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1 Rehearsals for *He Takes Her By The Hand And Leads Her Into The Castle, The Others Follow*
Bochum, 1978

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We play ourselves,
we are the piece.[1]

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Not only does the Tanztheater Wuppertal enjoy a unique status in the dance world due to its global artistic significance – what makes it a truly remarkable ensemble is the fact that its members have worked together for years and even decades. Other large companies – such as the New York-based Alvin Ailey Dance Theater or, in Germany, the Hamburg Ballett, which has been run by John Neumeier since 1972 – also demonstrate high levels of continuity, but there is often fast dancer turnover, in part because ballet dancers' stage careers normally end at an early age after a fairly short amount of time, much like those of competitive athletes. However, in the case of the Tanztheater Wuppertal, dancers remain members for decades, even if some do leave the company for short periods in between. Each generation of dancers has generated its own specific material for the stage (→ WORK PROCESS) and, over many years, has exclusively brought this material to life in performance, before passing the pieces on to other companies (→ PIECES). For audiences and critics alike, it is the dancers who are the public face of the Tanztheater Wuppertal. However, they are not the only ones who have shaped its image. Behind the scenes, set designers, costume designers, music directors, assistants, technical, management and office staff – many of whom have also been working for the Tanztheater Wuppertal for decades – have also contributed in many different ways to its global success. The company is a group comprising a total of approx. 60 people. As is evident from the interviews that I conducted, many of them consider the Tanztheater Wuppertal to be a "family" – even those who at some point took their leave.

In many respects, the Tanztheater Wuppertal is a unique ensemble. Composed of an equal number of men and women from different continents and various generations, it is a social and cultural model of reality. At the same time, the ensemble is utopian – both as a modern company that has rejected classical hierarchies from the outset, but also as the guardian of an important legacy of the transitory, contemporary art form of dance. Moreover, the company is ultimately a historical model, one that now, under the neoliberal conditions of artistic production at the beginning of the 21st century, would no longer be able to establish itself or endure for as long as it has. The Tanztheater Wuppertal is also the result of German cultural policies of the 1970s, when culture was considered an important factor in the development of democracy and emerging art forms found the appropriate patrons and niches to develop that democracy. Since the 1990s, the media-driven battle for attention in the age of global digitalization, the struggle for innovation and sensation, competition in the global art market and cuts to national and local government cultural funding have significantly increased the pressure on theater and festival directors to publicly legitimize

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their venues by optimizing the number of seats sold, etc. Institutionalized theaters have not been spared from these developments, leaving little to no room for young artists to develop. Neither the 'independent scene' *(freie Szene)* nor these large institutions can provide them with safe havens from the kind of immense criticism and resistance that Pina Bausch faced during her early years. The company is thus also a reflection of a historical moment in time, as it could not have worked the way that it did without the years of incomparable, generous support that it received from various branches of the Goethe-Institut worldwide, which the Goethe-Institut has long since ceased to grant to individual artists for such long periods of time. Finally and most importantly, the Tanztheater Wuppertal is a historical model in the sense that it fundamentally differs from today's network-based modes of working on single productions for short, clearly delimited periods of time in hasty partnerships of necessity, with collaborators often involved in multiple projects at the same time. Today, there are rarely long-term, ongoing artistic working relationships within a dance ensemble of this scale that would allow for the development of a shared 'artistic signature.'

This chapter therefore focuses on the long-standing structures of collaboration within the Tanztheater Wuppertal. It inquires into forms of collaboration, daily routines, personal views on the work shared, and the bonds that have tied and held the group together for so many years and decades.

Translating hunches: Artistic collaboration

Pina Bausch and her long-term artistic collaborators at the Tanztheater Wuppertal, but also the dancers involved in the company from the beginning, were all members of the same generation. They were 'war babies,' born between 1930 and 1945. While many publications about Pina Bausch mention her childhood,[2] most only roughly describe her family background. Very little attention has been paid to the fact that Pina Bausch and her colleagues Rolf Borzik, Peter Pabst and Marion Cito were children of the war and that the Second World War and the postwar era fundamentally influenced how they experienced everyday life. This deficit in the literature corresponds to a surprising general lack of historical research on childhood during WWII,[3] especially in terms of what kind of effect growing up during the war had on later artistic production. What were these childhoods like and how are they remembered? How did the daily experiences of war and of rebuilding after the war influence personal identity and each person's approach to their work? How did this translate into forms of collaboration? This section takes a closer look at these questions.

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Based on memories shared by individual members of the company in public talks and discussions or in interviews with me, it outlines the lives and working methods of longtime artistic collaborators at the Tanztheater Wuppertal and asks what it was that allowed their collaboration to continue for years and even decades.

THE CHOREOGRAPHER: PINA BAUSCH

Pina Bausch was born Philippine Bausch on July 27, 1940, in Solingen. After her siblings Anita and Roland, she was August and Anita Bausch's third and youngest child. Her parents ran a tavern attached to a guesthouse, Hotel Diegel, located in a neighborhood called Zentral.[4] Her father came from a humble background in the Taunus, a mountain range in Hessen. He worked as a truck driver before taking over the tavern.

Today, Zentral in Solingen is a rather unattractive place to live – a traffic hub where different streets cross and then radiate outward toward Essen, Wuppertal, Solingen, Wald and Hilden. One of them is Focherstraße, on which Pina Bausch grew up in a house with the number 10, close to a large intersection. Today, this is an area of overgrown vacant lots and plain, unsightly postwar housing, with little to no stores, public institutions or other urban infrastructure. The only striking exception is the Bergisches Haus beside the intersection at the end of Focherstraße, an old half-timbered building with slate facades and green window shutters, which now houses a pharmacy. It is all that is left of Zentral's once radiant past. This same building was once home to Café Müller – the same café that gave its name to one of Pina Bausch's most famous pieces. A few years ago, the city installed a sign on the wall outside to commemorate this fact.

Nonetheless, Zentral and Solingen in general boast a proud history, which stretches as far back as the 13th century. For centuries, its inhabitants owed much of their prosperity to the knife-making industry. The First World War led to a collapse of the

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export-based knife-making trade and plunged hitherto wealthy, prosperous Solingen into a deep crisis. Unemployment and homelessness increased at alarming rates, especially after the Great Depression of 1929. In the two years following the Nazis' "rise to power" in 1933, their political opponents in the city – which was also the birthplace of Adolf Eichmann, the bureaucratic administrator of the Holocaust about whose trial in Israel Hannah Arendt wrote her famous book, in which she described his bureaucratic

2 Pina Bausch during the filming of *The Plaint of the Empress*, Wuppertal, 1988

3 Former Café Müller building, Solingen

reign as the "banality of evil"[5] – were arrested, accused of high treason, tortured, sent to concentration camps and killed. Even before the war began, Solingen had already deported three-quarters of the approx. 200 Jews who had lived there before 1933. More were sent to concentration camps during the war.

At midnight on June 5, 1940 – about seven weeks before the birth of Philippine Bausch – the first bombs fell on the city of Solingen. Nights were often filled with the wailing of sirens after the Allies decided to begin their strategic carpet bombing in 1942. In August of that year, the US joined in on the aerial warfare and, together with the British, concentrated on bombing major cities and key areas of the German arms industry. What followed from May to July 1943

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went down in history as the Battle of the Ruhr. Heavy air raids laid waste to the industrial Ruhr region, but also to cities neighboring Solingen such as Wuppertal-Barmen, which would later become Pina Bausch's workplace and home to the Tanztheater Wuppertal. From 1944 onward, the Allies achieved complete dominance over Germany's skies, with bombers now attacking during the day as well. On November 4 and 5, 1944, Solingen was extensively bombarded and the Old Town completely destroyed. Further attacks followed in short succession in the subsequent days and weeks.[6] On the evening of November 5, British radio finally proclaimed: "Solingen, the heart of the German steel goods industry, has been destroyed. It is a dead city."[7] Pina Bausch was four years old at the time. On April 16 and 17, 1945, two weeks prior to Hitler's suicide and three weeks before Germany's unconditional surrender, the war ended in Solingen when American troops marched into town. "Pina," as family and friends called her, was not even five years old. She and her family had survived.

After the end of the war, the British and American occupying forces concentrated on bringing about a swift return to normalcy. Classes in Solingen's primary schools resumed as early as in August. Just one year after the end of the war, the city's municipal theater was rebuilt and, in its first season, already boasted more than 4,500 season-ticket holders. One year later, this number had tripled. On average, 10 percent of Solingen's population of approx. 140,000 people were attending the theater. In 1948, the destroyed city of Solingen was almost undisputedly the leading city in the western occupied sectors when it came to theater and cinema. With over 2,700 theater seats, it was the second-largest theater city after Hamburg and also took second place in film, with ten cinemas hosting over two million visitors on more than 4,200 seats. Even ballet schools reopened right after the war. Like her sister Anita, who was two years her senior, Pina Bausch benefited from this development: at the age of five, shortly after the end of the war, she enrolled in Jutta Jutter's ballet school.

"[Some] of what I experienced as a child [resurfaced] again much later on the stage,"[8] is the opening sentence of Pina's Bausch's acceptance speech for the Kyoto Prize in 2007, in which she spoke extensively about her childhood, describing it as a time of fear and hardship, but also of joy, discovery and happiness. This speech, which was very important to her and on which she worked for a long time with various people, is a testament to her work of remembrance, a reconstruction of her own war and postwar history. It is also a document that reveals some of her own ideas about translating her early childhood experiences into her artistic work, as indicated by what she presents in the speech and when and how she mentions it.[9]

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In Pina Bausch's words: "The war experiences are unforgettable. Solingen suffered a tremendous amount of destruction. When the air raid sirens went off, we had to go into the small shelter in our garden. Once a bomb fell on part of the house as well. However, we all remained unharmed. For a time, my parents sent me to my aunt's in Wuppertal because they had a larger shelter. She thought I would be safer there. I had a small black rucksack with white polka dots, with a doll peering out of it. It was always there packed ready so that I could take it with me when the air raid siren sounded.

I remember too our courtyard behind the house. There was a water pump there, the only one in our area. People were always lining up there to fetch water. This was because people had nothing to eat; they had to go bartering for food. They would swap goods for something to eat. My father, for example, swapped two quilts, a radio, and a pair of boots for a sheep so we would have milk. This sheep was then covered – and my parents called the baby lamb 'Pina.' Sweet little Pina. One day[,] it must have been Easter[,] 'Pina.' lay on the table as a roast. The little lamb had been slaughtered. It was a shock for me. Since then I haven't eaten any lamb.

My parents had a small hotel with a restaurant in Solingen. Just like my brothers and sisters, I had to help out there. I used to spend hours peeling potatoes, cleaning the stairs, tidying rooms – all the jobs that you have to do in a hotel. But, above all, as a small child I used to be hopping and dancing around in these rooms. The guests would see that too. Members of the [choir] from the nearby theater regularly came to eat in our restaurant. They always used to say: 'Pina really must go to children's ballet group.' And then one day they took me along to the children's ballet in the theatre."[10]

In spite of the war, Pina Bausch describes life with her immediate family as sheltered, safe and affectionate. After the war ended, she began dancing. "Dance, dance, otherwise we are lost" – this sentence that a young girl called out to her many years later in Greece aptly describes how she experienced her childhood: when the need is greatest, dance is a physical, sensory medium of self-affirmation. From her early childhood, the world of dance was a utopian space. The ballroom, which her parents did not build as planned, only existed as a ruin, as a hope for another, more carefree life. Pina Bausch depicts this overgrown dancefloor as a paradise, a place of childlike dreaming and longing, as a refuge from the daily lives of the adults and as a space to experiment with putting on her first small performances. Perhaps it was a protected place, much like what the Lichtburg, the Tanztheater Wuppertal's rehearsal space, would later become for her.

"There was a garden behind our house, not very large. That's where the family shelter was and a long building – the skittle alley. Behind it was what used to be a gardening center. My parents had bought this plot of land in order to open up a garden restaurant. They started off with a round dance floor made of concrete. Unfortunately nothing came of the

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rest. But for me and all the children in the neighborhood it was a paradise. Everything grew wild there, between grasses and weeds there were suddenly beautiful flowers. In summer we were able to sit on the hot, tarred roof of the skittle alley and eat the dark sour cherries that hung over the roof. Old couches on which we were able to jump up and down as if on a trampoline. There was a rusty old greenhouse; perhaps that's where my first productions began."[11]

Some aspects of these memories appeared in later pieces – such as dancers jumping on an array of old couches in the "Macbeth Piece" *He Takes Her By the Hand And Leads Her Into The Castle, The Others Follow* (PREMIERE 1978). Back then, in the postwar period, the children pretended that they were famous actors and actresses, one of them Marika Rökk, a former star of the German Cinema (UFA), who openly sympathized with the Nazis and was also able to successfully continue her career after the war. "I was usually Marika Rökk,"[12] says Pina Bausch, and here we see how little self-reflection there was – no one found it strange that children after the war continued to admire and imitate the film stars of the Nazi era.

Pina Bausch thus grew up in a theater-loving city. According to her own stories, members of the choir from the nearby theater visited the tavern on a regular basis, even during the war. Eavesdropping on guests' conversations as a small child, learning to listen and stay silent, gave her an early understanding of theater and led her straight into ballet once the war had ended. For Pina Bausch, dance and theater therefore belonged together from an early age: later, having anything to do with the theater, wanting to do nothing else but dance, to be on the stage, would be like fulfilling the childhood dreams and fantasies she had had during the war. But in the early postwar years, as a member of the children's ballet at Leonore Humburg's Solinger Theater, she initially mainly came into contact with works of a lighter nature, like operettas.

Compared to other children born in industrial and urban environments during the war in Germany, Pina Bausch led a relatively privileged life. Her parents were comparatively well off. They had a large plot of land and a house that had suffered only little damage during the war. They had their own "family bunker" in the yard and, because they owned a water pump, they had access to fresh water, even during water shortages. But by listening in on guests' conversations, Pina Bausch learned more than other children about adult fears, worries and troubles, and about anger, disappointment, hardship, desires, dreams and longing, as well as about hate and violence during and after the war. Sometimes, she sat beneath the tables, kept quiet and listened. She observed and fantasized, took in smells, regarded chairs and table legs, trousers and high-heeled shoes. Herein lies one of the sources of her love for observing every-

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day life, which would later – magnified by aesthetic means as if under a microscope – characterize her choreographic work. "Compared to reality, none of it means anything. People often say: it's incredible the way the people perform in my pieces, how they laugh, how they do the things they do. But if you just take a look at the way that people cross the street – if you let the same things happen on the stage, completely mundane things, nothing absurd, if you just let the whole sequence take place – the audience wouldn't believe it. It's completely unbelievable. In contrast, what we do is nothing,"[13] she would later explain in a 1998 interview about her pieces. Pina Bausch must have seen, experienced or suspected much of how men and women interact when it comes to love and hate, affection and violence. Her early pieces clearly demonstrate as much. About these early pieces, she said: "It's not about violence; it's about the opposite. I don't show violence to make people want it, I show it to make them not want it. And: I try to understand the origins of that violence. Like in *Bluebeard*. And in *Kontakthof*."[14]

Her first piece as ballet director in Wuppertal was *Fritz* (PREMIERE 1974). The male character Fritz was played by a woman (Hiltrud Blanck). The piece also included a mother (Malou Airaudo), a father (Jan Minařík) and a grandmother (Charlotte Butler). For Pina Bausch, it was the piece that most clearly related to her own childhood, although the subject of childhood featured prominently in many of her other pieces as well (→ PIECES). Fritz, "[…] he was a little boy. But only on the outside. That piece probably had the most to do with my childhood. It was about parents and a grandmother, from the perspective of a child that has strange fantasies. Enlargements, like looking through a magnifying glass."[15]

War and childhood played a role in a number of Pina Bausch's pieces. Motifs were often reused, such as the early 1940s Christmas song "Mamatschi, schenk' mir ein Pferdchen, ein Pferdchen wär' mein Paradies…" (Mummy, Give Me a Little Horse, a Little Horse would be my Paradise…), which appeared for the first time in the piece *1980* (PREMIERE 1980) and then once more in *Two Cigarettes in the Dark* (PREMIERE 1985) – a piece whose title was taken from a song sung for the first time by American actress and singer Gloria Grafton in 1934. The German writer, filmmaker and philosopher Alexander Kluge characterized the situation in which this song was embedded in Germany in 1942 as follows: "The date is December 24, 1942. This is Christmas radio. The propagandists in Narvik are calling their colleagues in Africa, where Rommel's tankers are celebrating 'Christmas in the desert' with palm branches. The shouts ringing out across Europe end in the Stalingrad pocket. All of the melancholy hits since 1936, the year of the Olympics, like 'Hirten auf dem Feld,' are being mobilized. Propaganda, kitsch, but also real fear and anxiety are coming together on this Christmas Eve of crisis: adversity binds people together. One of the songs played most

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this Christmas, the no. 1 request, is 'Mamatschi, schenk mir ein Pferdchen.' It's about a children's toy, a horse fitted out in military gear, that was once given to the oldest son. And now the news has arrived that the child who received that toy back then has fallen in the war. This war was already lost when it began. At the latest in December 1941, when the German Reich declared war against the US. But only now, on this propaganda-bedecked, oppressive Christmas Eve of 1942 is this state of affairs being acknowledged."[16] In *Two Cigarettes in the Dark*, Jan Minařík, who danced in the original cast, held an axe – a key object in the piece – in his hand as the music played – leaving no doubt about what he would do to the horse.

Pina Bausch remembers her wartime childhood as "not horrible. It was very imaginative though."[17] This is a description of the worlds of childhood in which she lived during that horrific time. "She was allowed to turn everything upside down,"[18] said her mother. Her parents had little time for their children and a disregard for strict discipline. Pina Bausch described her father, who continued to call her "my little monkey"[19] well into adulthood, as a cheerful, patient and reliable man, who told the children stories about his former tours as a truck driver, sang and whistled a lot, was fond of his children, never scolded them, often showed physical affection, trusted them and never made them feel guilty. Her mother was, like many *Trümmerfrauen* (the women who cleared away the rubble after the Second World War), a practically minded person. Pina Bausch describes her as "quiet and withdrawn,"[20] but also as an almost childlike playmate: she walked barefoot in the snow, engaged in snowball fights with the children, climbed trees, had crazy ideas and dreamed of traveling to unusual places. After the war, she tried to give the children special, unusual presents. Pina received a fur coat, tartan trousers and green shoes. Maybe the gifts were intended to make her forget, to hide the wounds and the grief caused by the war.

But Pina Bausch was embarrassed by these peculiarities, these expressions of petty bourgeois luxury in postwar Germany. Perhaps she was also ashamed of the usual strategies of collective suppression. Even as a twelve year old, she wanted neither tartan trousers nor green shoes: "[…] I didn't want to wear any of this. I wanted to be inconspicuous."[21] Nor did she like the hand-sewn dresses with cap sleeves that her grandmother, a refugee from Poland, made for her from leftover, preferably red, flag fabric. "It was a nightmare for me," Pina Bausch later remembered. But fur coats, colorful postwar dresses, the aprons of the 1940s and 1950s, lavish evening gowns and traditional double-breasted men's blazers would later become hallmarks of her pieces. All her life, the choreographer herself, who clothed her female dancers in every variety of feminine sensuality, preferred to wear inconspicuous clothes. Her signature style comprised long, wide-legged black pants, broad blazers, com-

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fortable shoes, quickly pulled-back hair and a face with little to no makeup, except maybe lipstick. "I like dresses. I just feel really strange wearing them: like a decorated Christmas tree."[22] She probably never learned that it could be any other way. During her childhood, people only ever wore pretty dresses or 'dolled themselves up' for the holidays. "Christmas trees" were what the German population – and Marion Cito during our conversation – called the red and green lights that the scout planes used to mark the targets of the Allied bombers during the air raids.

Like many other children growing up during the war, Pina Bausch learned to take responsibility for her own actions. Her childhood taught her great self-confidence and discipline, a willingness to take risks and the courage to do so. "I can't do that" was a statement that not only Pina Bausch eliminated from her vocabulary. The children were left to themselves. Even when in the greatest doubt, they simply tried things out and did them – and this was the attitude that allowed Pina Bausch to manage her parents' restaurant alone at the age of twelve during their absence and one that stayed with her for life. "I can give it a try,"[23] was what she said upon accepting the offer to become ballet director in Wuppertal, after giving it much thought. During our interview, Marion Cito remembered thinking the same thing when Pina Bausch surprised her by asking her to take charge of the costumes. Not taking oneself too seriously was considered a virtue by many, as well as by Pina Bausch – and this required a certain degree of rigor toward oneself, a certain tenacity and resilience, in spite of the doubts that accompanied her through life, as they did many wartime children. She and the others took for granted that they could function and adapt to situations, be pragmatic on the one hand, but also have the courage, strength and will to live and be true to themselves on the other. These qualities corresponded to those that her teacher "Papa Jooss," as she called him, expected of the dancers at the Folkwang Schule when she studied dance there: "As dancers and choreographers, we are challenged to find genuine, meaningful gestures or movements to reflect specific content and use these in new compositions, while practicing rigorous self-criticism and uncompromising discipline. This brief opens up a narrow path, an unforgiving route toward the intrinsic, the essence of meaning,"[24] as Kurt Jooss' credo went.

Pina Bausch acquired these qualities at an early age. Moreover, the constant observing, watching and looking closely that she practiced under the tables of the restaurant became the guiding principles of her artistic work. Not knowing what she was looking for, but having a hunch about what it could be and being certain that she would eventually find it, was how Pina Bausch described her process.

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In her Kyoto speech, she remembers a situation onstage where the pianist had not shown up, and she, the dancer, patiently waited and posed onstage with increasing self-confidence: "By that time I had already realized that in extremely difficult situations a great calm overcame me, and I could draw power from the difficulties. An ability in which I have learnt to trust."[25] Mechthild Großmann admired her composure and patience. "Her eyes were fantastic. She could look at you with patience, as only the Japanese can. For hours, without moving […] and she would reply to everything with: 'Hm, hm….'"[26] Her desire to observe in silence and to keep her observations to herself led her to distrust words. Pina Bausch did not talk about her pieces – neither with the dancers ("No. I cannot talk with any of them. Maybe about certain scenes, about details… but about the piece… no, that's not possible"[27]) nor with her closest collaborators or staff, and not with the audience either. Pina Bausch did not speak about the meaning of her pieces, about explanations or interpretations, but she did talk – with a few people – about their development. The core members of the team, especially during the first artistic phase in Wuppertal, became a tight-knit group, perhaps prompted by the considerable criticism of and resistance to their work. They spent long nights in bars exchanging ideas – and this sitting around in bars was one of Pina Bausch's penchants, perhaps conveying a sense of familiarity that reminded her of her childhood, when her parent's tavern was a place where she was not alone: "I grew up fairly isolated. Everyone was always horribly preoccupied and had to work a lot. I usually hung around the bar, always with people. I still like to go to restaurants. It's where I can think best: isolated among people."[28]

One of her closest discussion partners at the time was undoubtedly Rolf Borzik, with whom she worked closely during the first phase in Wuppertal (→ PIECES). After his death, the birth of her son Salomon and the appearance of a steadily growing age gap between the choreographer and her dancers, Raimund Hoghe and Peter Pabst became her most important dialogue partners.

A letter from January 16, 1959, documents the courage, self-confidence and determination that characterized the young dancer at the time. Eighteen-year old Pina Bausch writes a request to the Cultural Department of her hometown Solingen. One year before, she had been awarded the inaugural Folkwang Prize. She mentions it in her letter as one of the reasons that she wants to continue her dance studies – and states that she wishes to do so in New York, which at the time is the mecca of modern ballet, home to the New York City Ballet under George Balanchine, to modern dance and the companies of people like Martha Graham, José Limon and Anthony Tudor, as well as to protagonists of postmodern dance such as Merce Cunningham and representatives of the Judson Dance Theater. In her handwritten letter, which is stored in the Stadtarchiv Solingen

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(the city's municipal archives), Pina Bausch asks for financial support and explains: "Studying in New York for nine months would cost about DM 9,000."[29] She says that she is willing to contribute her prize money of DM 1,500, which she was the first to receive at the Folkwang Schule. This letter is both an interesting historical document demonstrating the cultural policies at the time and a testament to the young applicant's determination. Pina Bausch encloses "a few press reviews" with her application and, before ending with respectful salutations, requests that the newspaper clippings be returned to her after they have been read. Also included is an assessment by her "main expert instructor," Kurt Jooss, who attests to her "highly remarkable qualities," "extraordinary and rare talent," "exemplary diligence" and "utter devotion," and describes her as the "phenomenon of a dance artist, of the kind only rarely encountered."[30] According to Kurt Jooss, there is no other young person who "more sincerely and honestly" deserves support than "Fräulein Bausch." He also points out just how much Germany has to gain from her international experience, for the young artist, he says, is very determined to return to Germany after finishing her studies in New York. In this respect, providing her with funding would make a "vital contribution to cultural life." But the city was only willing to make a small contribution, and Pina Bausch therefore applied to the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), which provided her with DM 8,500. Together with the prize money, this was now more than what she had originally asked for, and the city considered the case closed until Pina Bausch's father again asked for money, saying that it had now come to their attention that even a modest life in NYC would cost at least DM 1,000 a month. It was a renewed commitment by Pina Bausch's parents to their daughter's career, although they would never see a single one of her pieces. Their opinions were once more validated by the DAAD, which also pointed out that it would applaud any decision by the city of Solingen to provide support to the young dancer. However, once again, the city referred the request back to her father, who contributed DM 500 until the city of Solingen finally agreed to a one- off grant of DM 2,000.

Pina Bausch took the money and set out on her journey by boat to the "land of the free," to the urban metropolis of New York City, without knowing a single world of English. She stayed there for not one, but two years. She had to make the money last, subsisting on buttermilk and ice cream, but she got to know the American dance avant-garde of the 1960s. Two years later, in 1962, she returned "with a heavy heart" at the request of Kurt Jooss and helped him to establish the Folkwang Ballett, here developing her first choreographies and experiencing the burgeoning revolution of the 1960s (→ PIECES). She choreographed her first one-act pieces, came

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into contact with students from other departments at the Folkwang Schule and made the acquaintance of the student Rolf Borzik, before moving to Wuppertal in 1973. She was accompanied by a small group that she had met during her Folkwang days. They had collaborated with her there for years, and it was with them that she then established the core of the "Tanztheater Wuppertal family," which continued to grow in size over the years. This group included the dancers Marlies Alt and Jan Minařík and, aside from Rolf Borzik, three other main, male artistic collaborators, Hans Züllig, Jean Cébron and Hans Pop, who all continued to accompany and support the work of the Tanztheater Wuppertal in different ways for many years to come. As Pina Bausch once said: "Almost everything that I learned, I learned from men."[31]

The dancer Hans Pop was the first to assume and fulfill the role of artistic collaborator for many years. He was not a dramaturge, a role carried out by Raimund Hoghe from 1980 until 1990, nor was he the kind of assistant that former dancers such as Jo Ann Endicott, Bénédicte Billiet and Barbara Kaufmann would later become in various roles. His role was not comparable with that of Robert Sturm either, who Pina Bausch called her "anyway assistant"[32] and who joined the Tanztheater Wuppertal in 1999, sitting beside Pina Bausch during all rehearsals for new pieces and taking on responsibility within the overall process for a wide range of tasks that had previously been separate, such as filming and organizing rehearsals, taking notes during feedback after the performances and helping to plan research trips. Hans Pop's task was simply described as "collaboration" – which is how it is also officially credited on the website of the Tanztheater Wuppertal. He performed his duties consistently for every new production, from *Iphigenie auf Tauris* (PREMIERE 1974) to *Walzer* (PREMIERE 1982) and then once more for *Ahnen* (PREMIERE 1987). In addition, he was in charge of the company's training in the first few years, supervised all of the rehearsals for *The Rite of Spring* (PREMIERE 1975) into the new century and organized tours.

Hans Züllig (1914-1992) came from Switzerland and had also studied at the Folkwang Schule under Kurt Jooss and Sigurd Leeder in the early 1930s. In 1933, Kurt Jooss and Sigurd Leeder immigrated to England after Kurt Jooss refused to dismiss the Jewish members of his staff. One year later, Hans Züllig followed Kurt Jooss to Devon, where he was teaching dance at the progressive Dartington Hall School. In 1949, he returned with Kurt Jooss to Essen. Hans Züllig danced in ballet pieces by Kurt Jooss during the early 1930s and again with the Folkwang Ballett during the early 1950s. After working in Zurich, Düsseldorf and Santiago de Chile, he was appointed professor at the Folkwang Hochschule in 1968 and followed in Kurt Jooss' footsteps as director of the dance department in 1969. From 1973, when Pina Bausch took over as ballet director in Wupper-

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tal, he also taught dance classes at the Tanztheater Wuppertal until his death in 1992. Pina Bausch describes him as, a "wonderful dancer and teacher. Thanks to his support and his faith in me, I have been able to endure a lot and make a lot possible. He was my teacher, later the teacher of my company, and always my friend."[33]

Jean-Maurice Cébron (1927-2019) was a sophisticated Frenchman. Starting in 1945, he received private ballet lessons from his mother Mauricette Cébron, a soloist at the Opéra national de Paris. In addition, he was taught South-Asian dance, studied in London with Sigurd Leeder, danced as a soloist in the National Ballet of Santiago de Chile, was invited to the US by Ted Shawn and studied the Cecchetti method with Margaret Craske and Alfredo Corvino – who would also become important to Pina Bausch and the Tanztheater – at the New York Metropolitan Ballet Opera School in the late 1950s, shortly before Pina Bausch arrived in the city. He also taught at the legendary School at Jacob's Pillow. In the early 1960s, he moved to Essen like Pina Bausch, worked as a choreographer for the Folkwang Ballett and danced with Pina Bausch in several pieces from 1966 onward. After jobs in Stockholm and Rome, where he held positions as a dance professor, he returned to the Folkwang Hochschule in 1976 as a professor of modern dance, where he also trained the Tanztheater Wuppertal. Pina Bausch considered him to be an important teacher: "Working with dancer and choreographer Jean Cébron was particularly intensive […]. He is one of the people from whom I learned the most about movement. To become aware of every tiny detail of a movement and what and how everything happens in the body at the same time, and so much more […]. You have to think so much. You feel like you'll never be able to dance again, a hard lesson to learn – but! Many give up. Unfortunately."[34] Nazareth Panadero, a longtime member of the ensemble, also remembers how important not wanting to give up was to Pina Bausch and recalls her exclaiming: "Oh, dear. You give up too quickly!!!"[35]

For Pina Bausch, as well as for many of her collaborators and friends during the first phase, giving up was inconceivable. They were staggering through a traumatized society, in search of a path to another, more free and democratic community, without knowing how to get there. *Café Müller* (PREMIERE 1978) is undoubtedly one of Pina Bausch's most personal and intimate pieces (→ PIECES). It can be read as a translation of the wartime and postwar generation's lack of orientation, but also as a search for community and a sense of being there for one another. In a disturbing and very personal way, the piece shows a group of people all of the same age, their random wanderings, their careful fumblings into the unknown, the mutual support that they give one another and, at the same time, their desolation, grief, distress and longing. It is one of the few pieces in

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which Pina Bausch actually appeared (in the original cast). She was joined onstage by her first Wuppertal "family": her partner, stage and costume designer Rolf Borzik and the dancers Dominique Mercy, Malou Airaudo and Meryl Tankard. Pina Bausch moved around, barefoot, shivering, searching with her eyes closed and arms open wide in a small, almost transparent nightgown, stumbling along the walls and through the space filled with black coffeehouse chairs that were randomly and chaotically scattered around – Café Müller after an air raid (→ PIECES). Dominique Mercy ran around, raging against himself, against the wall, against the others, and Tankard wandered lost, decked out in fancy dress, the quintessence of overflowing, trashy femininity in high heels and a wig of red curls, while Rolf Borzik attempted to curb in the chaos, destruction and loneliness – in vain.

THE COSTUME AND STAGE DESIGNER: ROLF BORZIK

Rolf Borzik was what some might call an artistic all-rounder and others would simply consider an explorative artist. His friends described him as fearless, imperturbable, brave and inquisitive. In spite of receiving all kinds of training, he was essentially a self-taught man. Rolf Borzik was born on July 29, 1944, in German-occupied Poznań to Margaretha Fabian and Richard Borzik. Poznań, known in German as 'Posen,' is located in a region that was suffering from long-standing ethnic tensions between the resident German and Polish communities at the time. In its various partitionings, Poznań had repeatedly been ceded to Prussia, and the Polish majority had been marginalized. After the First World War, the Greater Poland uprising began here in late December 1918, bringing the region back under Polish control. With the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, the German government ceded Poznań back to the newly founded territory of Poland. Many Germans fled. During the Invasion of Poland in September 1939, the German Wehrmacht occupied Poznań and the city became the capital of the newly created Reichsgau Wartheland administrative subdivision. Under the Nazis, the Polish population was subjected to systematic terror. By 1945, approx. 20,000 of Poznań's inhabitants had been murdered and 100,000 members of the Polish population had been displaced or deported to camps. A number of concentration and labor camps were built around Poznań. At the same time, Poznań's Imperial Castle was declared the first and only "residency of the Führer" in the German Reich – and it was here that ss commandants, *Reichsleiter* and *Gauleiter* met in 1943 under the leadership of *Reichsführer*-ss Heinrich Himmler to openly discuss the Holocaust and their program to exterminate the Jewish population.

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The city remained under Nazi rule until the winter of 1944/45. It was designated a stronghold *(Fester Platz)* in Hitler's defense strategy, intended to help halt the advancing Soviet troops. From a military point of view, it was clear that this strategy was doomed to fail, and so the outcome of the Battle of Poznań in January and February 1945 came as no surprise. The continuously advancing Soviet Army led to a massive exodus of refugees. More than 12,000 people fell during the struggle to defend the city, and a considerable portion of Poznań's architecture was laid to waste.

Rolf Borzik's father died the year that the war ended. His mother emigrated west with her nearly one-year-old infant to the town of Detmold in North Rhine-Westphalia, where Rolf Borzik attended primary school from 1951 until 1956, followed by high school. In 1957, the family moved to Aerdenhout in the Netherlands, between Haarlem and Zandvoort, one of the wealthiest cities in Holland. Rolf Borzik continued his school career in Bloemendaal. In 1960, he returned to Germany, first to study at a high school in Paderborn, before switching to another one in Rahden. For a while, he commuted between Germany and the Netherlands. After completing high school, he interned with a graphic design studio in Detmold, then learned to draw and paint portraits in Haarlem. In 1963, he enrolled in art school, first studying painting in Haarlem then at the Amsterdam Academy of Fine Arts, followed by the Academy in Paris. He roamed between the Netherlands, Germany and France – countries that were still hostile toward one another under the lasting effects of the Nazi regime and the experiences of the war, countries only slowly beginning to reconcile. After studying for three years, he decided to switch from painting to graphics and design, and signed up, at the peak of the student movement, for a corresponding spot at the Folkwang Hochschule in Essen, where he remained for five years until 1972. It was here that he met Pina Bausch, who was four years older and already famous among her students, since she had just won the first Folkwang Prize, lived and danced in New York and was now an outstanding dancer at the Folkwang Studio. He did not seem to find any of this intimidating. He moved in with her in 1970 and, in 1973, when she relocated to Wuppertal as the new ballet director, he followed (→ PIECES).

Rolf Borzik is often only mentioned as the costume and stage designer of the Tanztheater Wuppertal. In many publications about Pina Bausch, he is only noted in passing, if at all. This is a shortsighted and, in its shortsightedness, distorted understanding of his role, for he was Pina Bausch's primary artistic partner during her first artistic phase in Wuppertal. "Without Rolf Borzik, there would have been no Pina Bausch,"[36] as Marion Cito stated plainly in 2015. Even while he was still studying at the Folkwang Hochschule, Rolf

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Borzik was already considered a sophisticated, free spirit and an unconventional thinker: someone who unwaveringly followed his own interests, even when they did not conform with the zeitgeist of the late 1960s, especially in politically sensitive and 'artsy' student circles. He drew meticulous pictures of vehicles, including torpedoes, airplanes, tanks and aircraft carriers with heavy artillery, and he also set up an air pistol firing range in the atelier that he shared with fellow student Manfred Vogel. He remembers Rolf Borzik's willingness to engage in constant discussions over whether this was an appropriate and socially relevant task for a student of graphic design.[37] Together, they discussed the role of art in global affairs for nights on end. Rolf Borzik built a sailboat, which sank in the Ruhr and which he then quickly sold. But before its sinking, he had researched detailed sea routes to India and Brazil.

Fellow students saw Rolf Borzik as an artistic researcher. He was someone who loved experimenting, designing and meticulously taking all of the necessary technical details into account, wandering between genres. In her Kyoto speech, Pina Bausch remembers how the two of them began at the Folkwang Hochschule: "During that time I met Rolf Borzik. He painted, photographed, drew incessantly, made sketches, was always inventing something – he was interested in all technical things […]. He had so much knowledge and was persistently interested in things for which the form was decisive. At the same time, he had an infinite imagination, humor and a very precise sense of style, plus knowledge. But he didn't know what to do with them, with all his abilities and talents. That's how we met."[38]

Rolf Borzik contributed all his skill and talent to the task of establishing the Tanztheater Wuppertal. During the first artistic phase in Wuppertal, both his and Pina Bausch's talents entered into a congenial relationship. The passionate dancer gave up dancing rather reluctantly to become a choreographer, and Rolf Borzik more or less accidentally became a costume and stage designer. Together, they managed to develop an aesthetic far different to that which had been previously been considered dance theater. While Kurt Jooss still defined it as a form of theater,[39] a form that combined "absolute dance" and "dance drama," dance theater was now *Aktion* (happening/activism) and performance (→ PIECES). Pina Bausch and Rolf Borzik's work questioned the basic principles of concert dance and simultaneously caused a paradigm shift in the dispositif of theater.

The costumes and the stage designs expedited this shift. They did not represent, but rather established situations, connecting reality and theatricality, nature and art, by bringing the real into the theater and removing the representative dimension from the theatrical. This meant that costumes were both mundane garments and simultaneously "dance dress" *(Tanzkleider)* – and here Rolf Borzik

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served up a wild mix: secondhand dresses, evening gowns, cross dressing, bathing suits and diving fins. This meant opening up the stage to the performative and allowing it to take on agency, to join in the performance, be mobile and transform. Rolf Borzik called the stage a "free action space" *(freier Aktionsraum)* and defined it less as a setting and more as a playing field that "[…] turns us into happy and cruel children."[40] The stage was not a limitation and certainly not decoration. It was literally a playroom, a space for all kinds of action, a place of obstacles and resistance, where situational performance was more important than executing preselected choreographies. The spatial elements entered into dialogue with the performers, their movements changing with the design of the space, just as the room transformed itself in line with their movements and the traces that they made and left behind. It was a paradigm shift in the way that both theatrical and dance space were understood, transforming a representative concept of space into a performative one, into a space where acting 'as if' would have been impossible and pointless. In this respect, one crucial factor in the design was the stage floor, the most important spatial element for dancers. As the first stage designer to do so, Rolf Borzik covered it with natural elements – soil, water, sand, trees – which left a mark on both the dancers and their dancing. In 2007, Pina Bausch described the interactions between dancers and these natural elements as follows: "Earth, water, leaves or stones onstage create a very specific sensory experience. They change the movements, they record traces of movements, they create certain smells. Earth sticks to the skin, water is absorbed into the dresses, makes them heavy and produces sounds."[41]

The spaces built by Rolf Borzik often housed the same tensions and contradictions that characterized the aesthetics of the Tanztheater Wuppertal, or they conflicted with the action onstage: a lifeless tree in the ground in *Orpheus und Eurydike* (PREMIERE 1975), an exact copy of a Wuppertal street for the "Brecht/Weill Evening" *The Seven Deadly Sins* (PREMIERE 1976), an empty apartment with a floor covered in autumn leaves in *Bluebeard: While Listening to a Taped Recording of Béla Bartók's "Duke Bluebeard's Castle"*[42] (PREMIERE 1977), an iceberg invading a residential area in *Come dance with me* (PREMIERE 1977), a children's slide in *Renate Emigrates* (PREMIERE 1977) onto which two massive trees fall, and a soirée in the water with splendid evening gowns in *Arien* (PREMIERE 1979), accompanied by an onlooking hippopotamus. He also loved including details: in *Bluebeard,* there is a little bird rustling around in the leaves, and the artificial crocodile in *Legend of Chastity* (PREMIERE 1979) has a single red painted toenail. The set designs were technically complex, and Rolf Borzik applied himself with passion to solving their technical difficulties. To do so, he often had to be

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persuasive and was not always successful. He was quickly banned from the costume department at the Wuppertaler Bühnen. The stage technicians had a low opinion of dance, which took on a subordinate role in the theater's hierarchy of genres, and therefore refused to even consider his eccentric designs. Submerge the stage in water? Technically impossible! Too much weight. There would be problems with the electricity, and so on. Pina Bausch once described the challenges posed by the communication: "No matter what it is was, they said: that's impossible! But Rolf always knew how to do it. He sat down with the workshop managers, somehow they then also got interested and became inspired to make it become reality."[43]

Not only did Rolf Borzik symbolically clear a path for the blindly searching Pina Bausch in *Café Müller,* sweeping away the chairs in her path, he also built the spaces that her dance theater required. They were not purist, abstract spaces, but rather spaces both ordinary and extraordinary, familiar and confusing. While this concept varied over the course of different pieces, it never completely changed, although Pina Bausch and Rolf Borzik dealt with a wide range of genres in the development of the distinct aesthetics of the Tanztheater Wuppertal: some pieces were purely dance, others dance opera, operetta or revue. Rolf Borzik's stages were always open spaces with a range of different playing fields, within which dancers could create flexible micro-spaces with the help of materials and objects (tables, chairs, pillows, etc.). These micro-spaces existed side by side, were variable and kept the shifting space onstage in motion. In the 1970s, Rolf Borzik's spaces and Pina Bausch's choreographies even opened up the fourth wall facing the audience, making the boundary between stage and auditorium permeable: the choreography extended outward into the auditorium, with dancers repeatedly moving along its boundaries, the apron and onto the ramp, directly addressing the audience or going down to move among the seats. Stage design, costumes and choreography merged with the music in order to call all of these elements into question. Pina Bausch and Rolf Borzik were close, intimate and constant dialogue partners: "I could talk to him about anything. We fantasized together, came up with better solutions."[44] Other artistic collaborators for set design, costumes and music have described working with Pina Bausch as a largely taciturn and sometimes even non-verbal relationship, as a "silent understanding," in which communication dissolved into action, and as a hierarchical relationship, in which she alone decided everything and the others hardly dared to ask. But in Rolf Borzik's case, Pina Bausch described moments of mutual inspiration, the shared development of ideas and designs, and mutual doubts, but also the support and protection that she experienced with him.[45] Marion Cito, who was still working as Pina Bausch's assistant at

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the time, remembers: "Rolf was always at Pina's side, and when problems arose, he got up onstage and said to the managing director: 'Now look here, you've made Frau Bausch cry!' He did everything for Pina. Everything. Borzik was amazing."[46]

Pina Bausch and Rolf Borzik were seen as a unit. The young actress Mechthild Großmann, who met them both in 1975 while auditioning to sing in the "Brecht/Weill Evening," admired them: "They seemed so certain of what they wanted."[47] Moreover, although she had been invited by Pina Bausch to come sing, she felt as if "Pina and Rolf" had hired her. Rolf Borzik attended all rehearsals and had an unerring eye. Mechthild Großmann and the dancer Meryl Tankard remember him nodding encouragingly, expressing amusement and dismissing fake posturing by grinning, mocking and even becoming cynical. He was always willing to have a conversation, no matter how abstruse the subject. Mechthild Großmann considered him more than just a set and costume designer: "[…] no, Rolf was interested in everything. Be it movement, language, music. Even the tiniest prop. He wanted to reinvent the moment onstage, to seize a bit of truth, so that it would truly become theater. Everything was important! He gave us wings to fly, made the impossible possible. That's why I trusted him more than others."[48] For the last piece to which he contributed before his death, *Legend of Chastity,* he designed crocodiles and painted the first one himself. He worked in the scene shop with theater sculptor Herbert Rettich until late in the night, tinkering around with technical solutions with childlike abandon, trying to find out, for example, "[…] how to get the crocodile to open its mouth, wag its tail and turn its head,"[49] all the while documenting the process in photos. Whether it was Mechthild Großmann, Meryl Tankard or Marion Cito – everyone who worked with him and experienced him as part of the Tanztheater Wuppertal agrees that his death left an enormous void in the company. Meryl Tankard summarizes: "I felt really close to Rolf. I could speak really easily to Rolf. I was devastated when Rolf died. It was never the same after he was no longer there."[50] Rolf Borzik died on January 27, 1980, at the age of 36 after a long period of illness. His death plunged Pina Bausch into both a deeply personal crisis and an artistic one with the Tanztheater Wuppertal: "After the death of Rolf Borzik in 1980, it was very difficult for me. I thought I would never make another piece or that I had to do something straight away. Rolf had tried everything to live. For me, it was impossible that he could die while I lived and gave up […]."[51] But she did not give up. Her dancers, colleagues and friends supported her. Together, they created the piece *1980*. Tankard remembers: "[…] somehow we had to give Pina the strength to create a beautiful piece dedicated to Rolf […] and we created *1980* for him."[52] *1980* changed everything: with Marion Cito, who had previously helped

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6 Costumes made by
Marion Cito for
Two Cigarettes in the Dark

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4 & 5 Costumes made by Marion Cito for *Água*

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Rolf Borzik with costumes, taking on full responsibility for costume design and Peter Pabst designing the stage, it heralded in a new phase in the Tanztheater Wuppertal's history – and with it also came a shift in aesthetics. During the next ten years, this shift was supported and accompanied by the Wuppertal critic and journalist Raimund Hoghe, who was also the first to assume the position of dance dramaturge in 1980. However, by this time, Pina Bausch had already developed the artistic cornerstones of the Tanztheater Wuppertal together with Rolf Borzik.

THE COSTUME DESIGNER: MARION CITO

"Pina influenced us all. Pina absorbed everything. She was inspired by everything,"[53] said Marion Cito, looking back on the choreographer and her influence on the company in 2015. When Marion Cito met Pina Bausch, the former was already a well-known ballet dancer who would go on to work closely with the choreographer for over 30 years.

Marion Cito was born in Berlin in 1938. In March of that year, the Nazi regime annexed Austria, marking a turning point in Nazi policies toward Jews, shifting from the discrimination against the Jewish population that had been continuously practiced since 1933 toward its systematic persecution and annihilation – and this was particularly evident in the capital of the "Third Reich," Berlin. Jews were no longer allowed to enter the government district, Jewish lawyers were banned from practicing their profession, streets with Jewish names were renamed, and 10,000 Polish Jews were violently deported from Berlin. All of this not only served to stir up the hatred of the Jews latent among the population but also climaxed in the state-sanctioned violence of the November Pogroms, which culminated in the night of November 9 to 10, 1938, throughout the entire German Reich in a wave of criminal acts ordered by the Nazi leadership and brutally carried out by the SA and SS. Over 1,400 synagogues and prayer rooms were destroyed, of which approx. 100 were in Berlin. Havoc was wreaked on around 7,500 Jewish businesses and homes, Jewish cemeteries and other community institutions. The Gestapo arrested around 30,000 Jewish people and deported them to concentration camps, where hundreds had been murdered or starved to death within a matter of days.

It was into this atmosphere of insecurity, despair, fear, hatred, violence and blatant displays of force and power that Marion Cito was born Marion Schnelle to a bourgeois Berlin family. She was an only child. Her father was a chemist and pharmacist. Marion Cito describes him as suffering from a heart condition. He therefore avoided being drafted into the Wehrmacht and was only later, as she calls

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it,[54] "conscripted" into keeping the pharmacy running. During an air raid on Berlin, the Schnelle's family home was destroyed. Her father remained in Berlin and sent his wife and his daughter to Thuringia. They did not experience the heavy bombardment of Berlin at the end of the war. Six months before the war ended, her father took his own life – "and no one knows why,"[55] his daughter says, not even 60 years later.

After the war, eight-year-old Marion returned with her mother to a devastated Berlin. After Germany's unconditional surrender, the city was at the center of the Soviet occupation zone, but it had been divided into four sectors and politically placed under the administrative control of the four Allied powers. In 1948, this complicated arrangement, agreed upon by the Allies in 1944, sparked the first deep crisis between East and West: in reaction to the introduction of the Deutsche Mark (DM) by the Western Allies as the new official currency of the western occupied sectors, the Soviet Union reacted with the Berlin Blockade of West Berlin, making it essentially impossible to access the western part of the city by land or water. The Western Allies countered with the Berlin Airlift and supplied West Berlin's population with necessities via airplane for 15 months. In the same year of this "first battle of the Cold War,"[56] Marion Cito's mother was doing everything she could to get her daughter to learn to dance. Perhaps it was the desire for a normal bourgeois life or simply that she and others saw her daughter's talent. But Marion Cito's mother could not afford the classes. Nevertheless, she found solutions, as did many *Trümmerfrauen*.

In 1948, Marion Cito began taking ballet lessons. First, ten-year-old Marion attended a ballet school in West Berlin, located on the once splendid Kurfürstendamm, before switching to the school of Tatjana Gsovsky. Marion Cito remembers her mother choosing Tatjana Gsovsky's school for her daughter, not because she knew that Tatjana Gsovsky was one of the most important personalities of postwar ballet in Germany – she had not even heard her famous name. Her reasons were more pragmatic. Tatjana, as everyone called her, was willing to teach her daughter even though she had no money and could not pay for classes. Tatjana Gsovsky had done the same with other students during the war as well. Marion Cito's mother returned the favor, taking care of the paperwork and bringing home-made cake to the school. Marion Cito remembers this as the kind of reciprocal support that was typical of the times and provided as a matter of course, which would shape her later life.

Tatjana Gsovsky (1901-1993) was one of the most illustrious figures of 20th-century German dance. She danced her way through several political systems, first studying art history and dance in Moscow, later at the studio of her mother, an actress and dancer,

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and then at the school of the pioneer of American modern dance Isadora Duncan. Only later did she learn Russian ballet, and it was after emigrating, that she began studying rhythmics in the Garden City of Hellerau near Dresden. In 1924, she emigrated from the Soviet Union to Berlin. It was the same year as Josef Stalin's ascent to power. Four years later, she opened a ballet school in Berlin with her husband, the dancer Victor Gsovsky. The school, located on what is the now fashionable Fasanenstraße, soon became the elite training school for ballet in Berlin, although ballet aesthetics had gone out of style and stood at odds with the new dance avant-garde: the 1920s were the golden age of *Ausdruckstanz* (expressionist dance) in Germany; 'balletic' was considered an insult.

However, soon after, during the Nazi regime and the war, many expressionist dancers were unable to continue working. Their art was considered "degenerate" and their schools were closed. In comparison, Tatjana Gsovsky was not only able to continue her artistic work in Berlin until 1940 and at the Oper Leipzig, the Semperoper in Dresden and the Bayerische Staatsoper in Munich until the end of the war, she also managed to keep teaching classes during the air raids, her students paying her in firewood and candles. Tatjana Gsovsky remembered those days in a 1985 radio show: "We heard the radio: Attention! Planes over Hanover, Braunschweig. Gosh, where did you leave your ballet slippers? That was the only thing you had to hide. The ballet slippers were ready. But we continued. We told ourselves: well, they're coming from Hanover, so we have a good 25 minutes. That should be enough for the ronde de jambes. And when the ronde de jambes came, you could already hear the drone of the planes overhead. So, we quickly grabbed the pointe shoes, the rest of them, the valuable ones, and down to the cellar we went. There was a crash and a bang. […]. I don't have to explain what war is. Those children, they were children, they weren't scared. They were Berlin children. It was clear as day to them that the house could be hit. And their parents knew that too – and yet they came and studied ballet."[57]

Her knowledge of various dance traditions allowed Tatjana Gsovsky to redefine ballet and combine it with elements of expressionist dance into a new dramatic art form. By dint of her own training in this new dance form, one element typical of her style was the expressive, sculptural shapes made by the upper body and arms; her trademark was the elaborately defined lines of upper body and arm movements, which would later also be characteristic of Pina Bausch. Tatjana Gsovsky's choreographies, for which she collaborated with renowned, groundbreaking experimental composers such as Luigi Nono and Hans Werner Henze, left their mark on the German postwar dance scene until late into the 1960s, when a new generation, some of its members trained by Tatjana

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Gsovsky herself, began to break new ground in the wake of social upheaval (→ PIECES) – among them Marion Cito.

Although the school was in the western part of the city, Tatjana Gsovsky developed her choreographic pieces straight after the Second World War at the Staatsoper in East Berlin. As its ballet director until 1951, she completely reestablished the Staatsballett Berlin. However, her hopes for a new beginning were thwarted by growing tensions with the cultural functionaries of the reigning Socialist Unity Party (SED). So, in 1951, Gsovsky relocated to the west side of the city with a large number of her dancers, to the Städtische Oper Berlin (renamed Deutsche Oper Berlin in 1961), where she worked as its ballet director from 1953 to 1966. In 1955, she founded the Berliner Ballett, a modern ensemble based on classical technique, with which she toured across Europe. During this same period, Marion Schnelle became a professional ballet dancer and the lead soloist at the Deutsche Oper. She performed in Leipzig, Dresden and Berlin, where she danced with Constanze Vernon, Silvia Kesselheim, Gerhard Bohner and other famous ballet dancers, not only in Gsovsky's choreographies but also in guest choreographies by George Balanchine, Kenneth McMillan, Serge Lifar, John Cranko and Antony Tudor. During this time, she changed her last name to its Latin form, from then on going by the name of Marion Cito (cito: Latin for 'fast' or, in German, *schnell).*

Like Silvia Kesselheim and Gerhard Bohner, she belonged to the 1960s generation of dancers, who – in the wake of a general climate of social upheaval (→ PIECES) – began searching for a new aesthetics and methods of working beyond the classical ballet repertoire and the traditional performing role of the dancer. At the time, the Akademie der Künste on Hanseatenweg in West Berlin provided a platform for these new forms of dance. But Marion Cito bravely broke with her successful Berlin dance career and followed Gerhard Bohner in 1972 to Darmstadt – with her mother in tow – where she worked with him for three years and participated in his search for new forms of collective collaboration, integrating the audience and the aesthetics of what he called dance theater (→ PIECES).

At the end of this experiment, Gerhard Bohner and Marion Cito gave a joint interview in the German weekly *Die Zeit,* in which they emphasized that more time was needed to establish dance theater, its new aesthetics, collective methods and ways of accessing the audience as an artistic genre. They also said that the time had not yet come for this art form. It was the same year that Pina Bausch premiered both *Orpheus und Eurydike* and a choreography that would go on to be considered one of the century's seminal works: *The Rite of Spring.* In the interview, Marion Cito said, "I have nothing against classical ballet; I did it for too long and was some-

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times very happy to do so. But how is it practiced so often in opera houses today? With ready-made productions. It's important to me that I experience the creation of a ballet with someone else and don't just deliver ready-made material like a robot." But change, she said, would not be possible "[…] in such a short space of time if dancers – like myself – come from a different school, a different organization, where a different type of training prevails."[58] At the Tanztheater Wuppertal, she later had the chance to work with the company on the development of precisely such pieces.

At the end of her time in Darmstadt, Marion Cito returned to Berlin to look for work. During her career, she had not yet come into contact with the developments in dance that had been made at the Folkwang Hochschule in Essen – "that was very far off."[59] She went to see Pina Bausch's first piece, *Fritz,* on a triple bill (→ PIECES) while still working with Gerhard Bohner and thought that some of it, as she remembers in retrospect, was "whacky," but "great."[60] In 1976, Malou Airaudo and Dominique Mercy decided to leave the Tanztheater Wuppertal, so the company placed a call for a replacement for Malou Airaudo. Marion Cito heard about it and applied for the position. She did not know Pina Bausch personally. She considered herself a ballet dancer, who "may have done a few crazy things," but what was happening in Wuppertal was something different for her altogether, a completely different aesthetic. Upon introducing herself to the choreographer, Pina Bausch said to Marion Cito: "I know you. I saw you onstage."[61]

Marion Cito joined the Tanztheater Wuppertal at a time when the ensemble was going through a difficult phase after the premiere of the "Brecht/Weill Evening." Many dancers were unhappy, turnover was high, and some left the company. Pina Bausch continued working with only a small group on a new piece that would later be called *Bluebeard.* Marion Cito was part of this group, although to her – the ballet dancer – this new method of 'asking questions' that Pina Bausch had adopted seemed disconcerting. She was no longer really able to dance, especially not en pointe. Her knee hurt too much. Pina Bausch also realized that "others [could] do it better," and so – with small exceptions such as her dance role in *Bluebeard* and in other pieces such as *Come dance with me, Renate Emigrates* and *Arien* (→ PIECES) – Marion Cito slipped into the role of assistant to the young choreographer, who wanted Marion Cito to be around her all the time, from morning to night, so that she could best learn about her new working method. "And she made that happen, too,"[62] Marion Cito, recalls, laughing, 40 years later, 33 years of which she faithfully spent by Pina Bausch's side. She thus witnessed and contributed to decades of ensemble work, in which she participated, almost always and everywhere. Marion Cito attended every rehearsal, initially taking notes for the choreographer and

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helping Rolf Borzik to look for and sort out the costumes. With him, she rummaged through secondhand shops looking for clothes, altered them, upcycled old items, looked for cheap deals, learned to make do when the fabric tore – and in the process, utilized what she had observed and learned from her mother growing up during the war and in the postwar period.

After Rolf Borzik's death, Marion Cito took on sole responsibility for the costumes for the piece *1980*. The choreographer told her to do so more or less in passing. After the great misfortune of Rolf Borzik's death, Pina Bausch mustered all her energy and set about making a new piece. The strength of this confidence in the face of deep despair also affected Marion Cito. Pina Bausch had no other choice but to ask Marion Cito. But Pina Bausch also had confidence in Marion Cito's ability to take care of the costumes, even though she had neither the training nor enough experience and therefore greatly doubted her abilities herself. This interplay between doubt, fear, confidence, courage, trust in the other and a willingness to take risks generated a productive artistic energy that came to characterize how the company worked not only with the dancers but also with collaborators and staff, as well as the Tanztheater Wuppertal's aesthetics as a whole.

Marion Cito pored over books, conducted research – and henceforth independently and responsibly designed the costumes – or "dance dress" *(Tanzkleider),* as it is referred to by the Tanztheater Wuppertal – for every piece. The company sought to bring everyday life to the stage, and this also meant that dancers did not appear in leotards or ballet slippers. The costumes were meant to be mundane; however, unlike in contemporary dance, mundane did not mean T-shirts, jeans and sneakers, but rather that they were suitable for the performance practices of the dancers onstage. The costumes were intended to support the use of form in the dance and underline the characters of the dancers. "When the movement begins, the dress comes alive,"[63] says Marion Cito. Particularly in the case of the women, she translated the body aesthetics of Pina Bausch, who wanted to see bare backs while covering the dancers' legs. The form, function and color of Pina Bausch's movement aesthetics (long swinging arms, flowing forms) materialized in Marion Cito's dance dress, as did the way that the choreographer saw the dancers' subjectivities and individualities as different colors. But while Rolf Borzik had dressed the dancers in a wider range of clothes, from secondhand to festive evening gowns, Marion Cito – while initially continuing in the same vein – gradually began to design costumes that were increasingly elegant. They became more stylized and more extraordinary, and there were more and more evening gowns.

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Marion Cito took a literal approach to the word 'dance dress.' Like her colleagues in charge of the music, she did not attempt to find, e.g., 'Indian' or 'Hungarian' fabric or motifs to represent the coproducing countries during the research trips for the coproductions, nor was she interested in reproduction: she did not seek to remake Japanese kimonos, Turkish robes or colorful flamenco dresses. Instead, she chose brilliant colors, floral patterns and delicate fabrics that beautifully danced, moved and draped themselves around the body, with patterns that revealed, flattered and joined in with the movement. The ambivalence between freedom and restriction, constriction and expansion, airy and bulky, fragile and hard, which otherwise characterized the Tanztheater Wuppertal, did not materialize in these costumes. They thus primarily helped to underline the shift toward dance that took place in later pieces. This revealed itself in the costumes' shapes, colors and above all materials. In her dance dress, Marion Cito translated her dedication to dance into "daring beauty,"[64] as she titled her own book about the costumes that she had made for the Tanztheater Wuppertal. Her own taste and sense of style provided her with orientation; her benchmarks were color and form, and she adapted them to each dancer, to his or her physique and skin type. If the result resembled a kimono, then that was more coincidence than intention. In the dresses, too, suggestion and interpretative freedom were crucial.

At first, Marion Cito carried out her new role as defined by the framework provided by Rolf Borzik: she "just had to travel with a suitcase to Berlin"[65] to buy secondhand clothes and set up a pool of costumes that the dancers could choose from during rehearsals to queer themselves on the stage – the men in scanty Lurex miniskirts, evening gowns, tutus or wearing ladies' fur coats and chic hats. Later, she remained very price-conscious and usually bought good value for money: always little more than one to two meters of extra fabric to mend the dresses if necessary and to "make do." Ordering two dresses simply was not in the budget during those first years and also felt wasteful to her. Wuppertal was once the heart of the German textile industry – the textile manufacturer Friedrich Engels, one of the cofounders of Marxism, grew up in Wuppertal-Barmen, near the opera house. Marion Cito generally sought advice at one of Wuppertal's oldest traditional textile stores, Buddeberg & Weck, where she was always kept up to date about residual stock for use at the Tanztheater Wuppertal, or she went shopping at the Marché Saint-Pierre in Montmartre, Paris, the one city that the company returned to every year. Over the years, she came to know the dancers well – their bodies, how they moved, their characters. This became her yardstick: she created the clothes for the dancers; for every piece, she designed a maximum of three

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to four dresses for each performer, which gradually developed into increasingly opulent evening gowns, revealing her love of unusual patterns. But not even these dresses were made for representation, for presenting femininity; instead, they were treated like everyday clothes: in which to butter bread, sit on swings, sleep, run, cook spaghetti, haul buckets of water, run up and down cliffs, jump over crevices, dance across lawns, through fields of carnations and water, and to climb mountains.

Marion Cito produced on a hunch. The choreographer let her do what she wanted and did not ask to know about her ideas and suggestions so early on, for she felt it would restrict the openness of the choreographic process. She wanted to be surprised. Pina Bausch made no suggestions of her own regarding costumes, but six weeks before the premiere, she wanted to see them. That was the "ultimate test" for Marion Cito: the dancers, who occasionally also brought unusual costumes to rehearsals, now tried on the costumes covered in sweat and without makeup. Only rarely did Pina Bausch see a finished dress and ask: "Are you serious?" – which would lead to a sleepless night for Marion Cito. But Marion Cito, as she emphasized in our conversations together, still would have immediately changed it, even if she had meant it seriously, for Pina Bausch "was the boss." Essentially, however, in spite of her "racing heart," she was fairly certain that the costumes would meet the choreographer's expectations. Anything else would have been reckless, for the costume designer began designing very early on in the process, without knowing what the new piece would become. Moreover, when making the dresses, she had to integrate herself into the processes of the dressmaking shop at the Wuppertaler Bühnen, which was also responsible for the opera and the drama departments. In the early years, there was much resistance here: as in the case of the set design shops, collaboration with the dressmakers was complicated and humiliating during that initial period, with the dressmakers acting as if the Tanztheater Wuppertal was ruining everything. Rolf Borzik experienced the same thing until he was effectively banned from entering the dressmaking shop. He therefore sent in Marion Cito during the rehearsals for *Kontakthof* (PREMIERE 1978), and the first thing that the head of dressmaking did was to ask her for her credentials. But that, too, died off over the years – with the worldwide success of the company. "The credentials – they forgot about them eventually,"[66] Marion Cito remembered in 2014.

She began making the dance dress half a year before the premiere, once the cast was fixed and one to two rehearsal phases had already taken place, but at a point when the piece was not even close to being finished. Stage designs where dancers, e.g., danced in water and clothes got wet required other types of fabric. This

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was something that she only learned quite late when she was forced, as in the case of *Vollmond* (PREMIERE 2006), to more or less react at the last minute and organize the appropriate fabric. The dance dress was usually only added to the production at a very late point in time, even after the music had already been selected. She thus had to demonstrate flexibility, spontaneity and speed. Occasionally, she was asked to change the costumes because the choreographer had rearranged the scenes at the very last minute and, suddenly, several dancers were onstage dressed in the same color. At the premiere of the piece *Nelken* (1982), Pina Bausch decided during the intermission to include a scene with Anne Martin that had previously been removed. Marion Cito quickly had to run to the costume pool and find something for Anne Martin to wear.

Marion Cito's expertise was also required when roles were passed on or recast. Departing dancers were replaced based on their size and proportions in addition to their movement qualities and expressiveness, and this made reassigning costumes somewhat easier. Sometimes, new costumes were required – "additional dress" *(Zusatzkleider)* as the company called it, which resembled the original costumes in style and in color. However, when pieces were passed on to other companies, the situation was different, such as when *For the Children of yesterday, today and tomorrow* (PREMIERE 2002) was passed on to the dancers of the Bayerisches Staatsballett (PREMIERE 2016). One example was when Nazareth Panadero's role was passed on to the dancers Marta Navarrete and Mia Rudic: they had different bodies, heights, shapes and proportions, a different habitus as dancers and different identities as ballerinas. The color and shape of the dance dress therefore had to be readjusted – and by then, this was without the possibility of consulting with Pina Bausch herself on a final decision.

Marion Cito may well have been the first ballerina to become a world-famous costume designer. She developed costumes based on the idea of the dancing body and designed with the eyes of Pina Bausch. She worked independently, but always saw herself as an assistant. She abided by the hierarchical order and always remained insecure, afraid of making mistakes and not satisfying requirements right up to the very end of her time working with Pina Bausch, although she was on very good terms with her "boss." She did in fact work for the Tanztheater Wuppertal day after day and became one of its most intimate insiders. For years, she not only attended rehearsals but also all performances. Her place was beside the choreographer; she spent years summarizing Pina Bausch's critiques, which were then discussed with the company the next day on the basis of her notes. She therefore noticed everything that Pina Bausch said about her dancers in those moments. Together with many others,

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such as the long-serving organizational team of Claudia Irman, Ursula Popp and Sabine Hesseling, she contributed to ensuring the cohesion of company. Her costumes helped to decisively shape the unmistakable aesthetic of the Tanztheater Wuppertal from the 1980s onward.

THE SET DESIGNER: PETER PABST

Peter Pabst met Pina Bausch for the first time in 1978 while working under Peter Zadek at the Schauspielhaus Bochum. *1980* was the first Pina Bausch piece for which he designed the stage, which consisted of actual turf. It was her first piece after Rolf Borzik's death, and it was a piece of her, a piece of life. A new decade of collaboration thus began with Marion Cito and Peter Pabst, and he, too, would continue to work with Pina Bausch until her death.

Peter Pabst was born in the town of Grodzisk Wielkopolski, known in German as Grätz. The city is located in a region with an unstable history. Like Poznań, Rolf Borzik's birthplace, Grodzisk Wielkopolski was also repeatedly claimed by various powers and was finally handed over to Poland at the signing of the Treaty of Versailles after the First World War. Peter Pabst's father, a lawyer, was a soldier during the Second World War. He was not present at the birth of his son, his third child. At the end of the war, in 1945, Peter Pabst's mother moved to Berlin-Karlshorst with her three children and her mother-in-law. By the beginning of the 20th century, Berlin-Karlshorst had developed into one of the city's most popular suburbs, well-connected to Berlin by train and in close proximity to the Müggelsee lake. The residential suburb there was considered to be a very fashionable part of the city and, in the 1910s and 1920s, a model settlement was built among the trees along the Spree River. It was this settlement to which the Pabst family moved and into this bourgeois environment that the Wehrmacht built its Pioneer School I (Pionierschule I) for the training of officers in the 1930s. In 1942, when a turning point in the war seemed imminent after the Battle of Stalingrad, it was given the somewhat grim new name of Fortress Pioneer School (Festungspionierschule). In April 1945, the Red Army made its headquarters there during the Battle of Berlin, with the Red Army and a few Polish troops participating in a battle that cost approx. 170,000 soldiers their lives, wounded another 500,000 and killed tens of thousands of civilians. Finally, on May 8/9, 1945, it was in Berlin-Karlshorst that German field marshal Wilhelm Keitel signed Germany's unconditional surrender. That was the same year that the Pabst family relocated to Berlin.

After the war, the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAD) took up residence in Karlshorst. It was the highest-ranking occupation authority and thus the actual governing body of the Soviet

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Occupation Zone (SBZ) from June 1945 until 1949, when administrative sovereignty was handed over to the government of the East German state, the German Democratic Republic (GDR). From then until 1953, the Soviet Control Commission in East Germany governed the GDR as the Soviet institution of surveillance and control. Right up until 1994, the main building of the former Pioneer School continued to house the world's largest headquarters of the Russian Committee for State Security (KGB) outside of the Soviet Union. Reflecting this military and political infrastructure of the Soviet occupying forces, Karlhorst had *Russenmagazine* (Russian warehouses), shops where things could be bought at moderate prices without food stamps.

Peter Pabst spent the next nine years in this neighborhood growing up without a father. His mother was a seamstress. She quickly established a dressmaking business in Karlshorst and sewed clothes for the wives of high-ranking Soviet officers. She also made costumes for Berlin's theaters, collectively referred to as the "Berliner Bühnen," for she had good connections to their costume director. Thanks to this income and her ties to Russian officers, some of whom paid for room and board in the Pabst family home, the family was well off in spite of having fled from Poland and despite the 'lean years.' His mother's industriousness helped the family to settle in Karlshorst and ensured that they always had enough to eat. The children had toys, and the adults had cigarettes. "The Russians" liked children, or at least that is how Peter Pabst experienced it. He remembers having a good, easygoing childhood. In our conversations, he described it as the basis for his *joie de vivre* and his life-long optimism.[67]

Peter Pabst had close-knit relationships with his family and friends. He was surrounded by a large number of children who, like him, were growing up without fathers. He remembers his mother being a loving person. Her dressmaking shop was a wonderful, warm place, where there was always something going on. But she was busy around the clock, and so the children were left to themselves. Peter Pabst sees it this way: because he was left to his own devices as a child, he was able to develop. He became independent and self-sufficient. He spent time outdoors in a beautiful neighborhood, did not complain and only reluctantly returned home at nightfall. Although he grew up in the Soviet Occupation Zone, he does not remember the political situation playing any role for him as a child. Peter Pabst was ten years old when father and son met for the first time. His father returned from Russian captivity in 1954, and he was not willing to settle down in a city that was under the military command of the power that had incarcerated him as a prisoner of war for so long under such harsh conditions. He went west, to Frankfurt am

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Main, at first alone, but the family soon followed. Peter Pabst's mother gave up everything that she had achieved in Karlshorst and moved with her children to be with her husband. At the time, it was still possible to relocate without much bureaucracy: they simply boarded a train to Frankfurt. From there, Peter Pabst's mother informed the authorities that they should forward her emigration papers. Peter Pabst did not experience this move as a transition from East to West, from communism to capitalism, because, in East Berlin, communism had been less noticeable to him in everyday life than Prussian culture. In fact, what did remain was a Prussian sense of duty. In the West, he now encountered something that he had not known in Karlshort: the large-scale project of postwar rebuilding.

Until this point, Peter Pabst had barely missed his father at all. It was not easy to recalibrate family life, which had previously functioned so well. Having himself been raised in authoritarian structures, both personally and politically, Peter Pabst's father found it difficult to adapt, after years of absence, to a family that had got along fine so far without any patriarchal influence. He was not in the best of health, and his desire for a lawyer's upper-class lifestyle, to which he had been used, did not at first correspond to his actual situation. His son was bewildered at his father's sudden attempts to raise him in old authoritarian structures. This did not help to improve their relationship, but it did prepare Peter Pabst for an upper-class lifestyle. Peter Pabst refused to follow in his father's footsteps and rejected the idea of an academic career. He dropped out of school and began an apprenticeship as a tailor. From then on, he appeared to always be in exactly the right place at the right time in his career, and he himself believes that he was just very lucky.

As this luck would have it, his mother secured him a position in the haute-couture fashion house Elise Topell in Wiesbaden, one of the most well-known and prestigious German fashion designers at the time. In the 1930s, when "Berlin chic" had become all the rage, Elise Topell founded a fashion house in Berlin selling ready-to-wear collections. After the Second World War, she left Berlin and relocated to Wiesbaden, whose thermals baths made it one of the oldest spa cities in Europe. A number of millionaires and large corporations had settled here since the early 20th century, turning Wiesbaden into the city with the most millionaires in Germany at the time. This was just the right place for Elise Topell's exclusive fashion – much better than the destroyed Berlin, where exclusive, chic designs no longer really fit the picture. She took up lodgings at the prestigious Biebrich Palace, where she managed her renowned label, which still successfully exists in Wiesbaden to this day. Wealthy women knew Elise Topell. In the 1950s, an haute-couture dress by Elise Topell cost approx. DM 3,000. The apprentice tailor Peter Pabst

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earned less than DM 300 a month. Nevertheless, he socialized in the chic fashion industry, where he encountered a new dimension of wealth and a world seemingly untouched by the war. He remembers some women spending DM 30,000 to 40,000 on clothes in a single afternoon. Elise Topell also presented her designs at the major international fashion shows in Paris. Peter Pabst experienced the international magnitude of the rich and beautiful – and learned to love their opulent lifestyles. In spite of his own meager income, he rented an apartment on Wilhelmstraße, the stately boulevard of the Hessian capital.

Elise Topell ran a tight ship. Peter Pabst learned discipline and how important accuracy and precision were for top-quality products. It was here that he developed his own sense of quality in connection with his craft. He also learned that mistakes were not allowed, especially not repeated mistakes. In the 1960s, he switched from the world of fashion in Wiesbaden to opera, and once again chose not just any institution, but Richard Wagner's Festspielhaus. He traded the rich, glamorous world of fashion for the wealthy, upper-class world of Bayreuth. Before that, he had shown little interest in opera or theater. By his own admission, the Festspielhaus was the first theater that he became acquainted with after his school theater days. He had had no experience in the world of theater, nor did he know what working at a theater really meant. His entry into this world could not have been less challenging. Once more, he had chosen a global reputation and top-quality artists to measure up to.

In Bayreuth, Peter Pabst switched from fashion to costume design and worked for Kurt Palm, who was the theater's costume director at the time. He, too, was a stickler for quality. Peter Pabst was able to supplement his skill as a craftsman with the specific creativity required in the theater. He found it fascinating to develop costumes that were not just beautiful, but also helped a character to take shape onstage. However, he still had but little contact to the theater itself, for at the time it was more than unusual for a costume or set designer to attend rehearsals. Workplaces were kept strictly separate, and there were no dress rehearsals where the different art forms could be coordinated with one another. Peter Pabst therefore spent most of his time in Bayreuth in the costume workshop.

In 1969, at the peak of the student movement, Peter Pabst decided to leave the upper-class world behind. Having dropped out of school shortly before finishing, he now wished to study. He successfully applied to study costume design at the renowned Kölner Werkschulen (the Cologne Academy of Fine and Applied Arts) and moved to the city of Cologne, which had been heavily destroyed by the war but was now teeming with upcoming art. It was the city where, some years before, Tanzforum Köln under the leadership of Jochen Ullrich

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had caused quite a stir and where Johann Kresnik had also shown his first pieces in the late 1960s (→ PIECES). Cologne was the city that Peter Pabst would call home for quite some time – which he continues to do to this day. The Kölner Werkschulen, which became his new place of study, were founded in 1926 under Konrad Adenauer, former Mayor of Cologne and the first Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany after the Second World War. The concept was developed along the lines of Bauhaus and dedicated to the ideas of the Werkbund, the German association of artists, architects, designers, and industrialists established in 1907. The Nazis tried to coopt and convert the school into an institute for traditionally crafted, anti-Semitic *Heimatkunst* (regional German art), but after the war, teaching resumed as originally intended. In the 1960s, the Kölner Werkschulen were the largest art institute in North Rhine-Westphalia and, alongside Hamburg, Berlin and Munich, one of the biggest in Germany.

Joining in with the wave of student protest, Peter Pabst became politically active in his new home, but he did not consider himself part of "Generation 68." He was a student member of the faculty board, spent nights discussing politics – and all for nothing, as he later said. But he did successfully advocate for the reinstatement of a professorial chair of costume and stage design, which had long been lacking at the school. Max Bignens, an internationally renowned Swiss costume and stage designer, who, aside from many other things, also worked with choreographers such as Wazlaw Orlikowsky, Anthony Tudor and John Cranko, assumed the position in 1972. He became Peter Pabst's teacher, and Peter Pabst thought that he was wonderful.

Once again, Peter Pabst did not complete his education, but rather transferred upon the recommendation of his teacher to Bochum, to the Schauspielhaus, where he became an assistant stage designer. This was another opportunity that was said by his teacher to only come once in a lifetime. Peter Pabst had no stage design sketches to show anyone. Aside from Peter Stein, who was working at the Schaubühne in Berlin at the time, Peter Zadek was the theater director of the hour, but Peter Pabst was not aware of him yet – despite his work in Bayreuth, he had not become a theatergoer. But he never actually worked as an assistant to the stage designer. Peter Zadek had decided to focus on Shakespearean productions. He wanted open work processes, which included having costume and stage designers attend rehearsals for *King Lear*. Peter Pabst was happy to comply. The encounter with Peter Zadek sparked immediate mutual sympathy – and led to a life-long friendship.

In Bochum, Peter Pabst got to know the art and industry of theater and learned that theater is fundamentally about partnerships. He came to believe that it was impossible to work in the theater if one was not able to wholeheartedly apply oneself, if one was unable

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7 Set design for
The Window Washer
Wuppertal, 2006

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8 Bukhansan National Park
Research trip for *Rough Cut*
Korea, 2004

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10 *Rough Cut*
Wuppertal, 2005

9 Stage for *1980*
Wuppertal, 1980

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to enter into a kind of love affair over and over again with the piece and with the people involved. This, above all, required patience, trust, curiosity – and the courage to quarrel. These partnerships were often difficult, but when they did succeed, they were an immense joy. Peter Pabst was lucky. He was an employee of the Schauspielhaus Bochum from 1973 until 1979, when Peter Zadek transferred to the Schauspielhaus in Hamburg. From that point on, he continued working as a freelancer with people like Peter Zadek, who died only one month after Pina Bausch, on July 30, 2009. That year, Peter Pabst lost his two most important artistic partners at nearly the same time. With Zadek, he learned to live with doubt and to endure not knowing, to be inquisitive, and he saw Zadek develop an almost unlimited love for his actors and actresses in the same way that he experienced Pina Bausch with her dancers. This love created trust and was a prerequisite for making open rehearsal processes possible at all, for allowing things to happen. Peter Pabst recognized that, aside from curiosity, it takes patience: patience with those with whom you are working, but above all patience with oneself. For him, being able to wait, to endure the fact that nothing, little or only the irrelevant or useless might occur, was vital to retaining the freedom to watch, to not miss anything. He saw this in both Peter Zadek and Pina Bausch.

Over the years, Peter Pabst worked on a total of around 120 productions, mainly at major German theaters, but also in cities such as Salzburg, Vienna, Paris, London, Geneva, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Naples, Turin, Trieste and San Francisco. The 26 spaces that he designed for Pina Bausch's pieces during his 29 years of collaborating with the Tanztheater Wuppertal make up only one part of his oeuvre. He first got to know Pina Bausch's work through Peter Zadek, initially because Peter Zadek wanted to travel from Bochum to Wuppertal just to see what was going on there, and then when Peter Zadek invited Pina Bausch to Bochum to stage *Macbeth* (→ PIECES). After Rolf Borzik's death, Pina Bausch asked Peter Pabst whether he would design the stage for her new piece, which would later be called *1980*. He also worked as an independent freelancer for Pina Bausch and was the only one at the Tanztheater Wuppertal to keep that independence.

From the 1980s onward, Peter Pabst's stage designs became a hallmark and identifying factor of the Tanztheater Wuppertal. Some pieces were even named after the design of the stage, such as *Nelken* (PREMIERE 1982), *Wiesenland* (PREMIERE 2002) and *The Piece with the Ship* (PREMIERE 1993). They are elaborate, meticulously developed, complex spaces built with a great attention to detail. Peter Pabst called them "atmospheric spaces," unlike Rolf Borzik, who referred to them as *Aktionsräume* (action spaces).

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And yet, the concept of the action space, which had characterized Rolf Borzik's stage designs, is still visible here. Although he claims to understand nothing of dance, even after almost 30 years of working with Pina Bausch, Peter Pabst built spaces that take bodies, movement and space into consideration together. These spaces, like Pina Bausch's choreographies, do not seek to exhibit something decorative, not even in the coproductions. They have a function, they show familiar, everyday life while also alienating it. This was especially challenging in the case of the coproductions, which were not intended as mere reflections of or as television reports or documentaries about the hosting countries. What Peter Pabst wanted was to find a translation for his stage designs.

His spaces are not sculptural images. Peter Pabst sees them as spaces for people. They are spaces of wellbeing and of obstacles, spaces that translate the tensions of a piece into a concept of stage space: they are spaces of both nature and art, real habitats and poetic, fairy-tale, imaginary landscapes, places of origin and mythical, fantastic spaces. He often transported 'nature' onto the stage, which he believed to be the opposite of the artificial. Natural materials are soft and sensual, bulky and hard, and they are rebellious in the sense that they defy theater as a site of representation. These are the ambivalences that Peter Pabst worked with. He used all kinds of natural materials to lend spaces the semblance of geographical landscapes of the soul, while also simultaneously being places of heavenly surrealism and literal naturalism. He worked with, for instance, grass *(1980* and *Wiesenland),* stones as walls *(Palermo Palermo)* and stone-like structures that functioned as cliffs *(Masurca Fogo, O Dido, Wiesenland, Rough Cut),* soil *(On the Mountain a Cry was Heard, Viktor),* sand *(Only You, The Piece with the Ship),* salt and paper that looked like snow *(Tanzabend II, Ten Chi),* water *(Ein Trauerspiel, Wiesenland, Vollmond),* trees *(Only You),* plants *(Two Cigarettes in the Dark, Ahnen),* flowers *(Nelken, The Window Washer, O Dido),* ashes and shrapnel *(Ein Trauerspiel).* As in Rolf Borzik's action spaces, animals also appear onstage: a deer in *1980,* a walrus in *Ahnen,* a polar bear in *Tanzabend II,* a whale's fin in *Ten Chi* and even living animals such as German shepherds in *Nelken* and lapdogs in *Viktor.* Moreover, natural materials are either carried on- or offstage – for example, the trunks of spruce trees *(On the Mountain a Cry was Heard)* and a birch grove *(Tanzabend II)* – or lowered down from above – like the treetops in *Palermo Palermo.*

However, these spaces consist of more than just the materials of which they are made. Atmosphere is also created acoustically or olfactorily: they are spaces for listening to the roar of the wind and crashing waves, to chirping birds and the sounds of the jungle *(The Piece with the Ship),* spaces where you can smell the grass or the

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soil, where the humidity of water fills the air. In the 1990s, Peter Pabst increasingly began to integrate video projections of natural landscapes and free roaming animals, but also of urban landscapes *(Tanzabend II, The Window Washer, Masurca Fogo, Água, Rough Cut, Bamboo Blues, 'Sweet Mambo')*. Sometimes, he filmed these images himself during the research trips to the international coproduction sites. In *Danzón* (PREMIERE 1995), Pina Bausch danced in front of a large-scale video projection of exotic fish (→ PIECES). Peter Pabst's spaces are not static; they are spaces in motion. This is not just the case in pieces such as *Água* or *Rough Cut,* where the video projections produce projection spaces, i.e., translate that which is distant into the theatrical space, or where moving images enter into dialogue with the dancers onstage. Instead, they are flexible, transformative spaces that sometimes even have moving floors that split open (*"…como el musguito en la piedra, ay si, si, si…");* where water rises and then falls again *(Nefês,* PREMIERE 2003); where walls fall that the dancers have to jump over *(Palermo Palermo);* or where water trickles down a mossy cliff, which tips over to become a climbable boulder landscape *(Wiesenland).*

These elaborately designed stages rely on a high level of technical finesse. The craftsmanship behind them is complex and requires great attention to detail. "Because I was of the opinion that saying 'no' was not in my job description, I always promised her the moon, without knowing how to actually give it to her,"[68] Peter Pabst reminisced in 2019. Peter Pabst never spoke about how the sets were technically designed, not even with the choreographer. They were his secret. He loathed backstage tours. Like the choreographer, he delivered no explanation for why he made a set the way it was. They were meant to remain associative playgrounds, for he intended his stage designs to evoke surprise, to develop a magic and poetry of their own. The dance floors in particular convey the idea of stage space as a space of action. They are treacherous, filled with obstacles and surprises – and yet they are built so that dancers can safely move around on them, sometimes at high speeds, without hurting themselves. They are surfaces that do not simply allow you to dance beautifully. They always have to be explored anew, are always uncertain. They challenge dance, make it difficult for dancers to rely on familiarity, skill or training, and thus prevent them from falling into a routine. Moving around in these spaces becomes an existential task. It requires the protagonists to dance on insecure terrain, to dance with a heightened awareness of the moment and to understand the surface and materials underfoot as interactive partners. The surfaces provoke staggering, swaying, stumbling, jumping and tumbling movements, i.e., movements that do not belong to the canon of what even today is generally considered

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concert dance. Peter Pabst's stage designs prompt both dancers and viewers to question and expand their concept of dance, things that Pina Bausch also strived for – even when the dance onstage merged with the video projections and, in the eyes of the audience, changed to appear more dynamic or meditative. In spite of these constantly new and difficult challenges, the dancers know that the stage will never be built in a way that will damage their art, their dancing. However, these stage designs also make it impossible for the dancers to simply and comfortably perform their repertoire or to bask in their own abilities.

Peter Pabst's stage sets require precise, meticulous, minute and long-term preparation. The Wuppertaler Bühnen scene shops often faced enormous challenges, but Peter Pabst was well-prepared and persuasive, and made suggestions. The stage manager and long-standing technical director of the Tanztheater Wuppertal, Manfred Marczewski, who, like Peter Pabst, first joined the company for *1980,* remembers: "It was hell for the scene shops sometimes, to build such a large set in such a short space of time."[69] His task was to supervise full technical operations during a show. He toured with the company, inspected the venues in advance, checked whether the designs met safety and fire regulations, and took care of loading and shipping. Transport was literally (a) heavy duty. Shipping the stage sets as cargo or loading them onto trucks, sending them on the road, sometimes for weeks at a time, and rebuilding them on-site in different theaters under different conditions is more than just a logistical task: turf; thousands of pink carnations made of fabric and wire, tightly arranged on wooden boards with holes on top of a kind of fibrous insulating material, which have to be replaced before every show; a substance that has to be applied to the floor so that it is not too slippery when covered in water; a space, framed by earthen walls, built out of prefabricated building units, which has to be splattered with glue and fresh soil before each performance; a desert landscape made from four- to six-meter-high cactuses, around 50 to 60 of them, with spines made of nylon that have to be blow-dried once they have been stuck in; a wall made out of hollow blocks, constructed so that no sharp edges or corners form when the wall falls; snow made from ten metric tons of salt; a mossy cliff weighing five metric tons, only suspended at four points, so that it can tip over to become a climbable surface; four metric tons of water in total, approx. 4,000 liters per minute, which have to be carted from one side of the stage to the other and needs to remain at a specific temperature so that the dancers can splash about in it; or – and in comparison seemingly simple – 6,400 square meters of fabric hanging in banners from the fly space, set in motion by wind machines. Marczewski did this work for almost 30 years

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– with countless hours of overtime for which he was never compensated. Nor did he want the money, for he consciously decided in favor of working with the Tanztheater Wuppertal, for which almost no technicians wanted to work at the time. But he found it exciting, and that was his incentive: "It's a wonderful experience to work for a company that's so successful. And: Pina showed me the whole world. I wouldn't have done it alone […], and I got to know the world in a different way, experienced things that a normal tourist wouldn't see."[70]

When Peter Pabst began working on a design, the 'piece' was still a very long way off, not even clearly formed in the choreographer's mind. Occasionally, he watched rehearsals, but he did not attend on a regular basis. Once in a while, he asked the choreographer: what kind of piece will it be? But he had to bide his time and wait for the right moment, and he knew that he would not get a full answer. Like his colleagues responsible for the costumes and music, he nevertheless began designing the stage very early on and built four to six models. "Especially because the empty, black box would stare at me and would want to know something that I myself didn't know yet,"[71] as he explained in a 2008 interview.

Occasionally, he would ask Pina Bausch to take a quick look at the mock-ups and then infer from her expression what appealed to her and what did not. Then he would quietly put it aside. His motto was: you have to be generous with your own ideas, not petty. They would think about how certain scenes, which she believed would make it into the piece, could work in one or the other design. Sometimes, she would ask him to attend a rehearsal when she had assembled part of the new piece. They would briefly talk about it, but not much more than that. There were no discussions. The pieces were hers. He was her stage designer. What they had to say to each other, they showed by doing, and over the years, they came to know each other well. They would pass each other the ball and open up new avenues of thought for one another. The hierarchy remained intact, even though he became her most important confidante over the years.

Peter Pabst had to begin preparing the set for a new piece early on. Sets could not be improvised spontaneously. But unlike in his work for the opera and theater, he would be left groping around in the dark for quite some time, for Pina Bausch was hesitant and late to make decisions, even about the design of the stage – sometimes very late, no more than four to six weeks before the premiere. The dancers would know nothing about the stage designs; sometimes, they would only see them four days before the premiere once they had been set up in the theater. Then they would become their playground. They danced in the stage design, but the stage design also danced around and with them.

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Peter Pabst portrays himself as a chronically optimistic, fun-loving person. He describes himself as lazy, but he is in fact very industrious; says that he was apolitical in his youth, although he was actually very active. He has repeatedly depicted himself as insecure and careful when it came to his work, but he also had to be certain that his designs complied with what Pina Bausch wanted, and he was always very determined to implement them. He needed patience, but also had to be able to make very quick decisions about what, how, where and when something was made and done. Moreover, he had to reconcile the desires of Pina Bausch, who was often very late in communicating them, but who trusted him to make possible what he had promised, with the technical, material and manual needs and demands of the scene shops. Like the choreographer, Peter Pabst practiced so-called "Prussian values": a sense of responsibility and duty, discipline and an appreciation for professionalism and quality. 'Self-praise stinks' – for him, this motto, which was still being taught to his generation, was a cornerstone of art. In this respect, he resembled the choreographer, with whom he shared a range of other firm principles and who made him one of her most important artistic collaborators: they surprised each other, endured each other's respective vulnerabilities, maintained respect for one another and did not burden the other with their own worries. He described to me how, like her, he lived with insecurity and doubts about whether his work was really any good or not – even after years of collaboration. These doubts were his productive driving force. *Peter für Pina* (Peter for Pina) is the title of his book.[72] It bears testimony to a very unusual, trusting, close and creative collaborative relationship between two people who were very different, but who shared many things, such as courage and doubt.

THE MUSICAL COLLABORATORS: MATTHIAS BURKERT AND ANDREAS EISENSCHNEIDER

During the early years of the Tanztheater Wuppertal, Pina Bausch worked with an orchestra and a choir, but it was rather difficult and she met with much resistance. Musicians and singers refused to accept the choreographer's unconventional ideas. It was still rare to see women in such theater positions, and she was considered too young and too inexperienced. During the "Brecht/Weill Evening" *The Seven Deadly Sins* (PREMIERE 1974), she was told that it was not music. And yet, the young choreographer still managed to conceptually open up the stage for the audience by using choir music in new ways, such as in *Iphigenie auf Tauris,* in which the choir sang from the balconies and the boxes, and in *Come Dance with Me,* where the dancers sang the folk songs themselves. Pina Bausch also

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decided to use prerecorded music. In *The Rite of Spring,* the orchestra pit was too small, so she selected a taped version by Pierre Boulez. In *Bluebeard,* the use of the tape recorder and the technical possibilities that it provided, such as fast-forwarding and rewinding, and its mobility onstage, were part and parcel of the aesthetic concept – but this was also a necessity, for the singer with whom Pina Bausch had been provided was no Bluebeard in her opinion. At first, the choice to use recorded music was an attempt at conflict resolution. Pina Bausch herself summarized: "To avoid the problems with [the choir] and orchestra, in the next piece, Come Dance With Me, I exclusively used beautiful old folk songs, which each dancer sang […] – accompanied only by a lute. In the next piece, Renate Emigrates, there was only music from tape, and only one scene in which our old pianist played in the background. In this way a completely different new world of music opened up. Since then, the entire wealth of different types of music from so many different countries and cultures has become a fixed component of our work."[73]

The decision not to collaborate with an orchestra or choir brought with it a need for someone to collect and archive music – someone who could pull the rabbit out of the hat at the right point in time. From 1979 onward, Matthias Burkert took on this monumental task. In 1995, he was joined by Andreas Eisenschneider, and they remained responsible for the music of the Tanztheater Wuppertal together until the death of the choreographer.

Matthias Burkert was born in 1953 in Duisburg, a city near Wuppertal in the Ruhr region. He grew up in a musical household. His father was a pastor and played the violin; his mother played piano, Baroque music. Their son learned to play piano from a very early age. He received his first lessons at the age of six, after the family moved to Wuppertal. However, by that time, he had already discovered the piano to be an "adventure playground,"[74] as he calls it. He disliked having to play the usual recitals on special occasions, instead enjoying lifting the lid of the piano and discovering the strings inside, revealing a world of sound beyond the mere major and minor keys. His piano teacher in Wuppertal encouraged his interest. Instead of teaching him in what was the usual way at the time – octaves, playing with two hands and a limited number of keys – he motivated him to improvise, e.g., to develop a melody that reflected the license plate of the new family car. Going beyond analytically listening to intervals and individual notes, Matthias Burkert learned to recognize tone quality and to connect sound to the materiality of his instrument, the piano, to its wood and metal. Having dropped out of the Kunstakademie Düsseldorf after two years, he went on to study piano and graduated from the Hochschule für Musik Köln with a thesis on the antiquatedness of the musical and piano pedagogy of the time.

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In Wuppertal, Matthias Burkert, with his passion for piano improvisation, fit right in. Here, he encountered the world of jazz. "Sounds like Whoopataal"[75] – Wuppertal is a city of jazz. Its jazz affinities go back to the legendary Thalia Theater, where Louis Armstrong, Josephine Baker and Stan Kenton all gave spectacular guest performances. In 1926, the Elberfeld radio station began broadcasting its first jazz program into German living rooms and, in the 1960s, Wuppertal became one of the most important European centers for musical improvisation. The names of jazz musicians playing in Wuppertal at the time reads like a 'who's who' of jazz. Wuppertal residents like the "German Benny Goodman" Ernst Höllerhagen, singer and pianist Wolfgang Sauer, saxophonist Peter Brötzmann, bassist Peter Kowald and guitarist and violinist Hans Reichel became outstanding protagonists of jazz, playing to worldwide acclaim. It was in this climate that Matthias Burkert developed his distinct musical style. His own experiences played into his work as the musical director of the Wuppertaler Kinder- und Jugendtheater, (the children's and youth theater), a position that he assumed in 1976 and held until 2011, in spite of his intense work commitments with the Tanztheater Wuppertal. He also taught piano didactics at the Universität zu Köln and had a few private piano students.

Matthias Burkert was very busy when Pina Bausch asked him in 1979 whether he would like to take over from the retiring repetiteur and start working as a pianist for the Tanztheater Wuppertal. The company suffered high turnover among its artistic members that year. Matthias Burkert wanted to present himself in a good light and told the choreographer about all the things that he was doing during their first conversation. Her initial reaction was: "Well, then you don't have any time for me."[76] Nonetheless, he came for a trial, attended by the seriously ill Rolf Borzik, and they hired him. It was a "leap of faith,"[77] as Matthias Burkert recalls, and he wanted to prove himself worthy. At first, he replaced the repetiteur and provided the musical accompaniment to the company's daily training, but he did it differently – without piles of sheet music on the piano. He improvised to the dancers' exercise routines, following certain repetitive phrases. He saw his piano playing as a dialogue with the forms of movement, the buildup of tension, pauses for breath, the figurations of movement. It was a musical translation, situative and momentary, a speechless dialogue capturing the atmosphere of the moment, and that moment was always different. His medium of communication was the gaze: while playing, he watched the dancers, observing the head of that day's training and forging a connection. In this way, he developed an extensive repertoire for piano improvisation over the years and decades. His guiding principle was the moment, the unforeseeable: "I always have to surprise myself.

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That's what I enjoy doing. Listening to myself. I know all the exercises that the dancers do, I know what comes next, but I don't really know what I myself will do until I begin playing."[78]

After training, there were other tasks waiting for him: Pina Bausch and the dancers brought heavy suitcases filled with shellac and vinyl records back from their tour to South America (→ PIECES). These records were the inspiration for the piece *Bandoneon* (PREMIERE 1980). Matthias Burkert was entrusted with sorting them all, recording them on tape, editing the tapes and preparing the music for rehearsals – a daunting task under the technical conditions of the time. He had already watched rehearsals for *Legend of Chastity* and *1980* from the back of the auditorium, where he had witnessed the daily developments during an important period of artistic upheaval. Now, he actively participated in them. Matthias Burkert had a mountain of tapes with him, which he carted to rehearsals in suitcases. More and more frequently, Pina Bausch asked him to play a certain tape, but most importantly, he began to collect material. He wanted to have enough at his fingertips to play when the right moment came. Over the years, he collected everything that he deemed musically strong enough, rummaging through record stores, secondhand shops and archives. He selected the music without giving any particular thought to actual dances, not thinking concretely of specific movements.

From 1986 onward, the coproductions made collecting a more extensive task. Matthias Burkert traveled for research to the coproducing cities, first alone and then, from 1996 onward, with Andreas Eisenschneider, together with whom he established contact with local musicians, archives, music schools and radio stations. Matthias Burkert was searching for "the soul of the country"[79] and he found it in ethnic music, especially in choral music, in particular in the mourning songs of the elderly. However, in some countries, the music was too strong, too explicit in form and context, like Spanish flamenco, or would have to be played live, as in the case of Indian music. He knew that the choreographer would not want to touch it out of respect – for the finished form. Moreover, she wanted the music to enter into dialogue with the piece, with the dance. It was not allowed to dominate or be too loud. It was important to her that the dancers be heard: their breathing, their battles. She wanted the music to have its own character in interaction with the stage and the dancing. It had to, as Matthias Burkert says, "open up another window of empathy and understanding"[80] and not simply depict, accentuate or amplify the dancing, just as much as, vice versa, the dancing should not illustrate the music. Over the years, the search for music changed in the coproducing countries: it became easier and at the same time more difficult. The Tanztheater Wuppertal was now world famous; people everywhere were eager to lend their support, to help;

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they wanted to be a part of it – and offers of music virtually fell at the two musical collaborators' feet. However, this also made the local search more difficult, as they could no longer randomly roam about as much, and finding something unexpectedly or by chance became increasingly complicated. Sometimes, they no longer even knew where and what they still had to collect.

Aside from listening, one central practice in Matthias Burkert's work was observation. He watched the dancers while they trained to the sound of his improvisations, but he also took careful glances behind the mirrors that hid the dancers while they developed their solos in the Lichtburg rehearsal space (→ WORK PROCESS). He attempted to guess in which direction the dances would develop into in order to collect the right music in advance and have it ready when the choreographer needed it. She decided what music was chosen for individual dances – not the dancers or her musical collaborators. In this respect, the two men did not offer the dancers music for the development of their dances, nor did the dancers in turn ask them for it. The rehearsals also provided Matthias Burkert with an opportunity to observe, where he learned to wait and be patient. He sat at a distance from the choreographer, looking over at her and only going to her table when she beckoned. Occasionally, she would come over and listen to a piece of music. Sometimes he would make careful suggestions, for he was afraid that they would meet with disapproval, that they would be insufficient or would not be the right fit. Now and then, the choreographer would try out countless pieces of music for a single dance, for a scene or a tableau of scenes, which was an exhausting and lengthy process. Scenes were often tested in all possible combinations – and this also called for changes in the music and the musical transitions between scenes. However, there was always a point when everything fell into place and felt right to the choreographer: "I can't tell you how I know when it's right here either," says Pina Bausch. "But among the many, many pieces of music that I listen to for every production, there is always one for every scene that really fits."[81] It took patience from everyone involved to find the one piece of music among hundreds of possibilities. Matthias Burkert and Andreas Eisenscheider would make suggestions and observe Pina Bausch's reactions; they were pleased when she reacted positively and would immediately stop the music when that was not the case. There was not a lot of talking, and her reactions were minimal and highly encoded. In Matthias Burkert's words: "Her eyebrows would go up or down slightly like a thumb signaling yes or no… if she sat back impatiently, changing her usual posture of leaning forwards full of curiosity, we would know that this was not what she had hoped for… lighting a cigarette, blowing the smoke upwards in silent but obvious frustration, was the worst judgement… no, there was

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nothing more to fear, there were never any harsh words… but still, it made you ashamed to have even suggested such a thing… simply out of respect for a newly discovered connection, something so fragile that nobody wanted to destroy it yet… just glad that there was now a hint of structure, and aware that it was not yet strong enough to support too many mistakes. A cobweb is difficult to repair."[82]

Andreas Eisenschneider reacted more calmly to rejection. He joined the company later, when there was already a sizable musical portfolio but, with his arrival, that portfolio once again expanded enormously. Matthias Burkert described to me in an interview how, in his younger years, he experienced Pina Bausch's dismissive gestures as the world coming to an end, but over the years – and thanks to his overflowing collection of music – he now had countless alternatives at his beck and call. Neither man ever disagreed with the choreographer's decisions, even when they would have enjoyed using the music that she rejected for a scene or dance. In the 30 years that Matthias Burkert and the 15 years that Andreas Eisenschneider spent collaborating with Pina Bausch, they experienced her as someone who called everything – absolutely everything – into question, who measured what she saw by her own reactions as the first spectator, so to speak, and as somebody who had a clear sensibility for form. Matthias Burkert remembers: "When she started getting bored of a sequence that she had already watched ten times, she cut it out."[83] When Pina Bausch spoke with individual dancers about their solos using videos, Matthias Burkert sat in the background, observed and listened. He was fascinated by her unperturbed, confident work on the compositional structure of the solos. "It was not about whether someone felt comfortable or whether a movement looked good. The work was solely determined by a search for form."[84] This search for form was an entirely practical affair, not something done merely conceptually or on paper. Although Pina Bausch did bring notes to rehearsals with her thoughts about what she wanted a sequence to look like, everything had to be tried out again, shown, seen, changed and listened to multiple times – everything was called into question again and again.

Andreas Eisenschneider joined the Tanztheater Wuppertal in 1995. Matthias Burkert remembers, that "everything relaxed a bit"[85] after his arrival. Andreas Eisenschneider, born in Lüneburg and raised in Celle, applied to the Tanztheater Wuppertal as a certified theater sound technician for the position of *Tonmeister* (head sound technician). He was 33 years old at the time and already had a remarkable career to look back on – from the Schosstheater Celle, via the Ruhrfestspiele and the Theater Heilbronn, to the Aalto-Theater and the Grillo-Theater, both located in Essen. He had worked with some

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of the major players in German *Regietheater* (director's theater), such as Hansgünter Heyme and Jürgen Bosse – the latter making his debut as a director in Rainer Werner Fassbinder's *Katzelmacher* at the Schauspielhaus Wuppertal under Arno Wüstenhöfer in 1970. These collaborations already show how Andreas Eisenschneider was freeing himself from the classical role of the sound technician. His motivator and mentor on this journey was composer and pianist Alfons Nowacki, who was still working with Hansgünter Heyme as the musical director for drama at the Grillo-Theater Essen back then. Andreas Eisenschneider accompanied Alfons Nowacki, one of the most requested repetiteurs in Germany at the time, to his many guest performances. Andreas Eisenschneider also actively contributed, as Alfons Nowacki trusted him and gave him various tasks to do. "That was an opportunity for me to earn a great reputation – aside from the fact that I was able to give him everything he needed and wanted from me."[86] Andreas Eisenschneider was confident; he knew what he was capable of. He had technical expertise, a good feeling for scenes, a sensory approach to technical musical equipment – all of which he had learned since 1979 – and it was with this self-confidence that he applied for a position with the Tanztheater Wuppertal, convinced that he would be hired. "Based on my experience and my credentials, they couldn't really pass me up. I thought to myself: they'd be stupid not to take me."[87]

He was interested in dance because he hoped to be able to apply more of his skills and knowledge there than in text-heavy plays. It was more or less a coincidence that he had chosen Pina Bausch's company. He was also interested in other choreographers. At first, he met the classical job description of a sound technician: providing sound, but also video support for rehearsals and performances, maintaining equipment, assembling it for tours, etc. But he soon attracted the attention of the choreographer after filling in for Matthias Burkert during a rehearsal. She was curious, for the Tanztheater had not had the best experiences with sound technicians in its early years. It appears that he did well, as he was quickly given additional responsibilities alongside his tasks as a sound technician and became Matthias Burkert's partner. Andreas Eisenschneider had a different taste in music, which meant that the musical repertoire expanded immensely. Both were constantly collecting music. All this was taking place in the 1990s, during a time when a new generation of dancers was beginning at the Tanztheater Wuppertal (→ PIECES) and analog technology was becoming digital. The Tanztheater Wuppertal therefore had to find new ways of organizing the constantly growing collection of thousands of pieces of music. The suitcases full of cassettes – their cases labeled with keywords such as "Armenia," "Slow," "Fast Jazz," "Beethoven," "Arabic," "Judge-

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ment Day," "Schubert song," "Harpsichord," "Female voice," "Renaissance," "Jewish dances," "Trombone," "Small melody (piano)," "Sicily," "Death and The Maiden," "Leningrader," "Organ/timpani" and "Timpani without organ"[88] – became collections on CD and then digital files on a computer. This made it easier to archive the music and play it back, while simultaneously making it more difficult to communicate with the choreographer during rehearsals, as she was no longer able to simply rummage around in the suitcases or look at covers. Andreas Eisenschneider remembers: "Pina sometimes complained that she couldn't look into the computer. But ultimately, she found a way to deal with it, because she trusted us."[89] Matthias Burkert and Andreas Eisenschneider produced CDs that they gave the choreographer to listen to during rehearsal breaks, because "[…] she never went home anyway when developing a new production. She slept and ate in the auditorium."[90]

During the years they spent working with Pina Bausch, Andreas Eisenschneider and Matthias Burkert sat in the same row as the choreographer during onstage rehearsals, but always at a safe distance of at least ten seats – a distance that they only rarely traversed of their own accord, except for quick consultations. They were both always well prepared and quickly agreed about when to suggest music for scenes. In spite of this kind of collaboration at a distance, there was a sense of closeness, especially during the late afternoon hours. Matthias Burkert remembers: "The best times were actually in the afternoon, when the building was empty. We sat in the work row. She wrote on slips of paper and sorted the scenes, fastening them together with paper clips. I went through our archive for the nth time. We did this all afternoon. Everything in preparation for the evening rehearsals."[91] During performances, Matthias Burkert sat in the auditorium beside Pina Bausch and managed the communication between the stage manager and the sound desk run by Andreas Eisenschneider. Once again, it was the distance that produced intimacy. "You were never allowed to make the mistake of overstepping a certain boundary. For Pina, it was an important part of building trust, letting it grow, to not be overly familiar."[92] By this time, Andreas Eisenschneider had become an important part of the performativity of each show: the music collages were not prerecorded. He controlled the tracks individually, sometimes keeping tabs of cues for up to 40 different pieces of music in a single performance. In every performance, the scenes and timing changed onstage, and Andreas Eisenschneider had to react in the moment. Pina Bausch's collage-like pieces did not allow for any relationship of dominance between music and dance: the music did not dominate the scenes or vice versa. It was a dialogue, and Matthias Burkert and Andreas Eisenschneider worked to keep it in balance during the show.

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Matthias Burkert considered the Tanztheater to be his family and, even years after the choreographer's death, Andreas Eisenschneider still says: "My mission is to be there for Pina."[93] That was what he had promised her, and it is a promise that he intends to keep, for she made things possible: she enabled him to travel, but above all, to develop his musical knowledge and skills, and to experiment – and that is what he wants to give back to her.

Pina Bausch imagined her pieces in colors: the color of a movement, the color of the costumes, the color of the music. There was only little interaction and next to no prior agreement between the individual fields of music, costume and stage design. There were no conceptual meetings, no bilateral or multilateral discussions. Pieces came together thanks to Pina Bausch's sense of what was right for each individual element, and the choreographer saw and felt this form: "Ultimately, everything has to come together, has to merge in such a way that it becomes a indissoluble unit."[94] But crucial responsibility for developing the individual elements and breathing life into them, for turning them into a tangible unit onstage, rests with the dancers.

The dancers: Translating experience

When Pina Bausch began in Wuppertal in 1973/74, the ensemble there went through a radical change. A majority of the dancers followed their former ballet director Ivan Sertic and left. For the young choreographer, this was both a burden and an opportunity: a burden, because this turmoil clearly demonstrated to the public that the previous dancers were unwilling to adapt to what was to come. This frightened the spectators who had been quite satisfied with what had come before. However, it was also a chance for a new beginning, for now Pina Bausch could choose her own dancers. Right from the outset, she took little interest in outward appearances, in factors such as measurements or weight, and she took it for granted that they would be "good dancers": "For me, hiring someone new is something very difficult. I don't exactly know how I do it. Except that I want them to be good dancers."[95] Instead of ideal proportions and brilliant technique, she wanted "people that dance."[96] They should not be nameless dancers, but personalities, not objects under the rule of a choreographer, but subjects whose character would become visible onstage. She thus focused not only on individual but also on cultural differences, on the dancers' internationality. She wanted the company to be a microcosm, where distinct qualities of movement revealed people's cultural differences. Later, she summarized the early years of the company as follows: "One of the few who stayed in Wuppertal was Jan Minařík: he became a very

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important performer and collaborator for the Tanztheater. I met Dominique Mercy and Malou Airaudo in America. I met Jo Ann Endicott in a studio in London. She was quite fat, but she could move beautifully [...]. I knew some of them, like Marlies Alt, Monika Sagon and others, from my time at Folkwang. They all had a strong influence on the Tanztheater. It was a very mixed group with different qualities; something about each one of them touched me. I was curious about something I didn't know yet."[97]

HOW PINA BAUSCH SAW HER DANCERS

This first group of dancers from the 1970s would largely determine the style of the Tanztheater Wuppertal for years to come while laying the groundwork for what the public would soon call the "Bausch-dancer," i.e., the typical Tanztheater Wuppertal dancer. The dancers formed an unusual ensemble for a municipal theater of the 1970s. It was one of many experiments also being attempted elsewhere at the time, as in Darmstadt (→ PIECES): a group without soloists and without any lead roles to dominate the group. However, what made this group different to other dance company experiments was that the dancers were not the neutral performers of various roles. Instead, the public soon perceived them as subjects; dance critics quickly began to identify individuals by name in published reviews. In public talks and speeches, Pina Bausch characterized her dancers as people "who are eager to give a lot,"[98] as people who love people, who wish to express themselves, who are curious, who have desires but also inhibitions, who hesitate, who do not wish to readily reveal themselves, but nevertheless have the courage to test their limits.[99] The pieces did not allow the performers to simply present something with which they felt comfortable or to dance the pretty movements that they had learned. It was truly about them being themselves, about showing what was real and allowing their own uniqueness to emerge. Pina Bausch wanted the spectator to become familiar with each individual during the performance, to feel close to them, to sense that it was not just a show, but real. As the choreographer saw it: "[...] we play ourselves, we are the piece."[100] This did not mean personal intimacy or gaining insights into a person's private life. What Pina Bausch was really interested in was the phenomenology of the individual subject, in "recognizing something, a bit of their nature, their manner, their quality,"[101] and then generalizing these individual traits as anthropological phenomena. But her statement also reveals something else: it was not just about singularities, but about a 'we,' about what a 'mixed bag' the group truly was and what they could create together.

In order for the dancers to open themselves up, Pina Bausch provided trust, patience and a safe space. In Wuppertal, the company's

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home was the Lichtburg, a rehearsal space (→ PIECES) where the dancers initially had their own "corners" where they "lived" and stored their personal things. This changed with new productions using smaller ensembles and the introduction of new roles: spots were switched around and exchanged, personal "corners" gradually disappeared and, with them, a certain atmosphere of familiarity. The company kept to itself during rehearsals; only rarely were outsiders invited to attend. Rehearsals were intimate and confidential so that everybody would feel comfortable enough to be able to show themselves. "The dancers should be allowed to engage in any kind of nonsense. And they also have to feel loved. At the same time, I have to be able to try out all my stupid ideas,"[102] said Pina Bausch. And they did not just do this for the choreographer, but also under the watchful eyes of their colleagues. For some, this was motivating, for others it was intimidating and inhibiting, and in some it incited a sense of competition. This rehearsal situation encouraged a gamut of human emotions, all condensed into a singular social fabric: courage, risk, fear, competition, boredom, fun, wit and humor. It was a situation in which the dancers not only had to trust each other and their choreographer but also had to believe in the work process as a whole, for new pieces were based on nothing more than what the dancers brought to rehearsals. It was always a new adventure, a journey into the unknown, and from a certain point in history onward, the dancers also undoubtedly felt privileged to develop pieces with this international icon of dance theater and not be reduced to merely dancing 'repertoire.'

Stephan Brinkmann, who joined the company in 1995, saw this work process as a form of recognition and appreciation, and as a sign of respect for the dancers. "We were not told what to do, but were asked."[103] However, others tired of this process over the years; they had no more ideas and just hung around during rehearsals. They presented no answers to the 'questions' or at least nothing useful, and the choreographer waited – sometimes for long periods and sometimes in vain. But she remained patient – some thought unusually patient: "Pina was very, very considerate. She made a lot of allowances for the personal affairs of individuals, in a way that didn't usually exist in theater."[104] Consideration for others is a very humane approach, but in this context it was more than that: in a production process geared toward individual creativity, it was a necessity for the social fabric and mood of the group. The choreographer knew that, ultimately, all dancers had to play their own part in the piece in order to be content. In developing the pieces, she therefore also had to compensate and balance group dynamics. She was thus not only dependent on dancers contributing to the development of the piece but also had to have alternatives ready when they did not.

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The dancers carefully approached possible topics using the open-ended method of 'asking questions.' And because everything was tried out until it "felt right" to Pina Bausch, rehearsals could be exciting, funny and amusing, but sometimes lengthy and occasionally even grueling when multiple variations of scenes were tried out again and again. Over the years, the dancers learned to prepare themselves for her method of 'answering questions,' which they had now grown familiar with. Barbara Kaufmann, who joined the company in 1987, admits: "I often collected certain things with the idea that I might be able to use them to answer a certain question or prompt. After all, she did also repeat some of the questions."[105] Mechthild Großmann, who first met Pina Bausch in 1975 and was a member of the company around the time that the method of 'asking questions' was introduced, would formulate what she had prepared more boldly, almost like a child trying to outsmart its teacher: "Often, I had already prepared something in advance – and then simply took whatever prompt she gave me to present it. Like when she said, 'full moon' or 'longing' or 'apple tree' – those prompts came up every time."[106]

Sometimes, Pina Bausch hired dancers who only opened up after years of being members of the company. Again, the choreographer had to be patient, and her colleagues had to have the right understanding. Pina Bausch explains: "Well, sometimes the group didn't understand why I hired someone. Couldn't understand what I saw in that person. And then… two years later, they saw it."[107] It comes as no surprise that these processes did not always go smoothly. The dancers did not always agree with what Pina Bausch made out of their material: "Sometimes I succeeded in creating scenes where I was happy that there were images like this. But some dancers were shocked. The shouted and moaned at me. Saying what I was doing was impossible."[108] As choreographer, she considered it her task to "to help each individual to find what I'm seeking for themselves."[109] In the work processes (→ WORK PROCESS), the aim of the search was therefore not for the dancers to find themselves, but rather for them to find something within themselves that the choreographer then recognized as that which she had been looking for. For the choreographer, the dancers' search for and creation of material took place within a framework that she provided with her questions and her own underlying search. "What's important is that I'm curious, that I can learn from them. Sometimes just because of their mere presence when I notice myself feeling the same way they do. There are many things that you only become conscious of through collaboration."[110]

Aside from the development of new pieces, dancers also adopt the roles of past dancers. This is just as exciting because, unlike in other companies, where the roles are rehearsed with a ballet master, at the Tanztheater Wuppertal, they are passed on directly

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from dancer to dancer, in some cases even by those who originally developed the role. Video recordings or descriptions left by dancers are also used to this end, but the main method of passing material on is face-to-face interaction (→ WORK PROCESS). It is important to the overall coherence of the piece that the quality, i.e., the color that individual dancers contribute to the piece, remains visible even after the material has been passed on. Pina Bausch had to find dancers who were capable of this. Stephan Brinkmann describes it as follows: "Pina Bausch chose very much based on type, depending on who had left."[111] Even so, people are rarely perfect copies, and the act of passing on material thus becomes an act of translation. Stephan Brinkmann and dancer Kenji Takagi, who took on his contract and some of his roles in 2001, shared, for example, a history of having studied at the Folkwang Universität. But they were very different dancers, both in terms of their physiognomy and how they moved – and this transformed the color and the roles. Kenji Takagi emphasized this difference to me: "I liked Stephan's dances a lot, and I also felt that they gave me the chance to find certain things in myself, to express them. The dances are different to the ones that I have created, more lyrical, poetic and slow. There are movements that only Stephan can perform. Why? That is the secret. But I feel like I've done them justice, even if I did them differently in the end and gave the dance a different color and character."[112]

For many years, all of the dancers were involved in every production, even in the first coproductions. There were only few exceptions, such as *Café Müller*. This did not change until the repertoire grew so large that touring and restagings required the introduction of new roles and responsibilities, and new pieces simply became too expensive to perform with the entire ensemble. The introduction of these new roles and responsibilities, which were actually initiated as a functional differentiation nevertheless had an effect on the cohesiveness of the company – and not only in terms of its work schedule but also in the minds of the participants. Up to this point, everyone had been seeing each other constantly. Together they had developed, rehearsed and performed pieces, traveled and even taken along their children – it was a kind of traveling circus, binding the group together, especially in the face of their immense workload of over 100 shows per year. The company had high standards when traveling, i.e., did so in comfort, thanks also to the generous support of the Goethe-Institut, and for Pina Bausch, this travel was the substance that held the international group together. The group was stationed in Wuppertal, a city that the choreographer had known since childhood. She associated it with security, because she had occasionally been sent to stay there with relatives during the final years of the war and because it was only ten minutes

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by car from Wuppertal to her hometown of Solingen. For her, Wuppertal was familiar terrain. It was the city of everyday life, not what she called a "Sunday town"[113] – and traveling provided balance. In interviews, in response to the question of why she never left the city in spite of receiving other offers, she often emphasized: "Well, what's good about Wuppertal is that it really leaves its mark on your consciousness [...]. You just have to bring the sun and everything else into the room and your imagination"[114]; and "I actually really like that Wuppertal is so commonplace, so plain; and because we travel so much, I have that contrast."[115] Living in both Wuppertal and the world was just another facet of Pina Bausch's productive universe of polar opposites. However, for most of the international dancers, Wuppertal was a foreign place and needed getting used to. They were often unable to properly communicate, at least not at first, and even within the Tanztheater Wuppertal, it was difficult for those who did not speak English.

Moreover, Pina Bausch only signed contracts for one year – even for herself at first, for she was skeptical and did not want to feel bound to Wuppertal. She was also afraid that the dancers would leave her without anyone else with whom to continue working. Even after ten years in Wuppertal, she said: "I have lived here in Wuppertal so far as if I were moving out tomorrow."[116] She continued this habit with her dancers, who only ever received annual contracts. As Mechthild Großmann remembers, they worked around the clock for what was at the time DM 2,600 a month. The contracts were automatically renewed every year unless the dancers themselves announced in October that they wished to leave. Then replacements had to be found.

In the company's 35 years of existence under Pina Bausch, there were but few dismissals, no more than a handful in total (→ WORK PROCESS). But when someone did ultimately leave the company, it was not uncommon for emotional ties to be completely severed. It was like being separated from a mother who does not want her children to leave. Raimund Hoghe, who joined the company in 1980 as a dramaturge during an important phase, experienced this after working with the company for ten years: "Pina probably couldn't accept that I was trying to find my own way without her. If you left her Tanztheater, you were dead to her. It was like withdrawing love from her. She couldn't deal with it. She always wanted to be loved by everyone in her vicinity. To say it nicely: those who distanced themselves got to know a very cold and hostile side of the usually kind Pina. Or to say it with a title of a Fassbinder film: Love is Colder than Death."[117] When Raimund Hoghe began his own international career as a choreographer and dancer, Pina Bausch did not come see his pieces, nor did she go see those of other former dancers. This might also have been due to a lack of time. Only few dancers returned and were reinstated

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as full members of the company after having left. They were mainly dancers of the first generation, such as Jo Ann Endicott, Dominique Mercy, Lutz Förster and Héléna Pikon. Jo Ann Endicott processed her experiences in a book,[118] and in an homage to the choreographer, she writes, "[…] in spite multiple attempts to leave the Tanztheater, […] I never properly managed to emotionally detach myself."[119] Lutz Förster dealt with his return in the solo *Lutz Förster: Portrait of a Dancer* (PREMIERE 2009), in which he described how he approached Pina Bausch to ask whether he could return to the company after a long period spent living in the US. He presented it in the form of a short conversation between "Pinchen" and "Lützchen," as the two born-and-bred Solingers called each other thanks to Pina Bausch's love of the diminutive, who reach an agreement without much talking. Interestingly, it was these 'returnees' in particular who assumed important, leading roles, not only in the pieces but also – and especially after Pina Bausch's death – in other positions: Jo Ann Endicott and Héléna Pikon as assistants and rehearsal directors, Dominique Mercy as a rehearsal director and an important, long-term dancer in the company (→ SOLO DANCE), Lutz Förster as the long-serving director of the Folkwang dance department, and both Dominique Mercy and Lutz Förster as the subsequent artistic directors of the company.

During Pina Bausch's time in Wuppertal, a total of 210 dancers participated in the development of her work and appeared as members of the original cast in individual pieces. The company was, as Pina Bausch herself ambiguously formulated it: "a world of our own."[120] Around 30 dancers were usually employed per year, joined by numerous guest dancers: for example, members of the Folkwang Tanzstudio, who danced *The Rite of Spring* for years, and former members of the company who continued to dance for the company as guests in certain pieces.

Even later on in the company's history, castings were often informal affairs, although there would sometimes be large auditions as well. Pina Bausch approached many candidates personally, after having met them somewhere, having seen them onstage or having gotten to know them through the Folkwang Universität or the Folkwang Tanzstudio. Some dancers responded to open calls, but even they were communicated through personal and informal channels in the early years and not through extensive application processes. Jean Laurent Sasportes recalls how he went looking for Pina Bausch in the canteen of the opera house when he arrived from Casablanca for his job interview. He did not know who she was, asking Marion Cito, who was also sitting at the same table: "Are you Pina Bausch?"[121]

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Until after her death, only few select ensemble members spoke publicly about the Tanztheater Wuppertal in interviews, which were subject to strict rules, required the choreographer's prior consent and were actually something that she frowned upon. The statements of those who did give interviews during those years, together with the things that Pina Bausch herself said, shaped the public image of the "Bausch dancer," of the company and of the collaborative relationship between dancers and choreographer. This public image, like other narratives about the Tanztheater Wuppertal, gradually solidified and became entrenched over decades and was often associated with particular individual dancers of the first generation. They were also the ones to whom audiences and dance critics referred when making comparisons with younger dancers or newer pieces (→ RECEPTION). However, it was not just the public image, but also the framework that affected the dancers within the company, establishing practices and routines that provided guidance to future dancers – which was not always easy, for the makeup of dancers on the payroll was always very diverse, no matter the artistic phase. Not only were they individuals from various cultures with different dance backgrounds – they were above all members of different generations as well, who had grown up in different political contexts and dance scenes. Pina Bausch's focus was on individuals and she did not consider a dancer's age to be relevant to her work. She thus made a significant contribution to questioning the idea of the ideal dancer's body and making the physical aging of dancers visible on the stage at all, sparking debates about stage presence. But while many dancers, especially the experienced ones, emphasized in conversations with me that age was insignificant in their collaborations with Pina Bausch, the specific experiences and attitudes of different generations of dancers did play an important role in the social fabric of the company and continues to do so to this day.

In spite of all the overlaps, we can identify a total of three generations of dancers during Pina Bausch's lifetime: 1) the dancers of the first phase, 2) the generation of dancers who joined the company from the late 1980s onward and 3) the group of dancers who arrived in the early 2000s. Since the choreographer's death, there has been a fourth generation of dancers who have never directly worked with Pina Bausch or met her in person. These different dancer generations have drawn on different experiences and various types of dance knowledge – and when they joined the company, they did so under different conditions. Over the years, the number of dance schools and institutions of higher learning has grown and grown, gradually adding contemporary dance to their curricula as

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well. Local dance scenes have become more differentiated, larger international networks between the various scenes have developed, and there has been increased representation of dance in the media, especially in visual and digital media.

When the first generation began in Wuppertal, there were – not just in Germany – virtually no role models for a different, modern type of company that could replace the ballet companies at the state-subsidized German theater houses, which were and largely still are organized into the three genres of opera, drama and dance. There were also almost no venues for the 'independent scene,' which was just gradually beginning to develop. Opportunities to see and experience international (post-)modern dance were extremely rare. Even the Tanztheater Wuppertal only began to increase its number of guest performances in 1977; until then, it had only been possible to see a few of Pina Bausch's pieces outside of Wuppertal, especially as they had not been available as video or television recordings. At the time, the Tanztheater Wuppertal was still an insider's tip in the international dance scene. "Pina an unknown planet,"[122] is how French dancer Anne Martin, who joined the company in 1977, remembers it.

This situation changed in the late 1970s. With the establishment of various independent venues and institutions across Germany – such as the Tanzfabrik Berlin and the Tanzwerkstatt in Düsseldorf, which provided new spaces to train and perform – and with the establishment of independent groups, the conversion of former industrial sites into cultural institutions and the proliferation of dance festivals, greater diversity emerged within the dance and performing arts scenes in general. The following generation of dancers had even more opportunities to discover contemporary dance aesthetics onstage, in courses and in educational programs. In this phase, Pina Bausch and the Tanztheater Wuppertal had also begun to tour extensively across various continents. Dancers of the first generation had either been classically trained or strictly speaking had no real dance education. By choosing to go to Wuppertal and set foot in unknown territory, they had changed their identities as dancers. However, now the Tanztheater Wuppertal was no longer just an insider's tip, but was in the midst of becoming Germany's number one cultural export item. The dancers joining the company from the late 1980s onward knew some of the pieces, had already taken classes with "Bausch dancers" and were also motivated by and aware of the company's international reputation. They knew that being part of the company also meant performing on large stages in front of sold-out audiences with what was now one of the most sought-after dance ensembles worldwide.

This applies even more to the third generation of dancers, who joined in the late 1990s. In the wake of the globalization of

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11 Protagonists at the
Next Wave Festival
New York, 1997

12 Pina Bausch
at her desk, 1987

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the art market, the deindustrialization and festivalization of cities – something that concert dance also benefited from (for example, the founding of North Rhine-Westphalia's own internationally acclaimed dance festival in the 1990s) – and the institutionalization of former industrial buildings, which were occupied and used by the 'independent' dance community, this generation had seen the international world of dance turn into a global village, accompanied by an increase in the opportunities to see international dance. Moreover, institutions for dance education were still multiplying and further diversifying their programs, allowing these dancers to draw on a wider range of more differentiated training programs. Finally, the development of technical media such as CD, DVDs, software and social media led to contemporary dance using media in increasingly professional ways, which also made a significant contribution to its global distribution.

In this phase, the Tanztheater Wuppertal became a German cultural export hit, partially thanks to the coproductions, which were often commissioned pieces for special occasions, festivals and events – such as *Masurca Fogo* for Expo '98, *The Window Washer* for the Hong Kong Arts Festival and *Nefés* for the international Istanbul Theater Festival. Twelve international coproductions were shown as part of the cultural program at the 2012 Olympic Games in London, a concept that Pina Bausch had originally developed herself. In the 1960s, Pina Bausch had been known as an optimistic, passionate and exceptional dancer. In the 1970s, she came to be seen as a revolutionary, determined choreographer, and in the 1980s, she developed into the new star of the international dance scene, only to become a global icon in the 1990s and a legend in her own lifetime. However, after the paradigm shift in contemporary dance, her art was increasingly considered historical. It now represented a genre, 'German Dance Theater,' that was associated with the prestigious choreographers of the 1970s and 1980s. Among the young choreographers of the 1990s, there were only a few who – even when referencing Pina Bausch's art – would describe their own work as 'dance theater.'

The different generations of dancers have therefore been confronted with different cultural, political, artistic and media contexts and situations. Over the years, the training and habitus of the younger dancers of the Tanztheater Wuppertal have become much more 'dancerly' than those of earlier generations. It has often been assumed that the dance department at the Folkwang Universität serves as a training ground for the company, but only a handful of dancers have actually come from there. The younger generations are "good dancers," but in a different way. However, that does not mean that all of them necessarily learned dance from an early age. In fact, there have been some "good dancers" with rather unusual

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professional careers in every generation: Barbara Kaufman, for example, was a rhythmic gymnast before discovering dance at the age of 17 and joining the company in 1987/88; Pascal Merighi, who joined the Tanztheater Wuppertal in 1999/2000, originally came from an acrobatics and rock-and-roll background and only began dancing at the age of 18; and Kenji Takagi, who joined the company one season later, first started dancing at the age of 20.

The new dancers work in the same way as before, but the results are different. The new pieces have fewer 'theatrical' parts; there is more dance, particularly solo dance, and a somewhat additive compositional structure. The singular within the multitude, which was once shown simultaneously, has now been replaced by singular succession. The dancers have also encountered different group situations within the company: the first generation lived with the choreographer and her partner as members of a kind of artistic family, in which life and art were closely intertwined. After evening rehearsals or shows, the inner circle would go to the pub for "just one more quick glass of wine and a quick cigarette," as a scene developed for the piece *Walzer* (PREMIERE 1982) was entitled, in which Mechthild Großmann legendarily portrayed Pina Bausch's desire to stay for just a little bit longer. Dancers stayed overnight at the home of Pina Bausch and Rolf Borzik, who occasionally also repaired household appliances for some of them. This intimacy no longer existed in the second generation. Only occasionally were individual dancers allowed to join the 'elders' of the inner circle; you no longer 'simply joined in.' Anne Martin remembers Pina Bausch being very close to her dancers in the beginning: "We were around Pina a lot during that period. She was constantly in some café or restaurant between rehearsals. You could always go sit with her, just be there and talk to her."[123] And former dramaturge Raimund Hoghe remembered in 2015: "I stayed with Pina for ten years, and she was a bit like a sister to me. We both came from a working-class background and both only had a basic school education. That was a different Pina Bausch from the women that newspaper critics venerate like some kind of saint. Pina was no Mother Theresa, nor was she a far-removed, enraptured divinity. She was sensitive and extremely vulnerable. And she spoke about love like no other choreographer or director at the time. I find today's veneration of her quite strange… In my opinion, the silence eventually just became an attitude. She was quite articulate when she wanted to be."[124]

Distance to the choreographer – the star, the icon, the director, the myth – grew with every generation. Absorbed by and drowning in her work, she had to protect and shield herself. She increasingly drew her entourage around her in public – and there were but few who dared to break through this wall. The company continued to cultivate the myth. We see this, for instance, in the

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many 'moving stories' surrounding her. Almost everyone who ever worked with her has one that they can tell: stories of a deep gaze, a casual sentence, a small compliment, an anecdote. Wim Wenders captured impressions of this in his film *PINA* (2011). Many of the dancers – and the choreographer as well – still occasionally spoke of trust and love in the later phases. But it was the tension between love, intimacy and familiarity on the one hand and distance, respect and authority on the other that subsequently characterized the relationship.

When new dancers joined the Tanztheater Wuppertal, they took on roles and had to find their place in the company's day-to-day operations. The Tanztheater Wuppertal's daily routines were established early on and hardly changed over the years: training at 10:00 a.m., then rehearsals until about 2:00 p.m., then a break, and more rehearsals in the evening, usually until 10:00 p.m., often longer, as Anne Martin remembers.[125] If there was a show the night before, "critique" was dealt out the next day after training. However, this did not primarily comprise the correction of individual solo dances, but rather focused on the *how:* how the individuals walked, did things, said things, how to better produce the intended atmosphere and how to reach agreements, achieve a shared rhythm and solve issues of timing. For the choreographic concept of the pieces was based on rhythm – the rhythmic convergence of individual 'parts' – not on narratives or linear storylines. For this to succeed, it was fundamental that dancers and their scenes and transitions were well coordinated, also in connection with lights and sound, and this listening and reacting to each other had to happen in the moment, in the actual situation itself.

Usually, daily routines provide orientation and a sense of order, but they also encourage unspoken hierarchies and give certain individuals the power to influence internal discourse. This is also the case within the Tanztheater Wuppertal, although, officially, there are still no differences in status, which could be objectively reflected in solos or leading roles. Mechthild Großmann coolly sums it up when she says: "Well, of course, we weren't entirely without tensions within the group. We didn't choose each other. Individual dancers didn't decide who was hired, only Pina. So, we simply had to get along somehow."[126] It is not uncommon in large dance companies for the director to choose company members, but the members of the group assembled here were much more dependent on each other. The dancers knew that it was not just their skills and abilities that allowed them to become members of the famous troupe – it was also their characters. Being a "Bausch dancer" meant being willing to commit to and live for the Tanztheater Wuppertal. The intense work and extensive touring barely allowed for anything else. So, naturally, many couples got together within the company over the years.

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"Of course, if you're working all day, maybe if you even came to Wuppertal as a foreigner, then the company is the only place to find a partner. And at some point, it became a kind of couples' party. Pina didn't like that at all. For if you criticize one of them, then the other is immediately offended, too," as Mechthild Großmann sees it. She stayed out of it in every respect. "I think I was one of the few who never fooled around with another member of the company (laughs)."[127]

The extensive traveling supported the self-referentiality and interdependence within the company. But the traveling also changed over the years, especially the research trips. Not only because not all the dancers were involved in every piece anymore, but also because it no longer meant aimlessly roaming about. The company's growing popularity and prominence meant that stays on location became increasingly organized and that the group now had a tight schedule, with buses driving them to each place, appointment and visit. While this provided the group with certain experiences that they would not have had as normal tourists, the research trips from the mid-1990s onward were nevertheless perceived as far more touristy than those of earlier years. The participants themselves also contributed to this development, for they had developed a touristic gaze of their own: video and photo cameras had become constant companions. Here, we once more see how radical innovation turned into guiding routines over the years and how routines became standardized, unquestioned convention.

A chosen family – "We are the piece"

During Pina Bausch's lifetime, the Tanztheater Wuppertal was, in its own understanding, a family. It was a chosen family, one that its members decided to join. Unlike conventional families, people did not involuntarily belong; no one was born into it. It is a figuration of community that has grown fragile – since the death of Pina Bausch, in the absence of previous production routines, since the departure of longtime members, the restructuring of its members and attempts to steer the company aesthetically into a new direction with rotating artistic directors. For longtime members, staff and collaborators, this process has not only been painful, but has also generated a certain degree of social insecurity, which continues even to this day, more than ten years after the choreographer's death.

Pina Bausch and her company shared a distinct attitude toward their work: whether costume design, stage design or music, everyone kept to their own material, attaching great value to providing good, high quality craftsmanship. They focused on that one line of work. Stamina, loyalty, trust, allegiance, courage and the acceptance of hierarchies were the unifying threads of their social

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13 *Nefés*
Wuppertal, 2011

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14 Research trip for
"…como el musguito en la piedra, ay si, si, si…"
Chile, 2009

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interactions. This applies in particular to the organizational team, which has grown over the years, but whose long-serving staff members Claudia Irman, Ursula Popp, Sabine Hesseling and Robert Sturm unquestioningly navigate the complex organizational needs of the company behind the scenes.

Pina Bausch's description of her relationship with her dancers is much like that of a mother talking about her children: "I love my dancers, each in a different way."[128] She saw it as a kind of romantic relationship, which was different with every one of them. She explained that she helped them to open up, to develop, and that this not only demanded much of her but also gave her much back. But she also took and expected devotion and unconditional loyalty, especially from her artistic collaborators, for her insecurities remained substantial, even after she had long since become a global icon.

Matthias Burkert remembers: "somehow we were stuck again in this dead end… she quietly called us all together to share her despair… fighting back tears. Indeed, none of us could imagine how this hopelessly confusing collection of fragments, short scenes, images, movement ideas, dances that were only just coming together, a few group dances even, small gestures, unfinished improvised dialogues, texts, musical ideas… how all this might be organized into arcs of tension and form resembling a 'piece' that could be, no, would have to be performed in just a few short days… because of course the date of the premiere was fixed and had long been announced as a yet untitled 'New Piece' in the season brochure."[129]

Her group was a motley crew from various cultures and, over the years, from different age groups too, with distinct backgrounds and dance histories – although it is important to once again note that the difference between the generations was less important to her than cultural differences.[130] "I think it's nice that we have so many different people. Small people, fat people, tall people, elderly people and the many different nationalities bring a lot of different things to the table."[131] In 2007, Pina Bausch characterized the company as "a great big family,"[132] as a family distinguished by trust, mutual respect, emotional attachment, shared feeling – where she was the "venerated elder."[133] She had the final and decisive say in all things. It was a family in which, as in so many families, not much was said, in which plans as to what is done where and how were not made together. Every member kept the experiences that they had during the process to themselves and dealt with them on their own. It was a multicultural family of choice, stretching beyond cultural and political boundaries, while moreover being globally (inter-) connected – a family that also included audiences that had in some cases followed the company for decades, be it in Wuppertal, Tokyo, New York or Paris.

The Tanztheater Wuppertal does not objectively, rationally or pragmatically define itself through shared work or a shared

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profession, as some large dance ensembles do. Nor does it consider itself to be a group of artists, a community of equals or a collective. The Tanztheater Wuppertal obtained its identity from the figuration of the chosen family, initiated by a choreographer whose own life was characterized by a blurring of boundaries between art and life, between the professional and the private, the personal and the public, and who wanted to live this way with her chosen family as well. Unlike conventional families, chosen families are not related by blood; instead, their kinship is built on shared guiding principles, values and habits. And unlike artistic associations, which primarily consider themselves to be communities formed for the distinct purpose of working together, fully aware that collaboration is only possible by establishing certain forms of communication and attitudes, the identity of the Tanztheater Wuppertal revolves around putting people first. Not only is this humanistic value the necessary basis for good collaboration, but they are also perceived as goals in themselves. The company's identity demonstrates the typical markers of chosen families: it offers support and security; its members are committed to one another in a special way and feel that they can absolutely rely on one another. In spite of their age differences, specific experiences and strengths are encouraged, and individuals are appreciated for their special qualities and quirks. The company manages to successfully validate this identity on a daily basis with the help of routines that have gradually been established over the years, into which new dancers can be integrated. Friction arises when these routines are undermined or simply cease to be common knowledge.

The emotional bond creates cohesion in groups whose ideological and everyday ties are sustained by emotions and shared attitudes, maintained by blind understanding, a shared ethos and unifying will, whose language depends on trust and intimacy, and which, especially in the context of dance, are based on direct corporeal relationships between members. Such groups are thus uniquely confronted both with the subject of trust – of love, intimacy and loyalty – and its often unexpressed opposites – rivalry, jealousy, envy, defiance and gossip. It is the entire claviature of human affect that leaves its mark on the dynamics of the social figuration – and this is exactly what the works of Pina Bausch, this anthropologist of dance, deal with. Not only are they translations of individual experience, they are also the aesthetic translation of a concrete social configuration, namely that of the company – "We are the piece."

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