuu.com/ellibrodeladanzauruguaya/docs/libro_danza_issue

Aldrichi, C. (2000). *Antisemitismo en Uruguay: raíces, discursos, imágenes, 1870–1940*. Montevideo: Ediciones Trilce.

Bennahum, N.; Bassols, L. 2009. *Antonia Mercé: el flamenco y la vanguardia española*. Barcelona: Global Rhythm.

Bernstein, B. (1949, December 1st). Clotilde & Alexander Sakharoff: *18 pochoirs originaux*. [In print in Paris: L'Imprimerie des 2 Artisans. Copy N 32]. Jerome Robbins Dance Division (MGZFFV Res. + 89-5612). New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Dorothy and Lewis B. Cullman Center, 40 Lincoln Center Plaza.

Bissell, B. (2018). *Sentient Archive: Bodies, Performance, and Memory*. Wesleyan University Press.

Blades, H.; Kostic, R.; Whatley, S. (2017). "The Values of Leftovers in Dance Research." *Performance Research*, 22: 8, 144–152.

Brandstetter, G. (2015). *Poetics of Dance: Body, Image, and Space in the Historical Avant-gardes*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Broquetas, M. (2015). Fotografía e identidad. La revista *Mundo uruguayo* en la conformación de un nuevo imaginario nacional en el Uruguay del Centenario. *Artelogie* N° 7. <http://journals.openedition.org/artelogie/1060>

Broquetas, M., Bruno, M. (Ed.). (2018) *Fotografía en Uruguay. Historia y usos sociales. Tomo II.1930–1990*. Montevideo: Centro de Fotografía de Montevideo.

Buck-Morss, S. (2002). *Dreamworld and Catastrophe: The Passing of Mass Utopia in East and West*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT.

Caetano, G. (2018). De la "Suiza de América" al "Uruguay como problema." La génesis del pensamiento de Alberto Methol Ferré. *Iberoamericana – Nordic Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 47(1), 63–73. <https://doi.org/10.16993/iberoamericana.426>

- Carrera, D. (2009). *Estudios sobre danza en la Universidad*. Montevideo: Universidad de la República.
- Chilibroste Blanco, L. (2017). ¿Para qué bailar?. La creación de la división Ballet de la Escuela Nacional de Danza desde una perspectiva histórica. MA Thesis. “Maestría en Ciencias Humanas, opción Estudios Latinoamericanos.” Thesis Director: Phd. Aldo Marchesi. Montevideo: Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación. Universidad de la República.
- Collazo, R. (1967). *Historias del Bajo*. Montevideo: Editorial Alfa.
- De Torres, M. (Ed.). (2017). *Territorios en disputa: prensa, literatura y política en la modernidad rioplatense*. Montevideo: FIC, UDELAR.
- Derrida, J. (1996). *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. Translated by Eric Prenowitz. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Desmond, J. (2001). *Dancing Desires: Choreographing sexualities on and off the stage*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Dickerman, L. (2012). *Inventing Abstraction 1910–1925. How a Radical Idea Changed Modern Art*. New York: Museum of Modern Art.
- Dorín, P. (2011). Filiaciones y derivaciones de una danza de expresión en la Argentina. 9º Congreso Argentino y 4 Latinoamericano de Educación Física y Ciencias. Departamento de Educación Física. Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación, Universidad Nacional de La Plata. <http://congresoeducacionfisica.fahce.unlp.edu.ar>
- Espinosa-Miñoso, Y. (2003). A una década de la performatividad: de presunciones erróneas y malos entendidos. *Otras Miradas*, N°3 (1), 27-44. <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=18330103>
- Franko, M. (2018). *The Oxford Handbook of Dance and Reenactment*. Kettering: Oxford University Press.
- Falcoff, L. (2008). *Historia general de la danza en la Argentina*. Buenos Aires: Fondo Nacional de las Artes.
- Farfan, P. (2017). *Performing Queer Modernism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Feldman, M. (2001). *Tiempos difíciles: inmigrantes judíos en Uruguay, 1933–1945*. Montevideo: Universidad de la República, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación.
- Fisher, J., Shay, A. (Eds.). 2010. *When Men Dance: Choreographing Masculinities across Borders*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Foster, D. (2014). Annemarie Heinrich: Photography, Women's Bodies, and Semiotic Excess. In *Argentine, Mexican, and Guatemalan Photography: Feminist, Queer, and Post-Masculinist Perspectives* 18–37. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Fontán, A. (2019, April 24). “Danza Moderna en el Uruguay 1935–1965” [Web log post]. Retrieved from <https://investigacionendanza.files.wordpress.com>
- Fontán, A. (2019, April 24). “Pedro Figari: tras la memoria de la danza.” [Web log post]. Retrieved from <https://investigacionendanza.files.wordpress.com>
- Friedler, E. (2001). “Danza contemporánea.” In Assunção, F. *La danza en Uruguay*. Montevideo: Ediciones de la Plaza.
- Garibaldi, M. (2001). “Visitantes extranjeros.” In Assunção, F. *La danza en Uruguay*. Montevideo: Ediciones de la Plaza.
- Garafola, L. (1986). “The Travesty Dancer in Nineteenth-Century Ballet.” *Dance Research Journal*, N°17(2) & N°18(1), 35–40.
- Garret Acree, W. (2011). *Everyday Reading: Print Culture and Collective Identity in the Río de la Plata, 1780–1910*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Gluzman, Georgina G. (2017). Rezension von: Annemarie Heinrich: Secret intentions: intenciones secretas: génesis de la liberación femenina en sus fotografías vintage. *Woman's art journal*, N°38, 59-60.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. New York: Doubleday Anchor Books.
- Heinrich, A; Facio, S. (1987). *El espectáculo en la Argentina, 1930-1970*. Buenos Aires: Azotea.
- Heinrich, A; Wechsler, D.; Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero. (2015). *Estrategias de la mirada: Annemarie Heinrich*. Universidad Nacional de Tres de Febrero: Colección Libro de arte.
- Isse Moyano, M. (2006). *La danza moderna argentina cuenta su historia: historias de vida*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Artes del Sur.
- Kant, M. (2004). German Dance & Modernity: Don't Mention the Nazis. In *Rethinking Dance History: A reader*, Alexandra Carter (Ed.). London, New York: Routledge.
- Karina, L; Kant, M. (2003). *Hitler's Dancers: German Modern Dance and the Third Reich*. New York: Berghahn Books.

- Knarr, James. (2011). *Uruguay and the United States, 1903–1929. Diplomacy in the Progressive Era*. Kent: The Kent State University Press.
- Kriner, D. (1948). *Estudios sobre danzas*. Buenos Aires: Centurión.
- Lille, D. (2010). *Equipoise: The Life and Work of Alfredo Corvino*. New York: Dance & Movement Press.
- Lepecki, A. (2016). *Singularities dance in the age of performance*. New York: Routledge.
- Llamas, R. (1998). *Teoría torcida: prejuicios y discursos en torno a “la homosexualidad.”* Madrid: Siglo XXI.
- McKee Irwin, R.; Szurmuk, M. (2014). *Dictionary of Latin American Cultural Studies*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Mandello, J. (2016). *Jeanne Mandello: Views of the World: Perspectives of an Exiled German Jewish Photographer, 1928–1996*. (Texts by: Sandra Nagel und Marion Beckers). Salzburg: Fotohof Edition.
- Marascio, M. (2019, April 24). La posibilidad de la filosófico en la danza. In: *Aproximaciones al estudio de la danza en el Uruguay. Miradas interdisciplinarias*. [Web log post]. Retrieved from <https://bit.ly/2V7Oa8f>
- Marascio, M., Muñoz, P., Pérez, E., Pisani, C. (2019, April 24). *Primas hermanas. Proyecto de investigación en danza moderna y contemporánea*. Montevideo. [Web log post] Retrieved from <https://primashermanas.files.wordpress.com/2011/03/primas-hermanas-proyecto-de-investigacion3b3n-en-danza1.pdf>
- Marshall, D., Murphy, K.P. & Tortorici, Z. (2015). *Queering Archives: Intimate Tracings*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- McDonagh, D., Benbow-Pfalzgraf, T.; Benbow-Niemier, G. (1998). *International Dictionary of Modern Dance*. Detroit: St. James Press.
- Muñoz, P. (2016). *Cuerpos escritos y diseñados. Los sistemas de notación de danza como problema de Diseño de Comunicación Visual*. Montevideo: Universidad de la República.
- Nakajima, N. (2015). The Archiving Body in Dance the Trajectory of the Dance Archive Box Project. In Gabriele Brandstetter and Holger Hartung (Ed.) *Moving (Across) Borders* (191-218). Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag.

Nahum, B.; Cocchi, A; Frega, A; Trochon, Y. (2007). *Historia Uruguaya (Tomo 7). Crisis política y recuperación económica. 1930–1958*. Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental.

Nazareno Saxe, F. (2015). La noción de performatividad en el pensamiento de Judith Butler: queerness, precariedad y sus proyecciones / The notion of performativity in the thought of Judith Butler: queerness, precariousness and projections, *Estudios Avanzados*, N°24, 1-14. <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=435543383002>

Pérez, E. (2012) “Los Ballets Rusos de Diaghilev en Montevideo”. *Revista Dossier* N°32, May–June.

Peter, Frank-Manuel. (1997). *Der Tänzer Harald Kreutzberg*. Berlin: Hentrich.

Peter, F.M., Stamm, R., Veroli, P., Sacharoff, A. & Sacharoff C. (2002). *Die Sacharoffs: two dancers within the Blaue Reiter circle*. Köln: Wienand.

Quiroga, J. (2010). *Mapa callejero: crónicas sobre lo gay desde América Latina*. Buenos Aires: Eterna Cadencia.

Real de Azua, C. (1969). *La clase dirigente*. Montevideo: Ed. Nuestra Tierra

Sakharoff, A. (1949). *Reflexiones sobre la danza y la música*. Buenos Aires: Emecé.

Sedgwick, E. (1993). Queer Performativity: Henry James’s The Art of the Novel. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, N°1(1), 1–16.

Sekula, Allan. (1986). The Body and the Archive. *October* N° 39(3), 3-64.

Silveira, S.; Mirza, R. (2014). *Teatro y danza*. (Series: Nuestro tiempo, 19). Montevideo: Comisión del Bicentenario.

Sparti, B., Van Zile, J., Heller, N. G; & Kaeppler, A. L. (2011). *Imaging Dance: Visual Representations of Dancers and Dancing*. New York: Verlag

Tambutti, Susana. (2014). *Teoría General de la Danza. Módulo I*. Universidad de Buenos Aires, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Material de cátedra inédito (unpublished).

Travnik, J. (2004). *Annemarie Heinrich: un cuerpo, una luz, un reflejo*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Larivière.

Toepfer, K. (1998). *Empire of Ecstasy: Nudity and Movement in German Body Culture, 1910– 1935*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ulive, U. (2009). *Danzas tristes*. Caracas: Mondadori.

——— (2007). *Memorias de teatro y cine*. Montevideo: Trilce.

Veroli, P. (1992). “Archives of the Dance: Between Art and Fashion: Alexander Sakharoff’s Theatre Designs” *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research*, 10(1) (Spring, 1992). pp. 78–93.

——— (Ed.) (1991). *I Sakharoff: un mito della danza, fra teatro e avanguardie artistiche: Convento dei cappuccini*. Bologna: Bora.

Wasem, M. (2015). *El amor libre en Montevideo: Roberto de las Carreras y la irrupción del anarquismo erótico en el novecientos*. Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental.

Wünsche, I. (2018). *The Routledge companion to Expressionism in a transnational context*. New York: Routledge. 1935. Berkeley: University of California Press.