Teatron – An Israeli Quarterly for Contemporary Theatre, Issue 33, 2012

Sara Levi Tanai (1910-2005) and Anna Sokolow (1910-2000): Commonalities in Difference

This paper was originally delivered at the "Dance Theater and Cultural Identity" conference, centered on Sara Levi Tanai's legacy, December 25-26, 2011 at the Tel Aviv University, Israel.

To read the published article in Hebrew, click here:

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In December 1953, Anna Sokolow, a prominent American modern dance choreographer, was invited by Jerome Robbins and the America-Israel Cultural Foundation (AICF) to assist Sara Levi Tanai, founder, choreographer and artistic director of Inbal, in transforming Inbal Dance Theater from a low budget amateur Company to a professional one, ready to represent Israel abroad.

That Sokolow and Tanai, both unique artists who were fiercely passionate about their art and vision found an amicable and productive working relationship over five decades despite their greatly different cultural and professional backgrounds is my point of interest: how and why did they succeed in bridging their difference and what were their mutual contributions?

I am writing this paper from my view as a Yemenite/Israeli and American dance artist living in the USA, who has closely interacted with both Sara, as teacher for students of Inbal in the early 1960's, and with Anna, my mentor, in whose companies I danced during the 1960's in Israel (The Lyric Theater), and later in the USA, prior to many years of working there as dancer, choreographer and dance professor.

I will give historical background of these women's first encounter; then discuss the profound effect of Anna's teaching on Inbal dancers, and then delve with further depth into the complicated and fascinating relationship which evolved between Sara and Anna over five decades.

Anna Sokolow arrived in Israel with Jerome Robbins in mid December 1953. Upon arrival, she insisted on rushing directly from the airport to view a rehearsal at the Inbal Studio. This was her first trip to Israel; she came in the midst of her busy work schedule in Mexico and the USA and was not sure why she agreed to come.

Though deeply moved by the novelty and beauty of what she saw, Anna's first response was very guarded. As an American Jew born to a Russian immigrant family, this moment was her first encounter with Middle Eastern Jews and with dance and music traditions originating in Yemen. At the end of the three- hour rehearsal, she said

to the expectant Sara Levi Tanai and the dancers, "So far no comment, I need some time to digest it."

Sokolow's visit to Inbal was initiated by Jerome Robbins, who was summoned by the America Israel Cultural Foundation, in 1951, to help identify a dance company that could best represent Israel abroad. Robbins recommended that funding be provided to help the semi-folkloric Inbal transform from amateur to a professional status, and that a teacher and consultant with great artistry and sensitivity be hired to assist them in making that transition.

Robbins, who admired Sokolow's cutting edge experiments with dance theater works, including her use of Jazz music, pedestrian movements, social and humanitarian concerns, including her pioneering work in establishing modern dance in Mexico, thought Anna was the perfect choice. ²

This occasion was both an artistic as well as a political intervention in that an American outsider was brought in to determine artistic preference in terms of national identity and representing Israel abroad.

It came as a shock and irritant to the mainstream modern dance and ballet dance artists in Israel that Robbins found Inbal Dance Theater to be the most unique and promising ensemble, with the potential of becoming Israel's national dance company. He thought the dominant dance companies of Israel, which based their traditions on expressionistic dance and European ballet, to be derivative of European practices already known. In his view, Sara's work most authentically represented the Israeli landscape, its people, and its ancient mythologies. Robbins disagreed with the majority of the Israeli public who viewed Sara's work as simply a folkloric Yemenite dance company. He saw that while Sara's choreography was based on movement originating in Yemen, she was already developing and placing the Yemenite authentic movement material in a broader theatrical and dramatic context, aligned with modern dance.

Over the years, Giora Manor was the one consistently supportive critic who saw Sara's work as distinct from the more popular folkloristic touring companies such as Moiseyev. He saw that "Sara Levi Tanai has 'dissolved' ancient folk dance traditions and built her own original choreographic structures from the basic folkloric components." Giora Manor, "The Yemenite Dance Materials of Sara Levi-Tanai," Ed. Judith Brin Ingber, *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review* (vol. 20, no. 1-2, 2000), 88.

¹ Larry Warren, *Anna Sokolow: The Rebellious Spirit* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Book Company, 1991), 136

² ZC commentary: "pedestrian movements": Robbins and Sokolow who were seminal artists reflecting and affecting the spirit and art of their time were seeking new ways to connect with popular dance forms and give voice to the new American pulse as seen in the urban landscape and the common person in the street. They distanced themselves from the elitist art they inherited – the aristocratic classical ballet for Robbins, and the larger than life, often archetypal figures in Martha Graham's choreography. (Sokolow danced in Graham's company for many years before striking out on her own.)

³ Ruth Eshel in Henia Rottenberg and Dina Roginsky, eds., *Dance Discourse in Israel (Rav-koliyoot Vesiach: Dance in Israel)* (Tel Aviv: Resling, 2009), 71.

For Sara Levi Tanai, however, this unexpected kind of recognition and support, came as mana from heaven. She liked Anna from the onset and found her honesty and directness trustworthy.

Sokolow's delayed response during that first rehearsal, however, was also at the heart of the simultaneous tension and attraction that permeated East-West cultural encounters as well as issues of Western elitism while Israel was searching for its cultural identity as a newly formed state.⁴

Initially Anna stayed in Israel to work with Inbal for four grueling months. During the next three years she returned to work with the company for short but intense periods of time, until the company, who was taken under the wing of the great American impresario, Sol Hurok, was ready, in 1957, to embark on its first two International tours to Europe, the USA, and Canada.

Anna was overwhelmed by the responsibility involved in helping Sara and her dancers become a full-time, professional dance theater without interfering with the company's authenticity: "I felt the enormous responsibility on my part not to touch this innocence, but at the same time to give them a kind of strength and understanding of what they were and to help them project this more effectively." Gila Toledano, Sara's assistant and Inbal's company manager for many years, recounts how "Anna Sokolow...insisted on not interfering with Sara's work. Her initial contributions were primarily those of teaching company class, instilling a more professional work discipline, constructing a regular training and rehearsal schedule and advising in all technical aspects of theatrical production including costumes, sets, and lighting."

The dancers grew to love Anna, but not without some initial resistance to the new daily training methods, which felt unnatural and uncomfortable. Adhering to a more intensive and exacting discipline greatly interfered with their traditional family commitments and

Sara and "Inbal found themselves in the eye of the storm relating to 'the ethnic problem' in questions typifying Israeli arts and culture." Gila Toledano, *The Story of a Company: Sara Levi Tanai and Inbal Dance Theater (Sipoura Shel Lahaka)* (Tel Aviv: Resling, 2005), 10.

⁴ Dr. Dina Roginsky, an Israeli sociologist interested in the orientalist construction of ethnic identity, argues that the reason Inbal was marginalized, and not appreciated as a representative artistic dance company, was because Inbal was perceived as "folkloric," "low art," "other," "eastern," "traditional," and "female" in character—in contrast to the dominant identity marks which were perceived as "modern," "western" and "male." Roginsky further says, "Inbal thus serves the nation ambivalently, simultaneously included in and excluded from its cultural norms." Dina Roginsky, "Orientalism, The Body, and Cultural Politics in Israel: Sara Levi Tanai and the Inbal Dance Theater, "*Nashim*": *A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies and Gender Issues* (2006), 168.

⁵ Warren, 136.

⁶ ZC commentary: Sokolow's "company class," in principle, was the same class she taught anywhere. Her modern dance technique was a combination of a modified Graham technique with some basic classical ballet exercises with emphasis on articulation of the upper back, neck and head movement generated from the sternum. She also put great emphasis on the tactility of the hands.

home obligations. No missing rehearsals was allowed; no speaking during rehearsals; being on time; dancing with full commitment, even when dead tired; repeating the dance again and again until the material was mastered were now the new rule.⁷

In interviews I conducted earlier this year with Recheli Sela, a dancer in the original Company, as well as Ilana Cohen, who joined the Company in the mid 1960's and became company director in the late 1990's, I learned that Inbal dancers, considered Anna by far, the one and most important teacher who has had a profound and lasting artistic effect on their development: "it was never about steps.... one could be asked to do the same sequence of movements over and over and again until the motivation was deeply felt and the belief in what we were doing unquestionable, the imagery invoking or being invoked by the movement fully evident, the 'how' more important than the 'what,' the textural and dynamic detail way more important than 'how much we got done.'" With this approach to performing, dancers could surpass their technical limitations through very acute mental and emotional focus: "We could break in sweat doing very little, or practically nothing."

In my own recollection of the similar modern dance classes taught by Anna at the Lyric Theater, Anna's mantra, which anybody who ever danced with her could repeat in their sleep, was "More", "More!" and.... "More!!" Her "more" usually meant more intensity, fuller mental and physical commitment, as well as performing with clear intent and a sense of urgency.

These kinds of directorial methods: the use of imagery and demand for inner motivation, "the direct flow from emotion to physical expression," as well as creating movement scenes, were some of the common elements that bonded Sara and Anna who were not only modern dance choreographers but also dance theater artists and directors.⁹ Modern dance allowed them to find their individuality as artists with themes and movement language that were unique to their visions.

While Anna, however, was adamant, in reaction to her years of dancing with Graham, in seeking to demythologize her view of self and society, and simplifying the movement

Galia Gat and Moshe Romano, "Anna Sokolow: Teacher All Along the Way," *Machol Achshav (Dance Now)* (vol. 2, July 2000): 22.

ZC commentary: Sara through her early acting training with Zvi Friedlander and her multimedia productions for Inbal involving text, set design, acting and singing, in addition to dance (e.g. *Megilat Ruth* and *Shir Hashirim*); Anna – through her many years of teaching movement to actors and directors, including her work as choreographer and director alongside Elia Kazan, amongst others at the Actor's Studio, and her theater work on and off Broadway (e.g. *Street Scene* and *Seven Deadly Sins*), as well as her work with her dance companies, which often included actors.

⁷ "Anna had ocean-like blue eyes, but when she looked at you during rehearsals, they penetrated you like laser beams.... She worked with us hours upon hours, with no compromise, until the most minute movement seemed to her right."

⁸ Personal interviews, Tel Aviv, December 2011.

⁹ Warren, 118.

language she inherited from Graham toward more naturalistic movement style, ¹⁰ Sara sought to give dignity to the Yemenite dance community in Israel and reveal the beauty of their traditions by mythologizing them. While this was aligned with the national spirit of Israel of the 1950's: the mythologized figure of the chaloutzim, for instance, it was no longer relevant when artistic agendas and aesthetics shifted in later years.

While Anna's contributions to the Inbal dancers could be understood, her particular work with Sara, which was conducted behind closed doors, remained an enigma.

When Anna first arrived in Israel in 1953 she had already achieved great notoriety as a dancer and choreographer working in the field of concert dance and theater. She was also known as an important teacher of choreography who was at the forefront of the new compositional method in dance as developed by Louis Horst.¹¹

Sara, who was primarily a composer, poet and actress of great talent, had no dance training and was struggling as a choreographer. While she already figured how to generate movement and dance step material from her Yemenite dancers and succeeded brilliantly in developing them in time, space, and sequence, she was not content.

She desperately needed guidance in finding structural organization for her ambitious vision to create narrative and theatrical productions going beyond folk dance arrangements, and she felt lucky to have Anna as a consultant whom she trusted and whose work she admired.¹²

Natan Mishori, "From the 'Lyric Theater' Until Today," *Israel Dance (Machol Beisrael)* (1978/9): 10. ¹¹ Louis Horst was the first teacher in the USA to teach a choreographic method. He was also Martha Graham's music director and mentor.

Sara Levi-Tanai, "The Source of the Movement Language of Inbal," *Israel Dance (Machol Beisrael)* (1980): 10.

¹⁰ Natan Mishori, Anna's music collaborator, admirer, and friend, writes, "When Anna Sokolow choreographs she reveals to her dancers two important elements, which for her, are one and the same—human values and choreographic values. Contemporary man [adam] stands at the center of her choreographic creation: man as he is, with no staged ornamentation or decorum distorting his true self. Historical or mythological figures usually do not interest her."

[&]quot;Anna's movement choices seem simple, and possibly closer to pedestrian movement than to dance tradition, except that artistic intent and the metrical rhythms, the tempi, and the intensity in each detailed movement, and the specific shadings that are created in the directional gaze, the inclination of the neck and the head, and the placement of hands and fingers lend her movements an identity that cannot be mistaken with any other."

¹² "It began simply: a folk-art group, but when development and continuation were required and the need for personal expression became evident, difficulties appeared. What are the structural elements to be used? What about technique? What is this terrible word 'choreography' and what does composition mean? Just between us, to this very day I'm not quite terms what all these important terms really mean."

The Horst method, taught by Anna Sokolow, was inspired by western compositional forms found in music and the visual arts. While it called for original and imaginative movement material, it advocated strict choreographic structure and rich development of the initial core movement or theme. Anna adopted and taught this method for many years and I have no doubt she applied this method in her advice to Sara.

Since Anna's choreographic or directorial comments to Sarah, according to Ilana, were only delivered behind closed doors, and never in the presence of the dancers during rehearsals, we do not really know what was the nature of Anna's mentorship to Sara.

The only clue I found is through Sara's own words delivered in Hebrew in a conference on the state of dance in Israel to the National Public Council at the Tel Aviv Museum in May 1981.¹³

"The Yemenite step is a humble one; it was formed in the tight space provided for it by the wedding guests for the joyful occasion, which, traditionally, always took place at home. In Israel it simply rebels and goes wild, merely wants to dance, for its own heart's desire. And then, into its innocent joy, into this mindless enthusiasm, bursts the modern arrogant time, bringing along the sophisticated lady waving her quite sophisticated iron whip in the air:

'Pardon me, with all honor to your Shabazi - but, something is missing here...'14

'Yes, I know that 'the thing' is missing and that it is difficult, as of yet, to name.'

"Every morning I go to the studio, like a good girl, to seek this missing something that will make Shabazi happy, as well as the Bible, and the desert, and my pioneers, and also... Ms. Choreography. And what do I find in the studio? Legs and hands and heads and shoulders and pelvises and female chests and male chests and lots of impulses, and shaking and rocking and motions, motions as numerous as locusts. And where here can one find one's feet and hands?

"Do you have the strength to wrestle with all this? And once you start organizing something, speaking gently with these delicate moves and impulses, and begging your soul to focus on these feet and knees -- the 'hard laborers' of the highbrow dance -- there suddenly jumps from some gap in your consciousness, the famous Shrew with her penetrating sarcasm: 'you jackass, can't you see that it's possible to execute this much better, more beautifully, in a more sophisticated and modern and more folkloristic as well as a more artistic way?' You fall on your knees in supplication: I saw, I knew -- give me a little more time.... And then the ax falls on your head; No! The only time possible is the trade union's time."

¹³ Sara Levi Tanai "A Sort of I Believe," *Israel Dance (Machol Beisrael)* (June 1982): 6 (translation by Ze'eva Cohen).

¹⁴ Rabbi Shalom Shabazi (1619-1720) is the most prominent poet of Yemenite Jews whose poems continue to be recited along with prayers for the Sabbath, holidays, and various celebrations.

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In reflecting on this passage, where Sara, in her usual manner, so beautifully interweaves the poetic with the prosaic, I can not but think that the obstinate inner voice she heard—that of "hageveret Choreographia" or "hamirshaat hayedouah im hassarkasm hanokev shela"—must have been either the voice of Anna or Sara's demons; her inner fears and her own self-criticism. I find this passage particularly revealing—it confirms my suspicions that Sara desperately needed not only Anna's affirmation and support, but that she also sought Anna's critical eye. I think she needed Anna's merciless approach to finding more sophisticated choreographic structures that would successfully bring together the eastern, western, traditional and contemporary sensibilities she was seeking.

The America-Israel Cultural Foundation terminated Anna's paid job with Inbal in the late 1950's, soon after Inbal returned from their first two international tours abroad. Upon their return home, boasting enthusiastic audience response and some excellent reviews, the company was faced with the hard reality of losing their main economic support. AICF, which saw its mission of launching Inbal as professional company accomplished, started its withdrawal of financial support. Anna's services, while welcomed, were no longer subsidized and the company had to fend for itself.

In the early 1960's, Anna was not ready to give up her artistic involvement in Israel. She had developed a strong attachment to Israel and its people and her dream was to create her own dance theater with Israeli dancers and actors who could perform her major works and for whom she could create original choreography. Her Lyric Theater premiered in 1962 with financial support from the AICF. To Anna's dismay, it was closed in 1964 when Bethsabée de Rothscild launched the Batsheva Dance Company with the artistic involvement of Martha Graham as adviser and choreographer.

Despite these setbacks, Anna, who was still a much sought after choreographer internationally, returned to Israel over the next four decades working with Inbal for little or no pay, while teaching and choreographing for several other institutions, including Batsheva and the Jerusalem Academy of Music and Dance.

While her involvement with these Israeli dance institutions was sporadic, her commitment and loyalty to Inbal and Sara as teacher and artistic adviser, through high and low times, were constant.

Ironically, the very few choreographic works, which Anna created for Inbal including her 1976 *Shir Hashirim* to music by Ben Tsion Orgad, did not pan out very well. Her minimalist and highly expressive movement language was ultimately foreign to the Inbal dancers. Ilana Cohen said in a telephone interview, "Anna's movements were way too classical and did not feel right." ¹⁵

With this kind of failure on Anna's part, it remains a puzzle that this relationship survived for so long.

¹⁵ Personal telephone interview, Ilana Cohen, November 2011.

Sara and Anna were two ferociously rebellious, independent and passionate artists who, in their separate careers, refused to follow the footsteps of any other artist and disregarded what was considered politically wise or what was in voque. Each followed her inner voice and only what felt true. Commercial success was never the goal. 16

¹⁶ ZC commentary: It is unfortunate that Sara, though eventually given her due respect (Israel Prize in Dance, 1973), was for many years perceived as a rebel by the educational and cultural institutions. Her choice in the 1950-60's, to only admit Yemenite dancers to her company, was viewed as resistance to the national melting pot agenda, while her creating an expanded artistic commonality by including dancers from several Middle Eastern and North African countries in the 1970's, seemed to oppose Rikoudie Eidot, the new cultural agenda calling for the preservation of ethnic differences in folk forms of the various ethnic communities in Israel. Sara, who dreamt of building a national and inclusive dancetheater, first needed to start with only Yemenite dancers in order to explore and form her preferred movement language.

Evidently, Sara was not seen as a legitimate artist and was not given the same encouragement to explore and build her dance materials as her European compatriots. On one hand, Inbal was exoticized and served as a model for the "Biblical Jew," and were funded way before any other dance company received financial support. On the other hand, by being viewed as a folkloric company, and not a modern dance one, Sara's work and Inbal were held back by inherent prejudices.

As to Anna's ferociousness, I find it interesting that Anna's occasional aggressive behavior towards her students and dancers was seen in Israel as an expression of love, while in New York I saw it as an expression of anger, frustration and pain.

"It was not out of the ordinary," says Giora Manor, "for her to conduct her teachings with a mighty hand: a push, a slap, or hard strike on one's back....she enjoyed tearing the shirt off her favorite students and dancers [particularly good-looking young men, my as well as Giora's observations].... who all understood this aggression as an expression of love."

Giora Manor, "A Creative Artist of Three Countries: On Anna Sokolow 1912 -2000," Dance Now (Machol Achshav) (vol. 2, July 2000): 19.

"I love you, Anna. Also when you tear the shirt off my back in order to check if I have a heart," says Ron Ben Shaoul, in his diary which describes detailed and grueling rehearsals with Anna working as director and choreographer on a dance theater piece that included four lead actors and eight dancers.

Ron Ben Shaoul, "Work Diary: Anna Sokolow Prepares the Production 'Wings,' Israel Dance (Machol Beisrael) (1980): 23.

I have, however, a very different memory of her, for example, asking a student who seemed placid and indifferent to her level intensity (particularly if they were blonde and came from a well-to-do family): "Have you ever suffered in your life?" When he answered in the negative, she proceeded to tear his shirt of his back with great fury saying, "now you will."

Deborah Jowitt remembers a particular rehearsal at Juilliard, NY, in the Fall of 1957: "Among the earliest memories of Anna is that she threw a chair at me. Well, toward me. And others. I still feel the shock in the pit of my stomach...She wanted us to rush toward the front of the stage and stop at the very edge, as if the audience-to-be, were a pride of hungry lions. We couldn't get it right; we automatically slowed down in anticipation of that halt. So she yelled, 'Go!' and, as we tore forward, she hurled the chair at us." Deborah Jowitt, "Anna at Eighty-Five," Dance Magazine (August 1995): 38-39.

These qualities, which they shared, often isolated them from the cultural mainstream of their respective countries. Consequently, both women constantly felt lonely and misunderstood.

With Sara Levi's and Anna Sokolow's mutual respect and understanding for each other's work, it is easy to understand the deep friendship that evolved between them over the years.

Yet, questions as to the deeper nature of their relationship linger: How could the fiercely independent Sara have accepted Anna's kind of benevolent patronage? Sara and Anna were not equals in this relationship. In the long run, though artistically Sara had the last word, Anna Sokolow was Sara Levi's superior who was brought in for many years to be Sara's teacher and adviser. On the other hand, how could Anna keep her deep connection and loyalty to Inbal despite her dominant nature that had never before allowed her to take on a supportive role? After all, Inbal was performing Sara's works not hers.

Anna's and Sara's personal lives and their cultural identities, formed and informed their views and actions.

Anna Sokolow like Sara Levi, was born to immigrant parents who were poor and struggling to make a living. Both women were born in 1910 and were small in stature. While Sara was raised in an orphanage, Anna was raised by an overbearing and hardworking mother who threw Anna out of the house when she dropped out of high school to pursue a career in dance. Like Sara's first significant education in the Youth Village, Kfar Shfeya, where she was educated by first rate western intellectuals and artists, Anna found similar teaching at the Manhattan Lower East Side neighborhood's after school programs. It was there that she, like Sara, was introduced to theater, music and the visual arts but unlike Sara, was also trained in dance.

In their personal adult lives, Sara and Anna could not have been more different. Sara had two families: one, her husband and two children, the other, Inbal. Anna, on the other hand, never married and had no children. While she had a few close and meaningful romantic relationships with several men who were also her artistic collaborators, these relationships did not endure. As a single woman, with no institutional support other than the occasional small grant, Anna was driven by financial necessity and was never able to hold on to one Dance Company. Frequent travel to work in numerous countries outside the USA was relentless. Frankly, I suspect that this hopping around the globe was not only indicative of Anna's restlessness and her seeking new affirmations of her artistic universality, but also of her painful search for a home.

Inbal, I believe, more than any other company she worked with, gave Anna the feeling of home. In 1986, when the American Jewish National Foundation of Culture sponsored a conference, performances and workshops dealing with Jewish and Israeli culture, it was Inbal who honored Anna. Inbal celebrated her with their traditional festive procession, circling her with dance, music and love. Anna was thus honored as their traditional bride or Sabbath the Queen. She was brought from her usual hiding place

backstage to center stage, where a golden shawl woven by Sara's daughter was thrown over her delicate shoulders by the dancers, and she was beaming.

It was during her first trip to Israel visiting Inbal with Jerome Robbins that Anna's Jewish consciousness was awakened. This shift in identity awareness was manifest in her subsequent choreography, including her masterwork *Dreams* (1961), referencing the Holocaust, as well as her 1980 dance/theater work *From the Diaries of Franz Kafka*, where she incorporated Kafka's less familiar writing on his Jewish identity.

Unlike Sara's search for her Eastern roots and her wish to give voice to the Jewish Yemenite minority, Anna's need was to connect more closely with her Jewish roots. Sara started this search in her mid 30's and Anna in her mid 40's. While in Sara's case this search took over her life, in Anna's case - it added a new dimension to her work, and it gave new meaning to her life.

Postscript:

When I close my eyes trying to conjure these two great artists in my mind, another essential difference relating to Sara's and Anna's innate character reveals itself, which I do not think has anything to do with cultural or circumstantial background. Since I danced with Sokolow's company for approximately ten years, while I never danced in Inbal, though I taught and observed rehearsals, in addition to having intimate discussions with Sara, this impression might be unbalanced.

What I remember most about Sara is her redeeming sense of humor, her wit, her primal joy, and her childlike sense of mischief. The most striking memory I have of Anna is her deep sense of longing and despair.

In most days when one told Anna they were happy, her typical answer would be: "what is there to be happy about?"

I will conclude this paper with Sara's own words describing a particular blessed day of work,

"And suddenly one morning, you come and see your dancers and they are all holy: tortured, united, beautiful, steeped in ecstasy like their Yemenite forefathers, like the Iraqis, the Moroccans, ancient and strong Jews, and their limbs, from the little finger to the big toe, moving in miraculous harmony of Kol Nidre prayer... and then, the movements come - some from Sana'a, some from the desert and mostly from the Israeli studio - and they get to know each other and arrive together politely on the new Israeli stage - this too occurs in a moment of grace. Grace of associations and grace of mass accumulated in day by day work during a process of analysis, deconstruction, construction, observation, choice, and elimination." ¹⁷

¹⁷ Levi Tanai, "A Sort of I Believe," 6 (translation by Ze'eva Cohen).