

---

Table of content	iv
------------------	----

---

<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>vii</b>
-------------------------	------------

  

<b>Photographs, charts, the use of Finnish and English language</b>	<b>viii</b>
---	-------------

  

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
A 'proper' history versus a 'postmodern' history?	3
The truth in history	5
The thesis	8
Notes	12

---

<i>Part 1 – A positivist approach to history</i>	<b>13</b>
--	-----------

---

<b>1 Existing Histories of Finnish Dance Art</b>	<b>13</b>
Dance books in English	16
Dance books in Finnish and Swedish	19
Memoirs	30
Scholarly dissertations and articles	32
Visual histories and traces of the past in the archives	34
Future histories	37
Notes	39

  

<b>2 My Overture: Dance in Finland 1917-1939</b>	<b>41</b>
Research data	44
Consequences of distinctions of the data	46
Number of dance performances	47
National and international Finnish dance art	52
Foreign guest performances	54
Dance schools	57
The Finnish National Ballet	61

Modern dance	65
Dance as a legitimate art form	68
Mixed performances and tours	70
Dance as history	72
Further research strategies	73
Notes	76
-----	
<i>Part 2 - Cultural contexts</i>	77
-----	
<b>3 Elsa Puolanne (1906-1996): A Gymnast and a Dancer</b>	<b>77</b>
Childhood: Roots in a young nation	82
Youth: Choices and challenges of a modern world	86
Dance as part of physical education	96
Gymnastics and dance career in physical education	103
Visitor in the Third Reich	107
Finnish gymnasts in the 1936 Berlin Olympics	109
Foundation of the Union of Finnish Dance Artists in 1937	119
Transition from physical education to dance art	122
Notes	124
<b>4 Problems of the Modern and the National in Dance Art in Finland</b>	<b>129</b>
Context and forums for discourses of the modern and the national	131
Dance debate in <i>Tulenkantajat</i> in 1929	134
Voices of modernism and nationalism	137
Ballet and new dance: an impossible combination	147
Dance drama	149
Owner(s) of dance	151
Interplay of the modern and the national in dance	152
Modern and national <i>Loitsu</i>	156
<i>Loitsu</i> in the postmodern era	162
Notes	164

---

<i>Part 3 – A post-positivist approach to history</i>	165
---	-----

---

<b>5 Towards Dancing Histories</b>	<b>165</b>
How to understand dance	166
To reconstruct or to construct	169
Dancers of <i>Loitsu</i>	171
Extant traces of <i>Loitsu</i>	175
Eight postures in the photographs of <i>Loitsu</i>	178
<i>One Possible Loitsu</i>	190
<i>A Fragmented and Dispersed Loitsu</i>	193
Notes	199
<b>6 Proposals for a New Performative Dance History</b>	<b>202</b>
The DVD <i>Loitsu: Danced Histories?</i>	204
The positivist and empirical start	205
The interplay of the modern and the national in dance	208
The contribution of intertextuality	210
Notes	212

---

<b>Appendices 1- 19</b>	<b>213</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>248</b>

---

## Acknowledgements

Finally it is over and time to say: **THANK YOU!**

Elsa Puolanne

Leena Gustavson

Mirri Karpio

Professor Janet Lansdale

Professor Pirkko Koski

Professor Pentti Paavolainen

The Finnish Culture Foundation

The Finnish Arts and Dance Council

The Virtual University at the Theatre Academy

Jouko Seppälä

Sari Koskinen

Mia Kivinen

Michaela Brann

Jukka Gustavson

Riikka Korppi-Tommola

Kai Lehikoinen

Leena Lahtinen

Leena Laine

Giannandrea Poesio

Lorna and Peter Sanders

Tim Scholl

Tiina Suhonen

Juhani, Jalmari and Veikko Aalste

Marjatta Makkonen

and all colleagues of mine at the University of Surrey.

## Photographs

Photograph 1 Elsa Puolanne in 1992	1
Photograph 2 <i>Loitsu</i> : background	181
Photograph 3 <i>Loitsu</i> : front	182
Photograph 4 <i>Loitsu</i> : twisting	183
Photograph 5 <i>Loitsu</i> : branches	184
Photograph 6 <i>Loitsu</i> : you	185
Photograph 7 <i>Loitsu</i> : focus	186
Photograph 8 <i>Loitsu</i> : wait!	187
Photograph 9 <i>Loitsu</i> : almost	188

## Charts

Chart 1 The structure and progress of the thesis	10
Chart 2 Dance trends and their representatives	23
Chart 3 Dance performances in Finland in 1917-1939	48
Chart 4 Percentage of different performance categories in 1917-1939	50
Chart 5 Dance performances and performances of the Finnish National Ballet	51
Chart 6 Guest performances in Finland in 1917-1939	55
Chart 7 Dance schools in Helsinki in 1917-1939	58
Chart 8 The repertoire of the Finnish National Ballet in 1922-1939	64
Chart 9 Modern dance performances in 1917-39	66
Chart 10 The names of postures of Photographs of <i>Loitsu</i>	161
Chart 11 The floor pattern of <i>Loitsu</i> (1933)	177

## The use of Finnish and English language

The names of organisations, federations, associations are written in English. The Finnish name is given in brackets, when the name appears for the first time.

Union of Finnish Dance Artists, UFDA  
Suomen Tanssitaiteilijain Liitto

Helsinki Dance Institute  
Helsingin Tanssiopisto

Finnish National Ballet, FNB  
Suomen Kansallisbaletti

Finnish Women's Federation of the Physical Education, FWFPE  
Suomen Naisten Liikuntakasvatus Liitto

Finnish Gymnastics and Sports Federation  
Suomen Voimistelu ja Urheiluliitto

Workers' Sports Federation, WSF  
Työväen Urheiluliitto

Finnish Women's Gymnastics Federation  
Finska Kvinnors Gymnastikförbund - Suomen Naisten Voimisteluliitto

Swedish Federation for Physical Education for Women in Finland  
Svenskt förbund för fysisk fostran för Finlands kvinnor

Nordic Gymnastic Federation  
Nordisk Gymnastik Förbund

Gymnastic Association for Women in Helsinki  
Gymnastikförening för Fruntimmer i Helsingfors

Women Gymnasts of Helsinki  
Helsingin Naisvoimistelijat

Gymnastic Association for Female Students  
Naisylioppilaiden Voimisteluseura

Society of Finnish Women Gymnastics  
Suomalainen Naisvoimisteluseura

The titles of newspapers, books and articles are presented in Finnish. The English translation is given, when the title appears for the first time. The following abbreviations for newspapers are used in the text:

Helsingin Sanomat, HS  
Uusi Suomi, US  
Svenska Pressen, SP

All translations from Finnish quotes into English are mine. These free translations are not literal - they try to capture the central meaning of the text. For the sake of the fluency the English translation is placed before the Finnish quote.