

**The Ballet *Parade* (1917):
An Experiment
in Realism**

Thesis submitted in accordance with the
requirements of the University of Liverpool
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by
Christine Margaret Reynolds

December 2005

Reynolds, C.M.

Doctor of Philosophy

December 2005

Contents:

Acknowledgements	v
Preface	vi
Abstract	ix
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: The importance of the sub-title <i>ballet réaliste</i>	8
Chapter 2: Cocteau's involvement in <i>Parade</i>	33
(a) The situation in the French theatre in the early 1900s	34
(b) Cocteau in 1913: Meyerhold, the Futurists and <i>Le Potomak</i>	38
(c) Interactive theatre: the importance of the text in <i>David</i> and <i>Parade</i>	43
(d) The principle of the mask in <i>David</i> and <i>Parade</i>	48
(e) The principle of the grotesque in <i>Parade</i>	56
(f) Cocteau and the principle of movement within a new theatrical aesthetic	61
(g) Cocteau and real theatre	65
Chapter 3: Satie's involvement in <i>Parade</i>	67
(a) The compositional process between 1 May and early September 1916	67
(b) The original introductory music and <i>Le Chinois</i>	73
(c) Chinese music for <i>Le Chinois</i>	79
(d) The structure of Part 1	84
(e) The compositional process from early September to January 1917	89
(f) Circular structure in Part 1 and elsewhere	92

(g) Part 2: <i>La Petite Fille Américaine</i>	97
(h) The properties of the cube in Part 2	98
(i) Part 3: <i>Acrobates</i>	108
(j) A cylindrical approach to Part 3	112
(k) Unity in the 1917 version of <i>Parade</i>	115
(l) Proportions of the overall work	123
Chapter 4: Picasso's involvement in <i>Parade</i>	127
(a) Le Rideau rouge (The Red Curtain)	145
(b) The Décor	172
(c) The Managers	178
Chapter 5: Massine's involvement in <i>Parade</i>	194
(a) Massine's background in drama	195
(b) The importance of mime in <i>Parade</i>	199
(c) The importance of classical ballet traditions for Massine	202
(d) The importance of the visual arts in Massine's aesthetic	205
(e) Massine's choreographic counterpoint	210
(f) Massine and music	212
(g) Massine's realist choreography	217
Chapter 6: Diaghilev and <i>Parade</i>	219
(a) Diaghilev's background	219
(b) Diaghilev's aesthetic and its relevance to <i>Parade</i> as a <i>ballet réaliste</i>	225
Appendix: Letters and other documents relating to <i>Parade</i>	241
Bibliography	341

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank first and foremost my supervisor, Professor Robert Orledge, for his unceasing support, generous advice and patience, and for supplying me with relevant documents in his possession throughout the preparation of this thesis. My thanks also go to Professor Ian Williamson of the Department of Music, Liverpool University, for his kind support during my postgraduate years. I am also indebted to the following people: Nicholas Bacuez of the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, who supplied me with copies of the sketchbooks for *David*, together with other relevant material; M. Pierre Berger of the Comité Jean Cocteau, who gave me permission to see the original documents for Cocteau's proposed ballet *David*, the forerunner of *Parade*; the staff of the Music Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris who assisted me during my consultation of Erik Satie's original manuscripts for *Parade* and other documents; the staff of the Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris, who helped me in the consultation of the Fonds Kochno that contains documents relating to the Ballets Russes; Mme Sylvie Fresnault and Mme Jeanne-Yvette Sudour of the Musée Picasso, Paris, who supplied me with information about Picasso's sketches for *Parade* and assisted me with the consultation of relevant sections of Picasso's correspondence; and Mme Tatiana Massine, who kindly allowed me to see Massine's correspondence with Picasso. I am also grateful to Professor Robert Russell in the Russian Department, Sheffield University, for allowing me to use his translations of two of Diaghilev's articles that are included in the University's on-line Russian Visual Arts Project. My thanks go to Cathy Estall who helped me with the presentation of the music examples in Chapter 3. Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Colin, who has never failed to take a keen interest in this fascinating project.

Preface

The ballet *Parade*, premiered by Diaghilev's Ballets Russes in 1917 at the Théâtre du Châtelet in Paris, was controversial from the outset. It was instigated by Jean Cocteau in 1916, following the aborted attempt in 1914 to stage *David*, a ballet which also had a fairground setting. For *Parade*, Cocteau chose Erik Satie as the composer, then Picasso, who subsequently agreed to join the collaboration. Massine was already Diaghilev's choreographer, albeit still inexperienced.

Because of its controversial nature in putting low-brow material from the everyday world of the fairground into ballet's elitist context, *Parade* has attracted many commentators. These range from a formidable number of journalists, many of them anonymous, who wrote volumes of prose whenever the ballet was staged, to specialist writers who either mention *Parade* as part of a wider discussion, or more rarely devote an entire work to the ballet. The most notable of the latter category are: (1) Jacinthe Harbec's thesis '*Parade*': *Les influences cubistes sur la composition musicale d'Erik Satie*. This focuses on Satie's method, also seen in other works, of juxtaposing musical cells in a way that echoes the Cubist painters. Harbec also puts forward a pyramidal structure for the music that sets the *Ragtime du paquebot* at the apex of the pyramid. (2) Richard Axsom's *Parade: Cubism as Theatre*, which is an extremely interesting art historical assessment of the iconography of Picasso's design; and (3) Deborah Menaker Rothschild's *Picasso's "Parade"* which includes valuable background information about the subject-matter chosen by Cocteau and contains many of Picasso's sketches.

This thesis is the first to draw together the cross-influences of the four collaborators who all shared the same aesthetic of discovering and demonstrating what was fundamental or real about their particular artform. In this context the meaning of the sub-title, 'ballet réaliste', is examined in order to show that the intent behind it was extremely serious and did not just refer to the realistic material that was used as its

subject. This thesis is also the first to demonstrate that Picasso had a profound effect on the course of the music, which changed direction following his input.

Chapter 1 discusses the background of the French realist movement evoked by the sub-title. Realism dominated the arts in France during the nineteenth century and was associated with social and artistic upheaval in a century of revolution. For *Parade* to be associated with the realist movement was daring in the extreme, especially during the upheaval of the First World War. However, Chapter 2 shows that Cocteau viewed the ballet as part of a new aesthetic, one of renewal for the theatre, not merely the continuation of an outmoded movement that by 1917 had had its day. By including subject-matter taken from the world of popular entertainment, Cocteau blurred the boundaries between what was real and what was artificial and thereby made a fundamental statement about artistic practice. Chapter 3 examines how the score of *Parade* developed between May 1916 and January 1917, using the evidence of Satie's original sketchbooks, letters and other documents. These show how Satie had begun to compose the music for Part 1 by using the golden section as a basis, but how, after Picasso joined the collaboration, Satie's compositional method changed direction. The sketchbooks and other documents show that Satie adopted a cubist aesthetic based on Cézanne's famous dictum that nature can be reduced to a sphere, a cube and a cone. Satie copied a slightly altered version of this into one of his notebooks and, after September 1917, he changed the structure of Part 1 of the ballet, inserting into it retrospectively the properties of a sphere. He then composed Part 2 according to the dimensions of a cube, and Part 3 to the properties of a cylinder. The addition of the *Prélude au Rideau Rouge* is discussed, as is that of the *Choral* and *Final* of 1919. Chapter 3 also examines how Satie's aesthetic of continuous renewal in musical composition is particularly highlighted in *Parade*, because of the way in which the music uses as a basis part of the harmonic series, the most fundamental sounds. Chapter 4, building on Axsom's discussion of Picasso's iconography, shows how the Curtain of *Parade* was a statement of the artist's situation in May 1917, both personally and artistically. This chapter puts forward the view that Picasso used iconography from the Tarot, in which he was very interested, in order to assess

whether ballet was to be a propitious direction for him to follow. The discussion also shows how the Curtain places a reference to the music, together with the sphere, cube and cylinder iconography, at its very centre. This chapter discusses for the first time how the décor, the Managers and the Curtain are intricately linked in the discussion of perspective that had initiated the cubist movement a decade before *Parade*. The aim of cubism was to highlight the reality of the two-dimensional picture plane, whilst being able to depict a three-dimensional world. Chapter 4's discussion shows how the ballet enabled Picasso to discover a new approach to perspective that gave him the confidence to compare himself via the visual references in the designs to the artistic giant of the Renaissance, Paolo Uccello, the artist closely associated with the subject of perspective. Chapter 5 examines the background of the choreographer Léonide Massine, whose career had begun in Moscow in the dual worlds of ballet and the Stanislavsky-influenced realist theatre. The chapter shows how, as a talented actor, Massine was perfectly placed to interpret Cocteau's 'real' characters in such a way that the contemporary audience could be in no doubt about what they were watching. The discussion also demonstrates how Massine was forced by Picasso's designs for the Managers' carcasses to reduce choreography to mere footwork. Chapter 6 shows that Diaghilev also emerged from a background of realism that began in Russia after the liberation of the serfs in 1861 and that his Ballets Russes company sought to demonstrate 'Russianness', based on 'real' Russian arts, to a Western audience. The second part of Chapter 6 draws together all the strands that link the four artists in the creation of this realist work, by discussing, in the light of Diaghilev's artistic manifesto of 1898, the aesthetic of realism that underpinned *Parade*. The Appendix gathers together, for the first time, relevant letters and other documents that cast light on the genesis of the ballet. The translations, unless otherwise stated, are my own.

Christine Reynolds
Liverpool
December 2005

Abstract

Parade is considered to be the first modern ballet of the twentieth century. Performed in 1917 by Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, it brought together four artistic giants: Jean Cocteau, Erik Satie, Pablo Picasso and Léonide Massine. Much has been written about *Parade*, but previous commentators have focused mainly upon its music and design, rarely linking the two, and have largely ignored the implications of the ballet's sub-title, '*ballet réaliste*'.

The present thesis seeks to show for the first time that all the collaborators had the same aesthetic aim of attempting to re-discover what was fundamental, or real, about their particular artform. This approach was the reason for the sub-title of *Parade*, the word '*réaliste*' being an emotive description of a work that was revolutionary and controversial. The Introduction sets out the background to each collaborator's involvement. Chapter 1 examines realism within a French context. Chapter 2 discusses the origins of Cocteau's artistic philosophy that instigated the ballet. Chapter 3 analyses the structure of the music. Based on evidence in the sketchbooks and letters, it casts a new light on Satie's compositional methods, arguing that under the direct influence of Picasso, he took his inspiration from Cézanne's aesthetic of reducing subject-matter to a sphere, a cube and a cone (in Satie's case, a cylinder). Chapter 4 examines Picasso's contribution, and concludes that *Parade* enabled him to further investigate the problems of perspective that had dominated the cubist era, allowing him to pit himself visually in the ballet against Paolo Uccello, the Renaissance artist known for his obsession with perspective. Chapter 5 discusses Massine's choreographic input, and shows how his background in drama, his acute visual awareness and his discussions with Cocteau during the rehearsals in Rome, enabled the choreography to take on a realist aesthetic based on mime and pure movement. The first part of Chapter 6 sets out Diaghilev's background within the context of Russian realism. The second part has a summary function, and discusses the implications of the ballet's sub-title within the surprisingly similar context of Diaghilev's aesthetic manifesto, written in 1898, but still, in 1917, fundamental to the beliefs of the collaborators involved in *Parade*.

Introduction

*Difficult people greeted Parade in an ill-tempered way. Whereas other people – the clever ones – showed an energetic and tireless enthusiasm. With these contradictory signs the stormy birth of the masterpiece is announced.*¹

On 18 May 1917 a ballet that would be judged innocuous by today's standards was given its première by Serge Diaghilev's Ballets Russes at the Théâtre du Châtelet in Paris. The performance of *Parade* was a culmination of more than a year's work by its four collaborators. The scenario was by Jean Cocteau (1889-1963), a poet, novelist and would-be leading light of the avant-garde. The music was composed by Erik Satie (1866-1925), an iconoclastic composer who followed only his own very individual inspiration, and was steadfastly untouched by the Romantic works of the previous century that were still, even in 1917, the traditional backbone of ballet.² The scenery and costumes were by Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), artistic genius and creator, during the previous decade, of the controversial Cubism that, in the wartime public's misguided eye, had become associated with Germany.³ Lastly, Léonide Massine (1896-1979), a young dancer in Diaghilev's company and successor to the great Nijinsky, provided the choreography.

¹ '[Les] gens difficiles accueillirent *Parade* avec mauvaise humeur. Cependant que d'autres – les adeptes – manifestaient sans se lasser un enthousiasme infatigable. C'est à ces signes contradictoires que se marque la naissance orageuse du chef-d'oeuvre.' From the review by Henri Quittard in 'Courrier des théâtres', *Le Figaro*, 20 May 1917, p.3, kindly supplied, together with many other reviews cited in this thesis, by Deirdre Donnellon.

² Works such as *Coppélia* or *Sylvia* by Léo Delibes, revered in France as a 'master-symphonist' in a review in *L'Opinion*, 15 June 1876. The ballets were premiered at the Paris Opéra in 1870 and 1876 respectively, but continued in the repertoire well into the twentieth century. See Cyril Beaumont, *Complete Book of Ballets*, pp.593-607.

³ Picasso had a German, Jewish dealer, Daniel-Henri Kahnweiler, and some of his paintings contained the word 'Kub' (a reference to a stock cube used in French as well as German kitchens). The Franco-Prussian war of 1870 was no doubt still fresh in the minds of some people, as was the more recent Dreyfus affair that had divided France. '...the bigots who had hounded [the Jewish] Dreyfus came to perceive Cubism as a German-Jewish plot to undermine French culture.' See John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso Vol. II, 1907-1917: The Painter of Modern Life*, p.301.

From its very inception to the first performance and beyond, *Parade* proved a source of controversy. Each of the collaborators, except Massine, joined the project with his own distinctive agenda that was not necessarily in tune with that of the rest of the team. This produced considerable friction during *Parade's* genesis, and threatened several times to overturn the project altogether.⁴ Performance remained uncertain until contracts were signed in January 1917.⁵ The stormy première on 18 May 1917 showed how little it accorded with the public's view of what a ballet should be. The subject matter, the music, the designs and the revolutionary choreography were all at odds with what the public expected from Diaghilev. Past Ballets Russes controversies had not been controversial in every aspect of their production: the pounding music of *The Rite of Spring* (1913), together with Nijinsky's apparent loss of control over the dancers, had caused uproar; and Nijinsky's daringly simulated masturbation at the end of *L'Après-midi d'un faune* (1912) had caused sufficient outrage for the ending to be altered in the United States.⁶ The provocative, even frivolous, tone of *Parade*, within the context of the carnage of a vicious war, made it a difficult work for the public to accept, although there are conflicting reports of the degree of outrage that the first performance provoked. Cocteau remembered that 'Picasso, Satie and myself could not reach backstage. The crowd recognised us and yelled at us. If it hadn't been for Guillaume Apollinaire, his uniform and the bandage around his head - women, armed with hatpins, would have gouged out our eyes'.⁷ Cocteau's friend, the diplomat Paul Morand, on the other hand, noted in his diary that there was 'a lot of applause and a few jeers'.⁸ Whatever the truth about the public reaction, *Parade* was not staged in Paris again until 1920 when the war was over.

The young Cocteau, a dedicated follower of fashion, was also keen to find his own artistic voice when he instigated *Parade* in 1916. His society connections had given him access to the many salons of the *beau monde* that in turn provided him with a

⁴ See the Appendix of letters and other documents relating to the genesis of *Parade*.

⁵ Ibid, 11 January 1917.

⁶ In January 1916, when Massine danced the role of the Faune. See Richard Buckle, *Diaghilev*, p.303.

⁷ See Wallace Fowlie, *The Journals of Jean Cocteau*, p.52.

⁸ See Appendix, 19 May 1917.

wide network of artistic acquaintances. It had hitherto been easy for him to absorb and react to the artistic fashions of the day without needing to be original. In 1909, for instance, he had capitalised on the current Parisian fashion for the exotic, instigated by Diaghilev with works such as the opera *Boris Godunov* (May 1908) and *Polotsvian Dances* (May 1909), and by creating with François Bernouard a luxurious journal, *Schéhérazade*, devoted to poetry. Its first issue appeared on 10 November 1909 with a front cover designed by the artist Paul Iribe. It was also in 1909 that Cocteau and his aristocratic friends Anna de Noailles and Robert de Montesquiou attended the opening night of *Le Pavillon d'Armide*, one of Diaghilev's first ballet productions in Paris. As Frederick Brown said of Cocteau: 'Ubiquitous, he was everywhere and nowhere. He was condemned to live on both sides of the fence, but this malediction proved, historically speaking, to be his saving grace'.⁹ Both sides of the fence for Cocteau meant the *beau monde* and, increasingly, the avant-garde.¹⁰ As a follower of artistic trends and a dabbler in the arts, like so many society people of the day, Cocteau could easily have suffered the fate of a dilettante such as Robert de Montesquiou. He too wrote poems and novels and was associated with great artists such as Whistler, but is now best remembered, if remembered at all, for being Marcel Proust's model for the Baron de Charlus in *A la recherche du temps perdu*. By 1914, following the inspiration of Nijinsky and Stravinsky, Cocteau desperately wanted to be seen as a serious artist and not *Le Prince frivole* of his poetry collection of 1910. In his introduction to *Le Potomak*, Cocteau wrote: 'The Russian company taught me to despise everything that it set in motion. This phoenix teaches that one should be burnt alive in order to be reborn'.¹¹ He was determined to make his mark and saw Diaghilev's Ballets Russes as his best opportunity for doing so. *Parade* was to be the culmination of this often painful apprenticeship, with many of the ideas that he

⁹ See Brown, *An Impersonation of Angels*, p.58.

¹⁰ In fact, it was Diaghilev who would unite the two.

¹¹ 'La troupe russe m'apprit à mépriser tout ce qu'elle remuait en l'air. Ce phénix enseigne qu'il faut se brûler vif pour renaître.' *Le Potomak*, written in 1913-14, was not published until 1919. The introduction or 'Prospectus', as Cocteau calls it, is dated 1916. See Cocteau, *Le Potomak*, p.32. Cocteau's thoughts here echo those of Nietzsche's Zarathustra: 'I order you to lose me and find yourselves,' cited by Diaghilev in 1898 in his essay, 'Principles of Art Criticism' in part 2 of the ground-breaking *World of Art* magazine. The essay is quoted in full in Garafola and Van Norman Baer (eds.), *The Ballets Russes and Its World*, pp.84-93. Nietzsche was always Cocteau's 'grande référence philosophique' according to Claude Arnaud, *Jean Cocteau*, p.15.

proposed being dropped before the première. His disappointment was still felt keenly in 1918 when he wrote in *Le Coq et l'arlequin*: 'With *Parade*, I have tried to produce a good piece of work, but everything that comes into contact with the theatre becomes corrupted'.¹² Cocteau's attempts at originality had, in his view, been compromised by other, stronger personalities. What, therefore, did he actually contribute to the finished version of *Parade* and how original were the ideas that he had attempted to bring to the project?

Unlike Cocteau, Erik Satie learned from his earliest works how to be unconventional and controversial. His music stood outside the continuing popularity of nineteenth-century Romanticism and was an influence on French composers such as Debussy, Ravel and Les Six.¹³ Many of Satie's compositions were bound up with the café-concert society in which he moved, a fact that had hindered rather than helped his reputation. During the years immediately preceding *Parade*, however, he became the eccentric favourite of salon society while continuing to be a well-respected friend of important members of the avant-garde such as Guillaume Apollinaire.¹⁴ Erik Satie offered a potential passport to Cocteau in this respect. His short piano pieces were attracting publishers' attention after 1912 and his calling-card in society was an earlier work, *Trois morceaux en forme de poire*, completed in 1903. This was still being played frequently in 1916 – in spite of Satie's more recent prolific output during 1913 and 1914. Hearing it prompted Cocteau to invite Satie to write the music for *Parade*, in spite of the fact that Satie had little previous orchestral experience.

¹² 'Avec *Parade*, j'ai essayé de faire une bonne oeuvre, mais tout ce qui touche au théâtre devient corrompu.' See *Le Coq et l'arlequin*, p.66.

¹³ On 7 April 1928 Ravel gave a lecture at the Rice Institute (now Rice University) in Houston, Texas. According to Arbie Orenstein, it is the only lecture that Ravel gave and the only transcript is in an English translation. Ravel said: 'Erik Satie...has had appreciable effect upon Debussy, myself, and indeed most of the modern French composers...Simply and ingeniously Satie pointed the way...He thus became the inspiration of countless progressive tendencies...Debussy held him in the highest esteem.' See 'Contemporary Music' in Arbie Orenstein, *A Ravel Reader*, p.45. The disparate group of composers known as Les Six came together after *Parade* under Cocteau's auspices. They were Francis Poulenc, Darius Milhaud, Germaine Tailleferre, Arthur Honegger, Louis Durey and the very young Georges Auric.

¹⁴ On 19 July 1916 these two sectors of society met when Satie was invited *chez* Misia Sert together with Valentine Gross, Picasso and Apollinaire (whom he refers to as 'A! Paul Hinn-Air'). See the Appendix for Satie's letter of 18 July to the pianist Ricardo Viñes.

During the ballet's genesis, Satie was caught in the cross-fire between Cocteau's original ideas for *Parade* and Picasso's inspired changes. Thus part of the music's controversy lies in the extent to which the score reflects this dichotomy. The young Georges Auric saw Satie's score as submitting 'very humbly to the reality which stifles the nightingale's song beneath the rattle of the tram'.¹⁵ This oblique reference to the noises appended to the music, suggests that they were a reflection of the on-stage action in Cocteau's 'ballet réaliste'. It is received wisdom that Satie disliked them,¹⁶ yet why did he allow them to remain? The noises appeared to be the most innovative feature of a score that even Cocteau seemed to dismiss as mere background: 'The score of *Parade* was meant to form a musical background for evocative noises such as sirens, typewriters, aeroplanes, engines, put there like facts, as Georges Braque so appropriately calls them'.¹⁷ Further controversy lies in whether Satie's method of composition in *Parade* in any way justifies Cocteau's suggestion that it is linked with cubism.¹⁸ If so, does this mark it out from Satie's previous work? Did Satie's open admiration for Picasso¹⁹ find its way into the music despite his opinion that 'in art there should be no slavery'?²⁰ It is also a point of controversy whether a work that was completed only shortly before its première by Satie's collaborators could have a preconceived musical structure that would agree with their changing ideas. How much was Satie's score part of a unified effort? To what extent did Satie achieve true artistic independence as the composer of *Parade*? Was he forced to compromise his musical philosophy as a result?

¹⁵ See Appendix, October 1917.

¹⁶ Yet when orchestrating *Parade* in March 1917, he reminded Cocteau to send him details of the letter which the Little American Girl would write on her typewriter, as part of the score. See Appendix, 24 March 1917.

¹⁷ 'La partition de *Parade* devait servir de fond musical à des bruits suggestifs, tels que sirènes, machines à écrire, aéroplanes, dynamos, mis là comme ce que Georges Braque appelle si justement des faits.' See *Le Coq et l'arlequin*, p.66.

¹⁸ Jacinthe Harbec discusses this extensively in her thesis '*Parade*': *Les influences cubistes sur la composition musicale d'Erik Satie*.

¹⁹ See the Appendix for Satie's letters of 5 and 14 September 1916 to his artist friend Valentine Gross and the letter of 9 September 1916 to his friend Henri-Pierre Roché, best known for his novel *Jules et Jim*.

²⁰ 'en art, il ne faut pas d'esclavage.' This statement comes from Satie's article 'Pas de Casernes' in *Le Coq*, No.2, June 1920, p.8, cited in Volta, *Satie Écrits*, p.45.

There is no doubt at all that Pablo Picasso was the dominant personality among the collaborators of *Parade*. His invention, with Braque, of Cubism, his drive and phenomenal output during its evolution, and his growing success and fame all ensured that he approached *Parade* from a position of immense strength, even though *Parade* was his first professional contact with the theatre and ballet world. The changes that Picasso made to Cocteau's libretto - a controversial move, since he was only asked to provide the scenery, curtain and costumes - caused difficulties between the collaborators, but reinforced Picasso's dominance from the very start. What were Picasso's motives in joining *Parade*? After all, designing a set for a ballet was considered unfashionable amongst Picasso's Montparnasse fraternity. How reliable was the painter Jacques-Émile Blanche's assessment of Picasso: 'He's a cunning chap who uses people in spite of having the straightforward look of a Montmartre artist. He's used Cocteau'?²¹ How far did Cubism influence his designs for *Parade*? And how far did Picasso's artistic philosophies coincide with those of Cocteau and Satie? The set, costumes and curtain appear very disparate in style, so could Picasso claim to have created a unified whole, whether cubist or not? Was Picasso, as has been suggested by Marianne Martin, influenced in his designs by the Futurist movement?²² Were Picasso's ideas for the set, the curtain and the costumes mainly suggested during his visit to Rome at the beginning of 1917, or were they already in place before he left for Italy with Cocteau? Or were the designs not finalised until his return to Paris in April 1917?

The fourth collaborator, the young Léonide Massine, remains less significant than the other three. His input into the ballet did not start until February 1917 when Cocteau and Picasso arrived in Rome. The controversial issue as far as the choreography is concerned is the extent to which Cocteau and Picasso, rather than Massine, dictated the dancers' movements and gestures. It is well documented that Cocteau was passionate about dance and by his own admission, 'Massine wants me to show him every little thing and I invent the roles which he transforms there and then into

²¹ See Appendix, 23 May 1917.

²² Martin, 'The Ballet *Parade*: A Dialogue between Cubism and Futurism', in *The Art Quarterly*, new series, 1/2, Spring 1978, pp.85-111.

choreography'.²³ What part, then, did Massine play in the overall look of the ballet? What was his underlying philosophy? To what extent was his work limited by the awkwardness of Picasso's Managers, encased as they were in cardboard carcasses?²⁴

Like a cubist painting, *Parade* was the product of different viewpoints that finally came together, under Diaghilev's auspices, at the Théâtre du Châtelet in May 1917. How could four such different collaborators, together with Diaghilev, all be united by a common aesthetic? And most importantly, why was *Parade* given the curious subtitle *ballet réaliste*? Are we to take this seriously or to treat it as part of the 'Punch and Judy show, with all its traditions and perspectives' that, according to Cocteau, constituted *Parade*?²⁵ Could the ballet have such a sub-title without all the collaborators concurring? Cocteau was well aware of the problems involved in bringing the project to fruition: 'Every collaboration is a more or less successful misunderstanding'.²⁶ Indeed Cocteau remained disgruntled by the finished product. This suggests that, in some respects at least, the ballet was flawed. *Parade* nevertheless changed the lives of its collaborators as well as the history of twentieth-century ballet. It is by examining each collaborator's contribution in detail and by trying to answer the questions posed in this introduction that I hope to resolve some of its many controversial issues.

²³ See Appendix, 22 February 1917.

²⁴ Each performer in *Parade* had a Manager. The Chinese Conjuror in Part 1 had a French Manager, the little American Girl (Part 2) an American Manager (see Fig.4.30), and the Acrobats (Part 3) a Manager on horseback. At the première in 1917 the third Manager became simply a horse. The Managers were Picasso's invention and imitated a real street fair in which a Manager's patter during the entertainment that constituted the 'parade' encouraged the crowd to see the entire show inside the tent. See Seurat's famous painting *Parade* (Fig.4.26) in which the Manager stands on the right of the picture.

²⁵ This is taken from the article by Jean Cocteau, '*Parade: Ballet Réaliste, Vanity Fair*, September 1917, pp. 37 and 106.

²⁶ See Appendix, February 1917.

1: The importance of the sub-title *ballet réaliste*.

There may always be another reality

To make fiction of the truth we think we've arrived at.

Christopher Fry (1907-2005)²⁷

Perhaps the most contentious aspect of *Parade* is its sub-title, which commentators have, in the main, chosen to ignore, focusing instead on the cubist or other aspects of the ballet.²⁸ Yet, according to Jean Cocteau, it was 'no impertinent fantasy. I long considered the selection of this sub-title'.²⁹ According to Apollinaire, it was Cocteau who gave the ballet its sub-title.³⁰ But Cocteau's insistence that there was close collaboration on *Parade* implies that the matter was probably discussed by at least some of its collaborators.³¹ This chapter will seek to show that *Parade* fitted into the on-going debate about realism that had begun in France in the 1820s. After reaching a

²⁷ *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, p.220, does not attribute this to any published work by Fry.

²⁸ Cubism was itself considered to be a realist artform by early commentators such as Guillaume Apollinaire, as well as by more recent art critics such as John Golding. In an article, 'Art et curiosité, les commencements du cubisme', published in *Le Temps* on 16 October 1912, Apollinaire called Cubism 'the art of painting new compositions with elements borrowed not from reality as seen, but from a conceptual reality. Everyone has the sensation of this inner reality'. ('l'art de peindre des ensembles nouveaux avec des éléments empruntés, non à la réalité de vision, mais à la réalité de conception. Tout homme a le sentiment de cette réalité intérieure.' Apollinaire, *Oeuvres en prose complètes*, Vol. II, p.1515. Golding writes: 'Cubism, it must be stressed again, was an art of realism and....far removed from abstraction'. See *Cubism: A History and an Analysis*, p.198.

²⁹ In his article 'Parade: Ballet Réaliste', in *Vanity Fair*, September 1917, pp.37 and 106. Looking at the selection of sub-titles of ballets performed between 1900 and 1950 at the Opéra Comique in Paris, it is tempting to take Cocteau at his word. Sub-titles ranged from the wordy but non-descript to the apparently more informative. *Au Beau jardin de France* (Francis Casadesus' ballet of 1918) was sub-titled 'evocation dramatique en un acte et deux tableaux' and *Scènes alsaciennes*, Jules Massenet's wartime ballet of 1915, was sub-titled 'actualité patriotique en un acte'. There are no controversial or even interesting sub-titles, and 'ballet réaliste' had not previously been used. A full list can be found in Stephane Wolff's *Un Demi-siècle d'Opéra-Comique 1900-1950*. Of Diaghilev's ballets preceding *Parade*, the most interesting sub-titles belonged to *Jeux* (1913), a 'poème dansé' and to *Petrouchka* (1911), a 'burlesque en quatre scènes'.

³⁰ See Apollinaire's article 'Les Spectacles modernistes des Ballets russes, "Parade" et l'esprit nouveau' in *Excelsior*, 11 May 1917. This article also became the programme note for the ballet. See Appendix for the full article of 18 May 1917.

³¹ 'The collaboration has been so close that each person's role fits in with that of the others without encroaching on it.' See Cocteau, 'Avant Parade' in *Excelsior*, 18 May 1917, p.5. See Appendix for the full article. The sub-title does not appear on Satie's piano score that Cocteau and Picasso took to Rome in February 1917. At this point *Parade* was sub-titled simply 'Ballet'. Yet Cocteau's Roman notebook, catalogued as Pièce 24 of the Fonds Kochno, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, states 'Parade. Ballet Réaliste' twice, on pp.144 and 145, the latter dated 'Turin 1917'.

first peak in the late nineteenth century, this debate continued to be relevant in 1917, especially in Paris³² where many artists, facing an onslaught of new movements, felt a continuing need to search for ways in which the arts and real life could interact. The emergence of artistic movements such as symbolism, impressionism, post-impressionism, expressionism, pointillism, cubism, futurism, fauvism and orphism, together with remnants of classicism and, especially in music, romanticism, muddied the waters in this debate.³³ Further complications were photography and the cinema, both of which reproduced so-called reality without the creative processes that had traditionally been needed in the past. In 1917 the debate about realism was thus very timely.³⁴

Realism, as is generally accepted, was a movement which dominated nineteenth-century France, beginning in literature before extending to painting, music, then, later in the century, to the theatre. It did not reach choreography until the first decade of the twentieth century when choreographers such as Fokine began to deal with the corps de ballet in a more naturalistic way. One of realism's foremost aspects, that of depicting and commenting on a society in flux and often, by implication, in turmoil, goes back in France to the beginning of the eighteenth century, to works such as Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes*. This was published in 1721, just six years after the death of Louis XIV, whose reign had encompassed the great age of classicism in France. Significantly, these years were seen as 'years of silence and constraint' following which there was considerable political and religious upheaval.³⁵ The

³² 'At the turn of the century, to think of modern art was to think of modern French art.' See Charles Harrison and Paul Wood (eds.), *Art in Theory 1900-1990*, p.13. Munich was a less important but alternative centre of modernism. In 1890 Alexandre Benois, one of Diaghilev's foremost designers, chose to spend a year there instead of going to Paris. See Camilla Gray, *The Russian Experiment in Art 1863-1922*, p.43.

³³ The debate surrounding impressionism demonstrates this. 'On the one hand it was seen as a continuing Realist tendency modernised by the adoption of a luminous technique... on the other it was ... seen as tending towards abstraction.' See Harrison and Wood, *Art in Theory 1900-1990*, p.13. In fact many of the movements overlapped, and terms such as cubo-futurist, for example, were used. Orphism is probably the least well-known of the movements listed. It too was a hybrid because it 'extended the Cubist practice of fragmentation into the field of colour.' See Herbert Read (ed.), *Dictionary of Art and Artists*, p.101.

³⁴ It continues to be so today with the advent of television, video art and electronic music.

³⁵ For an account of the years following the 'années de silence et de contrainte' see Jacques Roger's preface to the Garnier Flammarion edition of Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*.

Lettres persanes looked at these troubled years through the eyes of Usbek, a Persian visitor to Paris, who commented on what he saw as a curiosity, thus rendering Montesquieu's opinions more palatable for his upper class, educated readers. With the rise to prominence of the lower classes and the bourgeoisie in the post-1789 revolutionary age, there was not only an improvement in education but also a demand for novels to be serialised in newspapers. These factors were a breeding ground for writers like Honoré de Balzac who depicted the Napoleonic era, and Émile Zola, whose Rougon-Macquart novels uncovered every aspect of the Second Empire period of Napoleon III. Every stratum of the troubled society in the century following the French Revolution was displayed for scrutiny to anyone who could read. Like the *Lettres persanes*, the new movement showed a real society in turmoil rather than the mythological or historical ones that the great writers Racine and Corneille had depicted in the reign of Louis XIV.³⁶ *Parade* can be seen to have much in common with this aspect of realism. The Managers, as Cocteau's dialogue for them suggested, represented everything brash and unpleasant about the modern age, especially its advertising.³⁷ The ballet was, additionally, a comment on the purpose of art within a fast-changing artistic world. And, of course, its première took place at a time of great turmoil, at the height of World War I when the Germans were only some sixty miles from Paris.

It was the faithful representation of every aspect of society, both pleasant and unpleasant, however, that marked the beginnings of the new movement of realism. In 1825 a tentative description of the emerging literature pinpoints realism's philosophy of truth to nature:

³⁶ Racine's best-known play, *Phèdre* (1677), recounts the heroine's incestuous love for her stepson, Hippolyte, the son of Theseus. Corneille's most famous work, *Le Cid* (1637), is about the Spanish quest for independence from Moorish domination in the eleventh century.

³⁷ The aggressive monologue of each Manager was to be shouted from the orchestra pit. The words are printed on the musical score that was taken to Rome for rehearsals. I shall refer to this as the Frederick Koch score, as it is in the Frederick R. Koch Collection in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University.

This literary doctrine, which is gaining ground every day and which might lead to a faithful imitation, not of artistic masterpieces, but of original subjects offered to us by nature, could very well be called realism: it might be, following some indications, the dominant literature of the nineteenth century, the literature of truth.³⁸

These were prophetic words in 1825. A depiction of 'nature' and 'truth' rather than mythology or ancient history, would indeed dominate French literature throughout the nineteenth century as it sought to portray a changing society. But the writer of 1825 saw the danger which lay ahead: 'Can everything in nature be imitated? Shouldn't certain things be hidden for fear of descending into what is low and disgusting?'³⁹ If a contemporary reader was to recognise himself and his family in this turbulent world, the novelist, as the writer Stendhal says, had to hold up a mirror to society. The hero of Stendhal's novel, *Le Rouge et le noir* (1831), pinpoints the dilemma of this:

Well, sir, a novel is a mirror walking along a main road. Sometimes it reflects the azure skies for your eyes, sometimes the mire of the puddles of the road. And the man who carries the mirror in his basket will be accused by you of being immoral! His mirror shows the mire, and you accuse the mirror! Accuse instead the main road where the gutter is, and even more, the road inspector who lets the water lie there and the puddles form.⁴⁰

³⁸ 'Cette doctrine littéraire qui gagne tous les jours du terrain et qui conduirait à une fidèle imitation, non pas des chefs d'oeuvre de l'art, mais des originaux que nous offre la nature, pourrait très bien s'appeler le réalisme: ce serait suivant quelques apparences, la littérature dominante du XIXe siècle, la littérature du vrai.' See Philippe Dufour, *Le Réalisme*, p.2. Dufour has traced this quotation as being the first use of the term 'realism'. It appears in an article 'De la réalité en littérature' in *Mercure français du XIXe siècle*, tome XI, 1825, pp.502-09, and is signed 'J-Jph V...e'.

³⁹ 'Est-ce qu'on peut tout imiter dans la nature? N'y a-t-il pas certaines choses qu'il faut cacher sous peine de tomber dans le bas et le dégoûtant?' Cited by Dufour, p.318.

⁴⁰ Cited by Lawrence Schehr in *Rendering French Realism*, p.45.

The question of suitability of subject-matter was debated long and hard throughout the century. The novelist and playwright Victor Hugo⁴¹ entered into the debate in 1827 by defending the depiction of 'le grotesque' as a companion and contrast to 'le sublime'.⁴² Hugo advocated a completely different approach to that of Nicolas Boileau in 1674:

Il n'est point de serpent ni de monstre odieux
Qui, par l'art imité, ne puisse plaire aux yeux;
D'un pinceau délicat l'artifice agréable
Du plus affreux objet fait un objet aimable.⁴³

Whereas Boileau advocated tempering the unpleasant side of the grotesque by artistry, Hugo considered the grotesque as 'the richest source that nature can open to art'.⁴⁴ He gave it a wide-ranging definition that included 'the deformed and the horrible ... the comic and the silly'.⁴⁵ With comments aimed specifically at drama,⁴⁶ Hugo argues that to reflect reality one has to depict both the sublime and the grotesque and that 'reality is the result of the quite natural combination of two types ... which overlap in drama as they do in life... Now it is time to say it out loud and it is here especially that exceptions confirm the rule, everything that is in nature is in art.'⁴⁷ Within thirty years of Hugo's wide-ranging definition there was a backlash against the kind of subject-matter that he had welcomed. The consequences were that

⁴¹ Dufour, p.5 says, 'Hugo est souvent l'oublié du chapitre "réalisme"' ('Hugo is often the forgotten one in the chapter called "realism"').

⁴² In the Preface to his play *Cromwell*. In *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, reprinted in 1961, 'sublime' is defined as 'of the most exalted kind'. The idea of the sublime remained a vexed concept for commentators throughout the nineteenth century.

⁴³ 'There is no snake or vile monster which, when imitated by art, should not be pleasing to the eye; with a delicate brush, pleasant trickery makes a likeable object out of the most horrible thing.' Taken from Boileau's *Art poétique*, III, pp.1-4, cited by Pierre Grosclaude in his notes to Hugo, *Préface de Cromwell*, Classiques Larousse edition, p.33, n.4.

⁴⁴ 'la plus riche source que la nature puisse ouvrir à l'art'. *Préface de Cromwell*, p.27.

⁴⁵ 'le difforme et l'horrible ... le comique et le bouffon'. *Préface de Cromwell*, p.27.

⁴⁶ Even in the Preface to *Odes*, his poetry collection of 1826, Hugo had echoed the *Mercure français* article cited above: 'The poet should have but one model, nature, and but one guide, truth.' ('Le poète ne doit avoir qu'un modèle, la nature, qu'un guide, la vérité.') See p.43, n.3 in *Préface de Cromwell*.

⁴⁷ 'le réel résulte de la combinaison toute naturelle de deux types, le sublime et le grotesque qui se croisent dans le drame, comme ils se croisent dans la vie...Puis il est temps de le dire hautement et

by mid-century, realism, with its apparent emphasis in literature on the grotesque, was seen as undesirable. In 1860 the French Ministry of the Interior issued a circular to its prefects advising them that 'This facile literature, which only seeks success through its cynical depictions, its immoral plots, the strange perversity of its heroes, has recently taken a sad and dangerous turn'.⁴⁸ The authorities clearly scented a moral danger, a fear that would be intensified with Zola's quasi-scientific series of novels later in the century. His study of the Rougon-Macquart family left no aspect of life uninvestigated.⁴⁹ He wrote frankly about drunkenness (*L'Assommoir*), prostitution (*Nana*), high-class corruption and incest (*La Curée*), and about common fraud amongst rural families (*La Joie de vivre*), all with an attention to detail that held up a shocking mirror to the French society of 1851-70.

Hugo's inclusion of the comic and the silly within the grotesque was broadened during the century to include the ordinary and the trivial, in fact anything that we recognise as coming direct from contemporary life.⁵⁰ Yet the inclusion of the banal was seen as a worrying trend. As Charles Rosen and Henri Zerner point out: 'For the mediocre to retain its mediocrity meant an abandonment of all those grand rhetorical gestures that writers had used to ennoble and idealise their material from classical times until the mid-nineteenth century'.⁵¹ When painters began to use everyday material as well, they were accused of decadence. In his article 'Salon of 1846: On

c'est ici surtout que les exceptions confirmeraient la règle, tout ce qui est dans la nature est dans l'art.' Hugo, *Préface de Cromwell*, p.33.

⁴⁸ 'Cette littérature facile, ne cherchant le succès que dans le cynisme de ses tableaux, l'immoralité de ses intrigues, les étranges perversités de ses héros, a pris de nos jours un triste et dangereux développement.' Cited in Dufour, *Le Réalisme*, p.4.

⁴⁹ The naturalist school, an intensification of realism, arose during the age of rigorous scientific observation. In *Le Roman expérimental* of 1880, Zola exhorts the novelist to 'lean completely towards the ground conquered by science; then, there alone, facing the unknown, use our intuition and go in advance of science, ready to make some mistakes' ('nous appuyer sur le terrain conquis par la science, jusqu'au bout; puis, là seulement, devant l'inconnu, exercer notre intuition et précéder la science, quittes à nous tromper parfois'). Cited in Dufour, *Le Réalisme*, p.109. Flaubert's approach echoed the trend towards scientific observation: 'Human beings must be treated like mastodons and crocodiles... Display them, stuff them, bottle them...' Cited in Linda Nochlin, *Realism*, p.42. According to P. Martino: 'Naturalism continues realism, confirms it and exaggerates it... the naturalists, in their day, were often accused of realism.' ('Le naturalisme continue le réalisme, l'affirme et l'exagère...les naturalistes, en leur temps, furent souvent taxés de réalisme.') Martino, *Le Naturalisme français*, p.1.

⁵⁰ The novelist Gustave Flaubert was a past master at making something out of nothing ('faire quelque chose de rien' being his stated philosophy). The best example of this is his story *Un Coeur simple*.

⁵¹ See Rosen and Zerner, *Romanticism and Realism: the Mythology of Nineteenth-Century Art*, p.146.

the Heroism of Modern Life', the writer Charles Baudelaire says that this accusation of decadence is a 'dogma of the studios,⁵² which has gained currency among the public' and that the term was used by artists who 'had a vested interest in ceaselessly depicting the past'.⁵³ Painting in France had, like the literature of Racine and Corneille, also been dominated by the mythological and the historical. Its sudden elevation of the everyday to the standing of high art was shocking. When this was also coupled with a format that was incongruous to the subject there was even more reason to think that decadence had set in. In a way that was seen as unnecessary, the painter Gustave Courbet portrayed ordinary people in huge canvases usually reserved for the depiction of kings or gods. As we have seen, subject matter in the mid-nineteenth century had everything to do with the classical, the mythological and the elevated. Pictorial size was closely associated with the grandeur or otherwise of the subject. The words of the critic, Lagenevais, about Courbet's painting, *Une Après-dinée à Ornans* (1848-9) show how narrow official views were: 'It is difficult to explain why M. Courbet has done a genre painting on such a large canvas. The interior of a kitchen, which would be pleasing in a narrow frame, loses its charm when given its natural proportions'.⁵⁴ Courbet's most famous painting, *L'Enterrement à Ornans* (1849), measures a massive 314cm by 663cm and depicts a frieze-like line of village people present at a funeral. In Linda Nochlin's words, 'the worker becomes the dominant image in Realist art, partaking of both the grandeur of myth and the concreteness of reality'.⁵⁵ Zola too was criticised for making high art out of lower class people. But he remained unrepentant in the wake of the accusations levelled against *L'Assommoir*'s use of the language of the gutter not just in its dialogue but also in the narrative.⁵⁶ By placing an everyday subject in the realm of high art, the

⁵² 'préjugé de l'atelier' that is, of the traditional academic painters who set the standards of the day. Baudelaire, 'Salon de 1846: De l'héroïsme de la vie moderne', *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. II, p.493.

⁵³ 'Car ils étaient intéressés à représenter sans cesse le passé.' Baudelaire attributes this to laziness because the painters found it easier to depict what they had always painted. *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ Rosen and Zerner, *Romanticism and Realism*, p.219. Nevertheless the painting was bought by the state in 1849 and is in the Musée des Beaux Arts in Lille.

⁵⁵ Nochlin, *Realism*, p.113.

⁵⁶ Zola writes in the Preface to *L'Assommoir*: 'My crime is to have had the literary curiosity to pick up popular language and to pour it into a well-crafted mould... moreover, I don't offer any defence. My work will be my defence. It is a work of truth, the first novel about the masses which does not lie and which has the smell of the common people'. ('Mon crime est d'avoir eu la curiosité littéraire de ramasser et couler dans un moule très travaillé la langue du peuple... Je ne me défends pas d'ailleurs.

realist artist can turn the grotesque into the sublime. Or, as Baudelaire succinctly put it: 'You gave me your mud; I turned it into gold'.⁵⁷

The debate about subject-matter was never fully resolved during the nineteenth century. Indeed, following in the footsteps of Zola and Courbet, *Parade* was castigated for its use of inappropriate material in a ballet. On this subject an anonymous critic wrote: 'The work would have been quite successful if it had been put on at the Médrano [circus]. That was its rightful place'.⁵⁸ Another anonymous critic even used the word 'grotesque' to describe the ballet: 'Picasso's décor, the cubist costumes of the gigantic managers, the showing-off of a clownish horse, are outrageously grotesque for French taste'.⁵⁹ The implication was that the subject-matter of *Parade* was not grand enough for a ballet. The ballet demonstrated once again that realist art had to break rules that had previously been judged unassailable if the artist's creativity was to be set free.

Hugo described other restrictions faced by contemporary drama that were a throwback to the era of the great seventeenth-century classical playwrights such as Racine, Molière and Corneille. The genres of tragedy and comedy were strictly separated, and dramatists obeyed the unities of place, time and action advocated many centuries earlier by Aristotle. The unity of place, for instance, forced playwrights to create characters to describe off-stage events, and the unity of time dictated that all

Mon oeuvre me défendra. C'est une oeuvre de vérité, le premier roman sur le peuple, qui ne mente pas et qui ait l'odeur du peuple.') See p.7.

⁵⁷ 'Tu m'as donné ta boue; j'en ai fait de l'or.' From his collection, *Les Fleurs du mal*, p.15. This line was sketched ready for *Épilogue*, a second edition of the poems, the first having been published in the *Revue des deux mondes* in 1855.

⁵⁸ 'L'oeuvre eût remporté un gentil succès s'il avait été joué à Médrano, et c'était là sa vraie place.' See the article 'Les Ballets Russes' in *L'Intransigeant*, 28 May 1917, p.2. The audience at the première of *Parade* had a clear idea of what was unsuitable. The appearance of a pantomime-style circus horse seemed to cause the greatest outrage.

⁵⁹ 'Le décor de Picasso, les costumes cubistes des managers géants, l'exhibition d'un cheval clownesque, sont d'un grotesque outrageant pour le goût français'. See 'Les Ballets Russes' in *Le Carnet de la Semaine*, 27 May 1917, p.14.

action in the drama had to take place within twenty-four hours.⁶⁰ Hugo saw this as akin 'To criss-cross[ing] the unity of time with the unity of place like the bars of a cage'.⁶¹ The artificiality of the rules governing drama hampered the artist's creativity, Hugo argues. His plea was to 'take a hammer to theories...Let us tear down this old plaster which hides the facade of art'.⁶²

Music during the nineteenth century demonstrates how difficult it was to break the rules. What appeared to be an essentially abstract artform had structures imposed on it that were often as rigid as the bars of the cage to which Hugo refers. Sonata form put a strangle-hold on music just as the unities did on drama. The tyranny of the dominant-tonic relationship was one which not even Beethoven, arguably one of the greatest innovators, was willing to completely forego. The move towards portraying the everyday and the ordinary was an important first step in breaking the rules in music too. For example, Weber's opera, *Der Freischütz* (1821), was criticised for its portrayal of a mocking crowd by the use of two oboes playing in seconds over four bars.⁶³ Dahlhaus says that Weber challenged the rules governing the distance between art music and folk music, as well as contemporary expectations of melodic continuity, proper harmony, and the classical ideal of musical texture. Whilst this may all be true, it is by no means the whole story. Dahlhaus cites Hermann Kretzschmar on the subject of descriptive elements within programme music: 'The composers ... unleash the elemental strength of naked sound and naked rhythm, and give free rein to the might of raw materials, the physical elements of music'.⁶⁴ It is the laying bare of the 'raw materials' of music that are so important in breaking the rules. Dahlhaus also cites Michel Butor, who calls music a realist art and says that 'perhaps he has in mind the numerical proportions which, according to the Pythagorean tradition, form the

⁶⁰ James Joyce would deliberately impose this constraint on his novel *Ulysses* (published in Paris in 1922).

⁶¹ 'Croiser l'unité de temps à l'unité de lieu comme les barreaux d'une cage'. Hugo, *Préface de Cromwell*, p.38.

⁶² 'Mettons le marteau dans les théories...Jetons bas ce vieux plâtre qui masque la façade de l'art! Hugo, *Préface de Cromwell*, p.49.

⁶³ See Carl Dahlhaus, *Realism in Nineteenth-Century Music*, p.35.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p.38.

basis both of the musical system of tones and of nature in general'.⁶⁵ If, like painting, music can be reduced to its essential components of sounds related together by scales, rather than by the imposed man-made structures of melodic continuity, form, texture, phrasing and the kind of harmony in fashion at a given time, the composer is free to focus on the act of creation by using pure sound as a painter uses colour. While many French composers attempted to reject certain aspects of traditional western music,⁶⁶ Erik Satie pursued a systematic and iconoclastic rejection of the whole nineteenth-century aesthetic based on Romantic expressiveness, and the use of functional chromatic harmony and climaxes. We shall see in Chapter 3 how his iconoclasm was expressed in *Parade*.

It follows that if rules governing the content and format of a work are broken, an artist is free to be eclectic. Hugo's carefully argued *Préface de Cromwell* defended his inclusion of the grotesque in literature by citing great authors such as Dante and Milton who had peopled their works of fiction with equally grotesque but imaginary figures. The grotesque had also, says Hugo, been used to parody humanity with creations such as 'those Scaramouches, ... those Harlequins, the grimacing silhouettes of man quite unknown to serious antiquity yet a product of classical Italy'.⁶⁷ This reference to a grotesque element used in the classical past added weight to the argument. If classical Italy could include the grotesque, implies Hugo, why not nineteenth-century France? And Picasso, whose art teemed with harlequins recast in a modern context, would have endorsed Hugo's view. Baudelaire, however, was less ready to embrace subjects from the past. His article, 'Salon of 1846', was anxious to prove that 'our age is no less fertile in sublime themes than past ages...For the heroes

⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p.28.

⁶⁶ Debussy, for example, uses non-functional harmony by juxtaposing chords that focus on pure sound. He avoids long, lyrical melodies reminiscent of the nineteenth century and uses structures that are independent of the thematic development of the Germanic type. Yet in the first movement of his *Sonata for Violin and Piano*, written in the winter of 1916-17, at the same time as *Parade*, there is a clear use of sonata form with its tri-partite structure and a dominant pedal that leads into the recapitulation. There is a melody, albeit only in snatches, which links the first and last movements, and the very fact of having the expected three movements in a sonata (and calling it a sonata) shows how Debussy, at the end of his life, reinserted himself into a tradition from which he had hitherto remained distant.

⁶⁷ 'ces Scaramouches ... ces Arlequins, grimaçantes silhouettes de l'homme, types tout à fait inconnus à la grave antiquité et sortis pourtant de la classique Italie.' Hugo, *Préface de Cromwell*, p.27.

of the *Iliad* are minute compared to you, Vautrin, Rastignac and Birotteau!'.⁶⁸ Hugo further supports the grotesque by reference to the Middle Ages: 'the grotesque has a huge role - it seeds those myriad intermediary figures⁶⁹ that we find alive and well in the popular traditions of the middle ages'.⁷⁰ Figures, Cocteau would add, like conjurors and acrobats. In *Le Coq et l'arlequin* Cocteau describes the public as '... those who have not yet understood that art is continuous and think that art stopped yesterday to be started again perhaps tomorrow'.⁷¹ The eclecticism, dismissed by Baudelaire, who preferred contemporary characters to those of classical times, was warmly embraced, however, by Cocteau for the subject-matter of *Parade*.⁷² The ballet demonstrated that a modern realist work was not restricted to depicting a contemporary society in turmoil, although, as we have seen, it included elements of this in the Manager-figures; nor was a modern realist work restricted to commonplace subject-matter, even though *Parade* did use the everyday setting of the *fête foraine* (the street fair). *Parade* sought to depict art in all its historical continuity by juxtaposing the timeless with the contemporary. This gives us a clue that the 'ballet réaliste' was dealing with more than just a superficial reflection of life, but rather with a debate about the nature of art itself through the medium of real life.

Baudelaire may have preferred the contemporary to the classical, but the question of the balance between the 'grotesque' and the 'sublime' was a point of contention in any discussion about realism. Berlioz was criticised in 1867 by Franz Brendel, editor

⁶⁸ 'Notre époque n'est pas moins féconde que les anciennes en motifs sublimes... Car les héros de *l'Iliade* ne vont qu'à votre cheville, ô Vautrin, ô Rastignac, ô Birotteau...' Baudelaire, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. II, pp.493 and 496. Vautrin and Rastignac are characters in *Le Père Goriot* by Honoré de Balzac. Birotteau is the hero of *César Birotteau* by the same author.

⁶⁹ A vague term which shows how widely Hugo's use of the grotesque can be interpreted.

⁷⁰ 'le grotesque a un rôle immense - c'est lui qui sème ... ces myriades d'êtres intermédiaires que nous retrouvons tout vivants dans les traditions populaires du moyen âge.' Hugo, *Préface de Cromwell*, p.27.

⁷¹ '... ceux qui n'ont pas encore compris que l'art est continu et s'imaginent que l'art s'est arrêté hier pour reprendre peut-être demain...' Cocteau, *Le Coq et l'arlequin*, p.73.

⁷² In fact the subject matter could not be wider: Picasso's *Red Curtain* shows figures from mythology (a winged horse), and harlequins; Cocteau's inventions are a conjuror and acrobats (figures with long past histories), juxtaposed with an American girl whose mimes include such aspects of modernity as turning the starting-handle of a car and imitating Charlie Chaplin's well-known tramp character from the cinema. Picasso's Managers are hybrid: they are modern in appearance but have a long history in their role of presenting popular entertainment. We shall see in later chapters how this eclecticism impacted on the music and choreography too.

of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* as follows: 'The descriptive aspect in representation is the principal constituent in his work...the incisiveness of the delineation and the realistic trappings...make their effect at the expense of beauty'.⁷³ Only so much realism appeared to be acceptable within a context that still revered 'le beau idéal' (a classical ideal of beauty). With the advent of photography⁷⁴ this debate became more urgent. Baudelaire expressed his views vehemently in the article 'Salon of 1859: The Modern Public and Photography': 'the exclusive taste for the True...oppresses and stifles the taste for the Beautiful'.⁷⁵ The argument here is not about the morality of art's subject-matter but about its purpose in inspiring and uplifting a public that was all too ready to make do with never-ending reflections of life.⁷⁶ 'For us', says Baudelaire, 'the natural painter, like the natural poet, is almost a monster. The exclusive taste for the True (so noble a thing when it is limited to its proper applications) oppresses and stifles the taste for the Beautiful...where one should see nothing but Beauty...our public looks only for Truth'.⁷⁷ Baudelaire derides the public's enthusiasm for a purely photographic, naturalistic art that inevitably results in a public attitude that he satirises as follows: 'I believe in nature, and I believe only in nature...I believe that art is, and cannot be other than, the exact reproduction of nature (a timid and dissident sect would wish to exclude the more repellent objects of nature, such as a chamber-pot or a skeleton)'.⁷⁸ This tirade was directed against a public for whom art meant the graphic reality of images produced by the new medium of photography. In a world in which technical innovation could so easily reproduce the very realistic details that Hugo had fought so vehemently to include, the elusive,

⁷³ Cited by Carl Dahlhaus in *Realism in Nineteenth Century Music*, p.29.

⁷⁴ This was invented by Louis Daguerre as early as 1830.

⁷⁵ 'Le goût exclusif du Vrai...opprime ici et étouffe le goût du Beau.' Baudelaire, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. II, p.616.

⁷⁶ Exactly like today's insatiable thirst for reality TV.

⁷⁷ 'Chez nous le peintre naturel, comme le poète naturel, est presque un monstre. Le goût exclusif du Vrai (si noble quand il est limité à ses véritables applications) opprime ici et étouffe le goût du Beau. Où il faudrait ne voir que le Beau ...notre public ne cherche que le Vrai.' Baudelaire, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. II, p.616.

⁷⁸ 'Je crois à la nature et je ne crois qu'à la nature... Je crois que l'art est et ne peut être que la reproduction exacte de la nature (une secte timide et dissidente veut que les objets de nature répugnante soient écartés, ainsi un pot de chambre ou un squelette).' Baudelaire, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. II, p.617.

creative quality of the sublime in art, something that was above common reality, was seen as under threat. Baudelaire concludes:

Each day art further diminishes its self-respect by bowing down before external reality; each day the painter becomes more and more given to painting not what he dreams but what he sees... Are we to suppose that a people whose eyes are growing used to considering the results of a material science as though they were the products of the beautiful, will not in the course of time have singularly diminished its faculties of judging and of feeling what are among the most ethereal and immaterial aspects of creation?⁷⁹

The importance of the artistic process, diverted as it was in the middle of the nineteenth century by photography's instant realism, occupied Cocteau more than fifty years after Baudelaire's article had been written. Whereas Baudelaire was disturbed by the public's all too eager acceptance of photography's facile realism, Cocteau was angry that people still expected a perfect copy of reality onstage. He, like Baudelaire, bemoaned the public's continuing lack of discrimination: 'This public is therefore challenged as little as possible in understanding a higher realism'.⁸⁰ What constituted this higher realism was a source of debate in the second half of the nineteenth century.

When the Symbolist poets attempted to be, in Baudelaire's words, 'ethereal and immaterial' they were accused, according to the symbolist poet and novelist, Henri Régnier, of ignoring the everyday: 'So the general reproach made against symbolism,

⁷⁹ 'De jour en jour l'art diminue le respect de lui-même, se prosterne devant la réalité extérieure, et le peintre devient de plus en plus enclin à peindre, non pas ce qu'il rêve, mais ce qu'il voit... Est-il permis de supposer qu'un peuple dont les yeux s'accoutument à considérer les résultats d'une science matérielle comme les produits du beau n'a pas singulièrement, au bout d'un certain temps, diminué la faculté de juger et de sentir, ce qu'il y a de plus éthéré et de plus immatériel?' Baudelaire, *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. II, p.619.

⁸⁰ 'Ce public est donc aussi peu exercé que possible à comprendre un réalisme supérieur.' Cocteau, *La Jeunesse et le scandale*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. IX, p.327. Cocteau's words were written with reference to his play *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel* of 1921.

and one that characterizes all [the symbolist poets] is, in a word, that they have neglected Life'.⁸¹ An over-emphasis on realism may not have been ideal, but many commentators felt that life and art should remain inextricably bound together. One such writer was Émile Magne who, in his article of 1905, 'Esthétique des villes. L'esthétique de la rue' wrote:

We have had a distorted view of life thanks to the naturalists and the realists⁸² and this has horrified us. But life is to be admired in its many manifestations. All ugliness is principally in the eye of the beholder... In our opinion, since beauty is a part of life, beauty is in the street where popular life takes place... The street is the bubbling crucible where artists mine the gold for their creations.⁸³

But in the fin-de-siècle French theatre the 'distorted view of life' was all too dominant. André Antoine unwittingly started the trend when he founded his Théâtre Libre in 1887 and employed high-calibre realist writers such as Émile Zola and the Goncourt brothers. He was also the entrepreneur who was responsible for bringing Ibsen to Parisian attention. Twenty years after the advent of the Théâtre Libre, the naturalist approach was still hugely popular even though the quality of the playwrights varied considerably. Barrett H. Clark, writing in 1916 about the play *Amoureuse*, written by a now-forgotten Georges de Porto-Riche more than twenty years previously in 1891, shows to what extent the theatre was stuck in a rut: 'Here at

⁸¹ 'Or le reproche général que l'on fait au symbolisme et qui les résume tous en un mot: c'est d'avoir négligé la Vie.' See Henri Régner, 'Poètes d'aujourd'hui et poésie de demain' in *Mercure de France*, no. 128, August 1900, p.349. Symbolism was a movement in literature and the visual arts that flourished from about 1880 to 1910. It emphasised the subjective and the inner life, and saw art as a series of symbols. The result was that symbolist art was often obscure in meaning and allegorical. Stéphane Mallarmé was one of its greatest exponents in literature. He was the author of *L'Après-midi d'un faune* (published in 1876), used by Diaghilev in the ballet of 1912, with music by Debussy. The artistic flux of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is demonstrated by the fact that Filippo Marinetti, the leader of the Futurists, began his artistic life as a symbolist.

⁸² See n.23 above regarding the naturalists and the realists.

⁸³ 'Nous avons mal vu la vie sous le doigt des naturalistes et des réalistes et l'horreur nous en est venue. Mais la vie est admirable dans ses manifestations multiples. Toute laideur est surtout dans l'optique individuelle...Pour nous, puisque la beauté est dans la vie, la beauté est dans la rue où s'agite la vie d'un peuple...La rue est le creuset bouillonnant où les artistes puisent l'or de leurs créations.' Magne, *Mercure de France*, 15 July 1905, p.170.

last is the slice of life for which the naturalists had striven so hard!'.⁸⁴ Clark quotes the playwright Henry Bataille: 'The theatre is decidedly not the place to expose ideas; ... ideas are for us a side-issue. The main point is to give the spectator, through his senses, a more penetrating and more vivid view of life'.⁸⁵ Huntley Carter in *The New Spirit in the European Theatre*, written even later, in 1925, gives an example of what such a vivid slice of life might have been: 'At the Moncey Theatre, Montmartre, I saw a soldier carried on the stage. He was covered with blood and his face was made up to look as though it had been blown to pieces by a shell'.⁸⁶ The theatre-going public loved this kind of thing, but in avant-garde circles such crude realism was criticised in exactly the same terms used by Baudelaire, and with the same fear that the public was incapable of seeing behind the trappings of external reality.⁸⁷ It would appear, therefore, that artists were damned if, like the symbolists, they did not base their art on reality, and they were also damned if they did.

Whereas Hugo had seen everyday realistic detail as an enhancement of the artistic process, the over-emphasis on realism meant that the sublime, that creative quality that lifted the artist (and the audience) above the everyday, was in danger of being lost. Discussions about 'le sublime' began to appear in the early twentieth century, taking us not only full circle to the origins of realism as Hugo saw it, but extending his discussion to make the sublime central to artistic endeavour. On 23 June 1912 the poet and critic Guillaume Apollinaire gave a talk in Rouen to coincide with an exhibition by the Société Normande de la peinture moderne. His subject was 'Le Sublime moderne' and on 24 June the local newspaper, *La Dépêche de Rouen*, carried a *résumé*. Fortunately for posterity, Apollinaire transcribed and extended this lecture in an article called 'La Loi de la renaissance' ('The Law of rebirth'), published on 7 July in *La Démocratie sociale*. Apollinaire calls the sublime an 'oeuvre de créateurs' ('creative work') and sees it as a phoenix constantly renewing itself out of an ever-changing popular aesthetic:

⁸⁴ Clark, *Contemporary French Dramatists*, p.43.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.161.

⁸⁶ Carter, *The New Spirit in the European Theatre*, p.134.

⁸⁷ See Jean Cocteau's remark above about the public not being able to understand a higher reality.

The flames that devour and feed the [Phoenix/the sublime] represent popular art that is at once the stuff of decline in the arts and also the hearth that warms and enlivens the arts, but the Phoenix, that is, the sublime, does not change.⁸⁸

Like a modern Baudelaire, Apollinaire outlines the dangers posed by modern technology which threaten to usurp the artist's creative role:

If playwrights cling to the realist formulas of the last century they will be quickly overtaken by cinematography, whose scenic resources are infinitely greater in number than the most perfectly executed ones in the theatre. And so, the public is not mistaken and the cinema is tending to replace the theatre.... Actors, virtuosos, orchestras, painters who are content to copy nature can be better replaced by recordings, the cinema and photography. And if the practical side of life gets something out of this, art does not. Yet it must, and that is why we are seeing such profound changes in the arts whose goal is simply to express the sublime that eludes the industrialised arts.⁸⁹

For Apollinaire, as for Baudelaire, a straightforward copying of reality as opposed to an act of creativity leads to a gulf between the desires of the artist and the public.

⁸⁸ 'Les flammes qui dévorent et alimentent la merveille figurent l'art populaire qui est à la fois le produit de la décadence des arts et aussi le foyer qui les échauffe et les vivifie, mais le Phénix, c'est-à-dire le sublime, ne change point.' Apollinaire, *Oeuvres en prose complètes*, Vol. II, p.963.

⁸⁹ 'Les dramaturges s'ils s'en tiennent aux formules réalistes du siècle dernier seront vite dépassés par le cinématographe, dont les ressources scéniques sont infiniment plus nombreuses que celles des théâtres les plus perfectionnés. Aussi le peuple ne s'y trompe point et le cinématographe tend à remplacer le théâtre.... Les comédiens, les virtuoses, les orchestres, les peintres qui se contentent de copier la nature peuvent être avantageusement remplacés par le phonographe, le cinématographe et la photographie. Et si le côté pratique de la vie y trouve son compte, l'art n'y retrouve pas le sien. Il faut cependant qu'il le retrouve et c'est pourquoi nous voyons les arts subir des modifications si profondes dont le but est simplement d'exprimer le sublime qui échappe aux arts industrialisés.' Apollinaire, *Oeuvres en prose complètes*, Vol. II, p.964. Apollinaire, who died in 1918, could not have foreseen that these new technologies, far from being purely imitative tools, would also come to find their own creative place in the art world. Cocteau would be instrumental in the development of cinematography as an artistic medium.

Apollinaire calls the sublime ‘la fable du vulgaire’ (the laughing-stock of the general public) because ‘the public who are used to the superficial reality of nature, thanks to the arts and industries of formal reproduction, reproaches artists with moving away from reality towards the absurd’.⁹⁰ Five years later *Parade* would be abused for being merely a joke.⁹¹ Yet for all Apollinaire’s fine words, it was *Parade*, rather than his own play, *Les Mamelles de Tirésias* (whose première was also in 1917), that remained in touch with the public’s thirst for reality: its subject-matter was the music-hall, the cinema, and the circus. *Les Mamelles de Tirésias* appeared to relinquish reality in favour of absurdity. In an interview by Pérez-Jorba called ‘Paseando con Guillaume Apollinaire’ (‘Walking with Guillaume Apollinaire’) in *La Publicidad* of 14 July 1918, Apollinaire says: ‘Yes, I am in favour of imitating nature, but only through imagination, not at all through photography. Creation is essentially and forcefully the opposite of imitation; the first corresponds to higher talents, the second to lesser beings’.⁹² *Parade*, on the other hand, relies on the juxtaposition of the grotesque and the sublime in a far more subtle but risky way than Apollinaire attempts in *Les Mamelles*. Cocteau sees the artist’s role as similar to that of an acrobat performing without the safety net that ensures that his work will be fully understood by the public. Whereas Apollinaire appears to welcome the public’s misunderstanding, Cocteau believes in giving the public a way of accessing a work of art. And this access is through the medium of everyday reality. Apollinaire’s message in ‘La Loi de la renaissance’ is that art needs more than a depiction of reality to survive the onslaught of modern technology. But *Parade* shows that the sublime can be present within a realistic context, provided, and this is the danger, that the public is prepared to put in the effort to find it and to look beyond the reality that is presented. This is yet another justification for *Parade*’s subtitle: realism is just a tool

⁹⁰ ‘le public que les arts et les industries de reproduction plastique ont familiarisé avec la réalité extérieure de la nature reproche à ces artistes de s’éloigner de cette réalité et de donner dans l’absurde.’ Apollinaire, *Oeuvres en prose complètes*, Vol. II, p.965.

⁹¹ For example the critic Jean d’Udine called the ballet ‘Plaisanterie stercoraire, amusement fécal!’ (‘Dung-like jest, faecal amusement.’) See ‘Couleurs, Mouvements et Sons - Les Ballets russes en 1917’ in *Le Courrier musical*, June 1917, p.239.

⁹² ‘Je suis, oui, partisan d’imiter la nature, mais seulement par l’imagination, pas du tout par la photographie. La création est par essence et par force le contraire de l’imitation; la première correspond aux talents supérieurs, la seconde aux êtres subalternes.’ Apollinaire, *Oeuvres en prose complètes*. Vol.II, p.992.

used to uncover for the public the sublime of the artist's creativity. It is an aesthetic not so very far removed from the way Hugo saw the grotesque and the sublime as mutually enhancing, but it was a difficult concept for a twentieth-century public whose artistic curiosity had, as today, been blunted by a too-easy realism.⁹³

If the artist's creativity is, as Apollinaire states, what constitutes the sublime, it follows therefore that real art lies in the creative process rather than in the photographically accurate realism that merely imitates nature. The sublime can only be revealed by focusing attention on the reality of the creative process, rather than on the depiction of real life. This gives yet another layer of meaning for realism: real art is what the artist creates, not what he copies. It is the only way that an artist can engage the public in a debate about the true nature of art. Hugo saw this very clearly in his *Préface de Cromwell* when he wrote 'let us try to point out the uncrossable line which, in our opinion, separates artistic reality from reality according to nature'.⁹⁴ Confusing reality with art, says Hugo, is an 'étourderie', a 'careless mistake'. Nearly a century later Cocteau echoed these words. In an article called 'Avant Parade', published on 18 May 1917, the day of the ballet's première, Cocteau writes:

What people have up to now called 'realist art' is a kind of redundancy of expression, and above all in the theatre where realism consists in putting on stage real objects which lose their reality from the very moment that they are put into an artificial setting.⁹⁵

⁹³ For example, Carl André's *Equivalent VII* (1966) is best known by the public as the pile of bricks expensively acquired by the Tate Gallery. *Tate Modern the Handbook* says that it 'was seen by some journalists as evidence of the meaninglessness of modern art. After all, the 120 firebricks that constitute the work seemed no different from any which could be bought from a commercial brickyard'. See Iwona Blazwick and Simon Wilson (eds.), p.114.

⁹⁴ 'essayons d'indiquer quelle est la limite infranchissable qui, à notre avis, sépare la réalité selon l'art de la réalité selon la nature.' Hugo, *Préface de Cromwell*, p.43.

⁹⁵ 'Ce qu'on baptise jusqu'ici "art réaliste" est en quelque sorte un art de pléonasmes, et surtout au théâtre où le réalisme consiste à mettre en scène des objets réels qui perdent leur réalité du moment même qu'on les introduit dans un milieu factice.' See Cocteau, 'Avant Parade', *Excelsior*, 18 May 1917, p.5.

Hugo had been equally adamant that 'Truth in art cannot be ... absolute reality. Art cannot be the thing itself'.⁹⁶ Taking as his example Corneille's play, *Le Cid*. Hugo points out how the hero speaks in verse, in French, and is not the real Spaniard called Le Cid, but an actor. The action supposedly takes place in the open air and in sunshine, yet we see the hero on a stage artificially lit and surrounded by 'ces menteuses coulisses' ('deceptive scenery').

It is difficult to see what far-reaching consequences this would have for the realist aesthetic until we examine what happened in the visual arts. In a line that stretched from Courbet to Picasso and the cubists, the mechanics of painting became more and more important. As Rosen and Zerner observe: 'If contemporary life was to be represented with its banality, ugliness and mediocrity undistorted, unromanticised, then the aesthetic interest had to be shifted from the objects represented to the means of representation'.⁹⁷ Rosen and Zerner argue that uninteresting subject-matter was the reason for this shift towards showing the mechanics of a work, but the reason is more to do with the kind of deception pinpointed by Hugo. Dominique Ingres, a classical painter much admired by Picasso, inadvertently stated this: 'The brush stroke, as accomplished as it may be, should not be visible; otherwise it prevents the illusion.... Instead of the object represented, it calls attention to the process: instead of the thought it betrays the hand'.⁹⁸

Picasso and Braque increasingly called attention during the cubist years to the surface of their paintings at the expense of any illusion created by the subject-matter. They did this in a number of different ways. In *Violin and Palette* of 1909-10, Braque comments on the dichotomy between a picture's two-dimensional real surface and its three-dimensional illusionistic subject-matter by painting a nail and its shadow

⁹⁶ 'La vérité de l'art ne saurait être...la réalité absolue. L'art ne peut donner la chose même.' Hugo, *Préface de Cromwell*, p.44.

⁹⁷ Rosen and Zerner, *Romanticism and Realism*, p.149.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.229. From the 1860s 'the hand' would become increasingly important and recognisable in French painting.

illusionistically within a picture which otherwise lacks any depth, rendering the nail and shadow completely incongruous. In his *Portrait of D.-H. Kahnweiler* of 1910, Picasso merged foreground and background so as to obliterate a sense of depth that would create the illusion of someone sitting in a chair. The inclusion of real objects such as the piece of oilcloth in Picasso's *Still Life with Chair Caning* (1912) further blurred the distinction between what was real and what was illusionistic. Picasso and Braque worked with a fierce determination to highlight the reality of the artist's creativity by drawing attention to the materials used on the surface of the painting. It was essential to destroy the illusion of three-dimensional representation by using flattened perspectives, yet their desire to depict reality meant that they could not follow their logic to its natural conclusion: they stopped short of the purely two-dimensional surface abstraction that artists such as Mondrian and Mark Rothko would embrace later in the twentieth century.

If the mechanics of the creative process were put on show, the individual artist moved into the spotlight. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries individual artistic style became a major preoccupation. A cynical T. J. Clark writes:

'Individualism was the platitude of the age, contradictory, inflated, often absurd; yet somehow or other the idea that art was nothing if not the expression of an individuality, and that its disciplines were all means to this ambiguous end, survived. The Realist movement was shot through with this dogma.'⁹⁹

But if subject matter was to be taken from the real life that was common to all artists, individualism of style had to be of paramount importance. From the 1860s onwards the texture of a painting becomes the trademark of its painter, independent of the picture's subject, a process that reached its first peak with Vincent Van Gogh. As the realist movement progressed, the only important rules were the 'lois spéciales',

⁹⁹ T.J.Clark, 'On the Social History of Art' in Frascina and Harrison (eds.), *Modern Art and Modernism*, p.257.

(‘special laws’) first recognised by Hugo.¹⁰⁰ These were specific to each individual work of art and dictated only by the artist’s creative process. Hugo likened this to the scaffolding that must be built afresh each time for each individual work.¹⁰¹ In a letter to Louise Colet, dated 16 January 1852, the arch-realist Gustave Flaubert wrote: ‘...there are neither beautiful nor ugly subjects and ... you could consider it almost axiomatic, from the point of view of pure Art, that there is no such thing as subject, since style itself is an absolute way of seeing things’.¹⁰² In *L’Oeuvre*, Zola’s novel of 1885, this artistic philosophy is put into the thoughts of the hero, Claude Lantier, whom Zola based on the painter Paul Cézanne:

Was there any other way in art, but to give what you had in your belly? ...wasn’t a bunch of carrots, yes a bunch of carrots! studied directly, painted simply, in a personal way, how one sees it, worth as much as the eternal crumbs of the Academy... The day was coming when one original carrot would contain a revolution.¹⁰³

The emphasis on individual style did not mean, however, that an artist could renounce his skill in depicting reality. Zola researched his novels meticulously, leaving, for instance, 316 sheets of detailed notes for *Le Ventre de Paris* that he had collected over a period of several months by visits to the market of Les Halles, the setting of the novel. There was no dilemma for the realist artist. Like Zola, Picasso sought to render reality with exactitude, but in his own style. Zola and Picasso were both artists who, in Cocteau’s words, ‘must swallow a locomotive and produce a pipe’.¹⁰⁴ Cocteau states the realist artist’s position very clearly: ‘The artist who has a feeling

¹⁰⁰ Preface to *Cromwell*, p.41.

¹⁰¹ Eighty years later, Robert Godet used the same idea in his letter to Debussy: ‘Of course, you have never abused the function of scaffolding, and you have always excelled - if anyone did - at flattening it with one kick once the edifice was complete.’ Cited in Howat, *Debussy in Proportion*, p.175.

¹⁰² ‘...il n’y a ni beaux ni vilains sujets et ...on pourrait presque établir comme axiome, en se posant au point de vue de l’Art pur, qu’il n’y en a aucun, le style étant à lui tout seul une manière absolue de voir les choses.’ Flaubert, *Correspondance*, Vol. II, p.31.

¹⁰³ ‘Est-ce qu’en art, il y avait autre chose que de donner ce qu’on avait dans le ventre?...est-ce qu’une botte de carottes, oui, une botte de carottes! étudiée directement, peinte naïvement, dans la note personnelle, où on la voit, ne valait pas les éternelles tartines de l’École...Le jour venait où une seule carotte originale serait grosse d’une révolution.’ Zola, *L’Oeuvre*, p.51.

¹⁰⁴ ‘doit avaler une locomotive et rendre une pipe’. Cocteau, *Le Coq et l’arlequin*, p.64.

for reality must never be afraid of being poetic. The objective world keeps its power in his work whatever the changes which poetry imposes on it'.¹⁰⁵ Guillaume Apollinaire called this process 'surréalisme', a higher reality. In the preface to his play, *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, he writes: 'When man wanted to imitate walking, he created the wheel which bears no resemblance to a leg. By doing this he invented super-realism without knowing it'.¹⁰⁶ Style differentiates one artist from another,¹⁰⁷ turns his subject matter into something 'more convincing than life itself',¹⁰⁸ into a higher reality (Apollinaire's 'le sublime' or 'le surréel') or, in Cocteau's words, 'this truer than true which I have made my method'.¹⁰⁹ Ninety years before *Parade*, Hugo expressed this artistic process as 'la baguette magique de l'art' ('art's magic wand').¹¹⁰ This, he says, 'gives birth to illusion, that magic side of reality which excites the audience, and the poet first of all'.¹¹¹ A realist artist must also be an illusionist, therefore, by using the magic wand of his creative process to turn real life into the artificial world of art. The real and the artificial are two sides of the same artistic coin.

For the public to be excited by art and challenged by it too, it needs to be involved in the artistic process. It is this engagement with the public that differentiated the realist movement from the outset. Balzac, for example, demonstrated the desire to involve his reader:

¹⁰⁵ 'L'artiste qui a le sentiment de la réalité ne doit jamais avoir peur d'être lyrique. Le monde objectif conserve sa puissance dans son oeuvre quelles que soient les métamorphoses que le lyrisme lui fasse subir.' Cocteau, *Le Coq et l'arlequin*, p.76.

¹⁰⁶ 'Quand l'homme a voulu imiter la marche, il a créé la roue qui ne ressemble pas à une jambe. Il a fait ainsi du surréalisme sans le savoir.' Apollinaire, *Oeuvres poétiques*, p.856. Apollinaire's super-realism, or surrealism, is not to be confused with the surrealist movement of Breton and Aragon in the 1920s. With Apollinaire there was no question of automatic writing or dream states.

¹⁰⁷ 'An original artist cannot copy.' ('Un artiste original ne peut pas copier.') Cocteau, *Le Coq et l'arlequin*, p.77.

¹⁰⁸ 'The realist, if he is an artist, will seek, not to show us life's banal photograph, but to give a more complete, more arresting view of it which is more convincing than life itself.' ('Le réaliste, s'il est un artiste, cherchera, non pas à nous montrer la photographie banale de la vie, mais à en donner la vision plus complète, plus saisissante, plus probante que la réalité même.') Preface to Guy de Maupassant's *Pierre et Jean* (1888), p.42, cited in Dufour, p.181.

¹⁰⁹ 'Ce plus vrai que le vrai dont j'ai fait ma méthode.' See Cocteau, *La Jeunesse et le Scandale*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. IX, p.327.

¹¹⁰ It is no accident that Part 1 of *Parade* is *Le prestidigitateur chinois* (the Chinese conjuror).

¹¹¹ 'enfante l'illusion, ce prestige de réalité qui passionne le spectateur, et le poète le premier...' Hugo, *Préface de Cromwell*, p.65.

you holding this book in your white hand, you sitting comfortably in a soft armchair saying: Perhaps I shall enjoy this. After reading the secret misfortunes of old Goriot, you will enjoy your meal, blaming your callousness on the author, accusing him of exaggeration and poetic licence.¹¹²

A more confrontational approach was used by Manet in his painting, *Olympia*, of 1865.¹¹³ The naked woman of the title (quite possibly a prostitute) confronts the viewer as if he is a visitor, forcing him to make a series of value judgements about what he is seeing and his own role in this. Picasso used exactly the same technique in *Les Femmes d'Alger* of 1908 (see Chapter 4, Fig.4.6). In the early years of the twentieth century this aspect of realism developed into a realisation that the artist and public shared a common, collective experience. One of the key figures in this was the philosopher, Henri Bergson (1859-1941),¹¹⁴ who believed that 'conceptions of duration [of time] (*la durée*), embracing past, present and future, and of the life force (*élan vital*) ... gave a collective momentum to the mental life of individuals, [and] provided a framework for imaginative interpretations of ... experience'.¹¹⁵ The founder of futurism, Filippo Marinetti, steeped as he was in French culture, was influenced by Bergson's ideas. The first futurist exhibition in Paris was held at the Bernheim-Jeune Gallery between 5 and 24 February 1912. Marinetti's fellow futurist, the painter Umberto Boccioni, wrote in Bergsonian terms in the catalogue:

¹¹² 'vous qui tenez ce livre d'une main blanche, vous qui vous enfoncez dans un moelleux fauteuil en vous disant: Peut-être ceci va-t-il m'amuser. Après avoir lu les secrètes infortunes du père Goriot, vous dînez avec appétit en mettant votre insensibilité sur le compte de l'auteur, en le taxant d'exagération, en l'accusant de poésie.' See Balzac, *Le Père Goriot*, p.18.

¹¹³ The painting also confronted past masters because of its re-interpretation of Titian's *Danaë* (1549-50), Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus* (begun in 1510 and finished by Titian) and Ingres's *La Grande Baigneuse* (1808). None of these figures looks directly at the viewer as Manet's does.

¹¹⁴ Two of Bergson's influential works in this respect were *Matière et mémoire* (*Matter and Memory*) of 1897 and *L'Évolution créatrice* (*Creative Evolution*) of 1907.

¹¹⁵ Cited in David Cottington, *Cubism*, p.48.

in order that the spectator live at the centre of a painted action, the tableau must be a synthesis not only of what we see, but also of what we recall (simultaneity).¹¹⁶ We must paint the invisible which stirs and lives beyond walls and barriers, which is on our right, on our left, and behind us - not merely the little square of life artificially restricted and enclosed as though by the narrow stage of a theatre.¹¹⁷

While the cubists had already included simultaneity of viewpoint in their work by depicting objects from a perceptual as well as a conceptual point of view, they had not so far used the interpretation of simultaneity in the wider sense of memory.

Prior to the futurist exhibition, Gino Severini, Boccioni and Carlo Carrà visited Picasso in Paris in October 1911 and it is virtually certain that Picasso would have seen the exhibition. It is surely no coincidence that Picasso, in a master-stroke of inspiration, incorporated these Bergsonian and futurist ideas into his painting *Ma Jolie (Woman with Zither or Guitar)* completed in February 1912, by adding the words 'Ma Jolie' (see Fig.4.15), a reference to the refrain of a popular song, 'O Manon, ma Jolie, mon coeur te dit bonjour'. According to John Richardson, this was currently in vogue at the Cirque Médrano.¹¹⁸ By linking his painting to a popular song and to the popular culture of the Cirque Médrano, Picasso was inviting the viewer (in this case Gertrude Stein, who bought the painting), not only to guess the identity of the 'Ma Jolie' in Picasso's life, but also to bring to the painting her own personal memories engendered by the musical associations of the refrain. This method of working immediately involved the viewer. Throughout the synthetic period of Cubism, Picasso continued the process in which references to everyday life were used as a way of reaching out to the viewer from a difficult and often esoteric work of art.

¹¹⁶ Golding, in *Cubism: a History and an Analysis*, p.29, says that the term 'simultaneity' first appeared in this catalogue.

¹¹⁷ Cited in Rosa Trillo Clough, *Futurism*, p.97.

¹¹⁸ See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol II, 1907-1917, p.461, n.11. Richardson's note gives the source of this information as Maurice Jardot in *Picasso: Peintures 1900-1955*, Paris: Musée des Arts Décoratifs, 1955, no.28. Jardot identified this refrain as coming from 'Dernière chanson', a well-known song of the period, written by Harry Fragson (1911) after a motif from a dance by Herman Finck, 'Dans les ombres'.

For example *Glass and Bottle of Suze* of 1912 contains a variety of pasted-on cuttings. These are newspaper reports about the battle-fronts in the Balkans, and about a demonstration by the Socialists in Paris against the Balkan war, together with a cutting from a serialised romantic novel of the day.¹¹⁹ David Cottington calls these pasted cuttings ‘a multiplicity of references...to everyday life in all its variety, banality and often, squalor’.¹²⁰ They are Picasso’s direct challenge to the viewer to participate in the artistic experience. This method of working links artist, artistic process and public in a way that opens the door from the everyday to the sublime of the artist’s work. This was the purpose of *Parade* as a ‘ballet réaliste’.

So we can see that realism is far from being merely a debate about subject matter. By 1917 it had become a far-reaching, wide-ranging debate about how the public and the artist can engage in a dialogue about the artistic process. At its best realism upsets the public’s jaded expectations (as in Satie’s music which rejects the worn-out traditions of the nineteenth century while using material that the public can recognise); it pulls back from the brink of non-comprehension by the public (as in Picasso’s paintings and collages that include a reality to which the public can relate); and it rejects an easy superficiality, which the public would actually prefer, in favour of a more challenging aesthetic that is nevertheless based on recognisable reality (as in Cocteau’s plays). *Parade* issued a challenge to a complacent public to look beyond superficial appearances by using the carrot of contemporary references and the stick of an artistic style that at first appeared difficult to understand.

¹¹⁹ I am indebted to David Cottington’s *Cubism* for details about this work.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p.72.

2: Cocteau's involvement in *Parade*

*'I believe Parade to be a kind of renewal of the theatre and not a mere opportunity for music.'*¹

Jean Cocteau's artistic apprenticeship in the theatre began as early as 1910, at the age of twenty-one, with the one-act play, *La Patience de Pénélope*, a so-called 'Mensonge' or 'Lie'.² Based on Cocteau's poems, with music by Reynaldo Hahn, it was given privately on 10 February 1910 at the home of the wealthy couturier Jacques Doucet.³ In 1909 Cocteau had met Serge Diaghilev⁴ and 'from then on [he] was a member of the troupe'.⁵ Cocteau's first work for the Ballets Russes came in 1911 when Léon Bakst, Diaghilev's designer, asked him to produce two publicity posters for the ballet, *Le Spectre de la Rose*.⁶ This was not staged until 1912 and in the same year Cocteau was co-librettist with Frédéric de Madrazo of *Le Dieu bleu*, subtitled "légende hindou", a ballet in Diaghilev's familiar exotic style. None of this work was ground-breaking, yet by February 1914, Cocteau had conceived a very different kind of ballet, *David*, a clear forerunner of *Parade*.⁷ He had enlisted the help

¹ Letter from Jean Cocteau to Valentine Gross, 4 September 1916. See Appendix.

² Appropriately subtitled, in view of Cocteau's subsequent reputation as an embroiderer of the truth, and, more importantly for *Parade*, because of Cocteau's belief that the theatre is necessarily artificial. A further relevant connection with *Parade* is that the audience had to dress in 'costume antique, grec ou romain' ('ancient dress, Greek or Roman'), thus involving them in the theatrical experience. See Claude Arnaud, *Jean Cocteau*, p.773, n.51.

³ Pierre Caizergues and Josiane Mas (eds.), *Jean Cocteau - Darius Milhaud, Correspondance*, p.3.

⁴ This meeting took place *chez* Misia Edwards, according to Cocteau's reminiscences, quoted in Francis Steegmuller, *Cocteau, a Biography*, p.69. Misia Edwards is referred to by various names, according to her married status at the time. She began life as Misia Godebska, then married the founder of the *Revue Blanche*, Thadée Natanson. In 1905 she married the tycoon, Alfred Edwards. They were divorced in 1909, but she and the painter José-Maria Sert were together from 1908. They were married in 1920. Cocteau was introduced to Misia (Edwards) in 1909 by the Rostand family. See Arnaud, *Jean Cocteau*, p.79.

⁵ That is, of the Ballets Russes. 'De cette minute je devins un membre de la troupe.' Cocteau, *La Difficulté d'être*, p.31.

⁶ It was in Monte Carlo during this period that Cocteau met Igor Stravinsky with whom he hoped to collaborate on *David*. See Robert Craft (ed.), *Stravinsky, Selected Correspondance*, Vol. I, p.73, n.1.

⁷ 'Moreover, though nothing is left of *David*, its failure surely served to make possible the birth of the new work - there are mysteries that are beyond human understanding.' Letter from Cocteau to Misia

of the composer Igor Stravinsky and the dancer Paulet Thévenaz, as well as promising the finished work to Jacques Copeau, to be performed at the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier.⁸ More importantly, however, Cocteau had formulated his aesthetic that would be the basis not only for *Parade*, but for some of his subsequent work: to rediscover and return to the art of real theatre. *David* was the beginning of his mission,⁹ not only to make a name for himself as a writer and *metteur-en-scène*,¹⁰ but also to forge a new path in the French theatre.

a) The situation in the French theatre in the early 1900s

There is a world of difference between *Le Dieu bleu* and *David*, showing the extent to which Cocteau, by 1914, felt the need to produce something quite distinctive and original. Had he been interested in pastiche, his talents as a writer would have allowed him to copy any of the genres currently on offer in the Parisian theatre: from melodramas to excessively naturalistic and often sordid plays.¹¹ The French theatre, however, was in a state of stagnation between 1900 and 1914, most innovation coming from outside France. In his article 'On Dramatic Renovation', Jacques

Edwards, dated 8 June 1916, but possibly not sent. See Appendix. Arnaud, *Jean Cocteau*, p.774, n.21, says that Cocteau conceived a work that would become *David* as early as January 1912.

⁸ See Appendix for Cocteau's letter of 4 February 1914 to Stravinsky. Cocteau's letter of March 1914 to Misia Edwards shows his concern that a work of *David*'s small scale should not be taken over by Diaghilev and given to Fokine, who would distort it into a ballet much larger than Cocteau intended. See Appendix.

⁹ Pierre Caizergue and Josiane Mas (eds.) see the mission as beginning only with *Parade*: '*Parade* magnificently introduces the revolutionary spirit and the mission which he irresistibly sees as his own'. ('*Parade* introduit magnifiquement l'esprit révolutionnaire et la mission dont il se sent irrésistiblement porteur.') See *Jean Cocteau-Darius Milhaud Correspondance*, p.4.

¹⁰ Cocteau wrote in the preface to *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel*, p.17: 'A play should be written, designed, have musical accompaniment, be acted and danced by one man. Such an athlete doesn't exist'. ('Une pièce de théâtre devrait être écrite, décorée, costumée, accompagnée de musique, jouée, dansée par un seul homme. Cet athlète n'existe pas.') *Les Mariés* was premiered at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées on 18 June 1921. The preface is dated 1922. Arnaud, *Jean Cocteau*, p.29, asserts that *David* would have had choreography, décor, libretto and costumes all by Cocteau and indeed the *David* sketchbooks show, in addition to the text, some very fine designs in art deco style. These notebooks are in the Carlton Lake Collection at the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas at Austin.

¹¹ He had already been accused of being a male version ('Anna-mâle') of his close friend, the poet Anna de Noailles. Arnaud writes that 'the two writers are now just one; they have the same aesthetic demands'. ('Les deux écrivains n'en forment plus qu'un; ils ont les mêmes exigences esthétiques.') Cocteau even imitated her hand-writing. See Arnaud, *Jean Cocteau*, p.91.

Copeau, whose dissatisfaction with the contemporary theatre led him to found the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier,¹² wrote:

Most theatres have been snapped up by a handful of entertainers in the pay of unscrupulous impresarios; everywhere, most of all in those places where great traditions should safeguard some integrity, there is the same mountebank, speculative attitude, the same vulgarity; one finds fakery everywhere, excess and exhibitionism of all kinds, all the usual parasites of a dying art that no longer pretends to be otherwise; everywhere one finds flabbiness, mess, indiscipline, ignorance and stupidity, disdain for the creative and abhorrence of the beautiful; what is produced is more and more extravagant and self-congratulatory, criticism is more and more fawning and public taste more and more misguided; that is what has roused our indignation.¹³

Although 'misguided', the public was devoted to the kind of theatre which Copeau despised and therefore the profit motive for impresarios was enormous: in 1903 box office receipts for Parisian theatres totalled twenty million francs, a figure which had quadrupled in real terms in less than 100 years.¹⁴ The unscrupulous impresarios were people like Charles Coquelin,¹⁵ just one of many who controlled their own writers and actors and who churned out 'relatively worthless and insignificant entertainment for the well-off'¹⁶ in the boulevard theatres.¹⁷ The 'fakery' and 'parasites' referred to

¹² This opened on 22 October 1913 but only operated initially for eight months. Copeau's purpose in opening the theatre was to 'counteract all the grasping theatre's cowardice'. ('réagir contre toutes les lâchetés du théâtre mercantile.') See Claude Sicard, professeur émérite à l'université de Toulouse-le-Mirail, <http://www.culture.fr/culture/actualités/celebrations/copeau.htm>.

¹³ First published in September 1913 in the *Nouvelle revue française* that Copeau had co-founded with the writer, André Gide. Cited by Claude Schumacher (ed.), *Naturalism and Symbolism in European Theatre 1850-1918*, p.21.

¹⁴ I am indebted to Schumacher's excellent book for this and much of the following information.

¹⁵ According to Huntly Carter, in *The New Spirit in the European Theatre*, p.128.

¹⁶ Schumacher, *Naturalism and Symbolism in European Theatre*, p.20

¹⁷ This kind of worthless entertainment was still popular in 1922 when Cocteau risked being spat upon by a member of the audience of *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel*. He recounted this episode in *La Jeunesse et le scandale*, p.329: 'This young woman was the victim of [such plays as] *Phi-Phi*, of *Dédé* and of *Ta bouche*'. ('Cette jeune femme était la victime de *Phi-Phi*, de *Dédé* et de *Ta bouche*.')

by Copeau sum up the problem in the theatre in the years before the First World War. The most significant French innovations had taken place in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Zola had set out his vision of the theatre's future in various articles collected together and published in 1881 as *Le Naturalisme au Théâtre*. In the preface to his play *Thérèse Raquin*, staged in 1873, he writes: 'the future lies in the study of the human predicament within the framework of reality... Either theatre will become modern and real or it will die'.¹⁸ In spite of these encouraging words by Zola and fellow naturalists such as Jean Jullien¹⁹ or André Antoine, there was a dearth of outstanding French playwrights. This was especially true in 1913, at the time of Copeau's statement. Many plays were written to a formula, the more outrageous the better, and these were the 'parasites of a dying art'. The only truly original French play of the period between 1890 and 1914 was Alfred Jarry's aggressively iconoclastic *Ubu Roi* of 1896. Schumacher describes it as a 'firebrand thrown into twenty-five centuries of Western theatrical tradition'²⁰ and says that it was disowned for many years by Aurélien Lugné-Poë, who directed its première at the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre.

During the years of Cocteau's artistic adolescence, therefore, there were few contemporary French examples of good practice for him to follow and it would have been quite natural for him to see himself as a new dramatist for a new century. Similarly, much of the influential writing that had come from the rest of Europe had been staged either by Antoine's Théâtre Libre or by Lugné-Poë's Théâtre de l'Oeuvre prior to 1900, by which time their heyday was over.²¹ Authors such as Ibsen, Strindberg, Maeterlinck, and Wedekind were no longer regarded as innovative by 1913, when Cocteau was at his most receptive to new ideas. Huntly Carter summed

¹⁸ Cited in Schumacher, *Naturalism and Symbolism in the European Theatre*, p.72.

¹⁹ In the preface to his play, *L'Echéance*, staged in 1890, Jullien called for 'a new play structure, a new approach to mise en scène, new actors...'. See Schumacher, *Naturalism and Symbolism in European Theatre*, p.77.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p.8.

²¹ The Théâtre Libre existed under Antoine from 1887 to 1894 and the Théâtre de l'Oeuvre under Lugné-Poë from 1893 to 1899. See John Allen, *A History of the Theatre in Europe*, pp.248 and 266.

up the situation in an article called 'The Theatre in France' which appeared in *Theatre Arts Magazine* in 1920. Writing about the period around 1900 he observes:

Then came a strange lull. The variety that was the very life-blood and symbol of the Free Theatre [Le Théâtre Libre] deserted it and was replaced by a sterilizing standardization. The progressive playwrights ceased to search for living form and took to copying. They produced literary plays all made to a pattern...the spirit of experiment flew from Paris, which became in consequence a theatrical back number. It went to other countries, Germany, Austria, Poland, Russia, Scandinavia, whence came to Paris at long intervals a golden ear of corn, so to speak, as a sample of the rich results they were reaping. In 1900 the French theatre was practically out of it.²²

What was new, however, was the emergence of the professional *metteur-en-scène*, of people such as Vsevolod Meyerhold in Russia and Max Reinhardt in Germany and, of course, in a different sense, Diaghilev.²³ They had new and exciting ideas about what theatricality meant and how a play or spectacle should be staged. In 1910 Jacques Rouché, Director of the Paris Opéra from 1914, wrote in *L'Art théâtral moderne*: 'Isn't it time to see to what extent it would be possible to revive, in France, the art of production'.²⁴ He outlined best practice from abroad, quoting one of the greatest European producers and thinkers on theatre, Vsevolod Meyerhold: 'It is time for the theatre to stop falsifying reality...The stage must give the spectator everything that will help him to reconstruct in his imagination the setting demanded by the story of the play'.²⁵

²² Carter, 'The Theatre in France' in *Theatre Arts Magazine*, Volume IV, 1920, p.123.

²³ Diaghilev had not trained as an actor, as the other two had, in the realist theatre, but he oversaw each production as a complete work of art and, as such, brought a new collaborative working practice to the Paris stage.

²⁴ 'N'est-il point temps de chercher dans quelle mesure il serait possible de rajeunir, chez nous, la mise en scène.' Rouché, *L'Art théâtral moderne*, p.3.

²⁵ 'Il est temps que le théâtre cesse de falsifier la réalité... La scène doit donner tout ce qui peut aider le spectateur à reconstituer dans son imagination l'installation exigée par la fable de la pièce.' *Ibid.*, p.43.

b) Cocteau in 1913: Meyerhold, the Futurists and *Le Potomak*

Meyerhold visited Paris in June 1913 to work on the play *La Pisanelle* for Ida Rubinstein's company.²⁶ He already had many links with Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes²⁷ and this was no doubt one of the reasons Cocteau knew about his work. Additionally, Cocteau's friend, the actor Édouard de Max, was appearing in the play.²⁸ According to the ballet critic André Levinson, Cocteau attended the rehearsals and saw Meyerhold's skills in action.²⁹ It is interesting to speculate what discussions Cocteau might have had with Nijinsky, Diaghilev and Bakst prior to his meeting with Meyerhold, especially in the light of the influence that Garafola attributes to Meyerhold with regard to certain aspects of production in *L'Après-midi d'un faune* and *Le Sacre du printemps*.³⁰ Cocteau's observation of Meyerhold's methods (they were, according to Levinson, unable to communicate verbally) was crucial for Cocteau's subsequent development. The rehearsals for *La Pisanelle* took place just

²⁶ This was written by Gabriele d'Annunzio, with settings by Bakst. It included dances (to a score by Ildebrando Pizzetti) choreographed by Michel Fokine, one of Diaghilev's foremost choreographers and was premièred at the Châtelet Theatre on 11 June 1913, where *Parade* would be staged in 1917. See Lynn Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.390. According to Edward Braun: 'the production was a spectacular success. For Meyerhold it was significant above all as a means of drawing the attention of the West to his talents.' See Braun, *Meyerhold on Theatre*, p.78.

²⁷ As well as Fokine, Meyerhold knew Alexandre Benois, the designer, and the dancers, Vaslav Nijinsky and Tamara Karsavina. See Buckle, *Nijinsky*, pp.145-6 and 222. He had also met Diaghilev in 1906 and attended Diaghilev's artistic soirées in 1910. See Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.54. Meyerhold also knew and had worked with Alexander Golovin who had designed the sets and costumes for *Boris Godunov* in 1908 and *Firebird* in 1910, both for Diaghilev. See Braun, *Meyerhold on Theatre*, p.75.

²⁸ It was de Max who had organized a reading of the young Cocteau's poetry at the Théâtre Femina in 1908.

²⁹ See Levinson's article 'Le ballet de Jean Cocteau' in *Comoedia*, 10 June 1924, p.5. The article goes on to recognise Meyerhold's continuing influence on Cocteau's latest work, *Roméo et Juliette*, of 1924: 'Just like Cocteau today, the Russian actor [in Molière's *Don Juan*] betrayed the author for his true master: the god Theatre'. ('Comme de nos jours Cocteau, le comédien russe trahissait l'auteur pour son véritable maître: le dieu Théâtre.') Ornella Volta mentions the meeting between Cocteau and Meyerhold in 'Cocteau et Shakespeare' in Caizergues (ed.), *Jean Cocteau et le théâtre*, p.159.

³⁰ 'What *Faune* did was transpose to the dance stage the principles of Meyerhold's "static theatre" [in which the Nymphs] are rigidly stylized, their bodies flattened into an appearance of two-dimensionality.' See Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, pp.54-5. Garafola suggests that Meyerhold's ideas were transmitted through Bakst to Nijinsky. Similarly in *Le Sacre*, 'Nijinsky's manipulation of ensembles displayed certain parallels with Meyerhold's handling of masses at roughly the same period'. *Ibid.*, p.70. *L'Après-midi d'un faune* was premièred on 29 May 1912 and *Le Sacre* on 29 May 1913.

four weeks after the première of *Le Sacre* and these two events marked a sea-change in Cocteau's attitude. 1913 was a very important year for him.

It is possible to follow his new path in *Le Potomak*, the novel he began in the summer of 1913. Because of the outbreak of the War in August 1914 it was not published until 1919, by which time Cocteau had added an introduction (a 'Prospectus') in 1916. He further revised it for another edition of 1924. It is important to note what Cocteau has to say in this work because he claims, in one of the *Parade* notebooks, used at rehearsals in Rome, that 'I discovered everything in *Le Potomak*, people should know that one day'.³¹ In the 'Prospectus' he writes about his previously frivolous attitude to art: 'At the age of nineteen [in 1908]...I became ridiculous, wasteful, talkative, thinking my loquaciousness and my wastefulness were eloquence and generosity'.³² And in the novel itself: 'I thought poetry was a game, an elite game'.³³ He notes his change of artistic focus, achieved not without difficulty: 'As a result of being bruised, I am now something...like an antenna, like Morse code...³⁴ A tuning-fork'.³⁵ And he sets out the change of style that he has sought: 'I take in material, I decant it, I isolate it. Do you know the mysterious and beautiful weight of what could have been and what is cut out? In the margin and between the lines...there is sweet sacrifice'.³⁶ The *Parade* notebook reproduced by Axsom has many examples of this aesthetic of paring down.³⁷ Cocteau cites Picasso: 'Work with three colours. Too many colours lead to impressionism'.³⁸ On a later page he writes:

³¹ This is the notebook given to him by Massine in February 1917. It is reproduced in full in Richard Axsom, *Parade: Cubism as Theatre*, See p.324 of Axsom's book for this statement by Cocteau.

³² 'A dix-neuf ans...je devins ridicule, gaspilleur, bavard, prenant mon bavardage et mon gaspillage pour de l'éloquence et pour de la prodigalité.' See Cocteau, 'Prospectus' *Le Potomak*, p.32.

³³ 'Je croyais la poésie un jeu, un jeu d'élite.' Cocteau, *Le Potomak*, p.149.

³⁴ One of Cocteau's sound effects that was unused at the première of *Parade* in 1917 was the tapping out of Morse code as the ship sinks in Part 2. Cocteau's reference to himself as Morse code indicates not only his desire to be modern, but also to be a kind of artistic messenger.

³⁵ 'A force de me meurtrir...me voilà quelque chose de tout à fait...antenne, de tout à fait Morse...Un diapason.' See Cocteau, 'Prospectus', *Le Potomak*, p.31.

³⁶ 'Je pompe, je décante, j'isole./ Savez-vous le poids occulte et beau de ce qui aurait pu être et de ce qu'on retranche?/ La marge et l'interligne...il y circule un miel de sacrifice.' See Cocteau, *Le Potomak*, p.170.

³⁷ This notebook is almost entirely dedicated to observations about the choreography of *Parade*.

³⁸ 'Travailler avec trois couleurs. Trop de couleurs font de l'impressionnisme.' *Ibid.*, in Axsom, *Parade: Cubism as Theatre*, p.333.

'Simplify. Don't make the human body pull faces. The unaccounted-for gesture is inexcusable if it is just decorative'.³⁹ As well as this simplicity of style, the Cocteau of *Le Potomak* advocates a child-like approach: 'Childhood reaches a poetic heaven. I have revived my childhood'.⁴⁰ In a different *Parade* notebook, also used in Rome, Cocteau writes: '*Parade* is very short – we have tried to include as many things as possible while remaining coarse like the clownish Punch and Judy that touches children and artists with its simplicity'.⁴¹ It is not just style, however, that links *Le Potomak* with *Parade*. Cocteau's obsession with death (a trait shared by Picasso) finds its way into both works,⁴² as does his questioning of reality, a subject at the heart of his aesthetic in *Parade*. In the 'Prospectus' to *Le Potomak* Cocteau ponders on the invisible world that exists between a cinema's projector and the wall where the film becomes visible:

So, I imagined a scene. The pickpocket, disguised as electricity, escapes from the window behind the audience that has its back towards him; but he gets crushed against the building opposite. Everyone sees him...the detective dashes forward... Then the pickpocket jumps to the left into the emptiness surrounding the wall that has revealed him.⁴³

³⁹ 'Simplifier. Ne pas faire faire de grimaces au corps humain. Le geste inexplicable n'a pas d'excuses s'il est uniquement decorative.' Cocteau's notebook in Axsom, *Parade: Cubism as Theatre*, p.338.

⁴⁰ 'L'enfance touche au ciel des poésies. J'ai ressuscité mon enfance.' See Cocteau, 'Prospectus', *Le Potomak*, p.46.

⁴¹ '*Parade* est très court – nous avons essayé d'y mettre le plus de choses possibles tout en restant gros comme le guignol des clowns qui touchent les enfants et les artistes avec des moyens simples.' This notebook is classified as Pièce 24, Fonds Kochno, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris. See p.25 of the notebook.

⁴² Cocteau's father committed suicide on 5 April 1898, then a childhood friend died in 1901. In *Le Potomak* this friend becomes the character Acante, who dies in front of the narrator's eyes. In 1908 Cocteau's lover Raymond Laurent committed suicide in Venice. Death is present in *Parade* in Part 2 in which the Titanic sinks. There is a reference to the Titanic's telegraph operator on p.175 of *Le Potomak* during the long section called 'La Mort' ('Death').

⁴³ 'Ainsi, je supposais une scène. Le pickpocket, travesti en électricité, se sauve par la lucarne derrière la salle qui tourne le dos; mais il s'écrase contre l'immeuble d'en face. Tout le monde le voit...le détective s'élance...Alors le pickpocket plonge à gauche dans le vide qui encadre le mur révélateur.' See Cocteau, 'Prospectus', *Le Potomak*, p.37.

Cocteau's libretto for *Parade* attempts to show a world that cannot be seen by the audience. By using a sung text (that remained unused) he intended to create a virtual world in which the Titanic sinks, and the Chinese conjuror is tortured by missionaries, implying that what we see is only part of the story. This was also confronted in *Le Potomak*. The narrator says to the monster: 'Forgive me for having called you Potomak...I instinctively picked out a name that awkwardly limits you'.⁴⁴ The reader is encouraged, therefore, to go beyond the appearances conjured up by the monster's name and, by implication, to look beyond a superficial artistic reality (such as the one so readily visible in the contemporary French theatre).

In 1913, when Cocteau was finally jolted into taking art seriously and seeking to become original, it was above all Meyerhold's controversial ideas that helped him to formulate a clear theatrical aesthetic. Of great relevance to both *David* and *Parade* was Meyerhold's insistence upon what he called the 'fairground booth principle' in the theatre. This is an overarching belief in a return to first principles, to purely theatrical traditions, as in the earliest vaudeville theatres, and is in stark contrast to the more literary approach that had become the norm in the contemporary theatre that Meyerhold compares to 'the reading room of a library'.⁴⁵ In 'The Fairground Booth' Meyerhold writes: 'The public comes to the theatre to see the art of man, but what art is there in walking about the stage as oneself? The public expects invention, play-acting and skill. But what it gets is either life or a slavish imitation of life'.⁴⁶ Meyerhold's emphasis on the necessity for theatre to be artificial found echoes in France among people who wanted the theatre to re-discover the techniques of theatricality. Just as cubists such as Picasso and Braque and musicians such as Debussy and Satie were returning to first principles in their individual artforms, so the theatre had to do the same. André Gide's diary entry for 21 June 1914 reads as follows: 'Dramatic art should no more seek to portray the illusion of reality than

⁴⁴ 'Pardonne-moi de t'avoir appelé Potomak...J'ai, d'instinct, découvert un nom qui te limite avec maladresse.' See *Le Potomak*, p.208.

⁴⁵ In his essay, 'The Fairground Booth', written mainly in the summer of 1912, and not to be confused with Alexander Blok's play of the same name that Meyerhold produced in 1906. See Braun, *Meyerhold on Theatre*, p.124.

should painting; it must create its work out of its own individual resources and aim for effects that belong only to itself'.⁴⁷ In other words, an artform must create its own aesthetic.⁴⁸ This was Cocteau's mission and Meyerhold's philosophy. The latter felt that the underlying principles of theatricality encompassed by the fairground booth principle had been 'banished from the theatre' but had 'found a temporary refuge in the French cabarets, the German Überbrettel, the English music halls and the ubiquitous "variétés"'.⁴⁹

It was a great coincidence, then, that on 29 September 1913 Marinetti⁵⁰ published another futurist manifesto, *Il Teatro di Varietà* (called *Le Music Hall* in French), which began by bemoaning contemporary theatre as follows:

We are deeply disgusted with the contemporary theatre (verse, prose and musical) because it vacillates stupidly between historical reconstruction (pastiche⁵¹ or plagiarism) and photographic reproduction of our daily life, a finicking, slow, analytic and diluted theatre worthy, all in all, of the age of the oil lamp.⁵²

In terms reminiscent of Meyerhold, Marinetti praises the 'Variety Theatre' at enormous length for its 'imaginative astonishment', 'delicious, impalpable ironies',

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p.130. Here Meyerhold, like Cocteau in *Parade*, questions what theatrical realism is, or should be, about.

⁴⁷ 'L'art dramatique ne doit pas plus chercher à donner l'illusion de la réalité que ne doit faire la peinture, il doit faire oeuvre avec ses moyens particuliers et tendre à des effets qui ne ressortissent qu'à lui.' See Gide, *Journal 1889-1939*, p.423.

⁴⁸ As we saw in Chapter 1, this was an increasingly important preoccupation of artists of the realist movement, culminating, as form assumed an ever greater role at the expense of content, with the new aesthetic of Picasso and Satie.

⁴⁹ See Braun, *Meyerhold on Theatre*, p.136.

⁵⁰ Marinetti's article 'Il Teatro di Varietà' was called 'Le Music Hall' in the French version. Apollinaire also published two articles in similar vein: 'L'Antitradition futuriste' in *Gil Blas*, 3 August 1913 and a further article, 'Chronique mensuelle', in *Les Soirées de Paris*, 15 November 1913. Marinetti was also interested in the work of Meyerhold: in 1914/15 he attended one of Meyerhold's so-called classes of the Grotesque Group. See Braun, *Meyerhold on Theatre*, p.146.

⁵¹ It should be remembered how much Erik Satie also hated pastiche.

⁵² See R.W. Flint, *Marinetti, Selected Writings*, p.116.

‘dynamism of form and colour (simultaneous movement of jugglers, ballerinas, gymnasts...) and for the way in which it ‘seeks the audience’s collaboration’.⁵³

In early 1914 Cocteau’s ever-alert antennae homed in on the current atmosphere of discontent about the theatre and put into action the influences he had undergone in 1913. In *David* he set out to rediscover a purely theatrical technique, what he would later call ‘poésie de théâtre’ or ‘theatrical poetry,’ an all-embracing language specific to the medium of theatre,⁵⁴ by implementing some of Meyerhold’s ‘fairground booth principles’. These were based on interaction with the audience, and on the three principles of the mask, the grotesque and movement.

c) Interactive theatre: the importance of the text in *David* and *Parade*

In his essay ‘The Fairground Booth’ Meyerhold harks back, as Cocteau would do in the Preface to *Les Mariés*,⁵⁵ to Molière, who ‘at the fair of Saint-Germain...watched full-blooded performances of popular farce under a canvas awning, acrobats twirling to a cacophony of drums and tambourines, the itinerant surgeon, the conjurer and the quack, *all competing for the attention of the thronging crowd*’.⁵⁶ One of Meyerhold’s first principles of the ‘fairground booth’ was to make theatre an interactive process between the audience and the stage. Meyerhold underlines the importance of this in his description of his own production of Blok’s *The Fairground Booth* in 1906:

Maybe a section of the audience hissed Blok and his actors, but his theatre was still theatre. And perhaps the very fact that the audience

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp.116-8.

⁵⁴ This was central to Cocteau’s mission: to create a new language for the theatre in the same way that Picasso *et al* had created a new language for painting. Cocteau used the expression ‘poésie de théâtre’ in the Preface of 1922 for *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel* in *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol. VII, p.14. He opposed this to ‘poésie au théâtre’ or ‘poetry in the theatre’ that simply transferred a literary aesthetic into a theatrical medium rather than creating its own special theatrical language.

⁵⁵ Cocteau, Preface to *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel*, p.15. For Cocteau, Molière, together with Shakespeare and the ‘profound’ Chaplin, was one of the geniuses who understood the secrets of true theatre. No wonder, then, that he included a reference to Chaplin in Part 2 of *Parade*.

⁵⁶ My italics. See Braun, p.136.

felt free to hoot so violently demonstrates better than anything that the reaction was a reaction to a performance of true theatricality.⁵⁷

Cocteau set out to involve his audience in *David*, and later in *Parade*, by using the device of a fairground 'parade' (a patter to entice the crowd, not, as in English, a procession) that by its very nature necessitated having a text that addressed the audience directly. He had seen at least two examples of fairground settings in the previous few years, both without the 'parade' element, however. One of these was the Ballets Russes production of *Carnaval* at the Opéra in 1910. At its original performance in St Petersburg in spring of the same year, Fokine, the choreographer, had asked Meyerhold, an actor, not a dancer, to play the part of Pierrot, having seen him in this role in *The Fairground Booth* in 1906. Richard Buckle describes the impact that *Carnaval* would have had on its Parisian audience:

The setting Bakst designed for *Carnaval* is so familiar to us today that it is easy to forget how startling it must have seemed in its simplicity to the theatre-goers of 1910. The dark blue curtains have a poetic ambiguity, for they suggest both a tent in which a party is being given and the booth in which the characters of the Commedia dell'Arte entertain their audience.⁵⁸

Cocteau had also seen *Petrouchka*, which had a fairground booth onstage within the setting.⁵⁹ One of the discarded titles for this ballet was 'Balagan',⁶⁰ which means fairground booth. Benois, its designer, writes about the nostalgia that the idea of a fairground booth could induce:

⁵⁷ Braun, *Meyerhold on Theatre*, p.120. Paul Morand's diary entry for 27 May 1917 does not, however, record any pleasure on the part of Cocteau and his collaborators when faced with the audience's reaction to *Parade*. See Appendix.

⁵⁸ See Buckle, *Nijinsky*, p.149.

⁵⁹ This was also choreographed by Fokine and premièred at the Théâtre du Châtelet on 13 June 1911.

⁶⁰ Buckle, *Nijinsky*, footnote, p.222.

Whenever I heard the loud nasal cries of the travelling showman...I would get into a kind of frenzy to see the enchanting performance... I was ...tempted by the idea of depicting...the dear balagani which were the delight of my childhood, and had been the delight of my father before me.⁶¹

These comments by Benois demonstrate the powerful emotions engendered by interactive theatre. For Meyerhold this was additionally important because it reminded the audience that they were in the artificial environment of a theatre:

The prologue and the ensuing parade, together with the direct address to the audience at the final curtain, so loved both by the Italians and Spaniards in the seventeenth century and by the French vaudevillistes, all force the spectator to recognise the actors' performance as pure play-acting. And every time the actor leads the spectators too far into the land of make-believe he immediately resorts to some unexpected sally or lengthy address *a parte* to remind them that what is being performed is only *a play*.⁶²

Cocteau's text in the *David* notebooks, whilst being less provocative than that envisaged for *Parade*, nevertheless has authentic echoes of the kind of patter that would have been heard in the fairs:

Come in, ladies and gentlemen!
Come inside – come into our tent!
To the other side! In here...⁶³

⁶¹ Buckle, *Nijinsky*, p.181. In the footnote to p.222 Buckle also wonders if *Petrouchka* was partly inspired by Meyerhold's production of *The Fairground Booth* in 1906, Benois having used the same blue curtains at the sides and rear of the stage as Meyerhold had.

⁶² See Braun, *Meyerhold on Theatre*, p.127.

⁶³ 'Entrez Mesdames et Messieurs! / Entrez dedans – entrez chez nous! / Au verso! A l'intérieur...' Cocteau, *David* notebook.

According to Jacques Garnier:

The parade is usually unchangeable; the person doing it repeats the same sentences at regular intervals. These words are used both to attract the crowd and to comment on the show that is taking place at the same time as the parade.⁶⁴

Cocteau's text in *David* attempted to capture the true sense of what a crowd at the *fête foraine* would have heard:

Here in our booth - behind - inside
You won't find that there is nothing ...
There is David!⁶⁵

Cocteau uses similar sentiments to one female 'paradiste' cited by Garnier: 'If what I advertise outside is not put on inside, I want to be chased from your good town of Bordeaux'.⁶⁶ Cocteau's text attempted to be authentic, therefore.

The equivalent challenge to the audience in *Parade* (written in the Frederick Koch score) was to have been spoken through a megaphone by an actor sitting in the orchestra, as if spoken by the Managers on-stage.⁶⁷ This text was subsequently removed from the ballet, but its extensive nature allows us to see the kind of interaction with the audience that Cocteau had in mind. Cocteau paints a picture of

⁶⁴ 'Le boniment est généralement invariable, celui qui le fait répète les mêmes phrases à intervalles réguliers. Ces paroles servent à la fois à 'entrépr' et à commenter le spectacle qui se déroule en même temps que la parade.' See Garnier's book about travelling fairs, *Forains*, p.152.

⁶⁵ 'Il n'y a pas chez nous - derrière - dedans / La mine du rien... / Il y a David!' See Cocteau, *David* notebook.

⁶⁶ 'Si ce que j'annonce à l'extérieur n'est pas exécuté à l'intérieur, je veux être chassée de votre bonne ville de Bordeaux...' See Garnier, *Forains*, p.49.

⁶⁷ The front cover of the Frederick Koch score taken to Rome for rehearsals in February 1917 refers to 'The shouts of the negro managers' ('Les cris des managers nègres'). See Satie, *Parade*, rehearsal copy. Ornella Volta says that the Managers, 'interpreted on stage by mime, would have been represented, in the orchestra, by actors carrying megaphones'. ('interprétés sur scène par des mimes, auraient dû être doublés, à l'orchestre, par des acteurs pourvus de mégaphones.'). See Volta, *Satie/Cocteau: les malentendus d'une entente*, p.27.

another world - the exotic, mysterious, but also dangerous world created by the artist - on the inside of the *baraque*. In the case of the Chinese conjuror's act, it is a world of riches and good health, of wisdom; yet also a world of the plague, of children being eaten by pigs, of laughter and terror.⁶⁸ But 'forewarned is forearmed', says Cocteau, who implies that the artistic challenge of entering the *baraque* might be difficult.⁶⁹ At the end of this Manager's challenge to the audience the following words have been crossed out: 'Each person MAKES the play that he listens to. Come in and see a play about yourself, by yourself'.⁷⁰ Cocteau makes the point here that art is a reflection of life. The Manager for the Little American Girl stresses the educational side of what is in the *baraque*: 'It's a crime to kill off one's curiosity...Come in and learn about American life - the flickers - the short-circuits - the detectives - the Hudson - ragtimes - factories - the trains that derail and the boats that sink'.⁷¹ Art is an escape to other worlds, implies Cocteau, but these are not always pleasant. Between Parts 2 and 3 the third text offers the most optimistic view of what is inside the tent. It is the 'finest show on earth' and is all-encompassing in its depiction of past, present and future.⁷² It is a 'film of fifty thousand metres', in an era when films had begun by being only twenty or thirty metres at the most. With this detail Cocteau stresses the modernity of his show. In 1909 an advertisement for 'L'Artistic Salon Cinématographe Brelier' [sic] claims it has about a hundred thousand metres of 'the most diverse views'.⁷³ In other words Cocteau's is a very long show relevant to the modern man.⁷⁴ The difference between the patter for *David* and that in *Parade* is of the utmost importance. The text of *Parade* recreates more convincingly than that of

⁶⁸ The texts appear on pages interleaved with the music of the Frederick Koch score, used as a rehearsal copy. Pages 13 bis and 14 bis contain the following text: 'si vous voulez devenir riche, si vous vous sentez malade...entrez voir la sagesse chinoise...la peste...les cochons qui mangent des petits enfants...entrez voir...le grand succès de rire et d'épouvante...'. ('if you want to be rich, if you feel ill...come in and see Chinese wisdom...the plague...pigs that eat children...come in and see the great benefit of laughter and terror.')

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* 'Un homme bien averti en vaut deux.'

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 'Chacun fait la pièce qu'il écoute. Entrez voir une pièce de vous.'

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp.15 bis and 16 bis. 'C'est un crime de tuer en soi la curiosité... Entrez apprendre la vie américaine - les trépidations - les court circuits - les detectives - l'Hudson - les ragtimes - les usines - les chemins de fer qui déraillent et les paquebots qui coulent.'

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp.31 bis and 32 bis. 'le plus beau spectacle du monde...le passé - le présent - l'avenir!'

⁷³ See Garnier, *Forains*, p.324.

⁷⁴ Cocteau ends this part of the text by saying that 'modern man' comes into the tent ('L'homme moderne entre chez nous'). See Frederick Koch score, pp.31 bis and 32 bis.

David, and in far greater detail, the authentic sound of a typical *paradiste*'s patter.⁷⁵ Whereas the language of the text in *David* was overly complex and difficult for an audience to relate to,⁷⁶ that of *Parade* was easily accessible and could, therefore, better fulfil the interactive principle that Meyerhold saw as so important in true theatricality.

d) The principle of the mask in *David* and *Parade*

Cocteau's choice of a fairground setting was another means of interaction with the audience: the setting, as Benois noted, evoked nostalgia. For this to be possible, the setting had to be easily recognisable, just as a theatrical mask was. In this respect Cocteau followed another of Meyerhold's fairground booth principles.⁷⁷ With reference to the *commedia dell'arte* character, Arlecchino, Meyerhold explains in his essay how the mask is an essential tool of engagement for the audience:

Arlecchino is a foolish buffoon, a roguish servant who seems always to wear a cheerful grin. But look closer! What is hidden behind the mask? Arlecchino, the all-powerful wizard, the enchanter, the magician; Arlecchino, the emissary of the infernal powers...The actor who has mastered the art of gesture and movement...manipulates his masks in such a way that the spectator is never in any doubt about the character he is watching...This chameleonic power, concealed beneath

⁷⁵ For example Cocteau's reference to the educational side of the Little American Girl's show was an echo of the 'Panoramas' or 'Optiques' in which people were able to 'visit' Venice, Rome, Jerusalem and so on. See Garnier, *Forains*, p.20.

⁷⁶ One of the *David* notebooks shows that the ballet included a lengthy esoteric declamation by a voice coming from behind a curtain. Its message appeared to advocate turning away from the sugariness of the past and turning towards an art that was much sharper and more challenging. With obvious Biblical references the voice says: 'Do not turn round for you will become a block of sugar and sweet-smelling dough...how beautiful and cold and hard and forbidding are the rocks that we shall have to clean off'. (Ne te retourne pas car tu deviendrais un bloc de sucre et de pâte odorante...qu'ils sont beaux et froids et durs et rebarbatifs les quartz qu'il va falloir avoir dégraissé.' Cocteau, *David* notebook, 1914.

⁷⁷ Masks in Greek and Roman theatre served to identify characters, to make them and their characteristics easily identifiable to an audience. The *commedia dell'arte* actors always wore masks, as do the actors in the Japanese *no* theatre. A mask is a tool of the stylisation that is so important in creating theatrical artificiality.

the expressionless visage of the comedian, invests the theatre with all the enchantment of chiaroscuro. Is it not the mask which helps the spectator fly away to the land of make-believe? The mask enables the spectator to see not only the actual Arlecchino before him but all the Arlecchinos who live in his memory.⁷⁸

Cocteau understood very well the benefits of using a setting embedded in the audience's own culture, as he showed with the following comment in the Preface to *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel*: 'Do you think...that a Russian could hear Petrouchka in the same way as us? ... In it he rediscovers his childhood, Sundays in Petrograd, the songs of nursemaids'.⁷⁹ There was a long history of *fêtes foraines* in France, just as there was in Russia, and it was therefore easy for Cocteau to transfer the 'balagan' to a French setting that would contain layers of meaning, albeit with different cultural references, for a French audience too.

Fairs were still hugely popular in France in 1914.⁸⁰ They all contained tents or *baragues* that housed a multitude of entertainments of every kind: merchandise for sale; games such as 'loteries', shooting galleries and 'jeux de massacre';⁸¹ panoramas, waxworks, dwarves and giants, tattooed men and women, animal shows; 'attractions sportives' such as boxing; circus acts, puppet theatres, cinema shows (after 1900); 'tableaux vivants' in which actors posed in imitation of famous paintings; and 'théâtres dramatiques et lyriques'. This latter category could be found in *baragues* that specialised in Variétés or Music-Hall. A good example of these was the Théâtre Grandsart-Courtois,⁸² whose programme at the Champ de Foire in 1904 was indistinguishable from a normal music-hall. It included a magician, jugglers, a

⁷⁸ See Braun, *Meyerhold on Theatre*, p.131.

⁷⁹ 'Croyez-vous...qu'un Russe puisse entendre *Petrouchka* de la même manière que nous?... il y retrouve son enfance, les dimanches de Péetrograd, les chansons des nourrices.' Cocteau, Preface to *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel*, p.13.

⁸⁰ I am indebted for much of this information to Jacques Garnier's very informative book, *Forains d'hier et d'aujourd'hui* (*Showmen of yesterday and today*).

⁸¹ 'Jeux de massacre' were dolls representing people at a wedding. Customers tried to knock them over with balls made of cloth.

⁸² See Garnier, *Forains*, p.283.

clown, dancing (such as a demonstration of the American Cake-Walk), a quick-change artist, and so on. The letter of March 1914 from Cocteau and Stravinsky to Misia Edwards refers to *David* as 'not a dance but the acrobatics of a fairground tumbler' and as 'music-hall, three numbers by acrobats'.⁸³ This apparent ambiguity between fairground and music-hall is resolved when we realise how much variety each fair contained and how much overlap there was between the *fêtes foraines* and music-halls and indeed between the *fêtes foraines* and other forms of entertainment such as circuses and cinemas. The one thing all the *baragues* had in common, however, was a 'parade', one or more people outside the tent vying for the attention of the crowd and attempting to persuade them to go inside the tent to see the show. The sub-title of *David* was to be 'Parade en trois tours' ('Parade in three acts').⁸⁴

Cocteau uses the mask of the 'parade' setting, with its easy accessibility, not just to evoke memories, however. It also provides an example of the 'trap, thanks to which one part of the audience has fun at the door so that the other part may sit inside'.⁸⁵ Cocteau is referring here to an audience's level of engagement with a work of art. The wide-ranging critical reaction to *Parade* illustrates this point very succinctly. Someone like the critic, Jean Poueigh, shows, with the following words, that he would have remained at the door: 'As regards the argument or the theme, I will not say a word: where there is nothing, the critic loses his rights',⁸⁶ whereas the anonymous G.B., in *La Vie Parisienne*, would have gone inside. He writes: '[the collaborators'] work is rigorous, harsh, logical like a theorem and beautiful in the same way. It's a parade for grown-ups.'⁸⁷ Poueigh made little effort to see what was hidden behind the mask, yet G.B. would have entered the *baraque*. Cocteau's goal,

⁸³ See Appendix.

⁸⁴ This is shown quite clearly in two of the four *David* notebooks.

⁸⁵ 'un piège, grâce auquel une partie de la salle s'amuse à la porte pour que l'autre partie puisse prendre place à l'intérieur', Cocteau, Preface to *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel*, p.15.

⁸⁶ 'De l'argument ou thème, je ne parlerai point: où il n'y a rien, le critique perd ses droits.' Jean Poueigh in 'Le Carnet des coulisses', *Le Carnet de la Semaine*, 3 June 1917, p.12. This whole review was so harsh that it caused Satie to write a coarse and extremely insulting open postcard to the critic which resulted in a court case. Satie just managed to avoid being sent to prison. See Appendix for the lengthy correspondence.

⁸⁷ 'leur oeuvre est rigoureuse, sévère, logique comme un théorème et belle de la même beauté. C'est une parade pour grandes personnes.' See the article by G.B., 'Ballets russes', *La Vie Parisienne*, 2 June 1917, p.492.

and that of every other playwright of any distinction, is to 'switch the spectator from the plane he has just reached to another which is totally unforeseen'.⁸⁸ In other words, there are different levels of accessibility for an audience, the one created by instant recognition of the mask being the easiest, but offering an *entrée* into the others. Picasso and Satie also aimed to entice the viewer and the listener to interact with their art when they included the readily recognisable in their work.

In *David* the fairground setting was a much more effective mask than the characters were. Indeed, the biblical David, Goliath and the Philistines at first sight seem a strange choice for central characters in a ballet, yet despite the apparent weakness of choice there were precedents. In the *fêtes foraines* all kinds of traditional and religious subjects were used as plays, as Garnier notes:

In the second half of the nineteenth century, almost all the *forain* theatres put on *La Passion - Joan of Arc* or *Geneviève de Brabant*... In 1863 the Théâtre de la Moselle offers alternatively *La Passion*, *Geneviève de Brabant*, *Joseph Sold by his Brothers*, *The Wandering Jew*...⁸⁹

Cocteau's proposed audience would have been very familiar with the story of David and Goliath and, more importantly, those in the know would have seen *Le Carnaval* and would have been aware of its references to Schumann's *Davidsbündlertänze* (the dance of David's companions confronting the Philistines). According to Cyril Beaumont: 'The original conclusion [of *Le Carnaval*] was a little different from the standard version in that, during the *Marche des Davidsbündler contre les Philistins*,

⁸⁸ Meyerhold's words, cited in Braun, *Meyerhold on Theatre*, p.139.

⁸⁹ 'Dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle, les théâtres forains jouaient presque tous "La Passion" - "Jeanne d'Arc" ou "Geneviève de Brabant"... Le Théâtre de la Moselle, en 1863 offre alternativement "La Passion", "Geneviève de Brabant", "Joseph vendu par ses frères", "Le Juif Errant"...' See Garnier, *Forains*, p.226. Additionally, of course, Cocteau may have been hedging his bets with this subject, hoping that Diaghilev might take the work. Arnaud, *Jean Cocteau*, p.775, n56, cites a fictitious story by Count Harry Kessler who said that because Diaghilev wanted a biblical subject for a ballet in early 1912, Cocteau conceived *David* at this time. In fact the Ballets Russes staged the biblical *La Légende de Joseph* in May 1914, with a score by Richard Strauss. It was Massine's first appearance for Diaghilev, and Kessler was co-librettist with Hugo von Hofmannsthal.

the artistes left the stage and executed their dances among the audience'.⁹⁰ Beaumont does not say whether Diaghilev's Parisian version included this ending, but Cocteau may have known of it nevertheless. Cocteau's awareness of the importance of the mask was not exploited in the more esoteric character of David as it would be so successfully in the characters of *Parade*. Furthermore, Cocteau failed to understand the importance of putting *David* into a timeless as well as a modern setting relevant to a contemporary audience, as he would do in *Parade*. To be at its most powerful, the mask has to be both general and specific: general enough to allow the audience to bring its variety of memories to the performance, as Meyerhold explains in the Arlecchino example cited above, yet relevant and interesting enough to persuade the audience to go inside and see the show.⁹¹ While the setting of *David* was both timeless and contemporary, the character had too little intrinsic interest to resonate with a contemporary audience as, for example, the Little American Girl did in *Parade*. We have very little information about the character of David from Cocteau's incomplete sketches. We are simply told that he is David le chamelier (the camel-driver), David le bateleur (the juggler), and David le roi (the king).

However, in *Parade*, the fairground setting is drawn with such attention to detail and the characters operate at so many different levels that Cocteau is able to manipulate the mask as skilfully as Meyerhold would have liked. His setting is timeless in that it reflects the *fêtes foraines* that had been in existence for centuries. Yet Cocteau sets out to 'seize the sense of the age'⁹² by using up-to-date references that enabled the audience of 1917 to engage fully with what is presented on-stage. An example of this is an instruction written on the front cover of the Frederick Koch score. Cocteau wanted the Managers' shouts to be translated into local *patois* according to where the

⁹⁰ See Beaumont, *Complete Book of Ballets*, p.701.

⁹¹ Meyerhold gives a very good example of the many layers of meaning that a character can portray: 'For Molière, Don Juan is no more than a wearer of masks. At one moment we see on his face a mask which embodies all the dissoluteness, unbelief, cynicism and pretensions of a gallant of the court of Le Roi Soleil; then we see the mask of the author-accuser; then the nightmarish mask which stifled the author himself, the agonizing mask he was forced to wear at court performances and in front of his perfidious wife.' See Braun, *Meyerhold on Theatre*, p.133.

⁹² 'Le rôle de l'art consiste à saisir le sens de l'époque...' ('The role of art is to seize the sense of the age') See Cocteau, *Le Coq et l'Arlequin*, p.29.

ballet was to be performed, so that a local audience would clearly understand its language.⁹³ And, according to his article 'La Collaboration de *Parade*' Cocteau had intended the three actors seated in the orchestra, to advertise, through loud-speakers, products such as the everyday KUB stockcubes during orchestral breaks.⁹⁴ This, of course, was never implemented. Similarly, Cocteau wanted the Managers to be 'nègres' reflecting the fairground's enthusiasm for what was seen as exotic, especially to a provincial public.⁹⁵ Garnier cites an example of 'The Panopticum W. Bohme [who] presented at the same time as the cinema a family of negroes...The youngest was a few months old, he was held by the man at the cash-desk and was put on the counter in full view of the public'.⁹⁶ Even more important for a contemporary audience was Cocteau's inclusion of the cinema.⁹⁷ The public's mania for this new invention had engulfed the *fête foraines* from the beginning of the century. Many of the traditional *baraques* had had to transform themselves into cinema shows in order to continue to attract a public that was completely besotted by the new medium. According to Garnier, the Exposition Universelle of 1900 was instrumental in initiating the popularity of the cinema:

If all those who had discovered cinema at the Exposition had, on returning to their home town, been listened to, a cinema would have been opened in the tiniest villages. This was not possible and one

⁹³ 'Les cris des managers nègres...doivent être traduits dans la langue de la ville où *Parade* se donne et subir les transformations nécessaires afin que le public y reconnaisse les réclames du jour.'

⁹⁴ See Appendix for this article in the June/July 1917 issue of *Nord-Sud*. With this abbreviated reference to Cubism, Cocteau was making a good in-joke.

⁹⁵ France continued to enjoy the talents of black entertainers. In the inter-war years Josephine Baker achieved huge success in Paris.

⁹⁶ 'Le Panopticum W. Bohme [qui] présentait en même temps que le cinématographe une famille de nègres...Le plus jeune avait quelques mois, on le donnait à tenir à l'homme qui était assis à la caisse où on le posait sur la tablette bien en vue du public.' See Garnier, *Forains*, p.337. This also shows that in February 1917, Picasso had not yet worked out the details of his Managers. By the première in May there was only one Negro manager planned. He was to ride on the circus horse as the manager of the acrobats, but in the event Picasso's figure fell off during a rehearsal and was not replaced.

⁹⁷ Cocteau's original libretto, sent to Satie on 1 May 1916, included references to 'palatial cinemas', 'the telegraph operator from Los Angeles who marries the detective at the end', Charlie Chaplin, and the Hudson (River), associated by Cocteau with a film, *Les Mystères de New York*, that preceded *Parade*. See Brown, *An Impersonation of Angels*, p.128.

wonders how cinema would have developed if there had not been the fairs...⁹⁸

Cocteau used as his setting the type of traditional *baraque* that had inserted cinema as an extra part of its show in order to stay in business. Outwardly this *baraque* would have remained exactly the same, with a barker continuing to attract the crowd. Inside, the show would have been a mixed one of music-hall and cinema. Cocteau's desire to have an up-to-date setting, easily recognisable for an audience in 1917, is reflected in the noises that he sought to include in the performance. In several places in the Frederick Koch score he crosses out 'roulement de tambour' (drum roll) that had been the traditional accompaniment to the 'parade', (considered old-fashioned by 1917), and inserts 'machine à vapeur' (steam engine).⁹⁹ Garnier writes: 'progress has suppressed the drum rolls and the barker's megaphone'.¹⁰⁰ The steam engine was used to provide the electric current needed for a more modern *baraque*¹⁰¹ and so was probably seen by Cocteau as more appropriate for a modern fairground.¹⁰² But in a gesture linking the contemporary with the timeless, the barker's old-fashioned

⁹⁸ 'Si tous ceux qui avaient découvert le cinéma à l'Exposition...avaient, à leur retour chez eux, été écoutés, une salle de cinéma serait ouverte dans les plus petits villages. Ce n'était pas possible et on se demande comment le cinéma se serait développé s'il n'y avait pas eu les fêtes foraines...' Garnier, *Forains*, p.319.

⁹⁹ This decision to make the setting more up-to-date may well have been a result of consultation with Picasso, since the alterations may not have been made until the visit to Rome when many aspects of the ballet were finalised.

¹⁰⁰ 'le progrès a seulement supprimé les roulements de tambour et le porte-voix du bonisseur.' See Garnier, *Forains*, p.55.

¹⁰¹ 'The electric current was provided by an imposing steam generator that worked a dynamo. It could be seen outside, next to the theatre and the curiosity of passers-by was aroused as much by this machine...as by the publicity for the show and its promises.' ('Le courant électrique était fourni par un générateur à vapeur imposant qui actionnait un dynamo. On voyait tout cela dehors, à côté du théâtre et la curiosité des passants était éveillée autant par cette machine...que par l'annonce du spectacle et ses promesses.') Garnier, *Forains*, p.335.

¹⁰² Ornella Volta suggests that the noises that Cocteau wanted to use in *Parade* were a compensation for the text that was eventually omitted from the performance. See *Satie/Cocteau: les malentendus d'une entente*, p.27. Yet instructions for the noises appear in the Frederick Koch score alongside the text. Additionally, Satie's letters to Cocteau when the latter was in Rome repeatedly ask Cocteau for instructions about the noises so that Satie can include them in his orchestration. The letter of 24 March refers to the typewriter and those of 29 March and 2 April ask Cocteau to be more precise in his instructions. On 29 March Satie also tells Cocteau that he has made arrangements for the organ pipes. These would be used in Part 3 (the Acrobats) and were meant to sound like an aeroplane's engine. Cocteau has written 'l'aéroplane' on p.39 of the Frederick Koch score. Far from being a compensation, these noises were seen, at least by Satie, as integral to the work, and important enough not to be excluded from his orchestral score. See Appendix for these letters.

megaphone was retained by Picasso's French Manager, whose cubist costume included an appended megaphone. Cocteau went to considerable trouble to create the mask of an authentic pre-war fairground setting, one that would engage the audience and enable them to 'fly away to the land of make-believe', or, in other words, to enter into the creative process, as Meyerhold envisaged.

Cocteau used the principle of the mask to create in *Parade* characters who, by their very nature, were invested with 'chameleonic power'¹⁰³ to engage the audience at many different levels, from the most superficially nostalgic to the most symbolic and mysterious. He chose characters whose power lay in their being easily recognised as soon as they stepped on stage. In 1917 the Chinese conjuror, the American girl and the acrobat had iconic status because contemporary French audiences had experience of seeing them regularly in the *fêtes foraines* and other places of entertainment. In a letter to Cocteau after the première of *Parade*, the writer Marcel Proust expressed the kind of feelings evoked by seeing the ballet:

Also I'm thinking about the...little [American] girl who puts on the brake and starts the car so wonderfully. What concentration to do all that, how refreshing in barren times, and how sad that when I could still walk I didn't frequent dusty circuses and all those things that tear at my heart this evening.¹⁰⁴

As Proust's letter demonstrates, Cocteau's characters were a ready vehicle with which to engage his audience.

But, like Molière and Don Juan, the mask could conceal aspects of the artist too, as Meyerhold suggests. Just like Picasso whose life is laid out in his work, Cocteau saw the value not only of self-discovery in his art but also of autobiography. He wrote to his mother in 1906: 'I have understood that in order to rise it was necessary to go

¹⁰³ Meyerhold's expression. See Braun, *Meyerhold on Theatre*, p.131.

¹⁰⁴ See Appendix, 18 May 1917.

down into myself'.¹⁰⁵ In *Le Potomak* Cocteau states clearly the autobiographical nature of his novel: 'It's my book, Argémone. It's me in it'.¹⁰⁶ Arnaud points out that Cocteau believed his name ('Coquetteau') meant a collector of eggs.¹⁰⁷ As such this would ally him to the Presidigitateur chinois who performs the trick with the egg twice during Part 1 of *Parade*.¹⁰⁸ Conrad De Bold says that the egg is Cocteau's symbol of artistic creation.¹⁰⁹ Part 3, the Acrobat, includes aeroplane noises (in the form of organ notes) that obliquely refer to Cocteau's flights before the War with Roland Garros, the aviator, thereby equating Cocteau the daring artist with Garros, the dare-devil hero. According to Arnaud, these flights took place from November 1913 onwards, but could possibly have begun in October 1912. The audience would, of course, have been completely unaware of these references, but nevertheless they are important within a modernist aesthetic that seeks to place the artist and his methods centre-stage.

e) The principle of the grotesque in *Parade*

Cocteau saw the inclusion of the unexpected as an important aspect in presenting real theatre. In the Preface to *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel*, he interprets this as follows:

The poet must remove objects and feelings from behind their veils and their mists [of familiarity], must show them suddenly, so naked and so quickly, that people can hardly recognise them... I rehabilitate the commonplace. It's up to me to present it from such an angle that it looks young again.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ 'J'ai compris que pour monter il fallait descendre en soi-même', cited by Arnaud in *Jean Cocteau*, p.119.

¹⁰⁶ 'C'est mon livre, Argémone. C'est moi dehors.' See Cocteau, *Le Potomak*, p.170.

¹⁰⁷ See Arnaud, *Jean Cocteau*, p.135 and p.776, n.13.

¹⁰⁸ This is outlined in Cocteau's notes on the choreography of *Parade* in the Roman notebook reproduced by Axsom, *Parade: Cubism as Theatre*, p.329.

¹⁰⁹ De Bold, *Parade and 'Le Spectacle Intérieur': the Role of Jean Cocteau in an Avant-garde Ballet*, p.98.

¹¹⁰ 'Le poète doit sortir objets et sentiments de leurs voiles et de leurs brumes, les montrer soudain, si nus et si vite, que l'homme a peine à les reconnaître... je réhabilite le lieu commun. A moi de le présenter sous tel angle qu'il retrouve ses vingt ans.' Cocteau, Preface to *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel*, p.12.

In rehabilitating the commonplace Cocteau uses Meyerhold's principle of the grotesque: it is the incongruous that jolts the audience out of its complacency.¹¹¹ Meyerhold calls this 'the favourite device'¹¹² and describes it in the following terms: 'Beneath what we see of life there are unfathomed depths. In its search for the supernatural, the grotesque synthesises opposites, creates a picture of the incredible, and invites the spectator to solve the riddle of the inscrutable'.¹¹³ It is the unexpected and the mysterious that drive the grotesque. In his painting of 1907 *Les Femmes d'Alger* Picasso puts African-style masks on the faces of the prostitutes in the brothel. Because these are completely out of context, their unexpected, even shocking, appearance confronts the viewer in the most interactive and theatrical way. The purpose of the grotesque is to make the audience feel uncomfortable. Elements of this are already present in *David* where Cocteau hints obscurely at a more difficult aspect to what is otherwise a light entertainment:

Come in; at the heart of our hard pebble is a grain of corn
On which you can also break your teeth.¹¹⁴

By 1917, however, Cocteau was able to exploit the grotesque more successfully. At every level of *Parade* he turns the commonplace on its head. The subject matter overturned the expectations of Diaghilev's elite audience, drawn mainly from the upper échelons of Parisian society, who were described at the première of *Parade* by an anonymous critic:

What a number of cars, and what cars, lacquered, nickel-plated, dazzlingly new! And out of the sumptuous limousines came the princesses of old and new high society... their gowns were generally of a relatively discreet magnificence, - the performance was just a

¹¹¹ Whereas Hugo's 'grotesque' described subject matter that was distasteful, the opposite of 'le beau', Meyerhold's has come to mean shocking, inappropriate, surprising.

¹¹² See Braun, *Meyerhold on Theatre*, p.137.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p.139.

¹¹⁴ 'Entrez au coeur de notre dur caillou / Un grain de blé aussi on se casse dessus les dents.'
See Cocteau, *David* notebook.

matinée after all...Mme E[dwards]...wore a turban with a prodigious plume of feathers, a turban from the legendary days of Persian balls, which produced cries of 'oh!' and 'ah!'. And what a number of pearls and diamonds. The light from the stones seemed to want to rival the footlights.¹¹⁵

Cocteau's subject-matter, literally taken from the street,¹¹⁶ was a rude awakening for its audience. An anonymous reviewer from *L'Intransigeant* summed up the incongruity of *Parade* as follows: 'In the wrong social position and presented amongst artistic entertainment, as a new artistic form, it only seems mystifying'.¹¹⁷ This mystification was exactly the purpose of Meyerhold's grotesque principle.

The lack of a narrative link between each part of *Parade* was a further mystification. Ballet traditionally told a story without words, no matter how improbable. Cocteau acknowledged this incongruity when he wrote that the public would have understood the 'hypocritical elegance of the Chinaman, the sadness of the Little American Girl's boat, the touching silliness of the Acrobat'¹¹⁸ if the Acrobat had loved the Little American Girl and been killed by the jealous Chinaman. Not only did the outline of the ballet confound people's expectations, but the central episode of the Little American Girl was particularly fragmentary. The character represented many different aspects of the stereotypical American way of life as portrayed on film: the Wild West, the motorcar, transatlantic liners, and cinema superstars such as Chaplin. If the Little American Girl was supposed to be a cinematic episode at Cocteau's fair,

¹¹⁵ 'Que d'autos et quels autos, laqués, nickelés, tout flambant neufs! Et des fastueuses limousines descendaient les princesses du Tout-Paris ancien et nouveau...les toilettes, en general, étaient d'une magnificence relativement discrète, - d'ailleurs, les représentations n'avaient lieu qu'en matinée...Mme E[dwards]...avait un turban à panache prodigieux, un turban du temps légendaire des bals persans, qui fit pousser, bien des "oh!" et des "ah!". Et que de perles, que de diamants. Le feu des pierreries semblait vouloir rivaliser avec les feux de la rampe.' Extract from an anonymous review of *Parade* in *La Vie Parisienne*, 2 June 1917, p.483. It appeared under the title '*Parade*' in the column '*On dit... On dit*'.

¹¹⁶ The *fêtes foraines* took place in the boulevards.

¹¹⁷ Anon, 'Les Ballets russes', 28 May 1917, p.2. 'Déclassée et présentée au milieu de spectacles artistiques, comme une nouvelle formule d'art, [l'oeuvre] n'apparaît que comme une mystification.'

¹¹⁸ Cocteau, *Le Coq et l'arlequin*, p.32.

her presentation was confusing to say the least. Even the audience at a silent film in 1917 would have expected a narrative.

The suitability of subject-matter was further overturned with the intended references to the Titanic in Part 2 of *Parade*. This would have been only too real in the minds of the upper-class audience. Many of the *nouveaux riches* in Parisian society were American¹¹⁹ and those present at the première of *Parade* may well have lost relatives in the disaster. Many people would have considered Cocteau's references to drowning in poor taste and therefore unsuitable in a ballet. The tragedy of the Little American Girl and the Titanic was intended to provoke a reaction from the audience, something that was central to Cocteau's mission to produce *real* theatre. Unfortunately for Cocteau the point was lost when the textual references to the Titanic were omitted from the actual performance.¹²⁰

Cocteau intended the characteristics of the familiar figure of the Chinese conjuror to be completely confounded when, according to the written indications in the Frederick Koch score, the Chinese conjuror cuts off his own head and takes a bow.¹²¹ At this point a 'chorus' was supposed to sing 'They put out his eyes, they tore out his tongue'.¹²² If this text had been retained, the Chinese conjuror would have been part of a violent world, and very different from the character that audiences were accustomed to seeing.¹²³ Clearly Cocteau was trying not only to re-create a typical

¹¹⁹ Many rich American heiresses had married often impoverished French aristocrats. One example is the Princesse de Polignac who began life as Winaretta Singer, heiress to the Singer sewing machine fortune.

¹²⁰ These were the words 'Tic, tic, tic, Le Titanic s'enfonce éclairé dans la mer' ('Tic, tic, tic, the Titanic goes down into the sea all lit up') that were meant to be sung to one of the few melodies in Satie's score.

¹²¹ 'il se coupe la tête et salue.' See p.14 of the Frederick Koch score.

¹²² 'Ils lui crevèrent les yeux, lui arrachèrent la langue.' These words are on p.16 of the Frederick Koch score. The words were subsequently omitted but their melody was again retained. In his article, 'La Collaboration de *Parade*' in *Nord-Sud*, June/July 1917, Cocteau wrote: 'I emphasised an occult element, the extension of the characters and life on the other side of our showman's booth. There the chinaman was capable of torturing missionaries'. And, it would seem, according to Cocteau's text, of being tortured. See Appendix.

¹²³ The famous Chung Ling Soo was the stereotypical Chinese conjuror with which contemporary audiences were familiar. He appeared at the Alhambra in Paris in September 1912, and was advertised as performing 45 different tricks ranging from 'The ghostly egg and the handkerchief' ('L'oeuf fantôme et le mouchoir') to 'The magic lantern' ('La lanterne enchantée'). See Deborah Menaker

conjuror's act, but also to 'switch the spectator from the plane he has just reached [nostalgia, perhaps] to another which is totally unforeseen.'¹²⁴ Without the text, the audience in May 1917 would have been unaware of some of Cocteau's attempts to introduce the grotesque. No wonder he felt that his mission had not been fulfilled and that *Parade* was just a 'skylight opened onto what contemporary theatre should be'.¹²⁵ Yet, in his attempt at incongruity in *Parade*, Cocteau comes close to an equivalent of Georges Braque's 'faits' ('facts').¹²⁶ In the Roman notebook reproduced by Axsom Cocteau writes: 'Pour le Chinois voir le Braque' ('For the Chinaman see the Braque').¹²⁷ The cubist painter was famous for being the first artist to introduce real artefacts, such as a piece of wallpaper, into a painting.¹²⁸ He forced a commonplace, three-dimensional object to take on a new, completely incongruous existence within a two-dimensional context, thereby questioning whether such an artefact was any more real than the painted object positioned next to it. Braque's aim was to initiate a debate about realism in art by juxtaposing two seemingly irreconcilable facts: an everyday, bought object with something specially created, the real with the illusionistic, and, most importantly, the three-dimensional with the two-dimensional. Cocteau differs from Braque only because the commonplace in *Parade* - all characters from the world of entertainment - was not real to begin with. The Chinese conjuror, as Deborah Menakin Rothschild's book points out, was a conflation of several different conjurors, some of whom were genuinely Chinese, others who masqueraded as Chinese.¹²⁹ Cocteau's stroke of genius was to use the incongruous pairing of the common fairground with the elite setting of a ballet, to debate the subject of the realism that dominated and (in Cocteau's opinion) spoiled

Rothschild's *Picasso's "Parade"*, p.80, fig.46. Cocteau's notebook, reproduced in Axsom, *Parade: Cubism as Theatre*, as well as the Frederick Koch score, show that these tricks were also performed by the conjuror in *Parade*.

¹²⁴ Meyerhold's words, cited in Braun, *Meyerhold on Theatre*, p.139.

¹²⁵ 'une lucarne ouverte sur ce que devrait être le théâtre contemporain.' Cocteau, *Le Coq et l'Arlequin*, p.30.

¹²⁶ Cocteau was careful to refer, in *Le Coq et l'arlequin* (sub-titled 'Notes autour de la musique'), only to the 'noises' that he had suggested in the musical score as 'faits'. See *Le Coq et l'Arlequin*, p.30.

¹²⁷ Axsom, *Parade, Cubism as Theatre*, p.337. Cocteau also instructs Massine in this notebook to look at 'the Léger' for the Little American Girl and 'the Picasso' for the Acrobats. Cocteau's words are almost certainly references to Massine's collection of paintings. See Chapter 5 n.74.

¹²⁸ This occurred in September 1912 in *Fruit Dish and Glass*. See Cottington, *Cubism*, p.70.

¹²⁹ See Rothschild, *Picasso's 'Parade'*, pp.75-9.

contemporary theatre. The debate about realism in the arts was to be far more long-lasting than Cocteau could ever have realised. With the advent of television the viewer watches day after day a virtual reality in which characters in the news appear just as real or just as fictitious as characters in soap operas.¹³⁰

f) Cocteau and the principle of movement within a new theatrical aesthetic

The final aspect of Cocteau's mission to discover a new theatrical language was his interest in the use of movement, an aspect also adopted from Meyerhold. The ideas of Isadora Duncan and especially those of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze¹³¹ swept through Europe prior to World War I. Isadora Duncan had arrived in Paris in 1900 and immediately made contact with the elevated Parisian society of the salons.¹³² She was welcomed as an innovator because she had 'evolved a new way of dancing naturally which was wonderfully expressive and appeared deceptively simple.'¹³³ In 1905 she went to St. Petersburg and had 'an ardent discussion about dancing with Diaghilev'.¹³⁴ Cocteau, moving in elevated circles, would have been aware of the high level of interest that the upper classes showed in her new form of creative dance.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ Recent films such as *Nurse Betty* and *The Truman Show* debate the extent to which the public believes that characters in a television soap opera actually have a real existence. *The Truman Show* depicts a character who thinks his world is real. He is unaware that his every move is filmed for the benefit of millions of viewers who watch his life as a soap opera. The main character in *Nurse Betty* goes in search of characters whom she watches every day on television, believing them to have a real life. Cocteau would have been proud of Professor Germaine Greer's statement, given in her speech at the Media Guardian Edinburgh TV Festival on 28 August 2005. She called reality TV 'both a tautology and an oxymoron...because what we see is not real.' See Owen Gibson, 'Greer attacks life played out on reality TV' in *The Guardian*, 29 August, 2005, p.5. Almost a century after *Parade*, the debate about realism sounds exactly the same. See Chapter 1, n.69, in which Cocteau uses very similar vocabulary to Greer with reference to the theatre.

¹³¹ 'Émile Jaques was, early in his career, asked by his publishers to make his name more distinctive, and so added to his surname the name Dalcroze. He was, however, known affectionately to his students in Geneva as "Monsieur Jaques", whereas overseas he and his work have come to be connected simply with the name Dalcroze, the name he gave to himself.' See M.-L. Bachmann, *Dalcroze Today, an Education through Music*, p.vi.

¹³² See Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.282.

¹³³ See Buckle, *Nijinsky*, p.32.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ According to Francis Steegmuller, Cocteau and Isadora Duncan were also both tenants in the Hôtel Biron, situated in the rue de Varenne, but not necessarily at the same time. Cocteau lived there for a short time from approximately 1907. See Steegmuller, *Cocteau*, p.39.

That contemporary dance was a favourite pastime of the higher échelons of Parisian society¹³⁶ is highlighted by the fact that Count Étienne de Beaumont, Jean Cocteau and Lucien Daudet 'would cavort about the garden of the Hôtel de Beaumont in black tights, doing exercises prescribed by [Paulet] Thévenaz'.¹³⁷ Thévenaz provides a link between Cocteau and the work of Émile Jaques-Dalcroze, the highly influential founder of the theory of Eurythmics, since Thévenaz had been one of his pupils. The Dalcrozian method analysed music by a system of bodily movements. This is explained by Percy B. Ingham in the following way:

Time is shown by movements of the arms, and time-values, i.e. note-duration, by movements of the feet and body. In the early stages of the training this principle is clearly observed. Later it may be varied in many ingenious ways, for instance, in what is known as plastic counterpoint, where the actual notes played are represented by movements of the arms, while the counterpoint in crotchets, quavers or semiquavers, is given by the feet.¹³⁸

André Levinson, reviewing a performance of *Les Préludes* at the Maryinsky Theatre in St Petersburg in 1913, referred to Fokine's Dalcrozian choreography as 'the beating out of the rhythm with the hands and feet. Energetic stamping corresponds to accented notes and pauses correspond to extended notes'.¹³⁹

In the winter of 1913-14 Thévenaz had opened a school of Eurythmics in the rue de Vaugirard in Paris, attended by Cocteau.¹⁴⁰ Dalcroze's ideas were enormously popular throughout Europe. In 1911 he too went to St Petersburg and met Diaghilev and Nijinsky and, according to Buckle 'this was no doubt the occasion when

¹³⁶ A letter of 2 March 1917 from Cocteau to his mother, written in Rome at the time of rehearsals for *Parade*, refers to the passion of high society for dance: 'They think of dance as a recreation whereas we look at it as a mark of the greatest richness of expression'. See Appendix.

¹³⁷ Frederick Brown, *An Impersonation of Angels*, p.73.

¹³⁸ Cited in Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.61. Debussy suffered from Nijinsky's adaptations of this in *Jeux* in 1913.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.44.

¹⁴⁰ Steegmuller, *Cocteau*, p.116.

[they]...became interested in his system'.¹⁴¹ Dalcroze was pro-active in trying to spread his new philosophy. In 1913 he told Stravinsky:

I write to you because you hold in your hands the future of the dance, for you were born to compose works that are capable of being danced and that are not common...crowd-pleasers, but a synthesis of our yearnings, an overwhelming outpouring of our emotions capable of being translated into movement. You contribute already at present to the regeneration of the ballet, but there is more!¹⁴²

Dalcroze's new ideas in dance were also influential in the theatre, as Meyerhold explains: 'Since the appearance of Isadora Duncan, and now even more with the [sic] Jaques-Dalcroze's theory of eurythmics, the contemporary actor has begun gradually to concede the importance of gesture and movement on the stage'.¹⁴³ Meyerhold gives great importance to movement, linking it with the mask: 'The actor who has mastered the art of gesture and movement (herein lies his power!) manipulates his masks in such a way that the spectator is never in any doubt about the character he is watching'.¹⁴⁴

Having watched Meyerhold's methods during rehearsals for *La Pisanelle* in 1913, Cocteau clearly intended *David* to be a Dalcroze-based production. Not only did he intend Thévenaz, the Dalcrozian, to dance the part of the hero,¹⁴⁵ but Cocteau's troupe, for whom it was intended, were known for doing gymnastic exercises.¹⁴⁶ In *David* Cocteau's aim was to use Dalcroze-inspired movement as a tool in creating a new theatrical aesthetic that would be enhanced by dance.

¹⁴¹ See Buckle, *Nijinsky*, p.188. Buckle also recounts how Marie Rambert, a pupil of Dalcroze, helped Nijinsky with the choreography for *The Rite of Spring*. See p.317.

¹⁴² See Craft (ed.), *Stravinsky, Selected Correspondence*, Vol. I., p.77. One wonders if Cocteau knew about this contact through Thévenaz, as he certainly appeared to be jumping on the Dalcrozian bandwagon.

¹⁴³ Braun, *Meyerhold on Theatre*, p.132.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.131.

¹⁴⁵ See Arnaud, *Jean Cocteau*, p.126

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.127 and p.775, n.52.

Just two years later, however, Cocteau was a larger fish in a much bigger artistic pool and as early as 11 August 1916, even before Picasso had agreed to join the collaboration,¹⁴⁷ it was clear from his letter to Stravinsky that Cocteau intended *Parade* for Diaghilev:

Satie and I are collaborating on something for Serge, since Serge, despite the abyss that I feel divides us, is still the only impresario with genius. Our piece will be ready in October. ¹⁴⁸

In spite of the failure of *David*, Cocteau's interest in movement had remained as strong as ever and, in the preparations for *Parade*, he had a considerable influence on Massine's choreography, as this comment by Serge Lifar shows:

Massine's innovations in *Parade*...were made under Cocteau's guidance. Cocteau devised the steps for *Parade* and knew them by heart. He applied to it all the literary and circus stylized conventions which have since become current in the vocabulary of ballet.¹⁴⁹

Cocteau's letters to his mother, written from Rome in February 1917, appear to confirm his close work with Massine:

I work from morning till night. You would laugh if you could see how I have become a dancer, for Massine wants me to show him the smallest detail and I invent the roles which he transforms then and there into choreography...Because Massine falls slightly into the error

¹⁴⁷ This agreement was secured on 24 August 1916. See Appendix.

¹⁴⁸ Cited in Steegmuller, *Cocteau*, p.162.

¹⁴⁹ Serge Lifar, *A History of Russian Ballet*, p.251.

of extreme youth which consists in confusing originality with complication, I want to be there all the time.¹⁵⁰

Speaking in 1920, before the première of *Le Boeuf sur le toit*, Cocteau expressed his slight disappointment with the over-Dalcrozian approach to the choreography in *Parade*:

In *Parade* the movement was still too narrowly linked to the music. In my opinion it is a mistake. It creates a sort of superfluity between the eye and the ear and prevents one from seeing and hearing properly. Here I am trying in advance to work against the stream by putting a slow gesture on top of fast music.¹⁵¹

Interestingly, Meyerhold also became disillusioned with the Dalcrozian approach. In 1935 he wrote: 'We are trying to avoid this metrical unison of music and movement. We are aiming at a *contrapuntal* fusion of the two elements'.¹⁵²

g) Cocteau and real theatre

So how far did Cocteau achieve a 'kind of renewal of the theatre' in *Parade*? The characters, text (unfortunately abandoned in performance), and setting demonstrate Cocteau's competent assimilation and integration of all the fairground booth elements outlined by Meyerhold: the mask, the grotesque, movement and above all, interaction with the audience in an attempt to make theatre once again a vibrant experience.

¹⁵⁰ See Appendix, 22 February 1917. Cocteau's Roman notebook, reproduced by Axsom, is full of ideas for Massine to develop. For instance: 'For the managers look at objects. How a door shuts, bottles - an armchair - houses'. ('Pour les managers regarder les objets. Comment une porte se ferme, les bouteilles - un fauteuil - les maisons.') See Axsom, *Parade: Cubism as Theatre*, p.326. There is even an impertinent comment about *Les Contes russes*, a ballet that was being rehearsed at the same time as *Parade*: '*Les Contes*. La danse du gamin accompagnée au luth est trop faite d'après les images'. ('*Les Contes*. The boy's dance accompanied by the lute is too picturesque.') *Ibid.*, p.328.

¹⁵¹ See Appendix. *Le Boeuf* was written by Cocteau after Milhaud had written the music. It was staged as a 'Spectacle-Concert' at La Comédie des Champs-Élysées. Its four performances were financed by Count Étienne de Beaumont.

¹⁵² See Braun, *Meyerhold on Theatre*, p.283.

These elements were present to some extent from the moment *David* was conceived but were significantly developed and refined in *Parade*. Moreover, Cocteau managed to integrate into this new approach to theatre a discussion about the nature of real theatre that was in tune with similar achievements in other artistic media. Cocteau's philosophy of a return to the fundamental principles of theatre was of the utmost importance in the theatrical medium of ballet, too. Critics at the time, and since, were too blinded by the superficial cubism to construct a fair judgement of Cocteau's achievement in putting on a piece of *real* theatre that sought to create its own 'poésie de théâtre' within an aesthetic of renewal. He was certainly overshadowed by his better-known collaborators, and sadly his contribution was sidelined by Apollinaire who, perhaps out of jealousy, ignored Cocteau's contribution by omitting any reference to him in the programme note for the ballet.¹⁵³

¹⁵³ See Appendix for Apollinaire's full text. Apollinaire's play *Les Mamelles de Tirésias*, which was shortly to appear on a less famous stage than that of the Châtelet (at the Théâtre Maubel in the rue de l'Orient in Montmartre), was strongly didactic in tone and suffered by comparison with *Parade*. Arnaud suggests that Apollinaire felt hurt that his long friendship with Picasso had never resulted in any artistic collaborations, whereas Cocteau, a relative upstart in artistic terms, had persuaded Picasso to collaborate with him on *Parade* after a very short acquaintance. See Arnaud, *Jean Cocteau*, p.178.

3: Satie's involvement in *Parade*

*I have always tried to throw followers off the scent by both the form and content of each new work.*¹

When Erik Satie agreed in April 1916 to write the music for Cocteau's proposed ballet, he can have had little idea how the original three-part conception would change before it reached the stage in May 1917, and again in 1919 when Diaghilev requested additional music to be written for a revival. Satie was new to the machinations behind this kind of high-profile production that would involve the suggestions and vetoes of persuasive and influential collaborators such as Cocteau, Picasso and Diaghilev, and the vagaries of its patroness Misia Edwards. *Parade* began in 1916 with three parts and ended in 1919 with eight,² reminiscent, if only superficially, of the very piece (*Trois morceaux en forme de poire*) that had inspired Cocteau to seek Satie's collaboration.³ Satie's response had been 'I hope that the admirable Cocteau won't use my old works. Let's do something new, shall we?'⁴ In attempting to understand Satie's compositional method in *Parade*, I refer in detail to his sketchbooks⁵ and to relevant letters⁶ to make sense of his intentions, since these are crucial in understanding the originality of his approach to this 'new work'.

(a) The compositional process between 1 May and early September 1916

Satie did not substantially change the central tripartite framework of *Le Prestidigitateur Chinois*, *La Petite Fille Américaine* and *Acrobates* from his original

¹ 'Je me suis toujours efforcé de dérouter les suiveurs, par la forme & par le fond, à chaque nouvelle oeuvre.' Erik Satie, *Le Coq*, June 1920, p.8. Cited in Volta (ed.), *Satie, Écrits*, p.45.

² See Figs. 3.1-6 which outline *Parade*'s chronological growth. The numbers in these figures refer to the number of beats in each section.

³ This acquired 4 movements to surround the original 3: a 'Manière de commencement' ('Way of beginning'), a 'Prolongation du même' ('Prolongation of the same'), and afterwards an 'En plus' ('Extra') and a 'Redite' ('Stated again'). In fact the *Trois Morceaux (Three Pieces)* were originally only two. Orledge cites Satie's letter to Debussy to this effect (17 August 1903). See *Satie the Composer*, p.55.

⁴ Letter to Valentine Gross, 25 April 1916. See Appendix.

⁵ Housed in the Music Department of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. See Fig. 3.7 for their contents.

⁶ See Appendix for a full list of letters concerning *Parade*, together with their sources.

Figs.3.1-3.6: The different versions of *Parade*, showing total number of beats in individual parts, and as a running total throughout the ballet.

Key: *Le Chinois*=*Le Prestidigitateur Chinois*
Prélude=*Prélude du Rideau Rouge*
PFA=*Petite Fille Américaine*
Suprême Eff.=*Suprême Effort et Chute des Managers*

<i>Le Chinois</i> (with lively intro)	<i>L'Américaine</i>	<i>L'Acrobate</i>
--	---------------------	-------------------

Fig.3.1: the original tripartite conception (May 1916)

Running total (beats)	46	344	728	888	904		
Individual totals (beats)	46	298	384	160	16		
	<i>Prélude & link to Part 1</i>	<i>Le Chinois - intro now for Managers</i>	<i>PFA</i>	<i>L'Acrobate</i>	<i>Suite au Prélude du Rideau Rouge</i>		

Fig.3.2: revised conception following Picasso's input September-December 1916

Running	46	344	728	888	918	934	
Individ.	46	298	384	160	30	16	
	<i>Prél. & link</i>	<i>Le Chinois</i>	<i>PFA</i>	<i>Acrobates</i>	<i>Suprême Eff.</i>	<i>Suite au Prél.</i>	

Fig.3.3: as Fig.3.2, with the addition of *Suprême Effort*, added in January 1917

Running	46	334	674	834	864	880	
Individ.	46	288	340	160	30	16	
	<i>Prél. & link</i>	<i>Le Chinois</i>	<i>PFA</i>	<i>Acrobates</i>	<i>Suprême Eff.</i>	<i>Suite au Prél.</i>	

Fig.3.4: 1917 performance slightly reduced in size, but otherwise identical to Fig.3.3.

60	106	394	734	894	924	1118	1134
60	46	288	340	160	30	194	16
Choral	<i>Prél. & link</i>	<i>Le Chinois</i>	<i>PFA</i>	<i>Acrobates</i>	<i>Suprême Eff.</i>	<i>Final</i>	<i>Suite au Prél.</i>

Fig.3.5: 1917 performance plus additional 3 minutes of music requested by Diaghilev in 1919 and with instructions in BNF Ms 17677(5) that this format should be used for concert performances only.

60	106	394	734	894	924	1118	
60	46	288	340	160	30	194	
Choral	<i>Prél. & link</i>	<i>Le Chinois</i>	<i>PFA</i>	<i>Acrobates</i>	<i>Suprême Eff.</i>	<i>Final</i>	

Fig.3.6: 1919 music without the *Suite au Prélude* and with instructions in BNF Ms 17677(5) that this format should be used for theatre performances only.

Fig.3.7a-c: The *Parade* notebooks arranged in chronological order

Page	9585	9603(3)	9603(5)	9672
	'Daphénéo' etc (April 1916 for Jane Bathori)	'Notes pour Parade' (May 1916)	August 1916 ?	End August/ September 1916
1		Intro theme (1 # & unused accompt. 3/8, 4/8 crossed out	'Flaque Jets Girations' Part of harmonic series Text 'un chien est plus intelligent...'	<i>Chinois</i> , 'La Voix' (Voice) accompt and 'Avant la Voix' (Before the Voice) (subsequently changed)
2	Introductory music part short score in 3/8	As above, ♯s and semi/♯s for accompt.	Unidentified	Part 2, 1 st rag snippet, accompt & <i>Chinois</i> before pause
3	As above	As above + other accompts.	As above	<i>Chinois</i> before pause
4	Possible theme for intro. Melody of <i>Le Chinois</i> (labelled) + words	Intro theme (4#), chordal accompt, 3/4 & 3/8. <i>Danse macabre</i> -like	As above	'Flaques Trépidations Géométrie C Sphère Cube Cylindre'
5	Possible theme <i>Chinois</i> [<i>Danse macabre</i> -like]	Theme, simple accompt, 3/8 & 2/4	As above	Part 2 whole tone section
6		Possible theme & accompt	Unidentified	Part 2 Early wave sketch
7			As above	
8		Possible theme	As above	Wave, no accompt
9			As above	As above
10		Theme, 1#, unused accompt. 'Tierce plus bas. Mettre en mi maj'	Sketch for <i>Roue de la loterie</i> (in 6/8)	Unused wave
11		Theme, short score	Unused <i>Roue</i> (labelled)	Wave & 2 nd ragtime snippet
12		Theme 4# & some of 4 naturals version	Unidentified	
13		Undulating accompt.	As above	Before wave, 4-bar sections numbered afterwards
14		Theme 4#, unused accompt. 3/4 changed to 3/8	As above	Scale & section before 2 nd little rag snippet
15		As above	Whole tone	As above
16			As above	Unidentified
17			'Un petit garçon'	As above
18			<i>Chinois</i> voice (& words)	
19			Part 2 opening in semiquavers follows directly p.18 (See JC's letter of 31.8.16)	
20				

Fig.3.7a: Four *Parade* notebooks, May - September 1916

Fig.3.7a-c (continued): The *Parade* notebooks arranged in chronological order

Page	9602(1)	9603(2)	9603(4)	9603(1)
	“Parade” I Le Chinois’ (Short score) (No <i>Prélude</i>) Preliminary write-up sometime before Nov 1916.	Sept/October 1916? Sketches for <i>Ragtime</i> of Part 2	Sept/October 1916?	“Parade” (brouillon) (sketch) December 1916/January 1917
1	Some sound effects (Sirène aigue & sirène médiane). MM=60 in red ink and 76 in black	<i>Ragtime</i> & accompt. (Quite a finished version)	Section before wave	
2	pp.2-9 Managers’ music written out fully. ‘Rideau du théâtre’ after 10 bars.	As above	Wave short score	<i>Prélude</i> , finished version (12 Dec)
3		As above + instrumentation	As above & up to pause	As above
4		<i>Trio</i> of <i>Ragtime</i> . No instr. All crossed out, but partly in ink	Before <i>Ragtime</i> . ‘Après coups de revolver’ (‘After revolver shots’)	Link from <i>Prélude</i> to original introduction to ballet
5		As above	As above. ‘Au <i>Ragtime</i> ’ (‘To the <i>Ragtime</i> ’)	‘Suite (pour finir le ballet)’ (‘Suite to finish the ballet’)
6		<i>Trio</i> mostly definitive version	Part 2 before vocal section	Unused sketch for Part 3
7		As above, ink + instr.	‘La Voix’ & ‘Sortie de l’Américaine’ (‘Exit of the Amer.’)	As above
8	‘2d rideau’ in red 9 bars before <i>Roue</i> (shows that this music was still the introduction)	(<i>Ragtime</i> and <i>Trio</i> finished 25 Oct. 1916)	Intro for <i>Ragtime</i> & theme	Part 3 descent to organ notes
9	‘Entrée du Chinois et de son aide’ (‘Entry of the Chinese and his aide’). Last 3 words crossed out. ‘Flaques sonores’ in red.		<i>Ragtime</i> theme	As above
10	pp.9-20 <i>Roue de la loterie</i> to ‘Fin de la première partie’		As above	
11			1 st sketch for <i>Prélude</i> before 5 th Nov 1916	
12				
13			Text for talk on <i>Les animaux dans la musique</i> given 5 Nov	Bouteillophone scale for Part 3
14				Harp in Part 3
15	‘Tierce mineure au dessus (tout le passage)’ (‘Minor 3 rd above (the whole passage)’)			
16			Link from Part 2 to Pt 3	Part 3 vocal part
17			Continuation of Part 3	As above
18	Pause of 5 bars before vocal section		As above	<i>Suprême effort</i> (after 2 Jan 1917)
19				As above
20	Very end of <i>Chinois</i> & ‘FIN DE LA PREMIÈRE PARTIE’ (‘296’ marked here) + 2/4 of Part 2.		Unused sketch for Part 3	

Fig.3.7b: Four *Parade* notebooks, September 1916-January 1917

Fig.3.7a-c (continued): The *Parade* notebooks arranged in chronological order

Page	9602(2)	9602(3)	9677(5)	9602(4)	17677(5) (now Opéra Rés.G.f2383)
	<p>“Parade” II L’Américaine’ This title was changed to ‘La Petite Fille Américaine’ Dec 1916</p>	<p>Continuation of Part 2 in short score and Part 3 in short score (left unfinished) Dec 1916</p>	<p>Loose sheet of paper originally within BNF Ms 9603(5) Xylophone and bouteillophone scales for Part 3 and list of sounds. Matériel d’orchestre Dated 26 avril [1917]</p>	<p>“Parade (fin)” Contains <i>Choral</i> and <i>Final</i> pp.10-21 April 1919</p>	<p>A3 size ms. <i>Choral</i> and <i>Final</i> (7 pp.) April 1919</p>
1					
2	pp.2-20. Part 2 in short score, ends with pause. Shows sextuplet opening				
3					
4		pp.4-15, beginning with the vocal section (but words are not written in)			
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					
16					
17					
18					
19					
20					

Fig.3.7c: Five *Parade* notebooks, December 1916-April 1919

sketches⁷ in May 1916 through to the ballet's definitive versions in May 1919.⁸ But the chronological development of the music for the 1917 performance takes on particular importance because of the watershed created by Picasso's belated, but vital involvement. Satie finished Part 1, the *Chinois* section, by 1 September 1916,⁹ and according to his letter of that date he had already begun to write the music for *La Petite Fille Américaine*. Indeed, early sketches of this second section of *Parade* are interspersed with the *Chinois* music¹⁰ before Picasso's input began.¹¹

(b) The original introductory music and *Le Chinois*

There are four notebooks that contain sketches for this first section of *Parade*: BNF Ms 9585, BNF Ms 9603(3), on p.1 of which Satie has written 'Notes pour *Parade*', BNF Ms 9603(5) and BNF Ms 9672 (pp.1-3). Additionally, the whole of BNF Ms 9602(1) consists of 'I Le Chinois' in short score and begins with the music that was originally intended as an introduction to the ballet, that is, the music without the *Prélude* that would open the ballet in May 1917. The first two notebooks cited above are the earliest and were probably used simultaneously by Satie. BNF Ms 9603(3) is concerned only with the music that Satie envisaged as an introduction to *Parade* and that subsequently became associated with the Managers. We know that Satie

⁷ The first appearance of any music connected with *Parade* is to be found in BNF Ms 9585, a sketchbook entitled *Daphénéo, La statue de bronze* and *Le Chapelier*, music written just prior to Satie beginning *Parade*. A letter of 16 May 1916 from Satie to the poet Léon-Paul Fargue requests a text for him to set for an evening's entertainment *chez* Mme Germaine Bongard. Fargue sent Satie the text of *La Statue de bronze*. This soirée was attended by Jean Cocteau's mother and in her letter to him of 6 June 1916 she recounts how 'high society' laughed uncontrollably at Satie's music. See Appendix.

⁸ The names were changed from *Le Chinois, L'Américaine* and *Acrobate* to *Le Prestidigitateur Chinois, La Petite Fille Américaine* and *Acrobates*. A letter of 24 August 1916 from Satie to Valentine Gross includes a note added by Jean Cocteau showing that these three parts were always intended. See Appendix.

⁹ The letters show how Satie worked on *Parade* during May and June 1916, but in early July he was diverted by the possibility of writing a piece based on La Fontaine's *Fables*. He wrote, dismissively, on 9 July 1916 to Misia Edwards, that 'the Cocteau thing will come afterwards'. The most revealing part of this correspondence with Mme. Edwards is the following: 'These *Fables* will allow us to be very modern because we coldly reject pastiche'. Satie obviously felt that Cocteau's work did not allow him to be modern enough, especially if he saw Cocteau's ideas as being largely imitative and programmatic. By 9 August, however, due to a quarrel with Mme Edwards, he was back at work on *Parade* and continued to work hard until the piece was finished in January 1917. See Appendix.

¹⁰ In BNF Ms 9603(5), p.19 and BNF Ms 9672, p.2.

¹¹ Although Picasso had agreed to join the project on 24 August, the letters show that no discussions about the work took place until 2 September at the earliest. See Appendix.

intended this lively music to be heard at the opening of the ballet before the entry of the Chinese conjuror, because in the short score of 'I Le Chinois' he has written 'Rideau (du Théâtre)' after 10 bars. In other words the theatre curtain would rise at this point during the lively introduction.¹² After a further 23 bars, that is, 17 bars before the Chinois makes his entrance, Satie writes in red ink '2d rideau'.¹³ This is a reference to the curtain that Picasso painted and shows that the short score was written after Picasso joined the project but before any idea of the *Prélude* was mooted. As we shall see, this could have been any time up to 5 November 1916 but was probably some time during late September or October. Satie intended the majority of this lively music to be heard before the stage was visible, therefore. He took considerable pains with its composition, trying out possible themes, different accompaniments and changing time signatures in BNF Ms 9603(3). Satie's first thought for the theme itself appears to be based on a *Danse macabre*-like extract that he writes on p.4 of BNF Ms 9585 (see Ex.3.1a). He retained the rhythm but not the melody of this idea, as we can see in Ex.3.1b. The 3-time/2-time dichotomy appears throughout the sketches in BNF Ms 9603(3), and the triple metre varies between 3/4 and 3/8 (as shown in Ex.3.1b). Accompaniments vary from scalar (p.2 of BNF Ms 9603(3)) to chordal (pp.4 and 14). Satie also tries out different harmonic arrangements, writing his theme with a key signature of one sharp (p.3), no sharps (p.12) and four sharps (p.4). The finished product sounds completely atonal, but Satie's instruction on p.10 of BNF Ms 9603(3) shows that he is in fact thinking tonally. In a passage sketched with a key signature of G major he writes 'Third lower. Put into E major'.¹⁴ The first two sections of the finished overture music appear in short score at the beginning of BNF Ms 9585 (pp.2-3), and show that he has solved his metric problems, has worked out the theme and the accompaniments, and

¹² On p.3 of BNF Ms 9602(1).

¹³ On p.8. The colour of ink is important in Satie's notebooks, since the red ink indicates a temporary decision and black ink indicates a final version.

¹⁴ 'Tierce plus bas. Mettre en mi majeur.' This instruction brings to mind what Satie wrote in late 1917 at the beginning of his artistic credo, called 'La Matière (Idée) et la Main d'Oeuvre (Couture)' (Subject matter (Idea) and Craftsmanship (Construction)): 'To have a feeling for harmony is to have a feeling for tonality'. ('Avoir le sentiment harmonique c'est avoir le sentiment tonal.') See Ornella Volta, *Écrits*, pp.48-9 for the original French text and Robert Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, pp.68-9 for the English translation. This credo was written on the cover of BNF Ms 9611 at the time of *Vie de Socrate*, and is extremely important because Satie rarely talked about his work.

chosen the keys. But the tempo is as yet unresolved (the MM marking of 80 would change in BNF Ms 9602(1), p.2, to 60, written in red ink, and ultimately to 76 in black ink).

Pages 4 and 5 of BNF Ms 9585 show Satie's first ideas for music that would accompany the Chinese conjuror. Once again they are based closely on a *Danse Macabre* excerpt, but in 3/8 time (see Ex.3.2). Additionally, p.4 contains a rambling melody of 32 bars with a key signature of two sharps (Satie has added 'put into F', then has crossed out F and written 'B flat'), and a time signature of 3/4, overwritten with 3/8 (see Ex.3.3). The following text, inserted above the first and second lines of the music, clearly links the sketch with Part 1: 'The conjuror puts an egg under a silver dome. He makes several mysterious movements and lifts up the dome: the egg is transformed into a calf's head'.¹⁵ This sketch is so different in every possible way from the final version of the conjuror's music, that it leads to the conclusion that it was done before Satie lost interest in *Parade* during the summer of 1916.¹⁶ The fact that pp.2-3 of BNF Ms 9585 contain the beginning of the introductory music in short score would indicate that Satie had worked hard to complete this part of the ballet during his initial burst of enthusiasm but then had not gone much further.

When Satie returned to work on the ballet in August 1916, it is quite probable that he used a new sketchbook, BNF Ms 9603(5) together with the first three pages of BNF Ms 9672 for *Le Chinois*. The first of these sketchbooks has 'Flaques Jets Girations'¹⁷ inscribed on p.1 (See Ex.3.4). These are initial ideas for the three parts of *Parade*, since they closely match the 'Flaques Trépidations Géométrie'¹⁸ on p.4 of the later BNF Ms 9672. Also on p.1 of BNF Ms 9603(5) there is a sketch of the

¹⁵ 'Le prestidigitateur met un oeuf sous une cloche d'argent. Il fait plusieurs passes mystérieuses & soulève la cloche: l'oeuf est mué en tête de veau.'

¹⁶ See n.9 above. The correspondence shows that after receiving Cocteau's notes on 1 May 1916 Satie set to work 'like a horse' (letter of 16 May to Valentine Gross). He was diverted by the composition of 'La Statue de bronze' for a Granados-Satie concert on 30 May. He received Léon-Paul Fargue's poem for this on or after 18 May, and had finished his setting by 26 May (see Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, p.311).

¹⁷ 'Puddles Fountains Gyration's'.

¹⁸ 'Puddles Flickers Geometry'.

Ex.3.2: A *Danse macabre*-like melody for the Chinese Conjuror
(BNF Ms 9585, p.5)



Ex.3.3: Unused sketch for the Chinese Conjuror. The original time signature of 3/4 was crossed out. (BNF Ms 9585, p.4)

Le prestidigitateur met un oeuf sous une cloche d'argent. Il fait plusieurs passes mystérieuses & soulève la cloche: l'oeuf est mué en tête de veau.

The image shows a 32-measure musical sketch in treble clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is 8/8. The melody is written across four staves, with measures numbered 1 through 32. The notes are primarily quarter and eighth notes, often grouped with slurs. The sketch ends with a double bar line at measure 32.

Ex.3.4: Initial ideas for the 3 Parts of *Parade* (BNF Ms 9603(5), p.1)



harmonic series based on the fundamental note F (F, C, F, A, C, Eflat, F). Satie has labelled these notes numerically 2-8 (see Ex.3.4). Notes 6-8 (C, E flat, F) form the only clear reference in the sketchbooks to the pentatonic motif that characterises the Chinese conjuror so well. Pages 2-9 and 12-17 of BNF Ms 9603(5) contain only unidentified sketches. Pages 10-11, however, show two sketches (unused in the event except for their rhythm) labelled 'Roue de la loterie', intended for the bars that subsequently link the introductory music to *Le Chinois* proper. Pages 18-19 show sketches for the voice section of *Le Chinois* as well as the opening of Part 2, *La Petite Fille Américaine*. Since we know from Cocteau's letter to Valentine Gross of 31 August 1916 that he had heard and liked the music for Part 1, we can assume that this sketchbook and the first three pages of BNF Ms 9672 (containing sketches for *Le Chinois* up to and including the vocal section) were used by that date at the latest.¹⁹

¹⁹ Ornella Volta in *Écrits*, p.296, dates the texts on pp.1 and 18 of BNF Ms 9603(5) to the much later April 1917. She bases this on the fact that a piece of paper originally inserted into this sketchbook, and now separately classified as BNF Ms 9677(5), was dated '26 April'. Since it contains orchestral instructions for *Parade*, together with a list of sound effects, and scales for the xylophone and bouteillophone in Part 3, Volta assumes, quite rightly, that this piece of paper should be dated 26 April 1917. However, Satie's jottings in BNF Ms 9603(5), especially the one on p.1 that refers to the intelligence of a dog, probably belong to his initial thoughts for his talk on 'Les Animaux dans la musique'. He gave this on 5 November 1916 and wrote some of it in detail in BNF Ms 9603(4), p.13, another sketchbook used for *Parade*.

So by the time that Picasso first discussed the project with Cocteau and Satie in the early part of September 1916, Satie had written the introductory music, had thought about its link with *Le Chinois*, and had worked out in detail the music for the vocal section as well as the music immediately preceding it. There is little evidence of sketches for the rest of the music in *Le Chinois*. Cocteau's letter of 31 August and Satie's short score of Part 1 (in BNF Ms 9602(1)) both show that a substantial pause was intended before the vocal section began. Cocteau's letter also implies that the Little American Girl entered at the end of the vocal section in Part 1, and indeed BNF Ms 9603(5) juxtaposes the sketch for the vocal section on p.18 with the introduction (subsequently slightly altered) for Part 2 on p.19. In other words, at this stage there was no repetition of the opening *Chinois* music or the 'Roue de la loterie' music, as there would be in the final version.²⁰

(c) Chinese music for *Le Chinois*

In spite of Satie's proclaimed disdain of pastiche,²¹ the music in Part 1 reflects different aspects of the *fête foraine*. In his introductory music Satie succeeds in characterising the ever-changing aspect of the wider fairground. By using different keys and harmonies and time-signatures for the same theme²² he is able to create the kaleidoscopic, chaotic effect of the busy *fête foraine* in this section, but with a complete change of harmony to mark the entrance of the Chinese conjuror, he switches the focus of attention to the *parade* in front of the *baraque*.

The notes C, E flat, F, from the harmonic series in BNF Ms 9603(5) are transposed to become B, D, E, the pentatonic motif with which Satie characterises the Chinese

²⁰ This is an essential point. Had there been a repeat of the 'Roue de la loterie' music and a reprise of the pentatonic theme associated with the conjuror, Cocteau would have been sure to comment on it in his letter of 31 August. One has to suppose that he did not make any reference to it because it was not there.

²¹ See note 9.

²² The way Satie treats this theme illustrates perfectly another statement in his artistic credo of 1917: 'A melody does not imply *its harmony*, any more than a landscape implies *its colour*. The harmonic *potential* of a melody is infinite, for a melody is only an expression within the overall Expression'. ('Une mélodie n'a pas *son harmonie*, pas plus qu'un paysage n'a *sa couleur*. La *situation* harmonique

conjurer (see Ex.3.5).²³ In writing the series on F in BNF Ms 9603(5), Satie demonstrated that he wanted to return to basic musical principles in *Parade*. It is quite possible that he had read the 'Essai sur la musique classique des Chinois', by Maurice Courant, published in the *Encyclopédie de la musique* in Paris in 1913.²⁴ Satie uses several traditional features of Chinese music in Part 1. The F on which he builds the harmonic series in BNF Ms 9603(5) is considered to be the foundation tone in Chinese theory. The vibration frequencies used in calculating other pitches from the foundation tone were 'all based on powers of the numerals 2 and 3', which, respectively, symbolised Earth and Heaven.²⁵ Satie changes from 2 to 3 time to mark the difference between the Chinese conjurer's 'parade' and what takes place inside the *baraque* during the vocal section. Another Chinese tradition that Satie uses in *Le Chinois* is the way in which the vocal part was written in two antiphonal phrases ('Ils lui crevèrent les yeux; lui arrachèrent la langue'²⁶). Traditionally, according to Stevens and Robertson,

choirs of boys and choirs of girls from different villages challenged one another by singing sequences of distichs...Each half of the distich usually consisted of eight words, that is, eight syllables, a form well known in Chinese poetry. The contest of the sexes and the alternate singing (antiphony) were said to symbolize the two polar principles of the universe, *Yang* and *Yin*.²⁷

d'une mélodie est infime car une mélodie est une expression dans l'Expression.') See Orledge, *Satie the Composer* and Volta, *Écrits, op.cit.*

²³ In her thesis of 1987, '*Parade*': *Les influences cubistes sur la composition musicale d'Erik Satie*, Jacinthe Harbec deals at length with Satie's treatment of this pentatonic motif, arguing that it pervades the whole ballet. While there may be examples in the rest of the ballet of these three notes grouped together, it is only in Part 1 that they appear within pentatonic harmony.

²⁴ Robert Orledge refers to Satie's 'well-thumbed copy' of another reference book, Pierre Larousse's *Grand Dictionnaire universel*. See *Satie the Composer*, p.204.

²⁵ This and other information about the basis for Chinese music is taken from Denis Stevens and Alec Robertson (eds.), *The Pelican History of Music, Volume 1, Ancient Forms to Polyphony*, pp.43-7.

²⁶ 'they hollowed out his eyes; they pulled out his tongue'. Although Cocteau, not Satie, was the author of these lines, we know from Cocteau's letter of 1 May 1916 that Satie was free to use any of the ideas that Cocteau had sent him. We do not know whether Satie and Cocteau discussed which particular words should be used.

²⁷ Stevens and Robertson, *The Pelican History of Music*, Vol.1, p.43.

Ex.3.5: The entrance of the Chinese Conjuror, showing pentatonic harmony
(Piano duet, Éditions Salabert, 1917, p.4)

The musical score is arranged in four systems, each with two staves (treble and bass clef).
- **System 1:** Both staves contain a melodic line in a pentatonic style. The dynamic marking *pp* (pianissimo) is placed in the first and third measures of both staves.
- **System 2:** The upper staff features a melodic line with slurs and accents, marked with *mf* (mezzo-forte) in the first measure. The lower staff contains a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes.
- **System 3:** Both staves are empty.
- **System 4:** The upper staff contains a melodic line with slurs and accents, marked with *v* (pizzicato) in the first measure. The lower staff contains a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes.

Cocteau's suggestion in his letter of 1 May 1916 for 'contralto voices, downstage box' and 'children's voices, upstage box' already contained the seeds of antiphonal ideas and BNF Ms 9603(5) shows Satie taking great care over the two phrases, of seven and eight syllables respectively, of the vocal part.²⁸ The notes used for the part that should have been sung have a further interest in that they were traditionally used, according to Maurice Courant, in sacrificial music, exactly as the words in Part 1 imply.²⁹ Particular pitches were sung in different types of sacrifice: A was used in sacrifices to the Ancient Mother; F to the heavenly spirits; D# to the earthly spirits; B to the mountains and rivers; G to the First Ancestors; and C# to the four far-off objects. Of these, the only note not used by Satie in the vocal part is C# (see Ex.3.6). Moreover, these notes are all associated with the *yin* or female side of pitches within the circle of fifths, and are very appropriate, therefore, for the contralto and children's voices that Cocteau intended.³⁰

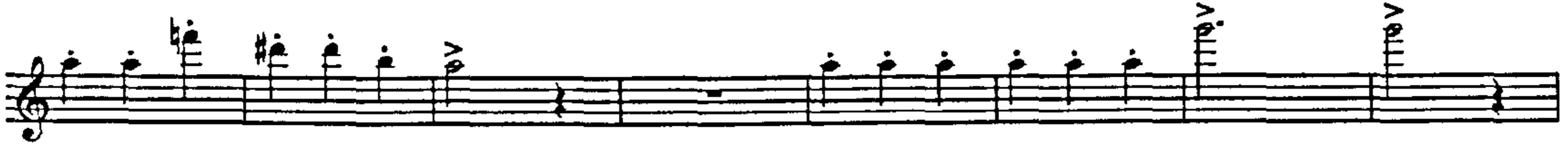
The music for the Chinese conjuror falls into distinct sections. There are three clear areas of bitonal pentatonic harmony: from OS 7 until four bars before the end of OS 8; from OS 9 until four bars before the end of OS 11; and the whole of OS 12. These three sections are based on the two pentatonic scales GABDE and F#G#A#C#D#. The first two pentatonic sections are separated by four bars of non-pentatonic music in which Satie makes a point of using the bass-notes F and C (Ex.3.7), the only notes not used in the first two pentatonic sections. It is as if he is recalling the harmony of the opening fairground music in which the notes F and C were used prominently as part of the theme itself or as the ostinati that form the bass part. Similarly the second and third sections of pentatonic music are separated by a non-pentatonic interlude. All three bitonal pentatonic sections representing the conjuror were originally constructed

²⁸ The two phrases were 'Ils lui crevèrent les yeux' and 'lui arrachèrent la langue'. The difference between spoken and sung French should be kept in mind. Spoken French would give only 6 syllables in each distich, whereas sung French, which pronounces every mute 'e', would give 7 and 8 syllables respectively. The vocal sections of Parts 2 and 3 do not fall into distichs.

²⁹ See Courant, p.102 of the 'Essai sur la musique classique des Chinois'.

³⁰ Courant's diagram of the circle of fifths on p.102 divides the notes into male and female (*yang* and *yin*). The male pitches are C, D, E, F#, G# and A#. See 'Essai historique sur la musique des Chinois'.

Ex.3.6: The vocal section in Part 1, showing pitches used in Chinese sacrificial music (Piano duet, Éd. Salabert, 1917, p.7)



Ex.3.7: Non-pentatonic interlude in Part 1, showing prominence of the notes F and C (Piano duet, Éd. Salabert, 1917, p.4)



to avoid the notes F and C. The third pentatonic section, however, is transposed in the final version to be a minor third higher than the sketch in BNF Ms 9602(1), p.15. Instead of being built on a bass note of E, this passage now gives prominence, as in the first pentatonic section, to the bass note G (and some symmetry, therefore, between the three pentatonic sections in this respect – their bass notes are G-F#-G). After the third pentatonic section there is a further demarcation: the pentatonic harmony gives way to a climactic, chromatic episode at OS 13-14. Then in order to emphasise another change of focus, chromaticism is abandoned at OS 15 when the vocal section begins, but pentatonic harmony is not reinstated: the Chinese conjuror is no longer the focus of attention. The vocal section highlights what is happening *inside* the *baraque*. These changes of harmony illustrate the point made by Cocteau in his article ‘La Collaboration de “Parade”’, written for the June/July edition of *Nord-Sud: Revue littéraire*: ‘Little by little there was born a score in which Satie seems to have discovered a strange dimension thanks to which one listens simultaneously to the ‘parade’ and to the show inside’.³¹ And, one should add, to the wider fairground.

(d) The Structure of Part 1

Satie claimed to have finished *Le Chinois* by 1 September 1916 and to be ‘after the American dancer’.³² If we examine the structure *without* the repeated music of the ‘Roue de la loterie’ and reprise of the *Chinois* entry, as was Satie’s original intention, it is clear that Part 1 is based on the golden section.³³ For the calculations regarding

³¹ See Appendix for this article.

³² See the Appendix for his letter of this date to Valentine Gross.

³³ Courtney S. Adams’s excellent paper, ‘Erik Satie and Golden Section Analysis’ gives a very clear summary of what golden section is and how it is calculated. Briefly, the total number of units (either beats or bars) is multiplied by 0.618034. This calculation gives the golden section point, which separates the piece into a longer and a shorter section. The shorter section is in the same ratio to the longer section as the longer section is to the whole piece. Further calculations *ad infinitum* can be made which produce similar proportions for smaller sections. Adams, quoting from Roy Howat’s *Debussy in Proportion*, p.7, also states that composers can use Fibonacci numbers to calculate the golden section without having to resort to long multiplication or a calculator. Music constructed using golden section calculations will demonstrate significant events at golden section points. These may be a change of texture, of dynamics, of key and so on. Courtney Adams does not mention Lucas numbers, the other series of numbers used in calculating golden section proportions.

structure, I have used Satie's original numbering system for Part 1, as shown in BNF Ms 9602(1). Satie's numbers show clearly that he has counted in beats, not bars, starting at the point where the introduction's theme begins.³⁴ By the end of the vocal section, on p.18 of BNF Ms 9602(1), he has marked 268 beats (he has crossed out 271 and 280). Satie's calculations show that where the music is in duple time he has counted two beats per bar, but that for triple time he has counted only one beat per bar.³⁵ The published piano duet version has 270 beats, counting the pause of 10 beats that Satie included in BNF Ms 9602(1).³⁶

Courtney Adams's study shows that Satie's works based on use of golden section 'cluster within two periods – early (1887-92) and late (1914-19)'.³⁷ This latter period covered the time when 'his association with artists using [golden section] was particularly close'.³⁸ Of immediate interest is the fact that golden section underpins the *Trois mélodies* of 1916, a work that was virtually contemporaneous with Satie beginning *Le Chinois*.³⁹ Adams also points out that every three-movement work for solo piano between August 1914 and October 1919 was constructed using golden section (except the *Sonatine bureaucratique* whose form was already fixed). Since Satie was planning a three-movement ballet, there is a very strong chance that he would have favoured this kind of construction.

Before setting out the way in which Satie used the golden section proportions in Part 1, there are a number of possibilities to consider due to the chronological composition

³⁴ On p.16 of BNF Ms 9602(1) Satie has written '204' under the music, which agrees very closely with my counting of 206 beats at the same point.

³⁵ In Part 1 the introduction varies between 2/4 and 3/8, the main part of *Le Chinois* is in 2/4 and the voice part is in 3/4.

³⁶ Satie had a pause of 4 bars (8 beats) originally in this short score. The total number of beats was subsequently lengthened (most probably during September 1916) to 298, with the addition of the repeated 'Roue de la loterie' music and the repeated pentatonic motif that accompanied the conjuror's entrance. In performance the pause of 10 beats was removed. Neither the Frederick Koch score nor the published piano duet version show any pause at this point, but the orchestral score has a pause of unspecified length.

³⁷ Adams, 'Erik Satie and Golden Section Analysis', p.251.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.250. The artists Adams refers to are Juan Gris, André Lhote and Gino Severini.

³⁹ *La Statue de bronze* was finished only on 26 May 1916, just a few weeks after Cocteau had delivered the outline of his scenario to Satie on 1 May.

as discussed earlier. It is quite possible that in the first weeks of composition, Satie saw the introductory music as a separate and complete entity, not linked to the Chinois music. It is evident from the sketchbooks that the 'Roue de la loterie' was not conceived as part of the introduction, but came at a later stage, on p.11 of BNF Ms 9603(5) when Satie was working on the music for the conjuror. It is possible, therefore, that only the conjuror's music was to be written according to golden section proportions. Indeed, the first pentatonic section is 28 beats long and on the 29th beat there is a change of harmony. It is possible that Satie planned to mark out his Chinese music by the use of Lucas numbers (29 being part of the series) and indeed this section is 200 beats long (very close to the 199 of the series) from the entry of the Chinois to the end of the vocal section.⁴⁰ However, there is no further evidence that important moments within the conjuror's section alone were marked out by Lucas numbers. As we saw, Satie lost interest early on in *Parade* and did not return to it until the first week of August, by which time his ideas had possibly changed. The addition of the 'Roue de la loterie' meant that the introductory music of 60 beats, already written, was now linked to the rest of Part 1. If Satie was to base his composition on golden section, his first 'milestone' was the entry of the conjuror, which, with the addition of the linking 'Roue de la loterie', now fell after beat 68. One possibility is that he now intended to mark out his sections using multiples of 34 (a Fibonacci number).⁴¹ This kind of calculation gives the following approximate marking of the milestones in Part 1: at beat 68 the introductory music ends ($34 \times 2 = 68$); at beat 104 the 4-bar interlude ends before the second pentatonic section starts ($34 \times 3 = 102$); at beat 170 the second 4-bar interlude ends before the third pentatonic section starts ($34 \times 5 = 174$); and at beat 268 Part 1 finishes with the vocal section ($34 \times 8 = 272$). This system has a very pleasing logic to it, especially as the multipliers of 34 are themselves Fibonacci numbers, but there is a rather large margin of error (see Fig.3.8).

⁴⁰ The complete Lucas series is 1, 3, 4, 7, 11, 18, 29, 47, 76, 123, 199, 322, 521, 843, etc.

⁴¹ The Fibonacci series is as follows: 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21, 34, 55, 89, 144, 233, 377, 610, 987, etc.

A more convincing picture emerges, however, from the traditional method of calculating golden section proportions. If we accept Satie's total number of beats as 268 for Part 1 from the introductory music to the end of the vocal section, the long golden section point falls at beat 166 (see Fig.3.9), marking out the end of the second pentatonic section. There is also a change of tempo at this point (*ralentir un peu* – 'a little slower'), a change of register and a change of texture after the long sharp-based ostinato has finished. The short golden section point falls at beat 102, just three beats before the beginning of the second pentatonic section, where once again the texture and register change, as does the harmony. There is also a written textual commentary

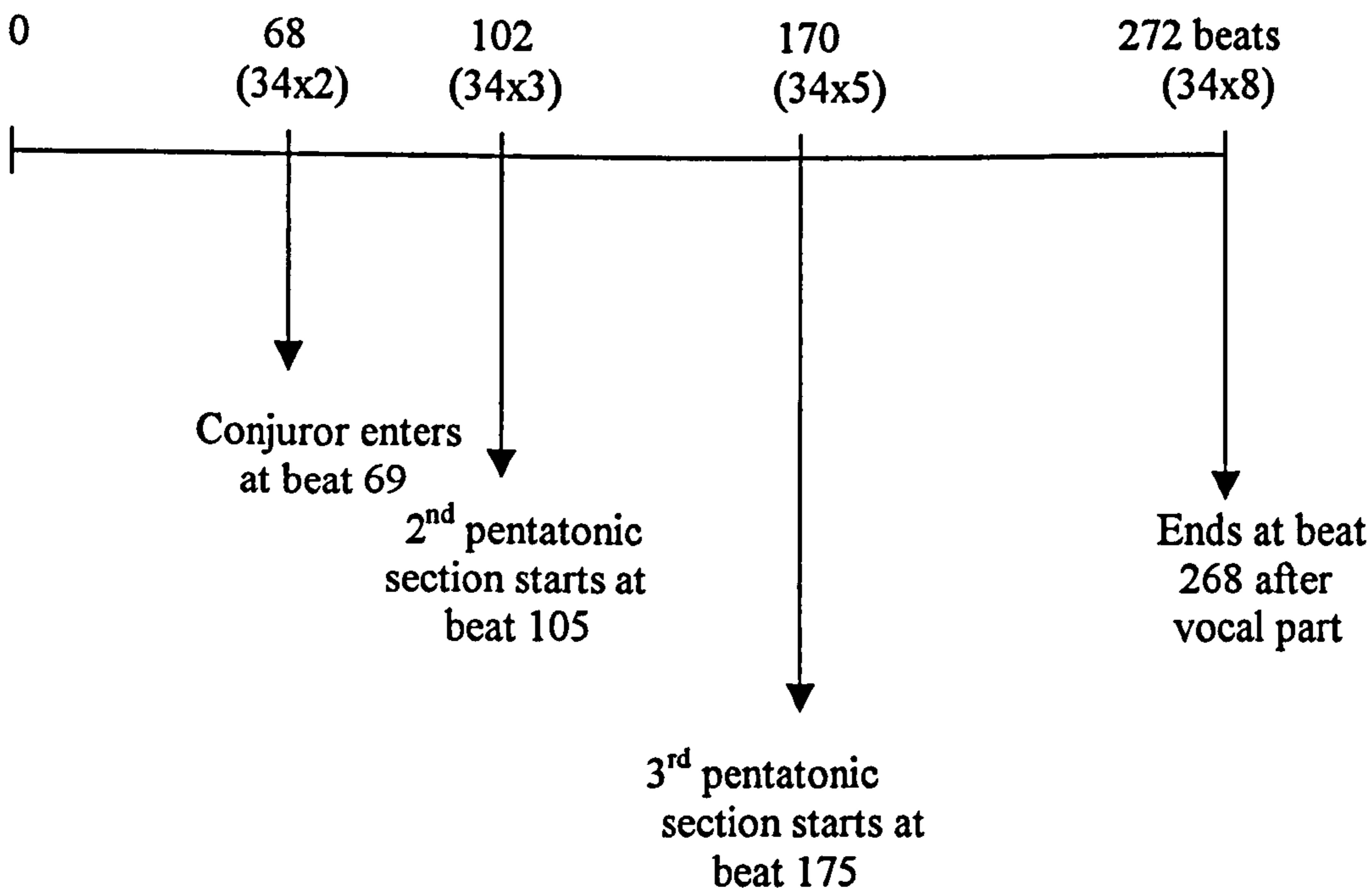


Fig.3.8: The structure of Part 1 using Fibonacci numbers.

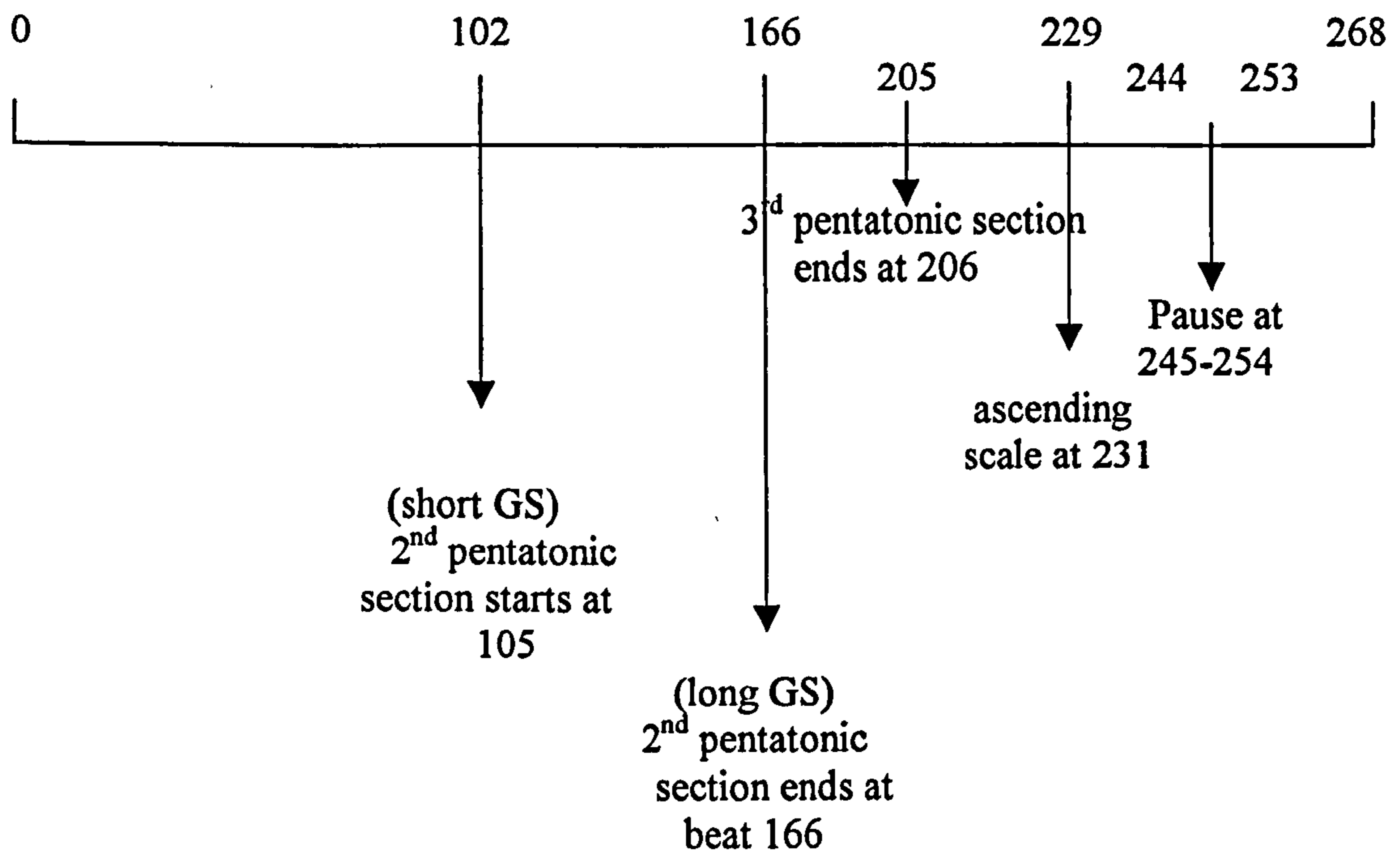


Fig.3.9: The structure of Part 1 based on golden section calculations (taking long and short GS of 268, 102 and 39 by using a multiplier of 0.618034)

here, *A mi-corps* (half-bodied). Satie therefore isolates or highlights this bitonal pentatonic music in the middle of Part 1. It is the section that retains its pentatonic harmony and ostinato for the longest time (62 beats). BNF Ms 9602(1) has ‘son tour’ (his trick) at the start of this section and indicates that it is to be accompanied by ‘flaques sonores’ (‘puddles of sound’) in every alternate bar. This section is also dominated by a rambling melody, quite unusual for Satie.⁴²

If we take further subdivisions of the music and calculate their golden section points, the following landmarks emerge: beat 205 (the third pentatonic section ends at beat 206); beat 229 (beat 230 marks the end of a static section before the chromatic ascent to the pause bars); beat 244 (where the pause bars in BNF Ms 9603(5) begin); beat

⁴² As we saw, one of Satie’s first thoughts for *Parade* was a long, extremely rambling and bland melody in 3/4 time contained in BNF Ms 9585.

253 (the pause bars end at 254).⁴³ The evidence for Satie having used golden section to construct Part 1 prior to Picasso's involvement is therefore very strong.

(e) The compositional process from early September 1916 to January 1917

Satie's letter to Valentine Gross of 1 September shows that the first meeting with Picasso took place on the following day. By 5 September Satie writes to Henri-Pierre Roché that 'Picasso is astounding!' and by 14 September Satie tells Cocteau that 'Picasso has unusual and new ideas for "Parade"'.⁴⁴ BNF Ms 9672, p.4 is the most important page of the entire series of Satie's notebooks, and directly reflects these 'unusual and new ideas'. The 'Flaques Jets Girations' of BNF Ms 9603(5), p.1, now gives way to 'Flaques Trépidations Géométrie',⁴⁵ together with the following words: 'C Sphère Cube Cylindre'.⁴⁶ The course of *Parade* is changed on this important page (see Fig.3.10).

The 'C' is a direct reference to the painter Cézanne and the 'Sphère Cube Cylindre' refer to Cézanne's artistic aesthetic that aimed as far as possible to reduce what he painted to geometric essentials. If Satie was not already aware of this approach, Picasso would have alerted him to it.⁴⁷ In *The Philosophy of Modern Art*, Herbert Read gives a very clear account of the type of concerns and discussions current in the artistic *milieu* in Paris in the first two decades of the twentieth century. He refers to a series of still-lives painted by Picasso during 1907 and 1908 'in which we see a

⁴³ Adams accepts a margin of error of 1 per cent, but she says: 'typically, analysts find 2 per cent a reasonable margin'. See 'Erik Satie and Golden Section Analysis', p.244.

⁴⁴ See Appendix for this correspondence.

⁴⁵ 'Puddles Flickers Geometry'.

⁴⁶ The manuscript shows two different types of pencil mark, one much darker than the other, demonstrating that the two sets of ideas were added separately. See the facsimile in Fig.3.10.

⁴⁷ As is well known, Satie was extremely knowledgeable about art. It should be remembered, however, that Cézanne's work was relatively unknown in 1916. His first major retrospective was not seen in Paris until 1904 and even as late as 1920 the writer Marcel Proust (whose novel *À la Recherche du temps perdu* is full of references to artistic works) wrote to Cocteau: 'Unfortunately I have never seen a Cézanne. Where can one see some?'. Cited by Steegmuller, *Cocteau*, p.208 from Walter A Strauss, 'Twelve Unpublished Letters of Marcel Proust' in *Harvard University Bulletin*, Vol. VII, No. 2, Spring 1953.

Handwritten musical manuscript on a grid of staves. The page is divided into two main sections by a vertical line. The left section contains several staves with handwritten musical notation, including a large, stylized signature 'SATIE' and some illegible text. The right section contains a large, complex geometric diagram consisting of multiple overlapping triangles and lines, drawn over the musical staves. At the top of the page, there are several lines of handwritten text and numbers, including '74', '111', and '111'.

Fig.3.10: BNF Ms 9672, p.4, showing Satie's transcription of Cézanne's dictum

patient simplification of the forms, tending towards an almost complete geometricisation'.⁴⁸ Read continues:

The process was, of course, inherent in the practice of Cézanne...Instead of catching the shimmering surface of appearances, the momentary effects of light and movement, Cézanne sought to reveal a permanent reality... and in this attempt he arrived, almost unconsciously, at something like a geometricization of objects; nature, he said, could be resolved into the cylinder, the sphere, and the cone. But that effect, with Cézanne, was a by-product of his primary aim, which was still to realize his sensations in the face of natural phenomena. Picasso...carried the process a stage further. He found that the cylinder, the sphere and the cone were satisfactory objects in themselves, and that out of such elements he could construct a design which conveyed all the purely aesthetic appeal inherent in any painting.⁴⁹

Satie's interest in art and artistic methods has been well documented.⁵⁰ In an article on Debussy written for *Vanity Fair* in 1922, he recalled his early view that music was an artform that could benefit from understanding and using painterly methods. Satie refers to the time when he was writing *Le Fils des étoiles* (1891) and recalls his advice to Debussy: 'Why not use the means of representation demonstrated by Claude Monet, Cézanne, Toulouse-Lautrec, etc.? Why not transpose these means musically?'⁵¹ Furthermore, his specific equation of music with such different media

⁴⁸ Read, *The Philosophy of Modern Art*, p.155.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ By Robert Orledge amongst others. Chapter 10 of *Satie the Composer* shows how Satie mixed with painters and other artists more than musicians throughout his life.

⁵¹ 'Pourquoi ne pas se servir des moyens représentatives que nous exposaient Claude Monet, Cézanne, Toulouse-Lautrec, etc.? Pourquoi ne pas transposer musicalement ces moyens?' See Ornella Volta, *Écrits*, p.69.

as sculpture⁵² and fresco⁵³ gives an insight into his quirky, alternative approach to composition which throughout his life made him question the tools traditionally available to the musician: melody, harmony, rhythm, and form. Satie's reinterpretation of Cézanne's aesthetic in BNF Ms 9672 shows him on the threshold of a new musical challenge: that of recreating a sphere-like structure, a cube-like structure and a cylinder-like structure in *Parade*. It is my view that he attempted this by immediately and retrospectively putting the circularity of the sphere into Part 1. He would incorporate the properties and dimensions of a cube into Part 2 (about to be written) and the properties of a cylinder into Part 3, several months hence. Just as use of the golden section in music is an intellectual achievement only visible (rarely audible) to composers and analysts, so Satie's 'geometricisation' of the music for *Parade* is, apart from its circularity, mostly hidden. But this would not have worried him one bit.⁵⁴

(f) Circular structure in Part 1 and elsewhere

As we saw earlier, Part 1 was originally to end after the vocal section. In what became a circular structure, Satie inserted a repeat of the 'Roue de la loterie' music and the conjuror's memorable *fortissimo* pentatonic motif,⁵⁵ giving the impression that Part 1 was going to begin again, and indeed could go on *ad infinitum*. This device was in place by the time Satie wrote out the short score in BNF Ms 9602(1).⁵⁶

⁵² In 1913 Satie wrote: 'Avant d'écrire une oeuvre, j'en fais plusieurs fois le tour, en compagnie de moi-même'. ('Before writing a piece, I walk round it several times, accompanied by myself.') Volta, *Écrits*, p.143.

⁵³ Satie's advice to Debussy about writing for the stage was to create 'a musical climate in which the characters move and speak...a certain atmosphere like a painting by Puvis de Chavannes.' Cited by P.-D. Templier in *Erik Satie*, p.17. Puvis de Chavannes taught Satie's (and Picasso's) friends, the painters, Santiago Rusiñol and Ramón de Casas in the 1890s. According to Steven Whiting, 'Motion, drama and specificity are sacrificed to achieve a static, timeless generality of allegorical suggestion' in the work of Puvis de Chavannes. See Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian*, p.128.

⁵⁴ He hated talking about his compositional methods, as Paul Morand's *Journal d'un attaché d'ambassade, 1916-17*, p.27, states: 'Il ne parle pas de son génie, il tient surtout à avoir l'air malin'. ('He doesn't speak of his genius, he is keen above all on appearing wicked.') See Appendix, entry dated 'after 7 October 1916'.

⁵⁵ It is memorable because it is extremely short and is repeated six times as the conjuror enters (see Ex.3.5).

⁵⁶ This manuscript was probably completed in the second part of September or the first part of October 1916 and contains no sign of the *Prélude* that made its first tentative appearance in the sketchbook, BNF Ms 9603(4), before the text of Satie's talk, 'Les Animaux dans la musique', given on 5 November 1916.

In the event this circular idea was used in all three parts. Wilfred Mellers called it a mirror structure,⁵⁷ but when we look into the reasons for Satie organising his music in this way, the term ‘mirror’, implying symmetry, can be misleading. At the end of Part 1 the ‘Roue de la loterie’ and the pentatonic music are repeated in the same order in which they first appeared, not reversed as would be the case in a mirror structure. Instead, Satie uses repetition as a dramatic device to illustrate that the show at the fairground never ends. The music for the lottery wheel signals that we are once more outside the *baraque* after the vocal section, and that the *parade* has begun all over again. The audience involuntarily expects the rest of the music for Part 1 to follow. In other words, Satie does what Picasso did in his painting *Ma Jolie*:⁵⁸ he conjures up, by suggestion, something that is not really there (in Picasso’s case, a popular song). Satie uses the strong character of the lottery-wheel and pentatonic music to manipulate the audience into thinking that there is to be a repetition of Part 1.⁵⁹

Parts 2 and 3 follow the same pattern. We cannot be certain, however, that Satie had the idea of making these other two movements circular at the same time that he added a circular device to Part 1. Indeed it seems very unlikely. The sketch of Part 2 at this crucial point in its structure finishes with the vocal part, and ‘Exit of the American Girl’ (‘Sortie de l’Américaine’) on p.7 of BNF Ms 9603(4). This appears to be the end of Part 2, because on p.11 of the same sketchbook, Satie moves on to something different, and writes the first sketch of the *Prélude*, not originally envisaged as the introduction for *Parade*.⁶⁰ This would have been after 25 October, when the *Ragtime* was finished (according to Satie’s correspondence of that date with Valentine Gross). Then, on p.13, he is again diverted, this time by his talk on ‘Animals in Music’ (‘Les Animaux dans la Musique’), which took place on 5 November 1916. Finally, he

⁵⁷ In an article called ‘Erik Satie and the “Problem” of Contemporary Music’ in *Music and Letters*, 23/3, July 1942, p.218.

⁵⁸ Painted 1911-12 and now in the Museum of Modern Art in New York. See Fig.4.15.

⁵⁹ Satie was a past master at conjuring up non-musical references within his works by quoting well-known excerpts by great composers. One of the best examples is the *Sonatine bureaucratique* of 1917 that uses a Clementi sonatina to satirise the modern life of a bureaucrat. In *Parade*, however, he refers to his own music for structural, not ironic effect.

⁶⁰ It was at this point that the Managers would have been conceived. Satie’s introductory music would now have to serve their dramatic purpose and a different introduction to the ballet would have been required.

begins work on the opening bars of Part 3 on p.16 of BNF Ms 9603(4). This may well have been on 6 November, when a letter to the writer and critic, Georges Jean-Aubry, expresses a real sense of urgency about *Parade*: ‘...I have work to do for Diaghilew. I can’t leave my work, even for a few days’.⁶¹ It is only at this point, not in the earlier sketches for Part 2, that he squeezes in, in front of the opening bars of Part 3, the ending of Part 2 that is identical to its opening music (see Ex.3.8, from p.16 of BNF Ms 9603(4)). It looks like an afterthought, however, especially as he changes the last note to become a leading note to Part 3. This gives the impression that Part 2 was intended to move seamlessly into the next section instead of endlessly repeating, as Part 1 would have done. In the event this harmony was not used and Part 2 took on the same circularity as Part 1. Yet one wonders why, when the short score of Part 1, with its circular device, had already been written,⁶² Satie did not simply copy the idea when he was sketching the end of Part 2 on p.7 of BNF Ms 9603(2). One has to assume that the circularity was to be particular to Part 1. We cannot know what Satie envisaged for Part 3’s ending, because its short score, in BNF Ms 9602(3), peters out. Satie seems to have left himself little time to complete Part 3 before a planned read-through of the whole of *Parade* scheduled for 3 January 1917.⁶³

Ex.3.8: Unused link between Part 2 and Part 3 (BNF Ms 9603(4), p.16)



⁶¹ See Appendix.

⁶² The short score, *without a Prélude*, was probably completed during the last part of September or early October.

⁶³ See Satie’s letter of 2 January 1917 to Valentine Gross. His previous letter to her of 26 December 1916 shows that there was also to be ‘une lecture “purement amicale”’ (‘a “purely friendly” read-through’) on 29 December 1916, also with the pianist Ricardo Viñes. Valentine Gross and her current lover, the artist Charles Stern, were invited. See Appendix.

He seems to have concentrated, at the expense of Part 3, on the *Prélude*, together with the *Suite au Prélude* that would conclude the ballet. These appear in the sketchbook that contains the bulk of the work for the *Acrobate* section.⁶⁴ The relative position of the *Prélude* and *Acrobate* sections within this notebook, as well as references in contemporary letters lead to the conclusion that Satie probably did not write the majority of the *Acrobate* until after he had finished the *Prélude* on 12 December.⁶⁵ He wrote to Valentine Gross on 2 January 1917 that he had finally finished *Parade* and had arranged a rehearsal for the following day, with Ricardo Viñes and himself playing the piano duet version. He added that the *Acrobate* part was only partially written up. Since this is the shortest of the three parts, and the sketches suggest that Satie had little difficulty in its composition, it is most likely that he wrote the bulk of it between 12 December 1916 and 2 January 1917 but did not have time to finish copying it ready for the planned rehearsal.

Satie's master-stroke, however, lies in the inclusion of his afterthought, the *Suprême Effort et Chute des Managers* which rediscovers the lively music that the audience would remember from the beginning of the show. The *Suprême Effort* completes the circularity and makes one think that the whole show will soon start again as it would have done in real life. Sketches for this section were added at the very end of BNF Ms 9603(1), on p.18, after the vocal section in Part 3. Following the rehearsal with Viñes in early January, Satie told Cocteau that he had 'lightly retouched the end of the 4-hands' and that this was an improvement.⁶⁶ He could be referring here to the *Suite au Prélude* but it is more likely, since the sketch for the *Suite* immediately follows the *Prélude* in BNF Ms 9603(1), to be a reference to the *Suprême Effort et Chute des Managers*.⁶⁷ I would suggest that Satie added the *Suprême Effort* during this final session of work on *Parade* after 2 January 1917 and probably after showing

⁶⁴ BNF Ms 9603(1). It is labelled "'Parade" (brouillon)' ('rough draft').

⁶⁵ See Appendix for his letter of this date to Valentine Gross.

⁶⁶ See letter of 9 January 1917 in Appendix.

⁶⁷ The finished *Prélude*, link and *Suite* are on pages 2-5 of BNF Ms 9603(1). The *Suprême Effort* would not have had this title until the choreography was in place weeks later. It was Massine who decided on the use of this music.

Diaghilev the music on 8 January.⁶⁸ It is a section that is almost identical to the first half of Satie's original introduction, requiring only new accompaniments. Satie would have seen this as 'lightly retouching' the music. Yet the fact that he bothered to add this short section and that he viewed it as an improvement is significant. He used the circularity not as a balancing device for his original introduction, but as a tool that cleverly, and with very little effort on his part, reinforces the circularity of *Parade*. I would argue, therefore, that the circular device that Satie added to Part 1 in September 1916 as the result of a decision to put a painterly aesthetic into the music, became an integral part of the ballet only as an afterthought that became one of his best ideas.

The *Suprême effort et chute des Managers* was, of course, choreographed weeks later by Massine to imply something quite different.⁶⁹ We can only guess at Satie's reaction to the way his intentions were ignored from the following statement made to the painter, Moïse Kisling, in 1924:

...one should first see the characters dance before writing the music that should illustrate their movements. The choreographer cares only for himself...And who cares about the composer – about his sensibility, indeed, about his message? No-one! People usurp it, or cast it aside, and in the end the only one who has something to say and who knows the reasons behind his works, finds himself again keeping them to himself....all things being equal, I would prefer what I have imposed to what others try to impose upon me.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ See Appendix for Satie's letter of 7 January to Jean Cocteau in which he mentions this appointment with Diaghilev.

⁶⁹ The Managers are seen to make one last attempt, before collapsing, to encourage the audience to enter the *baraque*.

⁷⁰ Robert Orledge's translation of Kisling, 'Souvenir de Satie', *Revue musicale*, 214, June 1952, pp.107-10. See Orledge, 'Erik Satie's Ballet *Mercure* (1924): From Mount Etna to Montmartre', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 123 (1998), p.237.

Perhaps Satie felt that Massine had usurped his message by giving *Parade* a dramatic finish that belied the implication of its never-ending circularity. He was certainly pleased enough with this late addition to the music to retain it in 1919 when the similar but much more extended material of the *Final* was written.

(g) Part 2: La Petite Fille Américaine

As we saw earlier, Satie wrote Parts 2 and 3 of *Parade* after Picasso had begun to participate in the collaboration in early September 1916. The 'Flaques Trépidations Géométrie' on p.4 of BNF Ms 9672 show that Part 2 is now associated with 'flickers', or the cinema. This is an expansion of Cocteau's original notes that had made passing references to the cinema and Charlie Chaplin amongst the wide-ranging but random vignettes of American life sent to Satie on 1 May.⁷¹ Following the reference to Cézanne's aesthetic, Part 2 took a new direction and became a mathematical *tour de force* that gave it the properties of a cube.

The sketches for the *Little American Girl* appear in BNF Mss 9672, 9603(2) and 9603(4). The second of these sketchbooks only contains music for the *Rag-Time du paquebot*, the highlight of Part 2. There is also a short score in BNF Ms 9602(2) that ends with the pause preceding the voice part. This continues in BNF Ms 9602(3), and leads into the first part of the *Acrobate*. These two manuscripts were therefore written consecutively, probably being started very late in December 1916 and left unfinished by 3 January 1917, the day of the rehearsal discussed earlier. We can date the fair copies of Parts 2 and 3 fairly accurately because we know from Satie's letter of 12 December to Valentine Gross that he finished the *Prélude* on that day.⁷² This section is on p.2 of BNF Ms 9603(1), the sketchbook which also contains the *Suite au Prélude* that would end the ballet, as well as the majority of Part 3. Satie therefore had a considerable amount of work to do after 12 December before he could write the fair copies of Parts 2 and 3.

⁷¹ These are cited at length by Frederick Brown, *An Impersonation of Angels*, pp.128-9.

⁷² See Appendix.

(h) The properties of the cube in Part 2

As in Part 1, Satie appears to be counting his music in beats rather than bars. BNF Ms 9672, p.11, has the number '104' underneath the last bar of the second snippet of ragtime music, four bars after OS 21. This tallies fairly closely with a count of 108 beats at this point in the published version of the piano duet, 1917, which has a total of 340 beats.⁷³ The sketchbooks show Satie writing *more* than 340 beats for Part 2, however. BNF Ms 9672, p.14, shows an additional 2 beats at the end of the ascending scale just before OS 20. BNF Ms 9603(4), p.3, has an extra 16 beats as a pause at the end of the wave section four bars after OS 31. Satie labelled this very precisely '8 mesures à compter' ('8 bars to count'). BNF Ms 9603(4), p.7 shows an extra 8 beats after the intended vocal part before OS 33.⁷⁴ And BNF Ms 9603(4), p.2, shows a finished version of the wave, in ink, eight bars long, not four as appears in the published version (OS 30). The original intention was to have an extra 8 beats in this section. Satie also indicates on page 3 of this sketch that the 4 bars of ostinato immediately following the wave are to be doubled to 8 bars, an addition of a further 8 beats, therefore. This makes a total of 382 beats, and I believe that Satie's original intention was to have 384 beats in Part 2.

It is my view that such a precise number of beats, 384, was chosen deliberately. The sketchbooks show Satie striving to reach this total by adding repeats of bars for no apparent aesthetic purpose. Mathematically 384 is a special number as far as the cube is concerned. It can be divided by 6 to give the six faces of a cube (each with a dimension of 64 units). A cube can also be divided into 8 smaller cubes, and this is possible with the number 384: it can form 8 cubes of 48 units which each contain 6 faces of 8 units. If 384 beats constitute the overall dimensions of Part 2, it is the

⁷³ These are mainly crotchet beats but the *Rag-time du paquebot* is in minim beats, as indicated by the new time-signature. The metronome marking for this movement is, in its final version, 76, as in Part 1. The mistake in printing which occurs at the beginning of Part 2 in both the piano duet and orchestral versions (minim=76 rather than crotchet=76) has been corrected by Ornella Volta in her re-publication of both versions of *Parade* (Salabert, 1999 and 2000). See under entry for Satie in the Bibliography.

⁷⁴ The layout of Part 2, with its measured pause and vocal part, was to be similar to that of Part 1.

number 48 that occurs at important moments of this movement. We shall see how carefully Satie has chosen his numbers.⁷⁵

There are four sections in Part 2 where Satie has given prominence to the number 48: the opening music, the *Ragtime*, the wave and the vocal part. These are the most important landmarks of Part 2 and they were all composed, with the exception of the opening music, after Picasso's participation in the ballet. The first sketch of the opening for Part 2, in BNF Ms 9603(5), p.19, was made at the end of August or the beginning of September 1916 and has four semiquavers per beat (see Ex.3.9).⁷⁶ In the finished version, however, these are changed into sextuplet semiquavers. In the 16 beats that form the introductory music to Part 2 there are 96 of them (48 times 2).⁷⁷ Additionally there are 96 quavers above the descending sextuplets. If we consider the vertical arrangement of the quavers and sextuplets we can see that there are 48 notes in every group of four beats. Every two beats has 12 sextuplets and 12 quavers, mimicking the 12 edges of a cube. Each beat has 6 notes, echoing the 6 faces of a cube. Within each beat there are 3 quavers and 3 sextuplets, representing the three edges that come together at every corner of the cube.⁷⁸ The 16 beats divide into four groups of four beats with 48 notes in each, because their material is repeated. Each group of four beats is linked in the top two voices by tritones (B-F and F#-C. See Ex.3.14). We can say, therefore, that Satie has introduced Part 2 with 4 mini-cubes of 48 units each and has displayed the cube's various properties in this section.

⁷⁵ As Courtney Adams points out, Satie was obsessed, from the 1890s onwards, with numerology. See 'Erik Satie and Golden Section Analysis', p.250.

⁷⁶ See Satie's letter to Valentine Gross of 1 September in which he says he is 'after the American dancer'.

⁷⁷ The orchestral score has all 96. The piano version leaves out the final 2 sextuplet semiquavers, presumably to facilitate the rapid shift of hand position in the *seconda* part.

⁷⁸ This introductory section is repeated at the end of the act.

Ex.3.9: The original opening of Part 2, showing semiquavers instead of sextuplets (BNF Ms 9603(5), p.19)



The *Ragtime du paquebot* is a self-contained piece within Part 2 that falls into two distinct halves of 48 beats each (the *Ragtime* itself, and the *Trio* and shortened Reprise of the *Ragtime*). As Nancy Perloff and others have shown, Satie based this section on the song, *That Mysterious Rag*, by Irving Berlin and Ted Snyder.⁷⁹ BNF Ms 9603(4), pp.8-10, shows a sketch of the melody that Satie has adapted from the song. His first thought was to have a four-bar introduction, followed by a further 22 bars of melody. However, in the event, he dispensed with the introduction and inserted two extra bars of melody to create the 24 bars (48 beats) that forms the finished version of the first half. The *Trio* and Reprise form a further 48 beats to give a total of 96. The *Ragtime* inverts the order of the original model: Satie's Reprise was Berlin's original Introduction, his *Trio* was Berlin's Verse that followed the introduction, and his *Ragtime* was Berlin's original Chorus. Satie has omitted Berlin's 'Till ready' bars that precede the Verse, as well as the repeats of the Chorus.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ See Perloff, *Art and the Everyday*, pp.137ff.

⁸⁰ Satie's correspondence with Valentine Gross leads me to believe that it was her fiancé, the artist, Charles Stern, who suggested *That Mysterious Rag* to Satie. On 13 July 1916 Satie writes 'Stern has invited me to dinner this evening. I'm not going. He disgusts me.' By 14 September and in subsequent letters, however, he asks Valentine Gross to send Stern his best wishes. On 16 October he mentions 'Le "rag"' immediately after sending his best wishes to Stern. And on 25 October he writes, 'Best wishes to good old Stern. I'll let you hear "his" Rag-Time' ("son" Rag-Time'). Ornella Volta (*Erik Satie, Correspondance Presque complete*, p.870) interprets 'son' as referring to the composers of the song, Ted Snyder and Irving Berlin, or the dancers, Manzano and la Mora, who performed it at the Moulin Rouge in 1913. However, the correct adjective in French would then be 'leur'. There is no reference in Satie's letter to either the composers or the dancers, and the only possible interpretation of 'son' would be 'his' with reference to Stern. Additionally, Satie's volte-face regarding Stern implies that the artist has done him some kind of favour. Indeed Satie takes care to include him in the invitation to his talk in November 1916, as well as to the read-through of *Parade* on 29 December.

What is striking about the *Ragtime* and *Trio* is the way that many of the sections mirror each other exactly like the faces of a cube. In fact each half falls neatly into 6 'faces' of 8 beats each (48 divided by 6). In the *Ragtime* that forms the first half (OS 23 to 26), the material of the first 8 beats (face 1) is exactly like that of face 5 (at OS 25) and the material of the second 8 beats (face 2) is mostly like that of face 6 (at 4 bars before OS 26). The third and fourth groups of 8 beats (faces 3 and 4) also mirror each other's material: each has a high note, a short descending scale that begins on the third beat of the bar, a number of tritones, and material punctuated by crotchet rests (face 3 begins two bars before OS 24 and face 4 at OS 24). In the second half (the *Trio* and Reprise, beginning at OS 26), the first two 8-beat sections (faces 1 and 2) mirror each other very closely in rhythm, melodic outline, pitches, harmony and dynamics. The next two sections (faces 3 and 4, two bars before OS 27 to OS 28)) begin in a similar way to each other in terms of rhythm, melodic outline and dynamics, but end differently. The last two sections (faces 5 and 6, the Reprise, at OS 28) are unusual in having little in common with each other. The complete *Ragtime du paquebot* appears, therefore, to form two cubes of 48 beats, each one having 6 faces, with pairs of faces mirroring each other's material.

The wave, over which Satie took tremendous pains,⁸¹ has, in the piano duet score of 1917, 48 ascending sextuplet semiquavers up to its peak (the D an octave above middle C) and 48 descending sextuplets. These are arranged in 2 lines of parallel octaves. A discarded version in BNF Ms 9672, pp.8-9, shows the same number of notes, this time as quavers. With the wave, Satie appears to have created a further two cubes of 48 units each.

BNF Ms 9603(4), p.7, shows a detailed sketch for the vocal part in which Satie intended to have 16 bars (32 beats) altogether, the first and last four being ostinati. In each of these there are 8 notes, making a total of 128 notes. The melody for the words is then inserted, giving an extra 13 notes which, when doubled, as in the piano duet, makes 154. The sketch shows that Satie adds a further four bars of ostinati after

⁸¹ Seven versions were attempted before the final one was reached.

his original double bar⁸² to give a new total of 186. Then in order to create more notes, he changes the words, adding an extra three syllables (and notes) which, when doubled, as in the piano duet, make a total of 192 notes (48 times 4). Satie adds a further four mini-cubes of 48 units in this vocal section, therefore.

Satie ends Part 2 with a repeat of the opening music, thereby adding 4 more cubes of 48 units each. The total of 384 beats in Part 2 contains 16 cubes of 48 units, the units being either notes or beats.

Satie obviously took great care with the overall proportions of Part 2, and the four sections that are governed by the cubic number 48, but the sketches for the rest of this movement differ from those of Part 1 in their greater attention to the detail of the music in between the four main sections. Indeed, unlike Part 1, we can trace all the composition of the movement in the sketches and this demonstrates the enormous care that Satie took in the seemingly bland stretches of ostinati and snatches of melody that appear between the main landmarks. In the detail of the music we see that Satie has inserted another aspect of the cube by his use of the tritone. This is the most audible way in which he makes *La Petite Fille Américaine* cuboid. The tritone is the symbol of a cube *par excellence*. It spans 6 semitones (to echo the 6 faces of a cube) and three tones (representing the 3 edges that meet at each of its four corners). It is an augmented fourth (each face of a cube has four sides).⁸³ Additionally, two tritones a minor third apart (for example F-B and D-G sharp) form a diminished seventh chord when used together. When illustrated graphically this chord cuts the octave into four equal parts and symbolises a square within the circle of fifths (see Fig.3.11).

⁸² It was at this point in the sketch that Satie had indicated the exit of the Little American Girl ('Sortie de l'Américaine'). He has crossed this out and re-written it after the insertion of the extra four bars of ostinato. In performance the passage reverts to 16 bars, losing the final three bars of ostinato. The words were extended from 'Tic, tic, tic, le "Titanic" s'enfonce dans la mer' ('Tic, tic, tic, the "Titanic" goes down into the sea') to '...s'enfonce allumé dans la mer' ('...goes down lit up into the sea').

⁸³ It is also important to remember that Part 2 depicted the cinema whose screen was, at that time, square.

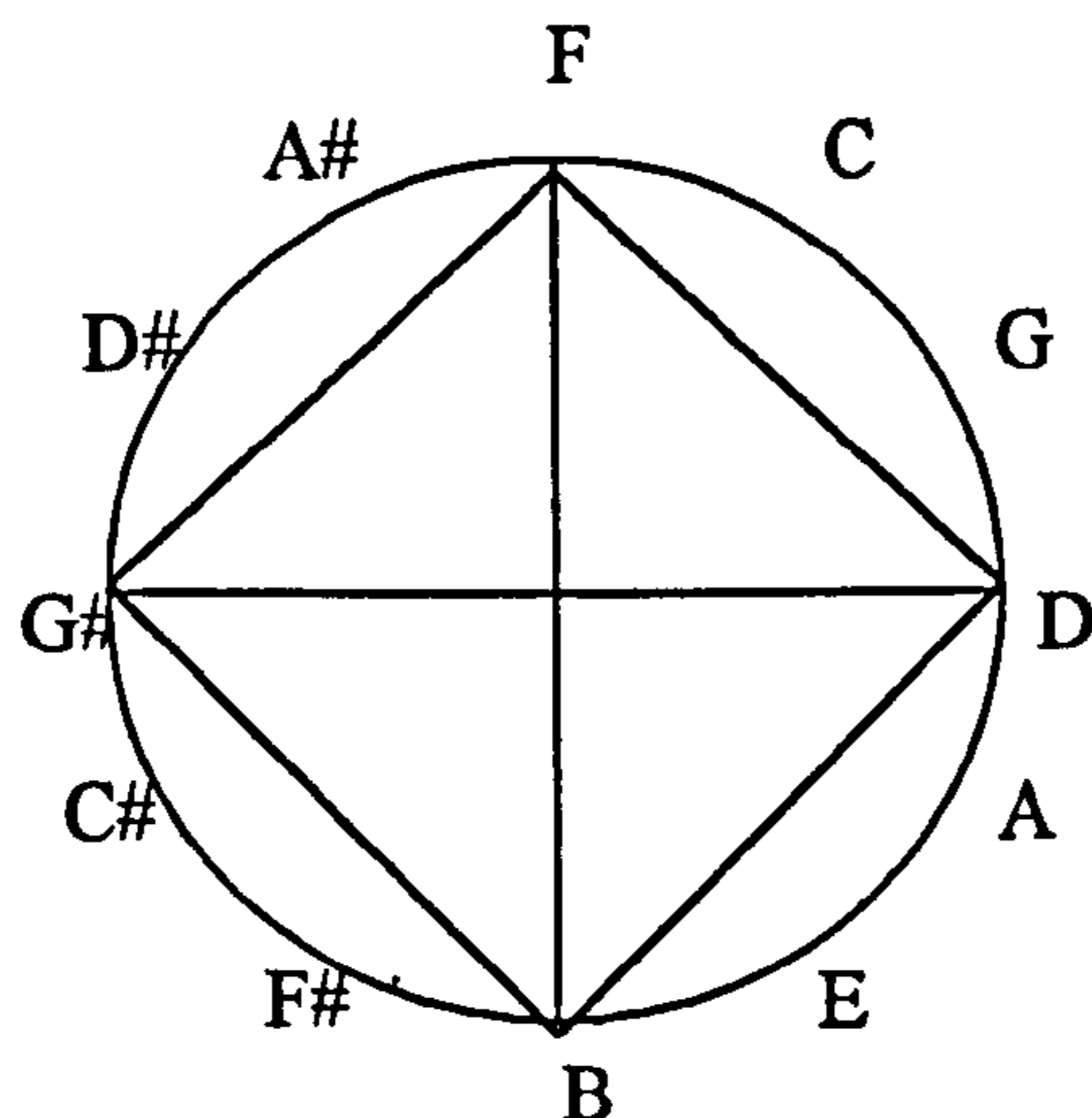


Fig.3.11: The diminished seventh chord F-G#-B-D in the circle of fifths

Whereas Satie's original introductory music contains 14 tritones, and *Le Prestiditateur Chinois* 57 tritones, Satie uses an astonishing 225 tritones in the printed version of Part 2. These are used prominently, as shown in Exx.3.10-3.13, mostly on the surface of the music so that they are also audible. Ex.3.10 shows an ostinato whose tritone D-G# can be heard for 8 bars, the first four of which have no accompanying melody to distract the listener. In the orchestral score (5 bars after OS 18), the G# is played by a trumpet, giving it more prominence, therefore. Ex.3.11 shows Satie using the tritone E-A# to shape the outline of an ostinato that can be heard for four bars in high register above the melody. In the orchestral score (at OS 19) this is played *forte* by piccolo, flute and oboe as well as by second violins and violas. Satie uses the tritone in yet another way: to construct a scale that forms a link between two different sections (see Ex.3.12). Once again, there is no other music to distract the listener from this sound. Satie has orchestrated this scale with a harp, bassoons and violas (2 bars before OS 20). In Ex.3.13, we see a more complex web of sound in which the tritone F-B is used simultaneously both vertically and

Exx.3.10-3.13: The use of tritones in Part 2

Ex.3.10: A tritone used as the basis of an ostinato (Piano duet, Éd. Salabert, 1917, p.8)



Ex. 3.11: A tritone used to shape the melody (Ibid., p.9)



Ex.3.12: A series of tritones used as a scale (Ibid., p.9)



Ex.3.13: Tritones used simultaneously as harmony and melody (Ibid., p.9)



horizontally, as well as being heard against another tritone, G#-D. This complex section, lasting 16 bars (OS 20-21), accompanies the sound of a typewriter.

These examples occur outside the four main sections of music, discussed earlier, that have cubic proportions. If we examine how Satie uses tritones within the four main sections, a structural pattern emerges in which the tritones B-F and F#-C take on further importance. In the opening music of Part 2, each set of 8 beats is linked by the tritones B-F and F#-C, heard horizontally (see Ex.3.14). They are the only tritones used in this section.

Ex.3.14: The opening of Part 2, melody only, showing the tritone link between repeated motifs (Piano duet, Éd. Salabert, 1917, p.8)



In the *Ragtime*, *Trio* and Reprise, there are 76 tritones, including 7 diminished seventh chords (an unusual chord for Satie). The *Ragtime* has a predominance of the tritone B-F and no examples of F#-C; the *Trio* is dominated by F#-C; and the Reprise only has B-F. The wave (only 8 beats) has 36 tritones and no examples of B-F, and the vocal section has 13 tritones in its ostinato (also reinforced by melodic notes), but these are only F#-C. Fig.3.12 shows how the structure of these landmarks, and indeed Part 2, is marked out by tritones, not keys.

Intro	<i>Ragtime</i>	Wave	Vocal part	Intro
B-F and F#-C (horizontal link)	Rag: B-F Trio: F#-C Reprise: B-F	Every tritone except B-F	Only F#-C	B-F and F#-C (horizontal link)

Fig.3.12: Tritone structure in Part 2

We can see that the tritone is not just a decoration or a symbol in this movement. In using it as a harmonic tool to structure the music, Satie gives stability to large sections. This is the complete opposite of traditional harmonic practice that sees the tritone (and the diminished seventh) as a point of instability, allowing Satie to make the point that 'if there is a new style of writing, there is a new craft'.⁸⁴ This is particularly apt in the wave section in which the large number of tritones should make the music sound restless. Yet it sounds static because the dynamics are *pianissimo* throughout and the bass-line is an unchanging ostinato. What *should* be the dramatic highlight of Part 2 (the sinking of the Titanic) passes quickly and almost unnoticed in the overall scheme of things in spite of the presence of so many tritones. The only appearance of drama occurs in the way the music is seen on the page: its shape and the darkness of its massed semiquavers make it stand out. But the tritone has little impact on making the passage *sound* unstable. The tritone is used ironically by Satie at this point because its traditional instability is subverted by other musical means.

La Petite Fille Américaine shows Satie using the tritone, the symbol of a cube, as a building block within a structure that has the dimensions of a cube. He demonstrates how building blocks of a particular sound-quality (far more fundamental than the more intellectual relationships between keys) can give harmonic focus and a sense of logic to a movement. And in returning to the basics of music, he is exercising a realism to match that of Cocteau, as we saw in Chapter 2. When discussing Satie's interest in cubism, writers have tended to focus on his use of fragmentation⁸⁵ and his juxtaposition of traditional and non-traditional elements.⁸⁶ Shattuck refers to Satie's 'economical orchestration [which] corresponds to the cubists' restraint in using colour; and his raucous noise effects [which] correspond to their experiments with

⁸⁴ This is part of Satie's artistic credo cited earlier. His use of tritones illustrates his belief that 'Musical grammar is nothing but grammar.' See Volta, *Écrits*, pp.48-9 and Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, pp.68-9.

⁸⁵ Harbec, 'Parade': *Les influences cubistes*, p.194, cites David Drew's essay, 'Modern French Music' from *European Music in the Twentieth Century*, p.250: 'Structurally [*Parade*] relies entirely on the cellular method adumbrated in the *Sports et Divertissements* and the *Prélude en Tapiserie*...the cellules are never developed but merely juxtaposed. Technically the work derives from the ostinato procedures of the *Avant-dernières pensées*.'

⁸⁶ See Harbec, p.195 and Shattuck's *The Banquet Years*, p.123, in which the latter refers to Satie's quoting of popular themes as 'a form of musical collage'.

new surface textures'.⁸⁷ As we have seen, however, Satie's 'cubist' credentials go much deeper into the structure of the music, and affect the very nature of his new compositional approach to *Parade*.

(i) Part 3: Acrobates⁸⁸

Part 3 is relatively straightforward in terms of structure and composition. The sketches can be found in BNF Ms 9603(4), pp.16-20 and in BNF Ms 9603(1), pp.6-17. They indicate that Satie had clear ideas about his aims from the start and show that continuity of line is all-important throughout this part. In fact, he virtually substitutes line for harmony, sometimes keeping the line static on a pedal point, but mostly moving it step-wise and allowing one voice to take over from another. It is possible, therefore, to trace a line starting with E and oscillating, as Part 3 progresses, between F and E (see Fig.3.13). Where there is a revision of material in the sketches, as on pages 8 and 9 of BNF Ms 9603(1), it is not the descending line that is crossed out but its complex accompaniment (see Ex.3.15). The rejected sketch on pages 10 and 11 of the same notebook shows a preoccupation with voice-leading that starts in an inner part and then moves onto the surface of the music melodically before dominating in all parts (Ex.3.16). In the final version of this passage at bars 112-20,⁸⁹ it is not the voice-leading that is in question, but rather Satie's way of handling it, which he has sought to improve by adding a scale (see Ex.3.17). The line starts, as in the sketch, in an inner part. It then moves to the surface of the music, but subsequently jumps registers within a series of dramatic *fortissimo* chords, punctuated by rests, before continuing. Example 3.18 shows Satie appearing to imitate the acrobats' movements as they jump across a void. This section occurs just a few bars before the voice part whose words, had they been used, would have imitated those produced by a crowd watching an act of daring: 'a-é; o-a' and so on. With such

⁸⁷ Shattuck, *The Banquet Years*, p.123.

⁸⁸ I refer to this part in the plural, although at the time of its composition, Part 3 was meant for a soloist, the second dancer only being added by Massine in Rome to give variety to the choreography.

⁸⁹ Following the example of Part 1, I have counted *Acrobates* in complete bars because of its triple metre and because of Satie's instruction that the tempo is 76 per dotted minim.

whole tone

E → F

descent to

1 2 3 4 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20

13

F F#

descent to

21 22 23 24 25 26-32 33 34 35 36 37 38

25

whole tone ostinato

(pedal F)

F

descent to

39 40 41-48 49-56 57-60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67

37

F

E organ F organ E organ

68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77-91 92-95 96-104

105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112-115 116 117 118

119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128

E E

vocal part leads back to E

Fig.3.13: Voice-leading in Part 3

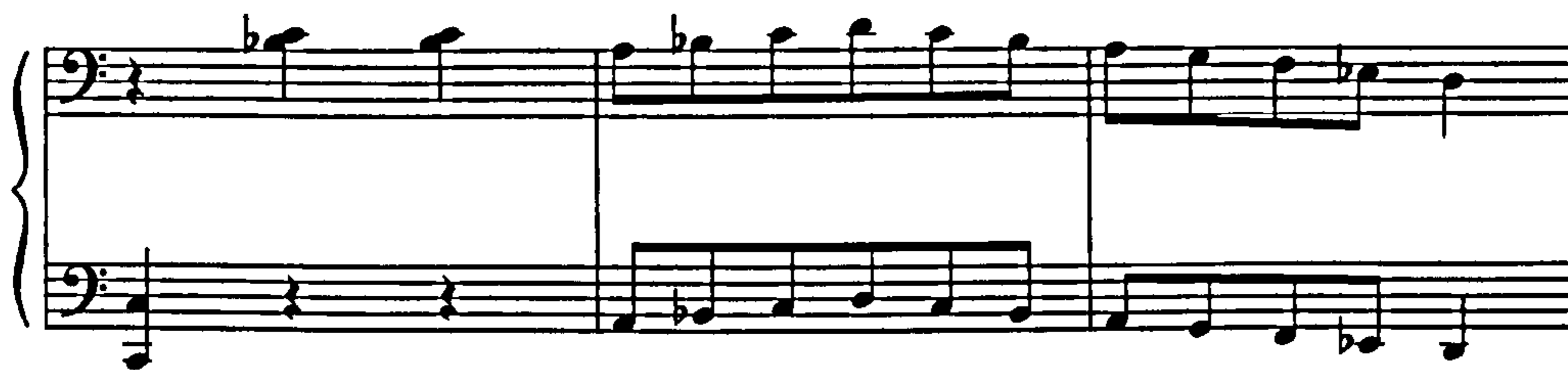
Ex.3.15: Unused accompaniment for Part 3, OS 38-9 (BNF Ms 9603(1), pp.8-9)

Musical score for Ex.3.15, consisting of two systems of piano accompaniment. The first system contains measures 4 through 10, and the second system contains measures 11 through 16. The music is written in a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The time signature is 3/4. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes, along with rests and dynamic markings like *pp.* and *p*. Measure numbers 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 are printed below the respective measures.

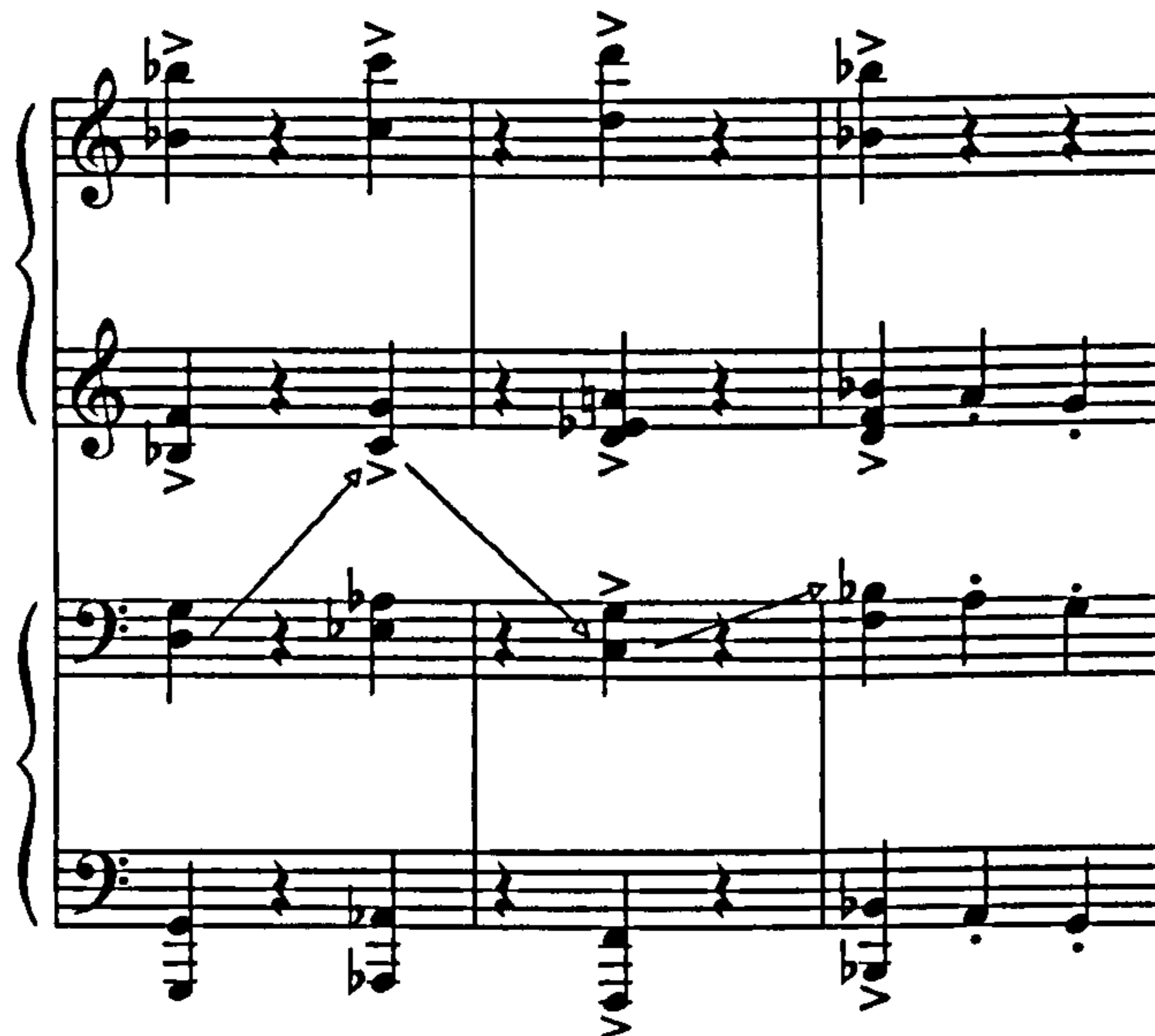
Ex.3.16: Unused sketch for Part 3, piano duet Éd. Salabert, 1917, p.18 2nd system (BNF Ms 9603(1), pp.10-11)

Musical score for Ex.3.16, consisting of a single system of piano duet. The system contains measures 1 through 8. The music is written in a grand staff with a treble clef and a bass clef. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats). The time signature is 3/4. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes, along with rests and dynamic markings like *p*. Measure numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, and 8 are printed below the respective measures.

**Ex.3.17: Addition of scale passage to above example to facilitate voice-leading
(Piano duet, Éd. Salabert, 1917, p.18)**



Ex.3.18: The music imitates the acrobats' movements (Ibid., p.18)



attention to voice-leading, the 160 bars of linearity in *Acrobates* are as much a *tour de force* as Part 2 of *Parade* was. They foreshadow Satie's 'symphonic drama', *Socrate*, which he began in January 1917, immediately after *Acrobates*.

(j) A cylindrical approach to Part 3

The linear approach outlined above underpins Satie's attempt to replicate the cylinder in his music. As well as line, however, a cylinder also has circularity. Satie introduces this aspect into the melody in bar 13 of Part 3. The A which begins *Acrobates* and which is left hanging for 8 bars connects to C flat, D flat, E flat as an appoggiatura to the F in bar 13, which moves in whole-tone harmony round the circle of fifths in an anticlockwise direction. In bar 14 it changes to a clockwise direction and moves back to E flat, D flat, B, A, G, and F by the end of bar 16, completing the circle in a graphic demonstration by Satie of the round end of a cylinder (Fig.3.14). The repetition of this feature, after a further 120 bars of linear writing, serves not only to emphasise the repetitive nature of the 'parade', as in Parts 1 and 2, but also to give a view of the other end of the cylinder. But, of course, the cylinder never ceases to be circular, and Satie inserts a whole-tone ostinato from bars 41 to 60 in order to remind us of this (at 8 bars before OS 37 until 4 bars before OS 38). The ostinato sounds against a descending melodic line to illustrate the circularity and linearity of the cylinder.

The cylindrical intent behind this movement is further underlined by Satie's instrumentation: the xylophone (with its cylindrical resonators) and bouteillophone both have cylindrical features⁹⁰; the low pedal points (*points d'orgue* in French) that begin after bar 76 (OS 39) are scored for organ whose pipes, of course, are cylindrical

⁹⁰ Scales for these instruments were written out in BNF Ms 9677(5), the sketch dated 26 April, as discussed earlier. Also, see the Appendix for Ernest Ansermet's letter of (?) November 1917 for his interpretation of the bouteillophone.

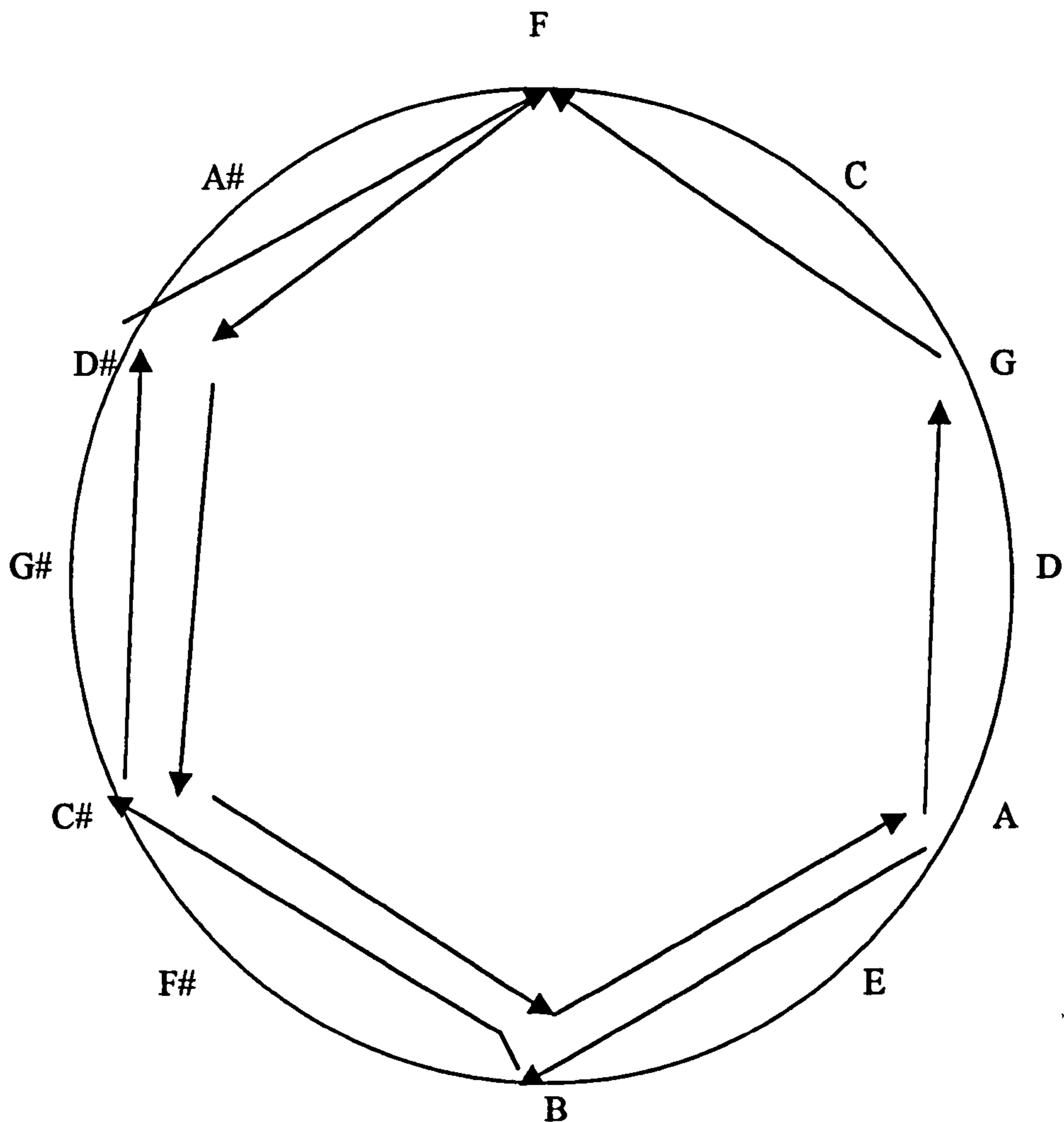


Fig.3.14: The movement around the circle of fifths, created by the whole-tone scale

in shape. These instruments appear only in Part 3 of the ballet.⁹¹ The correspondence between Satie and Cocteau on 29 March 1917 shows that Satie himself initially made enquiries about the possibility of installing the organ for the performance, but by mid-April he was urging Cocteau to go and see the manufacturer, Cavallé-Coll, about

⁹¹ Satie played the organ himself in performances of *Parade*. The novelist, Henri-Pierre Roché recorded the following entry in his diary for Tuesday 21 December 1920: 'Picasso evening at the Ballets Russes ... *Parade* – superb – the curtain for *Parade* – Satie on the organ to play the two [pedal] notes – his triumph'. Cited by Orledge in *Satie Remembered*, p.91.

this.⁹² The inclusion of the organ was especially important, therefore, to Satie, as Cocteau recalled in an article of 1930:

For *Parade*, Satie demanded the construction of an organ with two notes, to imitate an aeroplane's engine. On the eve of the performance, he made a scene, pretending that if the fragile instrument, with which the stage-hands were messing about, became unplayable, it was entirely the fault of Apollinaire and myself. He repeated that for a long time we had been hostile to this organ being played.⁹³

As in many aspects of cubist painting, one object could fulfil several purposes. The organ pipes, by their very shape, symbolize the cylindrical aspect of Part 3. The organ sounds almost at the mid-point of the movement, at the beginning of bar 77 (out of a total of 160 bars), and for 29 bars, a considerable time. Its notes are E (15 bars), F (4 bars) and E again (9 bars). Its purpose is to make members of the audience imagine the cylindrical shape of the instrument, involving them, as all realist artists do, in the artistic experience. As we saw in Chapter 2, Cocteau intended the organ to represent the sound of an aeroplane and as such, it also symbolized the acrobatics on stage. We see Satie capitalizing here on the sound effects that Cocteau wanted, using them to give a deeper meaning to his music.⁹⁴

⁹² See Appendix.

⁹³ 'Pour *Parade*, [Satie] exigea la fabrication d'un orgue à deux tons, qui devait imiter le moteur d'un avion. La veille de la représentation, il fit une scène, prétendant que si le fragile instrument, avec lequel les machinistes s'amusaient, était devenu injouable c'était uniquement de notre faute, à Apollinaire et à moi. Cela faisait longtemps, répétait-il, que nous étions hostiles à ce qu'on jouât de cet orgue.' From Cocteau's article 'Deux de mes collaborateurs', cited by Caizergues et Mas (eds.), in *Correspondance Jean Cocteau/Darius Milhaud*, p.67.

⁹⁴ The same could be said of the 'flaques sonores' ('sonorous puddles') of Part 1, sounds that would be made by some kind of machine. Instructions for these (in the form of circles) are written into the Frederick Koch score. The 'flaques sonores' were listed as one of the sound effects in BNF Ms 9603(5), on the penultimate page.

(k) Unity in the 1917 version of *Parade*

The period of composition from May 1916 to January 1917⁹⁵ and the above discussion about the different musical concerns of each Part appears to indicate that *Parade* is more of a 'work in progress' than a unified whole.⁹⁶ Jacinthe Harbec's thesis is of the opinion that Satie moves towards a unified whole by 'motivic repetition'.⁹⁷ Vincent Lajoinie, however, believes that unity comes from the unchanging metronomic indication 'whose invariability surely constitutes the best link between elements as diverse as those we have looked at'.⁹⁸ If we examine Satie's metronome markings throughout the sketches, we can see that this was not at the forefront of his mind as a unifying factor. BNF Ms 9602(1), p.2, which shows the original opening of the ballet before the *Prélude du Rideau Rouge* had been conceived, has a metronome marking of 76, written over Satie's first thought of 60. BNF Ms 9602(2) shows a marking of 60 in red ink at the beginning of the short score of *La Petite Fille Américaine*. Similarly the link between this movement and *Acrobates*, shown in BNF Ms 9603(4), p.16, also shows a metronome mark of 60 per dotted minim. Yet the opening of the *Prélude*, shown in BNF Ms 9603 (1), p.3, has a marking of 76 per minim. It would seem that Satie unified his tempo to 76 throughout as an afterthought. This number may be significant since it is part of the Lucas series of numbers that are directly related to golden section calculations and Satie may have chosen it for this reason, therefore.

⁹⁵ This does not include the *Choral* and *Final* added in 1919, by which time Satie felt he had moved on. He referred to *Parade* as old material. See his letter of 6 May to Henri-Pierre Roché in the Appendix. Diaghilev also saw the 1919 material as 'of little importance' ('peu important'), as his letter to Picasso (in the Musée Picasso) of 12 May 1919 shows. The addition of new material was instigated by Diaghilev when Satie sought his permission for a concert performance of *Parade* at the Salle Gaveau on 11 May 1919. See Appendix for Satie's letter of 8 April 1919 to Diaghilev. The new material differentiated between a concert ending and a staged ending.

⁹⁶ This is Ornella Volta's expression. See p.iii of her Introduction to the new edition of the orchestral score of *Parade*, published by Salabert in January 2000.

⁹⁷ 'Satie converge vers l'unité par la répétition motivique.' Harbec, *'Parade': Les influences cubistes*, p.163.

⁹⁸ 'dont l'invariabilité constitue assurément le meilleur lien entre des éléments aussi diversifiés que ceux que nous venons d'examiner.' See Lajoinie, *Erik Satie*, p.322, and, for a detailed discussion of *Parade*, pp.312-29.

Lajoinie's 'diverse elements' suggest that *Parade* lacks any deeper unity and it is true to say that each of the three Parts does have its own compositional aesthetic. But in fact *Parade* is a masterly demonstration, following Cézanne's philosophy, of discovering a new way of writing even when music is reduced to its basic constituent, the harmonic series. The fact that Satie works in painterly terms using the geometric shapes set out by Cézanne, lends an additional unity to *Parade* by giving the Parts a common purpose within the framework of a return to basics. Yet it also gives Satie the freedom to characterise each part of the ballet in particular ways that set the ephemeral, intangible quality of music into a more tangible, almost three-dimensional, and therefore real, context. By introducing geometric proportions, Satie is measuring sound by non-musical means.⁹⁹ And indeed his cubic movement contains very precise measurements. Yet at the same time the non-musical elements rely on the expression of the *musical* truths found in the harmonic series that he wrote out on p.1 of BNF Ms 9603(5). Just as cubism took non-artistic materials such as sand, oilcloth and newspaper, and incorporated them into painting in order to discover new truths about art, so Satie's music in *Parade* makes a virtue of non-musical geometric qualities, turning them into valid tools of the trade in order to see what the possibilities are. But, unlike the futurists (and to some extent, Cocteau),¹⁰⁰ whose big, new idea was to turn noise into music, Satie, in remaining true to the sounds produced by the harmonic series and the relationships between those sounds, was able to construct the entire ballet from the ideas contained within the seven notes he wrote on p.1 of BNF Ms 9603(5) (see Ex.3.4). The tonal harmony implied by the notes F A C in the series is used in several important places: for the original introductory music (we saw how, in the sketchbooks, he was thinking tonally); in the fugal *Prélude*,

⁹⁹ In April 1912, Satie classed himself as a 'phonométregraphe' or sound measurer. See the article entitled 'What I am' (Ce que je suis) in 'Mémoires d'un amnésique', *Revue musicale S.I.M.*, VIIIe année, no.4, p.69, cited by Volta in *Satie, Écrits*, p.19. This may be a joke on Satie's part, but in view of his methods in *Parade*, one is tempted to take the following statement more seriously than might previously have been the case: 'Que l'on prenne le "Fils des Étoiles" ou les "Morceaux en forme de poire", "En habit de Cheval" ou les "Sarabandes", on perçoit qu'aucune idée musicale n'a présidé à la création de ces oeuvres. C'est la pensée scientifique qui domine'. ('If one takes the "Fils des Étoiles" or the "Morceaux en forme de poire", "En habit de Cheval" or the "Sarabandes", one sees that no musical idea presided over the creation of these works. It's scientific thought that dominates.')

¹⁰⁰ Diaghilev was also seduced by their ideas and, with Massine, attended a performance of Luigi Russolo's *intuonarumori* in Milan chez Marinetti at the beginning of April 1915. See Vicente García-Márquez, *Massine, A Biography*, p.49.

which opens with the subject and answer in C; in the *Suite*, where a firm C major triad ends the ballet; and in the *Ragtime* in Part 2, also in C major. He uses the pentatonicism contained in the notes C-Eflat-F of the harmonic series to structure Part 1: as the predominant harmony as well as the characteristic motif to accompany the entrance of the Chinese conjuror. The tritone (A-Eflat) contained in the harmonic series is embedded in the structure and the surface detail of Part 2. And the whole tone harmony contained in the series (E flat-F-A) is used to express circularity in Part 3. The whole ballet is contained, therefore, in the different elements of the harmonic series whose fundamental note is F.

In his artistic credo Satie wrote: 'Do not forget that the melody is the Idea, the outline; as much as it is the form and the subject matter of a work'.¹⁰¹ Unity in *Parade* should be sought additionally, therefore, in the melody, and indeed we find that the adjacent notes E and F are further unifying factors. In Satie's original introduction E would have been the first note to be heard in the ballet. Both E and F have prominence in the introduction's theme as well as in the accompaniment (see Exx.3.19-3.22). In Part I, E is the prominent note of the conjuror's motif (twice held for four and a half beats, and returned to three more times. See Ex.3.5). E is also the last melody note to be heard in Part 1, and as such, forms a link with the F and E that introduce the *Little American Girl*, at the top of the shimmering chords (see Ex.3.23). E is also the first note of the melody in the *Ragtime*, whereas in Berlin and Snyder's original ragtime, C was the first note of the Chorus.¹⁰² In *Acrobates*, E and F are the focal points of the line (see Fig.3.13), and F is the first and last note of the anti-clockwise journey round the circle of fifths (see Fig.3.14). E and F are also the notes heard in the organ part. In the *Suprême Effort* it is E and F that dominate this short section, melodically in its entirety and as the accompaniment in the second half. Indeed in the final three bars F and E are singled out by repetition, by accentuation and by their position on the first beats (see Ex.3.24). In the *Choral* of 1919 they

¹⁰¹ See Orledge, *Satie the Composer*, p.68.

¹⁰² See Perloff, *Art and the Everyday*, p.138.

dominate the haunting melody that is an augmented version of Satie's original introductory music (see Ex.3.25).

E and F do not have the same prominence in the fugal *Prélude* and its *Suite*, but Satie chose to use these sections as a vehicle to summarise his new compositional methods. The fugal form of the *Prélude*, with subject and answer following each other round and round, is perfect for illustrating the circularity of Part 1 and the ballet as a whole. With direct reference to Part 1, the opening three notes are a transposed retrograde version of the conjuror's pentatonic motif. As would be expected in a very short

Exx.3.19-3.22: The prominent use of the notes E and F in Satie's original introduction

Ex.3.19: The original opening of *Parade* (Piano duet, Éd. Salabert, 1917, p.2)



Ex.3.22: The original introductory music. The fourth and final statement of the theme (Ibid., p.3)

The musical score for Ex.3.22 is written in 2/4 time. It consists of four staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom two are in bass clef. The music is marked with a tempo of *Allegretto*. The top two staves feature a melodic theme consisting of a sequence of eighth notes, with the first two staves showing the initial statement and the last two staves showing the fourth and final statement. The bottom two staves provide a rhythmic accompaniment, primarily using quarter notes and eighth notes. The piece concludes with a final cadence.

Ex.3.23: The final notes of Part 1 and the first notes of Part 2, showing E-F-E link (Ibid., pp.7-8)

The musical score for Ex.3.23 is written in 2/4 time on a single staff. It is marked with a fortissimo (*ff*) dynamic. The score shows the final notes of Part 1, which are a half note E and a quarter note F, followed by a double bar line. The first notes of Part 2 are a quarter note E, a quarter note F, and a quarter note E, illustrating the E-F-E link. The tempo is marked *Allegretto*.

Ex.3.24: The last 3 bars of the *Suprême Effort et Chute des Managers* (Ibid., p.20)

The musical score for Ex.3.24 consists of four staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom two are in bass clef. The first three staves are marked with a forte dynamic (*ff*). The bottom staff has a dynamic marking of *ff* with an accent (>) over the first note of each bar. Above the first two staves, there are two dashed lines, each with a *g^{ua}* marking. The music is organized into three measures, each containing a melodic line in the upper staves and a bass line in the lower staves.

Ex.3.25: The melody from the Choral of 1919 (OS, Éd. Salabert, 1917, p.3)

The musical score for Ex.3.25 is a single staff for Flute in 3/4 time. The melody begins with a dynamic marking of *p* (piano). The notation shows a series of eighth notes followed by a quarter note, then a half note, and finally a quarter note with a fermata. A large, stylized 'V' symbol is placed below the staff at the end of the melody.

piece, there is no evidence of the cubic proportions of Part 2 in the *Prélude* and *Suite*, but in each section all the tritones are present, and appear one by one. The cylindrical properties in Part 3 are demonstrated by the clear voice-leading in all four parts to give a distinct line from the beginning of the *Prélude* to the end of the *Suite*. Satie's initial, unused, sketch for the *Prélude* in BNF Ms 9603(4), p.11,¹⁰³ shows none of these concerns (see Ex.3.26) even though he had finished Part 1 and possibly Part 2 by the time of this sketch. Once Satie's introductory music had been hijacked for the Managers, it made sense for him to have music that summarised the ballet, especially since his original introduction, composed under a different aesthetic from the *Prélude* that would introduce the premiere in 1917, had made no attempt to do this.

Ex.3.26: Unused sketch for the *Prélude au Rideau rouge* (BNF Ms 9603(4), p.11)



But the *Prélude* and *Suite au Prélude* take on a different perspective in the light of comments made by Vincent Lajoinie.¹⁰⁴ He sees the presence of the *Suite au Prélude* as a counter-exposition and as an indicator that the fugue has a life of its own, continuing as a virtual musical presence simultaneously with, but quite separate from, the three Parts of the ballet. This statement echoes to some extent what Cocteau wrote in a revised version of his libretto at the end of 1916: '*Parade* is a kind of

¹⁰³ This was probably done in October 1916, whereas the final version of the *Prélude* was not completed until December 1916.

¹⁰⁴ See Lajoinie, *Erik Satie*, p.323.

“Fantasy” that occupies the pedal point between an exposition, an amusement, and a counter-exposition in a rigorous fugue’.¹⁰⁵ This seems logical in view of the fact that an exposition and counter-exposition in a fugue come one after the other, and the ballet, as Cocteau suggests, intervenes. The presence of the melodic E-F-E oscillation discussed earlier would then fulfil this role, especially as Satie uses these notes as literal pedal points in Part 3. Lajoinie’s opinion that there is a fugue continuing elsewhere as a virtual musical presence, however, is unlikely. What *is* likely is that Satie, with the insertion of the *Suite* as a counter-exposition,¹⁰⁶ has attempted yet again to fool the audience into believing that the ballet is about to start once more. The intervention of the ballet between exposition and counter-exposition would then lend credence to Lajoinie’s ‘virtual musical presence’, but not in a fugal sense. The ballet is a diversion from the fugue, as Cocteau implies. As regards circular intentions in the *Suite*, the music adequately fulfils this purpose in its first 3 bars by stating the subject to remind the audience of the *Prélude*. But then it veers off in a new direction towards a C major conclusion (albeit with the presence of B flat and D flat in the penultimate chord) that provides no link back to the *Prélude* that opened the ballet in 1917. The theatrical ending specified in Satie’s additional music of 1919 has, on the other hand, no clear conclusion. It repeats the same four notes several times *accelerando*, suggesting that the ballet could go on into infinity.

(I) Proportions of the overall work

In all the calculations for *Parade*, I have followed Satie’s metronome markings in order to be able to compare like with like. So for instance, where the MM is crotchet = 76, I have counted in crotchet beats and so on. Figs.3.2-6 show the proportions of the ballet in all its stages. There is little evidence in the music that the version in Fig.3.2 was composed according to any overarching system of proportion such as the golden section, but there is one interesting numerological feature that should be

¹⁰⁵ ‘*Parade* est en quelque sorte une “Fantaisie” qui occupe le point d’orgue entre une exposition, un divertissement et une contre-exposition de fugue austère.’ Cited by Volta in her new edition of the orchestral score of *Parade*, on page v of the Introduction (Éditions Salabert, 2000).

¹⁰⁶ Satie adopts the conventions of the traditional counter-exposition: he emphasises the tonic key of C major; the subject is stated by different voices from those first heard in the exposition; and he accompanies the statement of the subject by another voice (in fact all four voices sound together).

examined. After Satie added the *Suprême Effort* in January 1917, the total number of beats increased to 934. Using the formula ($\pi d = \text{circumference}$), where d is the diameter of a circle and π is 3.14, the calculation ($\pi \times 298$ – the dimensions of the circular Part 1) gives a circumference of 936 for the whole ballet, only two beats more than the actual total. Hence Satie appears to relate the circularity of Part 1 to that of the entire ballet by the late addition of the *Suprême Effort* that so effectively reinforced the idea of circularity in *Parade*, and of which Satie was so proud. Since all the other parts were already written, Satie could only add 30 beats to arrive at the correct dimensions. The *Suprême Effort* is indeed very short in comparison to the original introductory music, but nevertheless it works extremely well in reminding the audience of what they had heard near the beginning of the ballet.

Before rehearsals took place in Rome, Satie reduced the number of beats from 934 to 880, as in Fig.3.4. Some of the beats omitted at this stage were pauses (10 from the *Chinois* and 16 from the *Petite Fille Américaine*).¹⁰⁷ Other omissions were some of the repeated bars from Part 2, as discussed earlier. As can be seen from the piano duet rehearsal copy taken to Rome, the Managers' dialogue was interleaved with the music at the points where the pauses would have been. Diaghilev was opposed to spoken material in ballet and this is almost certainly why the pauses were omitted. Whatever the reason, this reduction in the number of beats gives a total duration (at MM=76) of just under 12 minutes, the length of the performance at the Châtelet Theatre. When, in 1919, Diaghilev commissioned the extra music,¹⁰⁸ Satie wrote a *Final* of 226 beats

¹⁰⁷ The Frederick Koch score which was taken to Rome has inserts of Managers' speech where the *Chinois* pause would have been and morse code for the *Petite Fille Américaine*'s pause, but none of this found its way to the stage.

¹⁰⁸ Satie's letter of 22 April 1919 to Henri-Pierre Roché refers specifically to three minutes of music, whereas in fact he wrote approximately 3 minutes and 40 seconds. See Appendix. The chronology of composition of the additional music is, by comparison to that of 1917, a straightforward procedure. The letters show that Satie met Diaghilev on 18 April 1919. By 22 April his 'three minutes' of music were 'très avancé'. On 1 May his work was almost finished, and by 6 May the orchestral rehearsal had taken place. The piece was performed at the Salle Gaveau on 11 May, giving a time scale from commission to performance of under a month. In a letter to Valentine Gross of 8 May 1919, Satie says that he has finished the orchestral and piano duet versions of the *Choral* (that would now begin *Parade*) and the *Final*. The sketches appear in BNF Ms 9602(4) in a sketchbook labelled '*Parade FIN*'. The main thing to note from BNF Ms 17677(5), which contains the fair copy of the *Choral* and *Final*, is that Satie wished to keep the short *Suprême effort* of 1917, in spite of its similarity to the *Final*. He was obviously very proud of this short section that he felt had so improved the ballet. As

(76 x 3 minutes = 228 beats) suggesting that he pre-calculated the number of beats required for the length of the commission. This gave a total time of just under 15 minutes. However, BNF Ms 17677(5) which contains the *Final*, has heavy blue pencil lines around the *Ragtime* (beats 33 to 64 of the *Final*) and, in English, the word 'Repeat'. When the *Ragtime* is repeated, it ends at beat 96, a number (48 times 2) which was so important in the construction of Part 2, and which was obviously meant to recall the cubic proportions of *La Petite Fille Américaine*. The orchestral score does not contain this repeat and reduces the number of beats in the *Final*, therefore, to 194, destroying the proportional interest that arises from the repeat¹⁰⁹ and also saving approximately half a minute. The opening *Choral*¹¹⁰ added a further 60 beats giving just over 15 minutes for the version in Figure 3.5. This could be reduced slightly by omitting the *Suite au Prélude* in the theatre, as shown in Figure 3.6.¹¹¹

Throughout all the stages of the ballet, from the original conception to the final versions of 1919, Satie kept the original tripartite conception intact. The extra sections framing the three parts are the only 'mirroring' ideas,¹¹² but were added for balance rather than for the structured mirror effect that Satie would exploit in the later

Figs.3.5-6 show, Satie intended different endings for different performance situations, and the version in Fig.3.5 is what we hear today in recordings and concerts, the ballet being only rarely performed.

¹⁰⁹ The *Final* is uncharacteristically symmetrical, dividing into 104-16-106 beats (reprise of *Petite Fille Américaine-Acrobates-Chinois/Managers'* theme).

¹¹⁰ Harbec, in '*Parade*': *Les influences cubistes*, has dealt in detail with the motivic links between the *Choral* and the rest of the ballet. Additionally, however, the first three bars of the *Choral* reproduce the characteristic rhythm of the *Choral* from Satie's *En Habit de cheval* (1911). This is Satie's way of making a joke about the furore caused by the appearance, in the 1917 première of *Parade*, of the third Manager in the guise of a circus horse. *En Habit de cheval* translates as 'dressed for riding' or, more appropriately in this case, 'dressed as a horse'. By the inclusion of this musical quotation Satie adds another dimension to the music of 1919, yet another example of the kind of realist device employed by the Cubists. Since *En Habit de cheval* was originally called *Divertissement* ('Amusement'), this reference is doubly relevant to what was about to be performed.

¹¹¹ Diaghilev's ballets were normally 15 minutes long.

¹¹² Harbec, in '*Parade*': *Les influences cubistes*, sees the overall structure in terms of mirroring sections that reach a pyramidal pinnacle with the *Ragtime*. However, the evidence of the letters and the sketchbooks, outlined above, suggests that Satie never intended the *Ragtime* to be at the centre of the work. In the score of *Parade* published in 1917, *Acrobates* was called Part 2 and *La Petite Fille Américaine* was called Part 3, suggesting that at some stage these might have been changed round in rehearsal. But there is no evidence that *Parade* was ever performed thus, and this might have been another of Satie's jokes, which has an exact parallel in Nos. 2 and 3 (initially called No. 3 and No. 2) of the *Trois Poèmes d'amour* of 1914. Structurally and musically, however, the order of the Parts in *Parade* was interchangeable.

Mercure and *Relâche*. The three parts of *Parade* were the heart of the ballet both in terms of interest and in presenting the musical philosophy that agreed very closely with Cocteau's aesthetic (and, as we shall see, with Picasso's, too): the desire to return, but in a spirit of *renewal*, to what was fundamental - and therefore real - about their particular artforms.

4: Picasso's involvement in *Parade*

There are some works whose entire importance lies in their depth – their point of access matters little.

Jean Cocteau¹

When Jean Cocteau approached Picasso in August 1916 with a view to his designing the set and costumes for *Parade*, the moment could not have been more propitious. Picasso, then 34, was seeking a new direction both in his personal and, to some extent, professional life. He was desperate to marry, yet he continued to grieve over the death of his mistress, Eva Gouel², who had died the previous year. He was acutely aware of the need, as a foreigner, to keep a low profile in war-torn Paris and he was bereft of his closest friends, Braque and Apollinaire, who were at the front. On the other hand he was enjoying financial, if not public, success thanks to the previous decade's intense work that had virtually exhausted the possibilities of cubism, and had brought Picasso loyal collectors³ and dealers.⁴ Sadly the public saw cubism as a joke and as 'synonymous with anything suspect or depraved'.⁵ With a lack of direction in his personal life and little further potential in cubism, Picasso must have seen his present situation as ripe for change.

¹ 'Il y a des oeuvres dont toute l'importance est en profondeur – peu importe leur orifice.' See M. Crosland (ed.) *Cocteau's World: An Anthology of Writings*, p.310.

² She had been christened Eve by her parents, but Picasso called her Eva. She had previously used the name of Marcelle Humbert when she was the mistress of the painter Louis Marcoussis. See John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, pp.179-80 and 222.

³ Notably the American author, Gertrude Stein, and the Russian collector, Sergei Shchukin. The latter's Trubetskoy Palace in Moscow had a 'Picasso' room. For this and other biographical information about Picasso prior to *Parade*, I am indebted to John Richardson's excellent biography of the artist, presently published in two volumes.

⁴ Especially Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler with whom Picasso signed a contract in 1912.

⁵ John Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, p.213. It was artists such as Albert Gleizes, Jean Metzinger and Henri Le Fauconnier, amongst others, who exploited the visual trappings of cubism without really understanding the fundamental artistic principles that Picasso and Braque were establishing.

Jean Cocteau proved to be the catalyst for this: after *Parade* Picasso had a wife, Olga Khokhlova;⁶ an entrée into the upper echelons of society;⁷ and an enhanced passion for the ancient world following his trip to Rome and Naples in February 1917.⁸ The visit to Italy liberated an interest in the classical, Mediterranean world that would occupy him for the best part of the next two decades.⁹ *Parade* proved to be the artistic summation of everything that Picasso had learned so far. It demonstrated his wide influences, visual as well as literary; his interests in Parisian popular culture as well as classical and mystical themes; his morbid obsession with death; and his compulsion to make art autobiographical.¹⁰ As such, *Parade* not only revealed Picasso as a mature artist but the collaboration could not have happened at a better moment.

Picasso was especially suited to *Parade* because, as John Richardson points out: 'Drama was in his blood'¹¹ and he had a 'precocious taste for the theatre'. A drawing of 1894, done when Picasso was only 13 and living in La Coruña, is called *Scene Backstage at a Theatre*. The autobiographical nature of Picasso's work¹² would indicate that he attended the theatre from a very early age and was not simply a passive member of the audience (see Fig.4.3). In Barcelona, where Picasso lived

⁶ They were married in July 1918 at the *Mairie* of the 7th *arrondissement* in Paris and in the Russian Orthodox Church. The witnesses were Apollinaire, Cocteau and the writer, Max Jacob. See Douglas Cooper, *Picasso Theatre*, p.34. The anglicised version of Olga Khokhlova's name is spelt in a variety of ways, according to different authors.

⁷ Mme Eugenia Errazuriz, a Chilean *grande dame*, is a case in point. Jean Cocteau knew her and introduced her to Picasso in 1916. She liked both him and his work, and lent him her villa in Biarritz for his honeymoon.

⁸ Like Satie, Picasso was a great admirer of Puvis de Chavannes' classically-inspired frescoes in the Panthéon well before *Parade* was conceived. Picasso visited the Louvre on numerous occasions after his final move to Paris in 1904. He was therefore able to draw on his knowledge of classical as well as ancient Iberian sculpture for paintings such as *Two Nudes* of 1906 (see Fig.4.1). Roland Penrose describes this period as Picasso's 'First Classical Period'. See *Picasso, His Life and Work*, p.119.

⁹ During the 1930s Picasso's work intertwines the Greek myth of the Minotaur with his love of the bullfight. One such example is *Minotauromachie* of 1935 (see Fig.4.2).

¹⁰ Rosalind Krauss makes the point that in 1920 and 1921 'Picasso methodically begins to date every piece of his production, noting not only the day but sometimes the hour of its creation.' See *Picasso Papers*, p.207 and n.89, p.261.

¹¹ See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. I, p.41.

¹² 'My work is like a diary...It's even dated like a diary.' According to Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. I, p.3, Picasso used to say this to biographers. See also n.10 above.



Fig.4.1: Picasso, *Two Nudes*, 1906

Museum of Modern Art, New York
(<http://www.artnet.com>)¹³

¹³ All images with website addresses were downloaded via the search engine Google.



Fig.4.2: Picasso, *Minotaur*, 1935

Picasso Museum, Paris
(<http://www.moma.org/images>)

(Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol.1, p.41)



Fig 4.3: Picasso, *Scene Backstage at a Theatre*, 1894

Heirs of the artist
 (Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol.I, p.41)

¹⁴ The Carlos III Royal Opera was worked by Francisco de Paula and the Intendente de Casa in the 1890s and was now in charge of the shadow puppet theatre Carlos III. He had a son, Maurice Utrillo, by Suzanne Valadon, Renoir's former mistress.

¹⁵ Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, 1967, p.107.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, This poster dates from 1900.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.139.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.164. Picasso's principal teacher, Juan Blázquez, was, according to p.108 of Richardson's book, shows a remarkable mastery of line. Blázquez was Fig. 4.10. Blázquez's suicide in 1901 would heighten the superstitions Picasso had about the theatre. Blázquez was a friend of Picasso's and would have been a self-portrait in *La Vie* (Fig. 4.10), where the artist is depicted. Perhaps the 27-year-old Picasso painted Blázquez in 1916 of Blázquez's funeral. Blázquez was a friend of Picasso's and would have been a self-portrait in *La Vie* (Fig. 4.10), where the artist is depicted. Blázquez was a friend of Picasso's and would have been a self-portrait in *La Vie* (Fig. 4.10), where the artist is depicted.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.171.

from 1895, he frequented the Quatre Gats cabaret-restaurant, opened in 1897 by its proprietor, Pere Romeu, on the same model as Le Chat Noir in Paris. Like its Parisian counterpart, it had a shadow theatre that Picasso would have seen thanks to his friendship with Miquel Utrillo.¹⁴ Although he did not work directly in this medium, Picasso watched Utrillo, a former engineer, produce plays and sketches for the shadow puppetry that involved such things as working with silhouettes in black-painted zinc and designing décors.¹⁵ Picasso's early interest in this kind of entertainment is demonstrated by the fact that he produced a poster for *Dramas Criollos*, a performance by Juli Pi in the traditional Punch and Judy medium.¹⁶

After leaving Spain in 1900, Picasso continued to seek out those connected with the theatre. An early friend during the artist's first visit to Paris was the stage designer, Oleguer Junyent,¹⁷ and a letter from Carles Casagemas, a friend of Picasso, to Ramón Reventós shows that Picasso's evenings were often spent at the theatre or in *café-concerts*.¹⁸ Picasso's Catalan circle in Paris also included Pompeu Gener, a drama critic and literary journalist, and Jaume Brossa Roger, a writer who in 1900 completed a play, *Els Sepulcres Blancs*, in the manner of Ibsen.¹⁹ Although Picasso found attending the theatre difficult from the language point of view when he first moved to Paris, a theatrical slant can be seen in much of his early cubist work, with figures appearing to project forward from the canvas as if on a stage, instead of receding into it in the traditional manner. *Nude with Drapery* (1907), as well as the

¹⁴ The Catalan Miquel Utrillo had worked in Paris at the Chat Noir and the Auberge du Clou in the 1890s and was now in charge of the shadow theatre at the Quatre Gats. He had a son, Maurice Utrillo, by Suzanne Valadon, Satie's former mistress.

¹⁵ Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol I, p.133.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* This poster dates from 1900.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p.159.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.160. Picasso's portrait of Casagemas, reproduced on p.118 of Richardson's book, shows a remarkable similarity to Jean Cocteau (see Fig.4.4). Casagemas's suicide in 1901 would haunt the superstitious Picasso to the extent that two years later he replaced what would have been a self-portrait in *La Vie* (Fig.4.10) with a likeness of Casagemas. Perhaps the 27 year-old Cocteau reminded Picasso in 1916 of Casagemas (who died at the age of 21) and was a factor, firstly in sparking off this unlikely friendship, and secondly, in persuading Picasso to join the collaboration on *Parade*.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.171.



Fig.4.4: Picasso, *Casagemas as a Dandy*, 1900

Whereabouts unknown
(Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol.I, p.118)

ground-breaking *Les Femmes d'Alger* of the same year (see Figs.4.5-6), are examples of this technique, which projects the figures against a backdrop of curtains, and imposes a three-dimensional *trompe-l'oeil* form onto a two-dimensional canvas. It is difficult to imagine Picasso achieving this without having an interest in the theatre.²⁰

From 1904 when he returned to Paris for the fourth time, Picasso lived in the Bateau Lavoir,²¹ a ramshackle building on La Butte in Montmartre, from which he could readily visit all kinds of popular entertainment, especially the Cirque Médrano whose

²⁰ In later life he would write plays. In 1941 he wrote *Le Désir attrapé par la queue* (*Desire Caught by the Tail*) and in 1947 *Les Quatre petites filles* (*The Four Little Girls*). The latter contains a winged white horse as in *Parade*. See Roland Penrose, *Picasso, His Life and Work*, p. 344-7 and 386-7.

²¹ This building was reputed to have been named by Picasso's friends, the writers André Salmon and Max Jacob, after the laundry boats moored in the Seine. Its front entrance was on the rue Ravignan and its back entrance, three floors below, was on the rue Garreau. See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. I, p.296.



Fig.4.5: Picasso, *Nude with Drapes*, 1907

Museum of Modern Art, Moscow
(<http://www.real-oil-paintings.com>)

Fig.4.6: Picasso, Les Femmes d'Alger (O.J.), 1904-7

Museum of Modern Art, New York
(<http://www.moma.org>)



Fig.4.6: Picasso, *Les Femmes d'Alger*, 1906-7

Museum of Modern Art, New York
<http://www.etcui.com>

²⁹ Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. I, p.69.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.68.

³¹ On the title page of the Frederick Koch score, when in Rome for rehearsals, Cocteau inserted the following instruction: "The shouts of the black managers, witfully stripped of any literary quality, must be translated into the language of the town where *Parade* is given and must undergo the necessary transformations so that the public can recognise current advertisements". ("Les cris des managers noirs volontairement dénués de littérature doivent être traduits dans la langue de la ville où *Parade* se donne et subir les transformations nécessaires afin que le public y reconnaisse les réclames du jour.")

performances were easily accessible to Picasso's imperfect French. His love of the circus had been kindled very early in life because his first girlfriend was an *équestrienne* named Rosita del Oro, who featured on a poster for the 'Tivoli-Circo Ecuestre' in 1897.²² Richardson maintains that 'Picasso's lifelong passion for the circus, his identification with acrobats and clowns, stems from this early romance'.²³ The same characters and props which later appeared in the *Parade* curtain make their appearance in works from 1905 onwards: the circus horse, the dog belonging to the troupe, the large chest, containing the performers' effects, that doubles as a seat, the drum, the ball, and the acrobat. Most of these can be seen in *Young Acrobat on a Ball* of 1905 (Fig.4.7).

A further example of popular culture to engage Picasso during the first decade of the twentieth century was the revived fascination with the *commedia dell'arte*. The character of Harlequin obsessed Picasso, and he placed him in the context of circus paintings such as *The Saltimbanques* of 1905 (Fig.4.8), as well as transposing him into other situations, most notably into the renowned (and still extant) Montmartre cabaret, Au Lapin Agile (see Fig.4.9). This painting is a self-portrait set in an establishment that Picasso frequented, and clearly demonstrates that the harlequin figure was an alter-ego. The *commedia dell'arte* had originated in Italy in the sixteenth century from the classical literary tradition of the *commedia erudita* or literary drama. It was rooted in popular fables, improvisation and street-theatre, however, and its actors were careful to adopt the dialect of their characters' place of origin.²⁴ It used a framework of stock characters and situations and was an ensemble artform, the characters being more important than the individual actors. The *commedia* plots included *zanni* (servants) who were often acrobats, variously named

²² Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol.I, p.69.

²³ *Ibid.*, p.68.

²⁴ On the title page of the Frederick Koch score, taken to Rome for rehearsals, Cocteau inserted the following instruction: 'The shouts of the black managers, wilfully stripped of any literary quality, must be translated into the language of the town where *Parade* is given and must undergo the necessary transformations so that the public can recognise current advertisements'. ('Les cris des managers nègres volontairement dénués de littérature doivent être traduits dans la langue de la ville où *Parade* se donne et subir les transformations nécessaires afin que le public y reconnaisse les réclames du jour.')

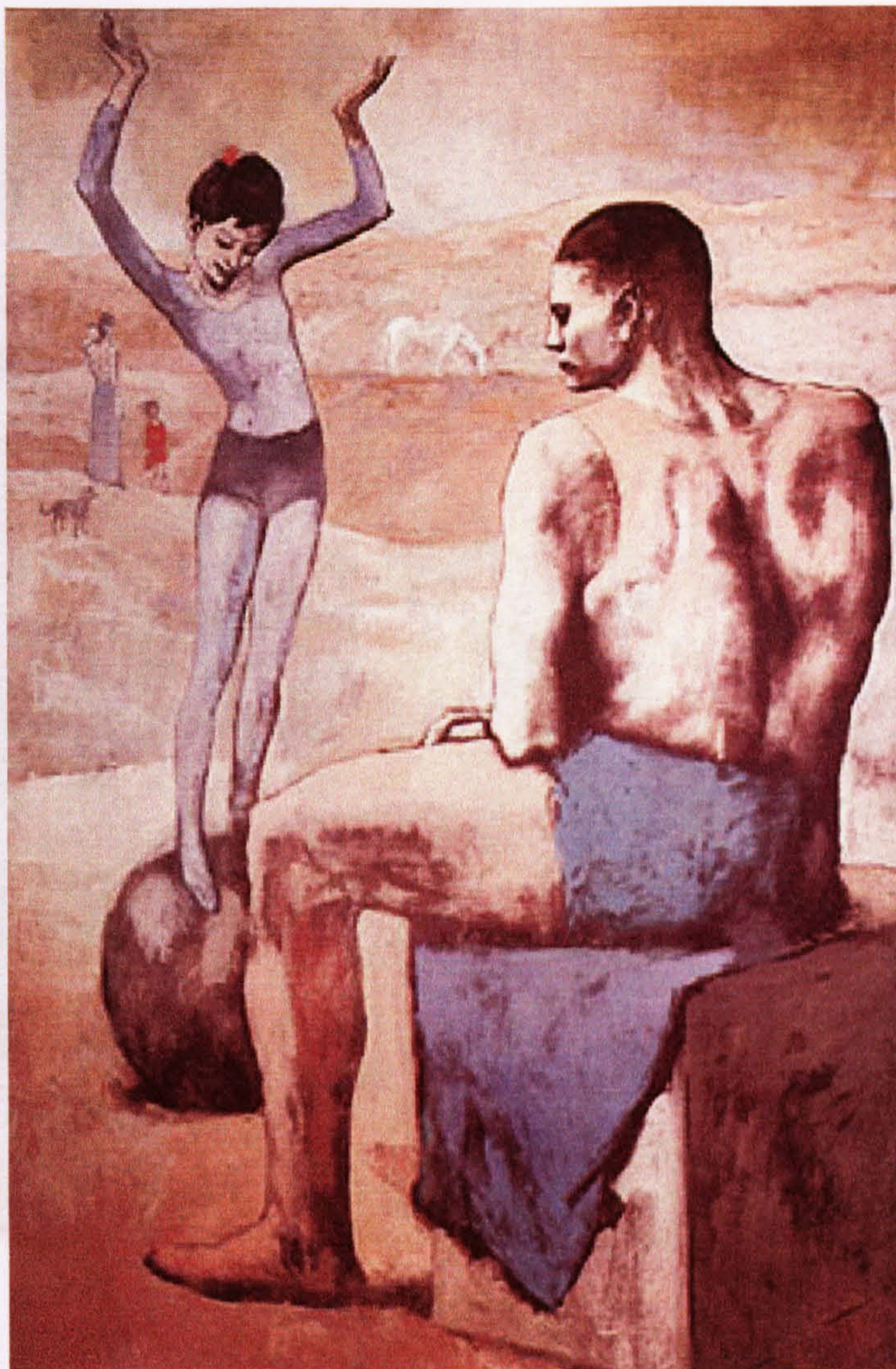


Fig.4.7: Picasso, *Young Acrobat on a Ball*, 1905

Pushkin Museum, Moscow
(<http://www.abacus-gallery.com>)



Fig.4.8: Picasso, *Les Saltimbanques*, 1905

National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C

(<http://www.mystudios.com>)

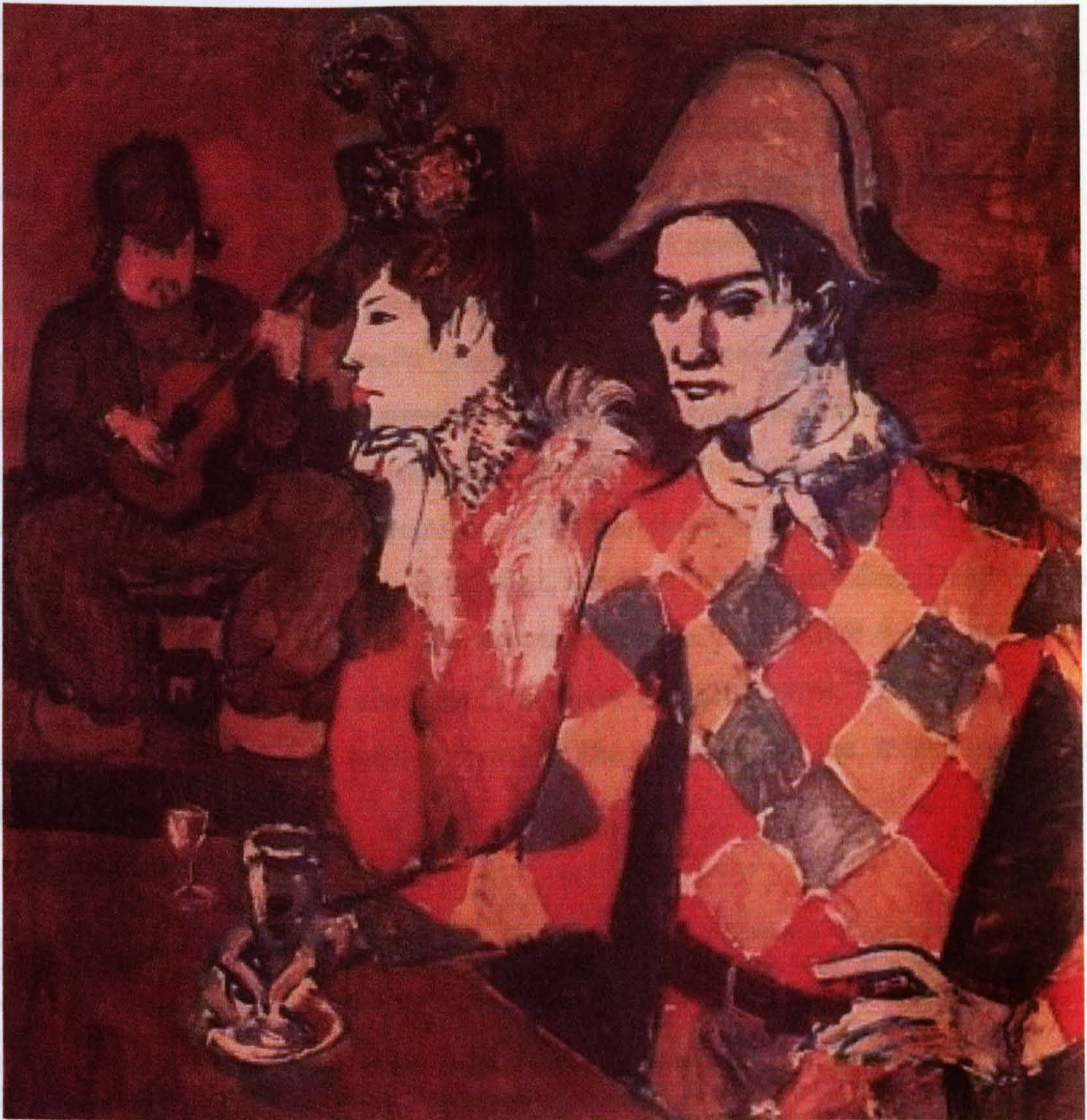


Fig.4.9: Picasso, *Au Lapin Agile*, 1904-5

Private collection

(<http://peternad.club.fr/peintres>)

Messiaen, *musique*) is an oil painting which is a study for the 1904-5 *Au Lapin Agile* (see Fig. 4.9). The figure in the background is a sketch. Both Harlequins have crossed legs but the costumes differ. Cézanne's red and black diamond-covered suit has a belt. Debra's costume is more elaborate but the figure wears a mask. In 1919, José Gade's *El Harlequín* (for example, *Harlequín with Charley*)—Claude Debussy wrote *Harlequinade* in 1910, called *Messiaen of Bergamasque* and began a collection of *Harlequinade* (or *Verdaine*) called *Pérez galante*, in September 1915.

²⁰ In 1912 Arnold Schoenberg produced *Pierrot Lunaire* to words by Albert Giraud. It was performed throughout Europe. Its title reflects the pervasiveness of *jeu de rôle* and the *commedia dell'arte* figures. Even early cinema reflects the obsession with *jeu de rôle* and the Pierrot character. A film by the French director Georges Méliès of 1904 is called *Le Clair de la lune, Pierrot malheureux* (or *The Moonlight, Pierrot unhappy*). Debussy's *Suite Bergamasque* of 1905 contains a *Clair de lune*. Although this work does not contain a Pierrot, the title of the Suite links the work with a harlequin character and thus with *commedia dell'arte* material. As Nicoll in *The World of Harlequin*, p. 40, cites Harlequin as being from Bergamo and called, therefore, Harlequin the Bergamasque.

²¹ In June 1911 Stravinsky's *Petrushka*, the Russian equivalent of the Pulcinella character, was performed by the Ballet Russe. In 1920 Picasso collaborated on the ballet, *Pulcinella*, with Stravinsky, who adapted Pergolesi's music, and Massimo who danced in the title role.

²² Columbine appears in Part 1 of *Pierrot Lunaire*. She also makes an appearance in Paul Verlaine's influential collection of poems, *Pérez galante*, of 1899. Debussy composed two series of songs based on this collection (1902 and 1904). Picasso loved Verlaine's work and in 1905 copied out the poem

Arlecchino, Pulcinella, Pedrolino (Pierrot), and so on. *Commedia* troupes were often itinerant, a feature which Picasso highlighted in his Harlequin pictures. The *commedia dell'arte* had been so successful throughout Europe from the Renaissance onwards that it was deep in the culture of many countries, including Spain (via the work of the seventeenth-century dramatist, Lope de Vega) and France, where it had never really gone away: the playwright Molière in the seventeenth century based much of his work on *commedia* plays;²⁵ the eighteenth-century painter Antoine Watteau was obsessed with *commedia* subjects;²⁶ the later nineteenth century poets such as Paul Verlaine used *commedia dell'arte* material. At the beginning of the twentieth century the artistic community throughout Europe used figures and techniques from the *commedia* as a basis for their work (including Diaghilev in *Pulcinella* and *Le Carnaval*). As we saw in Picasso's work, there was a particular fascination for the Harlequin character,²⁷ as there was for Pierrot,²⁸ Pulcinella,²⁹ and Columbine³⁰ as well as a reassessment of the tradition of the masks worn by *commedia* figures.³¹

²⁵ For example, *Les Fourberies de Scapin*, (*The Double-dealings of Scapino*). This character is one of the *zanni* in the *commedia* tradition. Written by the mature Molière in 1671, it was revived at the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier in 1920, in a production by Jacques Copeau, with Jean-Louis Barrault in the title role.

²⁶ His *Harlequin and Colombine* is in the Wallace Collection, London.

²⁷ Both Cézanne and Degas produced Harlequins: Cézanne's *Mardi Gras* of 1888 (in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow) is an oil painting which shows Harlequin and Pierrot. Degas's *Harlequin* is a pastel sketch. Both Harlequins have crescent-moon hats, but the costumes differ. Cézanne's red and black diamond-covered suit has a belt, Degas's has no lozenge-shapes but the figure wears a mask. As late as 1919, Juan Gris was still using the Harlequin character as a subject (for example, *Harlequin with Guitar*). Claude Debussy wrote a scenario for Diaghilev in 1910, called *Masques et Bergamasques* and began a setting of Louis Laloy's libretto (after Verlaine) called 'Fêtes galantes', in September 1915.

²⁸ In 1912 Arnold Schoenberg produced *Pierrot Lunaire* to words by Albert Giraud. It was performed throughout Europe. Its title reflects the association of moonlight and the *commedia dell'arte* figures. Even early cinema reflects the obsession with moonlight and the Pierrot character. A film by the French director Georges Méliès of 1904 is called *Au Clair de la lune, Pierrot malheureux* (*In the Moonlight, Pierrot unhappy*). Debussy's *Suite Bergamasque* of 1905 contains a *Clair de lune*. Although this work does not contain a Pierrot, the title of the Suite links the work with a harlequin character and thus with *commedia dell'arte* material. A. Nicoll in *The World of Harlequin*, p. 40, cites Harlequin as being from Bergamo and called, therefore, Harlequin the Bergamask.

²⁹ In June 1911 Stravinsky's *Petrushka*, the Russian equivalent of the Pulcinella character, was performed by the Ballets Russes. In 1920 Picasso collaborated on the ballet, *Pulcinella*, with Stravinsky, who adapted Pergolesi's music, and Massine who danced in the title role.

³⁰ Columbine appears in Part 2 of *Pierrot Lunaire*. She also makes an appearance in Paul Verlaine's influential collection of poems, *Fêtes galantes*, of 1869. Debussy composed two series of songs based on this collection (1892 and 1904). Picasso loved Verlaine's work and in 1905 copied out the poem

Picasso's love of the cinema has also been well-documented.³² In Paris he would have seen a host of silent films including many by Charlie Chaplin,³³ as well as adventure films in series form. France had a very strong cinema industry until the outbreak of World War I, and produced such films as *Fantômas*. Made by the director Louis Feuillade in 1914, as a serial in four parts, it has been described by David Thomson as 'the first great movie experience'.³⁴ French cinema was able to create slapstick just as well as the American industry: the actor André Deed 'created a Pierrot-like character called Gribouille in many comedy shorts in *commedia dell'arte* style'.³⁵ During World War I, Pearl White, an American actress, was recruited by the French director Louis Gasnier, as a star for the Pathé company which made the *Perils of Pauline* films and the famous 'Elaine' series. These included *The Exploits of Elaine*, *The New Exploits of Elaine* and *The Romance of Elaine*.³⁶ Picasso would also have seen newsreels, released by such companies as Pathé and the other large French company, Gaumont, and realistic social drama such as Louis Feuillade's series *La Vie telle qu'elle est (Life as it is)* of 1911-13.³⁷ Charles Pathé left for America in 1914 and on his return in 1917 found that the local market was saturated with foreign films, most of which were American.³⁸ There can be no doubt that Part 2 of *Parade* reflects

Cortège. (See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol I, p.339.) *Cortège* is interesting because of its inclusion of a monkey and a black slave, both of which appear in the *Parade* curtain.

³¹ See my discussion in Chapter 2 about Meyerhold.

³² Josep Palau I Fabre, *Picasso: Life and Work of the Early Years 1881-1907*, p.120, notes that Picasso and his friend, Manuel Pallarès attended the Cinematográfico Napoleon in Barcelona in 1896. Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. I, p.398, refers to Picasso's 'private box at the local cinema, where he and his friends were in the habit of going night after night' (in 1916).

³³ Chaplin's film of 1915, *The Champion*, dealt with another passion of Picasso, Cocteau, Apollinaire, and others in Picasso's circle: boxing. P. Cotes and T. Niklaus, in *The Little Fellow*, p.138, describe this film as 'remarkable for its analogies to ballet. The development of the story, its timing, and its use of movement, shape and rhythm are all choreographic.' The Frederick Koch score of *Parade* contains indecipherable references to 'boxeurs' in Cocteau's handwriting.

³⁴ David Thomson, *Biographical dictionary of film*, p.239.

³⁵ E Katz, *Macmillan International Film Encyclopaedia*, p.484. Interestingly, Chaplin had begun his career in 1907 with the famous Fred Karno, an impresario in London, whose work derived from 'the Italian mime that reached its zenith with the Comédie Italienne in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and that gave rise to the figures of Harlequin, Columbine, Pantaloon and Clown in the English pantomime of the nineteenth century.' See P. Cotes and T. Niklaus, p.22.

³⁶ See Katz, *Macmillan International Film Encyclopaedia*, p.1462. Charles Pathé's studios were based in Jersey City during World War I. See the advertisement for *The Perils of Pauline* in Rothschild, *Picasso's "Parade"*, p.82.

³⁷ Katz, *Macmillan International Film Encyclopaedia*, p.1013 and p.450.

³⁸ Katz, *Macmillan International Film Encyclopaedia*, p.1069. See also Kenton Bamford's *Distorted Images*, p.7: 'During the 1914-18 conflict the Film Division of the American Committee of Public

the contemporary situation regarding the American infiltration of the French cinema during the first World War.

As well as popular entertainment, Picasso acquired a deep interest in mysticism and the occult during his early years in Paris. A fascination with the occult was widespread in Paris at the end of the nineteenth century and influenced all kinds of artists, from musicians to writers and painters.³⁹ Picasso's superstitious nature coupled with a horror of death lent itself easily to this influence. John Richardson documents how Picasso still experienced guilt and remorse fifty years after his sister's death from diphtheria in 1895 and how, as a result, he was still using the subject of a sick or dying girl in his work four years later.⁴⁰ When Eva Gouel, his mistress since the beginning of 1912, died in December 1915, Picasso experienced 'anguish, psychic turmoil and anger at Eva's leaving him. Picasso could not forgive anyone close to him for dying'.⁴¹ In the early 1900s Picasso's friend, the writer and artist, Max Jacob, had taught him astrology, chiromancy and the Tarot,⁴² and this interest was deepened when he met Apollinaire in 1904 and the painter André Derain (also a friend of Satie) in 1906. John Richardson writes: 'Derain had the advantage of perceiving how philosophical theories and mystic beliefs of the most diverse kind could be woven into a personal aesthetic'.⁴³ Picasso's use of aspects of the occult pervaded his work from the time of *La Vie* in 1903 (Fig.4.10), where the hand gesture

Information supplied 600 projectors on which to show the 14 million feet of film a week shipped for the entertainment of Allied troops and civilians...the most popular film stars in France were American'. Mary Pickford would have been one of these.

³⁹ Claude Debussy was one example of a musician who became interested in the occult and frequented Edmond Bailly's bookshop, the Librairie de l'Art Indépendant, in Paris. According to Robert Orledge, 'Debussy's connections with the occult may have continued after the 1890s'. See 'Debussy's Piano Music: some second thoughts and sources of inspiration', *Musical Times*, 122 no. 1655, 1981, pp.21-7. A letter of 1894 to the composer, Ernest Chausson, refers to a *séance* in table-turning. Satie went through a Rosicrucian phase at the end of the nineteenth century and retained this interest throughout his life. The writer, Guillaume Apollinaire, a very close friend of Picasso, was obsessed with medieval legend and magic rituals and had a book on demonology, according to Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. I, p.331.

⁴⁰ Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol.I, p.50. We have also seen how Casagemas's death preoccupied him for several years. See n.18 above.

⁴¹ Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, p.377.

⁴² According to Francis Steegmuller, Jacob was 'an enchanting, malicious, threadbare little Jewish poet from Brittany...half mystic, half clown...always the life and soul of the party, casting horoscopes, reading palms'. See Apollinaire, *Poet Among the Painters*, pp.122-3.

⁴³ Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, p.74.

of the Casagemas character imitates that of the Magician card of the Tarot pack (see Fig.4.19). Two years later he was still including this gesture in *Harlequins with Raised Hands* (Fig.4.11) and 'thirty years later...would still draw on the Tarot in his writing as well as his painting'.⁴⁴

Picasso's work prior to 1917 shows him working autobiographically, therefore, and at the same time, exorcising those parts of his life that he found difficult to accept. People he knew, both casually and intimately, are repeatedly depicted, as are the buildings and landscapes he visited. The subject of his work is the reality and diversity of his own life in the context of modern life in general.⁴⁵ His philosophical and technical concerns are repeatedly worked out beneath the guise of every possible aspect of society, from brothels to newspapers.⁴⁶ Such an all-embracing vision demanded different styles,⁴⁷ sometimes even during the same day, and the apparent lack of unity in *Parade* reflects this: he works in two-dimensions for the Red Curtain but gives the three-dimensional Managers the appearance of 'décor qui bouge' (moving décor); he uses colour for the Chinese Conjuror's costume, but only black and white for the Little American Girl; the Managers are giants compared to the other characters; the Red Curtain looks anything but cubist, yet the French and American Managers step straight out of cubism, as does the head of the horse used for the third Manager.

⁴⁴ See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol.I, pp.270-74 for this information.

⁴⁵ In a reference to Baudelaire's famous essay, *Le Peintre de la vie moderne* of 1859-60, Richardson says that Picasso 'fitted the bill [as a painter of modern life] better than any other artist of this century'. See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, p.13.

⁴⁶ Picasso recognized no 'ideal' subjects: like Hugo, he depicted beauty as well as ugliness. See my discussion about the origins of realism in Chapter 1.

⁴⁷ Herbert Read in *The Philosophy of Modern Art*, p.158, quotes an interview which Picasso gave before 1925, in which the artist commented: 'From the point of view of art, there are no concrete or abstract forms, but only forms which are more or less convincing lies'. In other words, disparity of style is of little importance because art is of necessity built on artifice.

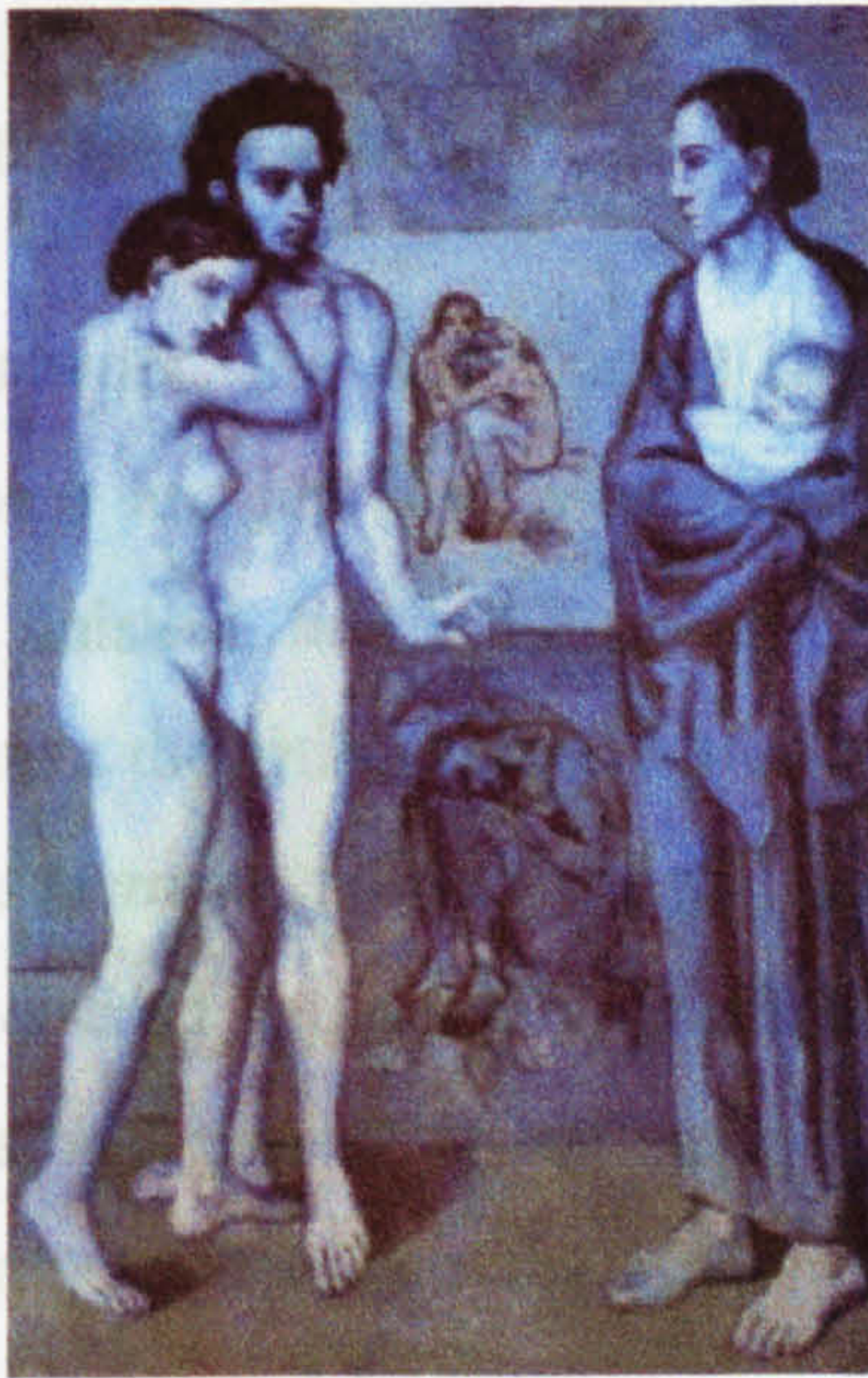


Fig.4.10: Picasso, *La Vie*, 1903

Cleveland Museum of Art
<http://www.shinjuspottery.com>

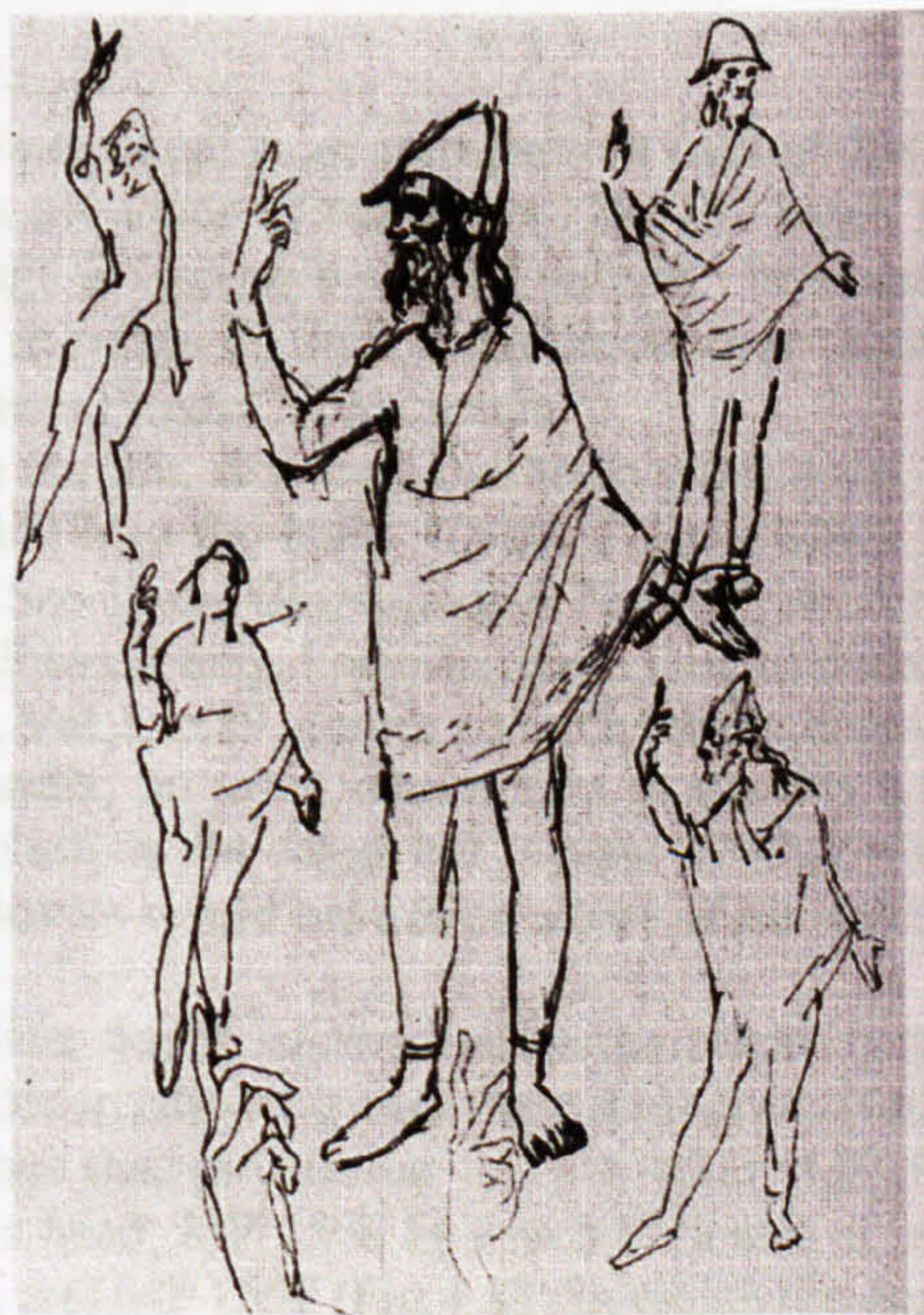


Fig.4.11: *Harlequins with Raised Hands*, 1905

Private Collection
 Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol.I, p.274)

(a) *Le Rideau rouge*⁴⁸ (The Red Curtain)⁴⁹

As with much of Picasso's work, the Red Curtain (Fig.4.12) can be interpreted on many different levels. There are just five sketches for the Curtain in the Musée Picasso (of which the most finished, MP 1557, is shown in Fig.4.13).⁵⁰ All but one⁵¹ show that right from the outset the artist wanted a two-part composition: on the left, a winged horse with an *équestrienne*, and on the right, a group of performers gathered round a table. These two distinct groups are separated by a ladder, but the whole composition is linked by its background of red curtains and some hint of landscape. The relatively subtle differences between the sketches leave few clues about the underlying meaning of the curtain and here, once again, Picasso excelled in choosing subject matter that lent itself to a number of mutually enhancing interpretations. As John Richardson writes, 'Picasso's work is far too protean and paradoxical to be

⁴⁸ As with many things in *Parade*, there is an ambiguity in calling this curtain *Le Rideau rouge*, since all traditional theatre curtains are made of red velvet. The Frederick Koch score, however, makes it quite clear that *Le Rideau rouge* is Picasso's painted curtain. In Cocteau's handwriting on page 2 of the score we read. 'Ici se lève le rideau du théâtre qui découvre le rideau rouge de Picasso'. ('Here the theatre curtain rises and uncovers Picasso's red curtain.')

⁴⁹ Diaghilev used an overture curtain, designed by the Russian artist Mikhail Larionov, for the first time in the spring season of 1917, in the ballet *Contes Russes* which had its premiere on 11 May, a week before that of *Parade*. See Lynn Garafola and Nancy Van Norman Baer (eds.), *The Ballets Russes and Its World*, p.333. Picasso may, however, have seen an overture curtain as a boy in Málaga. Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. I, p.19, shows a sketch for the drop-curtain of the Teatro Cervantes in Málaga by Bernardo Ferrándiz, an artist who taught at the city's Escuela de Bellas Artes. The sketch, now in a private collection, is not dated, but Picasso's father was a 'disciple' of Ferrándiz, and it is possible that the young Picasso would have been aware of his work (Picasso lived in Málaga until he was 10).

⁵⁰ MP 1568, probably the earliest sketch, shows, unlike the others, a rearing Pegasus. Picasso sets it underneath a sketch for the décor, showing that they were conceived together early in the project. There are three further sketches that are similar to each other: MP 1555, which shows neither the monkey nor the *équestrienne*'s head; MP 1556 in which both sets of performers are enveloped by the curtain, as in the final version; and MP 1557 (Fig.4.13) in which the *équestrienne* sits on the horse and holds the monkey on her left shoulder whilst a man climbs up the ladder to fix a sun in place. A fifth sketch, MP 1558 (Fig.4.21), is quite different. It is a detailed *pointilliste* sketch for the female on the right of the curtain. None of the sketches shows the floorboards that appear in the final version, now in the Centre Pompidou in Paris. All the sketches are located in the Picasso Museum, Paris.

⁵¹ MP 1558, the *pointilliste* study for the head of the female figure, was almost certainly executed in Rome during rehearsals in early 1917. It can be dated because of the similarity of its style to the *pointilliste* sketch of the Villa Medici, also executed in Rome (shown in Palau I Fabre, *Picasso 1917-26*, p.18).



Fig.4.12: Picasso, *Le Rideau Rouge*, 1917

Pompidou Centre, Paris
 (<http://en.chinabroadcast.cn>)

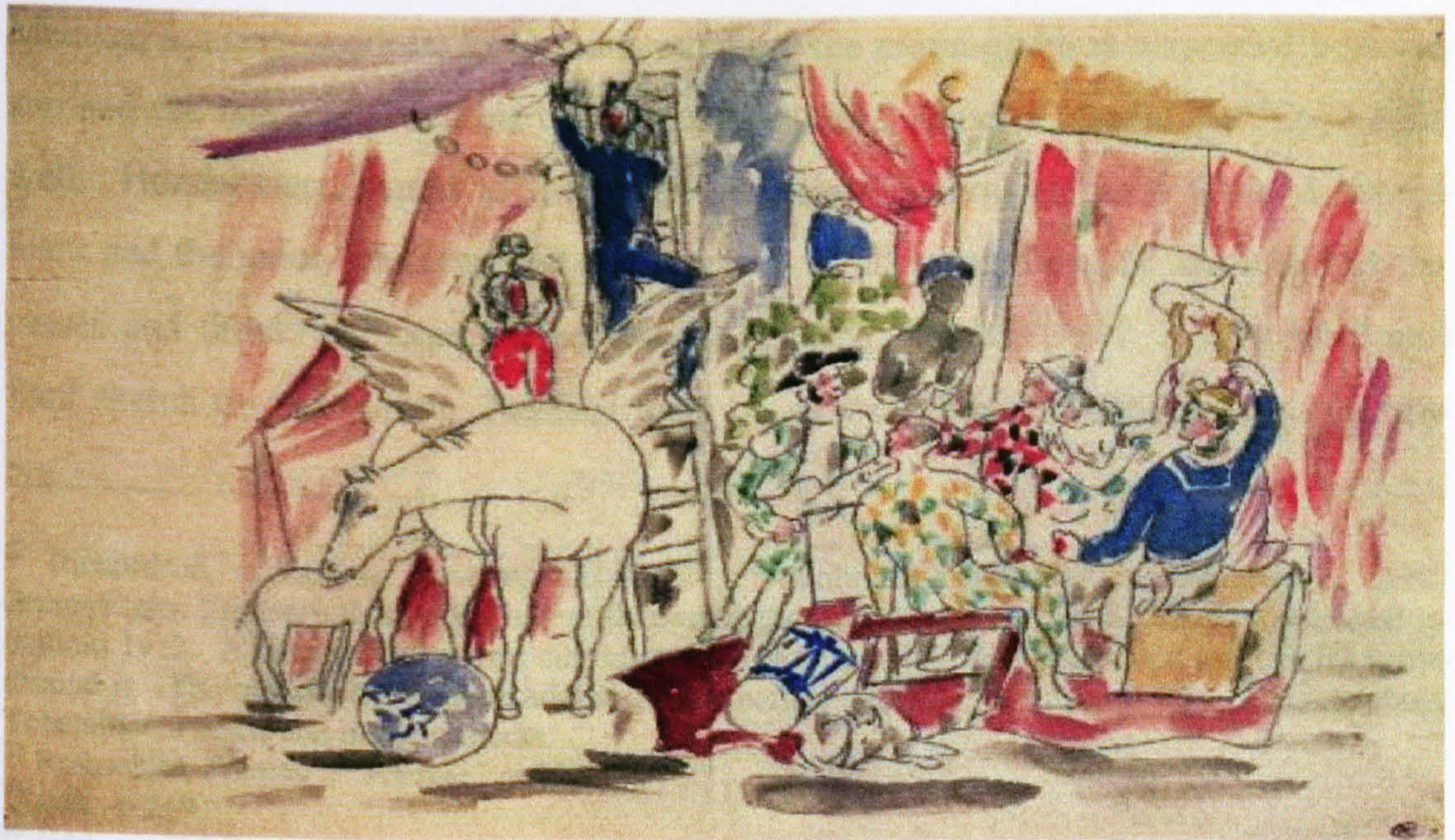


Fig.4.13: MP 1557 Sketch for the Red Curtain

Picasso Museum, Paris
 (<http://images.easyart.com>)

limited to a single reading'.⁵² At its most superficial level, the Red Curtain is a depiction of performers resting, watching an *équestrienne* practising on a circus horse that has wings attached to its back. Deborah Menaker Rothschild has shown in great detail how the characters depicted in the curtain are all recognisable as contemporary circus performers: the winged horse appears in a popular print from 1880;⁵³ Rothschild reproduces a photograph from a 1906 French publication of a *forain* family and their pet monkeys relaxing at a table;⁵⁴ she also includes a print, *circa* 1830, of a *parade* scene which includes 'none other than a Harlequin, ballerina, sailor and exotic Moorish figure'.⁵⁵ Picasso knew that his imagery was instantly recognizable to the *Parade* audience because it was rooted in French popular culture. Yet the insertion of the winged horse of popular circus culture enabled Picasso to open a door to another, more complex, classical interpretation and one that many members of the audience would have failed to grasp.⁵⁶ According to Greek mythology,⁵⁷ Pegasus, the winged horse, is a moon-horse used in rain-making. His name means 'of the wells' and he is the son of Poseidon, god of the sea, and of Medusa, a moon-goddess. In Greek mythology the moon-goddess controlled both the sun and the moon.⁵⁸ With his crescent-shaped hoof Pegasus created the Hippocrene well. Horses were sacred to the moon because their hooves made a moon-shaped mark and the moon was regarded as the source of all water. Pegasus was loved by the muses and drank at Peirene, a never-failing spring. In MP 1568, a very small and faint sketch for the curtain, Pegasus rears up as if in flight, but Picasso subsequently

⁵² Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol.II, p.13. Rosalind Krauss, *The Picasso Papers*, p.28, demonstrates this very thoroughly when discussing the collage, *Violin*, which Picasso completed in autumn 1912. A piece of newspaper, cut into two pieces, resembles both the instrument and the space around it. The newspaper is given additional symbolism by its subject matter: it is an article about Tchataldja, a battle site in the Balkans.

⁵³ Rothschild, *Picasso's "Parade"*, p.234.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.219.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.219-20.

⁵⁶ Cocteau made this very point in his preface to *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel*: that most of the audience remains at the entrance to the *baraque* watching the *parade* because they will not make the effort to go inside and understand the deeper meaning of art.

⁵⁷ I am indebted to Robert Graves's excellent two-volume work, *The Greek Myths*, for much of this information.

⁵⁸ Sketch MP 1557 (Fig.4.13) shows an acrobat climbing up the ladder in order to hang a sun above the company. This is changed in the final version of the curtain, so that no sun appears, indicating the emphasis on a moon-related interpretation.

changed this to a pose not unlike the one on the stone bas-relief in the Palazzo Spada in Rome, in which Pegasus is depicted with his head down, drinking peacefully from the Peirene spring.⁵⁹ Pegasus, born of both Poseidon and Medusa (of water and the moon), represents the dual immortality of creative powers.⁶⁰ As if to emphasise this, Picasso has placed in front of Pegasus a moon-shaped ball with the two lines of the Aquarius sign running round its circumference.⁶¹ Yet this classical interpretation of the horse contains another element: Picasso's Pegasus is clearly female, suckling a foal. The most famous classical myth concerning a mare is that of Demeter, a goddess who deliberately turned herself into a horse when seeking her daughter Persephone, who had been kidnapped by Hades, the god of the underworld. In the guise of a horse, Demeter was raped by Poseidon, disguised as a stallion, and the result was Arion, a wild horse with a black mane. The dual purpose of Picasso's male/female horse in the curtain is to represent fertility, not only through Pegasus's moon and water connections, but also through Demeter's production of new life in the shape of Arion, the foal. The fact that the latter was conceived in pain and against a background of death (because Demeter was in pursuit of Persephone, who had been abducted to the underworld) is, as we shall see, a statement by Picasso about his own situation in 1917.

Standing on the back of the horse is a Siren-like creature, having a girl's face but a bird's feathers. Sirens traditionally also had bird's feet, but Picasso has deliberately hidden this figure's feet to give an ambiguous reading. According to Robert Graves: 'Sirens... were carved on funeral monuments as death angels chanting dirges to lyre music, but also credited with erotic designs on the heroes they mourned; and, since the soul was believed to fly off in the form of a bird, were pictured...as birds of prey

⁵⁹ This would indicate that the rearing Pegasus was probably conceived before the visit to Rome.

⁶⁰ Richard Axsom notes that Pegasus was given as a gift by Athena to the Muses. See *Parade: Cubism as Theatre*, p.128.

⁶¹ Axsom sees this as a celestial globe, the symbol of poetry during the Renaissance. See his thesis, *Parade: Cubism as Theatre*, p.128. Yet all the mythological and *commedia dell'arte* references in the curtain point to this being a moon. This is a very important point, because 'the cyclical process of disappearance and appearance of the moon is the basis of the widespread association of the moon with the land of the dead, the place to which souls ascend after death, and the power of rebirth'. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 8, p.300.

waiting to catch and secure it'.⁶² Graves says that the Sirens, although daughters of Hell, did not live underground, but on a 'green sepulchral island ... [which] the Latins [placed] on the Sirensian Islands near Naples, or on Capri'.⁶³ Picasso visited Naples with Stravinsky and Cocteau in early 1917 and would probably have known this legend. We have already seen how Picasso's obsession with the death of the people closest to him continued to occupy his work for several years after the event. Picasso includes several self-referential clues that the Siren-figure may well represent the dead Eva Gouel. During their life together, Picasso extended cubism by using collage, stencilling and other typographical techniques. These enabled him to use witty, and sometimes more covert references to people and events. Eva's name is stencilled or written into many paintings, as, for example, in the almost-abstract *Nude Woman* of 1912⁶⁴ on which Picasso has written in minuscule letters 'J'aime Eva'. But more importantly for the Curtain, many of the typographical references to her are associated with music. *Violin ("Jolie Eva")* of 1912 (Fig.4.14) is a case in point. Her name appears on what looks like manuscript paper that has slipped out of a violin case, as if 'Eva' is the name of the music about to be played. Similarly, the famous painting, *Woman with Guitar ("Ma Jolie")*, completed in late 1911 (Fig.4.15) when the affair was just beginning in secret, refers to Eva as well as to the popular song whose first line is 'Manon, ma jolie'.⁶⁵ Picasso makes the Siren-like *équestrienne* of the Red Curtain perform to the music of the guitarist sitting at the table, thus linking the Siren with the guitar. Moreover, throughout his work, Picasso used the guitar as a symbol of a woman. As John Richardson writes:

The allegorical possibilities of musical instruments had intrigued Picasso ever since *Arte Joven*, the magazine that he and Soler had edited in Madrid, published Nicolás María López's essay "La Psicología de la guitarra". López likens a guitar to a woman: a passive

⁶² See section 170.7 of Graves, *The Greek Myths*.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Now in the Columbus Museum of Art, Ohio.

⁶⁵ Written by Harry Fragson and called *Dernière Chanson*. See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, p.230.



Fig.4.14: Picasso, *Violin* (“*Jolie Eva*”), 1912

Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart
(<http://www.nelepets.com>)

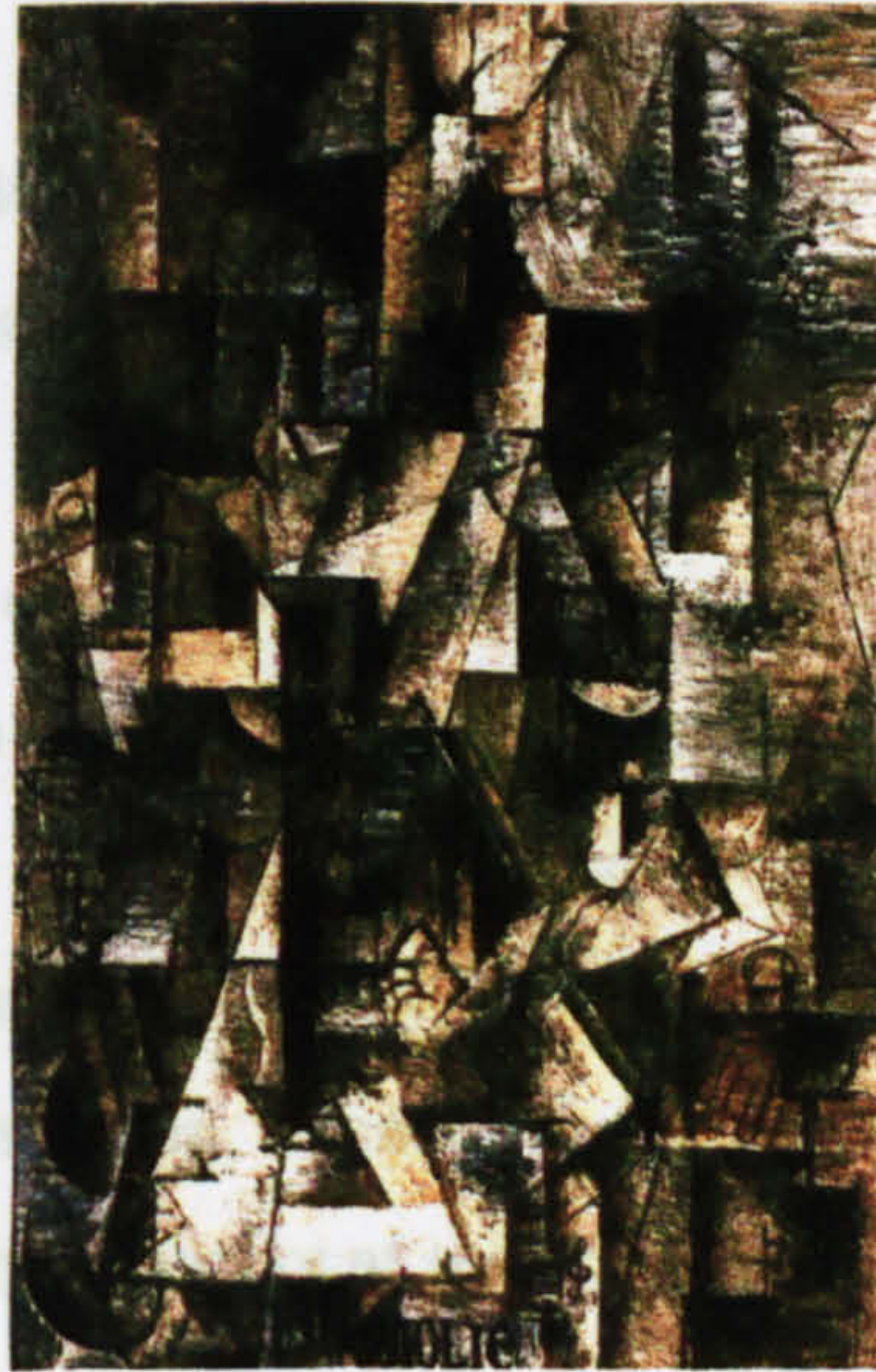


Fig.4.15: Picasso, *Woman with Guitar* (“Ma Jolie”), 1911

Museum of Modern Art, New York
<http://www.rpi.edu>

The final link between Eva and the Siren-figure of the Red Curtain occurs in the references to another of Picasso's paintings. In early 1912 a brochure, promoting military aviation, had been published by the French government. One half of it contained the red, white and blue stripes of the tricolour flag printed with the words 'Notre Avenir est dans l'Air' ('Our Future is in the Air'). Within a few months, Picasso copied this design in a printing called *The Scallop Shell* ('Notre Avenir est dans l'Air') (Fig.4.17). But he placed the brochure at the right-hand edge of his oval format so that the only lettering visible reads 'Not. Avo. est dan...L'A...' At

⁶⁶ Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol II, p.149.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.273.

⁶⁸ This is in a private collection.

instrument on which a man plays... The anthropomorphic rhymes and pictorial double entendres in his innumerable guitar compositions confirm that Picasso subscribed to these sentiments.⁶⁶

As if to stress the link with death, the guitarist in the *Curtain* is wearing black cross-garters, absent from sketch MP 1557 (as is the Siren-figure: the girl holding the monkey has no wings, see Fig.4.13), but reminiscent of the 'dark, mourning-band strips (such as Picasso might have been wearing)' to mark the death of his father in 1913.⁶⁷ According to Richardson, Picasso frequently used this black motif in his *papier collé* as well as in painted works at this time.

A further link between Eva and the Siren-figure appears in two paintings which clearly link Eva to a bird: in 1914 Picasso completed the pointillistic *Portrait of a Young Girl*, who wears a very clear feather boa (Fig.4.16); and the portrait of Eva called *Seated Woman (Eva) Wearing a Hat Trimmed with a White Bird* (1915-16).⁶⁸ Picasso went to enormous lengths to ensure that the feather boa of the former picture was as realistic as possible. The feathers, each rendered in minute detail, form the most striking feature of the portrait. Similarly, the wings on the Siren-figure in the *Red Curtain* are meticulously drawn.

The final link between Eva and the siren-figure of the *Red Curtain* occurs in the references to another of Picasso's paintings. In early 1912 a brochure, promoting military aviation, had been published by the French government. One half of it contained the red, white and blue stripes of the tricolour flag printed with the words 'Notre Avenir est dans l'Air' ('Our Future is in the Air'). Within a few months, Picasso copied this design in a painting called *The Scallop Shell* ("Notre Avenir est dans l'Air") (Fig.4.17). But he placed the brochure at the right-hand edge of his oval format so that the only lettering visible reads 'Not...Ave...est dan...L'A...' At

⁶⁶ Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol II, p.149.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.278.

⁶⁸ This is in a private collection.



Fig.4.16: Picasso, *Portrait of a Young Girl*, 1914

Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris
<http://www.real-oil-paintings.com>

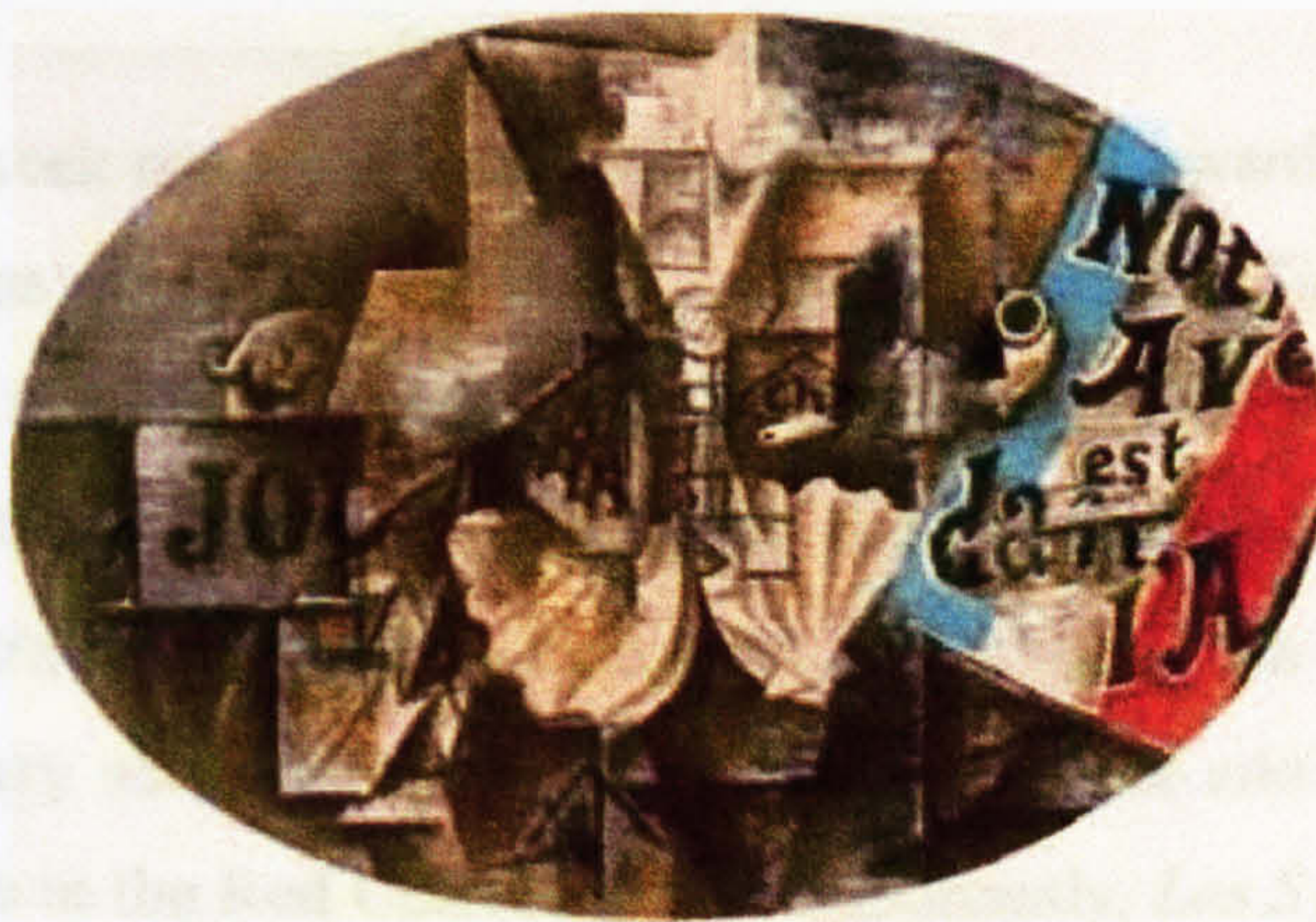


Fig.4.17: Picasso, *The Scallop Shell* (“*Notre Avenir est dans l’Air*”), 1912

Private collection
<http://www.real-oil-paintings.com>

⁶⁴ This was painted in 1915 and is now in the collection of the Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris.
⁶⁵ For example, in a study by the artist, the colors of the sky are described as a decoration for the Lapin Agile. Picasso's use of color is a key element of his style. See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. I, p.372-4.
⁶⁶ Krieger, *The Picasso Papers*, p.100. See also the study by the artist, *Notre Avenir est dans l'Air*, p.151. This is an important point for Picasso, which is a key element of his style. See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. I, p.372-4.
⁶⁷ See Grove, *The Great Artists*, p.100.
⁶⁸ See Krieger, *The Picasso Papers*, p.100.
⁶⁹ Daugherty had already worked for the artist as a set designer at the Mariinsky Theatre in St. Petersburg. See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. I, p.372-4.
⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p.372.

the very centre of the picture are two scallop shells, an unmistakable reference to Botticelli's famous painting, *The Birth of Venus*.⁶⁹ This, together with the abbreviated lettering, 'Ave' (Spanish for bird), must be a code for Eva. In the Red Curtain, the ladder next to the *équestrienne* has the same tricolour markings. These colours within the context of Picasso's work are so striking that a reference to *The Scallop Shell* must be intended, especially since colours were not always instinctive for Picasso. Some of his sketches show him adding written ideas for colour as an afterthought.⁷⁰ More importantly, during the cubist years preceding *Parade*, Picasso virtually removed colour from the cubist equation; then, as collage took over, he used colour as symbol, never as decoration.⁷¹ For Picasso, Eva was a Siren-like figure: erotic, but, as it would turn out, deathly, too. It was Eva who had enticed Picasso, albeit willingly, away from Fernande Olivier, his first great love and the icon of his work in the early days of cubism, but Eva had in her turn left Picasso to deal with the oppressive aftermath of her death.

Yet the Siren in Greek mythology can look prophetically forward at the same time as mourning what has gone before.⁷² By not showing the Siren's bird-like feet, Picasso's *équestrienne* looks uncannily like a dancer from the ballet, *Les Sylphides*, a point made by Richard Axsom.⁷³ This ballet had been premiered by Diaghilev in Paris, at the Théâtre du Châtelet in June 1909.⁷⁴ A photograph of this production⁷⁵ shows costumes very similar, albeit with tiny wings and the addition of a headdress, to that of the figure in the Red Curtain. More importantly, *Les Sylphides* formed part of the May 1917 season and Olga Khokhlova, who on 12 July 1918, would become

⁶⁹ This was painted in 1485 and is now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

⁷⁰ For example, in a study for a work which Richardson says may have been 'intended as a decoration for the *Lapin Agile*', Picasso writes on his drawing: 'harlequin black, blue and pink perhaps yellow instead of pink...A green meadow would not be a bad idea'. See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol.I, p.372-4.

⁷¹ Krauss, *The Picasso Papers*, cites one of Picasso's art dealers, Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler: 'Picasso perceived the danger of lowering his art to the level of ornament'. See p.181. This is an important point for *Parade*, which is dominated by the deliberately chosen primary colours, red, yellow and blue.

⁷² See Graves, *The Greek Myths*, section 154.3.

⁷³ See Axsom, *Parade: Cubism as Theatre*, p.141.

⁷⁴ Diaghilev had already staged this ballet in 1907 as *Chopiniana* at the Maryinsky Theatre in St. Petersburg. See Garafola and Van Norman Baer (eds.), *The Ballets Russes and Its World*, p.323.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.155.

Picasso's wife, was one of the ballerinas. Picasso had met and courted Olga in Rome. She was to form part of his future, hence the duality of the Siren-figure. As Axsom correctly states: 'Picasso often allowed a single shape to evoke multiple associations and identities'.⁷⁶

The group on the left of the curtain, therefore, represents both Picasso's past and future on a personal level, as well as symbolising the major themes of artistic immortality and creativity. Just to the right of the guitarist, and almost centre-stage in the curtain, is a Harlequin figure. Picasso's identification and fascination with the Harlequin character was so well-known that when Cocteau first asked Picasso to paint his portrait in 1915, he arrived at the studio in the rue Schoelcher in Montparnasse dressed as Harlequin.⁷⁷ Interestingly, Picasso never painted Cocteau as a Harlequin. His pencil sketch of Cocteau, dated 1916, shows the poet in army uniform (see Fig.4.28). Harlequins were reserved for himself and his alter ego, especially in his early years in Paris as an impoverished outsider.⁷⁸ It was Apollinaire who added a different dimension to this alter-ego figure by forming a direct link between Picasso and 'arlequin trismégiste', when he sent Picasso a poem called 'Les Saltimbanques' in hand-written form on 1 November 1905,⁷⁹ the year in which Picasso completed his major painting of the same name (see Fig.4.8). It is Apollinaire's response to the painting, and in its references to poverty and death amongst the troupe of acrobats, reflects the painting's undercurrent of melancholy. Apollinaire's last line, however, refers to 'arlequin trismégiste' and gives a new, occult twist to the harlequin figure and, by extension, to Picasso himself. Apollinaire's 'arlequin trismégiste' was a pun on the name of the mystical Hermes Trismegisthus who is said to have written *The*

⁷⁶ Axsom, *Parade: Cubism as Theatre*, p.160.

⁷⁷ Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, p.384.

⁷⁸ Picasso was desperately poor. In 1905, for example, he was invited to spend the summer in Holland with the journalist, Tom Schilperoort, and could not afford the 20 francs for the fare. Max Jacob had to borrow the money from the concierge. See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. I, p.378.

⁷⁹ Rothschild, *Picasso's "Parade"*, p.253, nn.2 and 3, outlines the careful research done by Theodore Reff to establish that Apollinaire did indeed send this poem in 1905 and not, as previously thought, in 1909. The poem is included as 'Saltimbanques' in Apollinaire's collection of 1913, *Alcools*.

Emerald Tablet.⁸⁰ Trismegisthus means 'thrice great' and Hermes Trismegisthus was also the name given by the Greeks to Thoth, the Egyptian god of the moon. Thus Hermes and Thoth (both mythological) and Hermes Trismegisthus, the writer of the *Hermetica*, are all linked. Apollinaire's pun, 'arlequin trismégiste', is now deliberately exploited in the *Red Curtain* by Picasso, via the name Hermes Trismegisthus, to link himself, through the harlequin figure, with the Greek god, Hermes, the messenger of Olympus. The similarities between Picasso and Hermes are too numerous to ignore. Hermes, the son of Zeus, the god of the heavens, and of Maia, an earth goddess, provides a link between the divine and the earthly, just as Picasso's extraordinary gifts do. Hermes is the grandson of Atlas, a Titan of the moon,⁸¹ an association echoed in Part 2 of *Parade*, since the ship mentioned in the ballet was originally the Titanic.⁸² Hermes's connections with Atlas (as a Titan of the moon) also provide a link to the Pegasus figure in terms of creativity and immortality, and yet a further link with Picasso's theme of creativity lies in Hermes's name which means 'pillar'. He was originally not a god at all, but had, as part of a pre-Hellenic fertility cult, 'the totemistic value of a phallic pillar'.⁸³ With Eros being a possible son, Hermes's similarity to Picasso in terms of sexual drive, and, therefore, creativity, is obvious. Indeed this symbolism is further reinforced by the depiction of a classical pillar placed behind the seated entertainers on the *Curtain*. Other attributes of Hermes match Picasso's abilities. From birth, Hermes was known as a thief,⁸⁴ a trickster and an inventor. Picasso's work is littered with subject matter stolen from a wide variety

⁸⁰ According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 5, p.875, the *Hermetica*, of which the *Emerald Tablet* is part, are works of revelation on occult, theological and philosophical subjects. These writings date from the middle of the first century A.D., are in Greek and Latin, and in the form of Platonic dialogues. Hermeticism was extensively cultivated by the Arabs and, through them, influenced Western ideas. There are frequent allusions to Hermes Trismegisthus in late medieval and Renaissance literature. More recently, the Symbolist poets, especially Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Valéry, and Rimbaud (so admired by Apollinaire and subsequently by Picasso), based their ideas on the Hermeticism that was used in the poetic theory of Edgar Allan Poe.

⁸¹ According to Robert Graves, Atlas's task was to support the heavens, and Homer reports that the columns 'on which he supported the firmament stood far out in the Atlantic Ocean, afterwards named in his honour'. See *The Greek Myths*, section 39.7.

⁸² The Frederick Koch score shows that the chorus was to sing the words 'Le Titanic s'enfonce, allumé, dans la mer'. ('The Titanic goes down into the sea, all lit up.')

⁸³ For this and other information about Hermes, see Graves, *The Greek Myths*, especially section 17.

⁸⁴ In 1911, Picasso and Apollinaire were accused, wrongly, of stealing statuettes from the Louvre.

of sources: from other artists, contemporary advertisements, real objects,⁸⁵ his own previous work⁸⁶ and so on. Just as Hermes invented the lyre, and Thoth, Hermes's Egyptian counterpart, invented writing, so too did Picasso invent new ways of depicting instruments and typography in cubism, as if he, like Hermes, had been given a magic eye by the three Fates, symbolising the gift of perception.

Yet just as the Pegasus/Demeter figure symbolises both creativity and death, so too does Hermes. In the *Odyssey* he is a messenger of the gods but also the conductor of the dead to Hades. The dog at the harlequin's feet in the curtain underlines this link with death. Hermes's alter-ego, the Egyptian god Thoth, is, according to Graves,⁸⁷ also called the Dog-star Sirius, who is one of the three heads of the death-goddess Hecate. Picasso's love of dogs is well-known: in 1904, when he finally moved to Paris, 'he took along Gat, the mongrel that Utrillo had given him. As soon as he settled in, he would acquire two more dogs, Feo and Frika'.⁸⁸ When Frika was put down in 1913, Picasso was extremely distressed.⁸⁹ Therefore it is no surprise that the dog portrayed in the curtain not only symbolises Picasso's love of dogs (one of the many easily-accessible references contained in the Curtain) but also, in its link with Sirius,⁹⁰ neatly ties in with one of the themes of the curtain, death.⁹¹

The other animal depicted in the Curtain, the monkey, is also associated with Thoth, the god who was sometimes portrayed with a baboon's head. This shows Picasso making a clear link between the Hermes/Thoth/harlequin character, the monkey and

⁸⁵ *The Scallop Shell*, discussed earlier, exemplifies these thefts.

⁸⁶ The cubist *Fanny Tellier (Girl with the Mandolin)* of 1910 borrows from Picasso's *The Woman with Mandolin* of 1909, which in turn borrows from Camille Corot's *Gypsy Girl with Mandolin (Christine Nilsson)* of 1874. These paintings are now respectively in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, The Museum of Modern Art, New York, and the Museu de Arte de Sao Paulo Assis Chateaubriand.

⁸⁷ Graves, *The Greek Myths*, sections 31.7 and 82.3.

⁸⁸ See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. I, p.295.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p.278.

⁹⁰ With a quite coincidental but nonetheless tantalising link to Part 2 of *Parade*, Sirius is also the name of the first ship to have crossed the Atlantic entirely under steam. It sailed from London to New York in 1838 with 40 passengers. See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 10, p.845.

⁹¹ Especially since the dog in Greek mythology was one of the heads of triple-headed Hecate, the death-goddess. Her other heads were a horse and a lion. Death is certainly present in *Parade*: in Part 1 where the Chinese conjuror was meant to be tortured (see Chapter 2); in Part 2 where the Titanic sinks; and in Part 3 where the Acrobats take death-defying leaps.

himself⁹² in a way that relates directly to his own life: the monkey on the ladder of the curtain is being restrained, or possibly assisted, by the Eva/Olga/Siren figure, according to the way the material is read.⁹³

The Egyptian god Thoth provides a link to a different, non-classical interpretation of Picasso's *Curtain*. Although the Tarot in its present form has been known to the West only since the end of the fourteenth century,⁹⁴ 'there is a strong tradition that locates the Tarot's origins in the body of universal knowledge laid down by the Egyptian god Thoth for his disciples in magic'.⁹⁵ We have seen how Picasso, under Max Jacob's influence, became fascinated with the Tarot. He uses this knowledge to make the *Red Curtain* a depiction of the ballet in terms of Tarot images. It is as if he had shuffled the Tarot cards and laid them out to see if *Parade* is going to be a propitious change of direction for him. We do not know which of the many Tarot packs of cards he would have seen. The designs of the packs differ enormously and each is rooted in its own culture, but it is quite probable that Picasso in Paris would have known the Marseilles pack⁹⁶ whose figures appear in primary colours wearing renaissance-style costumes. In marked contrast to many other Tarot packs, the Marseilles cards look very theatrical.⁹⁷

⁹² Axsom, in *Parade: Cubism as Theatre*, discusses Picasso's depiction of himself as a monkey as well as other artists' use of 'singeries' from the Renaissance period onwards. See pp.120-24. Axsom says that the painter Chardin depicted monkeys to satirise the artist's overriding preoccupation with a classical past, an attitude that Picasso is possibly satiricising here by the very inclusion of a monkey within his heavily classicised painting.

⁹³ On several occasions, Picasso depicted a monkey in his work. This is discussed at length by Axsom who notes that 'concern for the monkey as an emblem for painting and sculpture generally ended with the Rococo, except for a few nineteenth-century examples'. *Ibid.*, p.124. Picasso not only seems to be deliberately harking back to the time when strong symbolism dominated art but readily embraces this practice in the *Curtain*, as he has done throughout his previous work.

⁹⁴ The artist Jacquemin Gringonneur was said to have painted a set of cards for Charles VI of France, seventeen of which are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. See J. Moore, *The Amazing Book of Tarot*, p.10.

⁹⁵ See David Fontana, *The Secret Language of Symbols*, p.168.

⁹⁶ According to Joan Moore, in *The Amazing Book of Tarot*, p.12: 'the emblematic images of [the Tarot], as generally seen today, became stabilised by 1748 in the Court de Gébelin deck. This is referred to as the Marseilles or Classic Tarot'.

⁹⁷ It is the primary colours that dominate Picasso's conception of *Parade*: red and yellow for the Chinese conjuror, blue for the acrobats, and red and yellow for parts of the original décor. The curtain is more varied but there is a preponderance of two of the primary colours: red in the velvet curtains, the harlequin's costume and the ladder, blue in the ball, the sailor's uniform, the sky and mountains in the background and in the ladder. Yellow is only used in the sailor's sash around his waist.

The Tarot represents a quest. The Fool (the first card) is on a journey, and the other picture cards (the so-called Major Arcana) reveal his fortunes. His is the only card to have no number, or rather, this card is traditionally numbered 0. With a dog at his heels,⁹⁸ as in virtually all Tarot representations of the Fool, the central Picasso/harlequin figure of the Curtain now sets out on his metaphorical journey to assess his future (Fig.4.18). The Fool's card can be interpreted as 'the spirit in search of experiences'.⁹⁹ Moore adds: 'ignorant of the dangers and pitfalls that await him, the Fool is a young traveller embarking on life's path, inexperienced, impulsive, carefree and careless'.¹⁰⁰ This was certainly Picasso's case: ballet was a completely new venture, a puzzling choice for his fellow painters who viewed him as impulsive and foolish in this respect. As Richardson says: 'He had good reason to fear that any involvement with the "decadent" Russian ballet ... might bring "*le peintre de la vie moderne*" into disrepute'.¹⁰¹

To the Fool's right, on the Curtain, is a sailor figure, Picasso's representation of the Magician card, numbered I in the Tarot pack. The sailor wears the same blue, red and yellow colours as the magician of the Marseilles Tarot card and the same wide-brimmed hat shaped like the mathematical sign for infinity (Fig.4.19).¹⁰² The sailor in the Red Curtain sits at a table on which are depicted some favourite Cubist icons: a cup, a coffee pot with handle and spout sharply defined, and some fruit in a dish. In his left hand is a pipe.¹⁰³ The Tarot magician is also in front of a table on which are

⁹⁸ We have seen how Picasso could never bear to be without a dog.

⁹⁹ Edward Arthur Waite, in *The Pictorial Key to the Tarot*, cited in Moore, *The Amazing Book of Tarot*, p.13.

¹⁰⁰ Moore, *The Amazing Book of Tarot*, p.13.

¹⁰¹ Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, p.392.

¹⁰² This horizontal figure 8 is called a lemniscate and, according to Juliet Sharman-Burke, represents new life. See *Understanding the Tarot*, p.21.

¹⁰³ There are many photographs of Picasso with a pipe, suggesting that the magician of the Curtain was also a depiction of himself. Billy Kluver's fascinating book, *A Day with Picasso*, shows 24 photographs taken on 12 August 1916 by Jean Cocteau, just 12 days before Picasso agreed to join the *Parade* project. Many of the photographs include Picasso (with a pipe), together with Max Jacob and other well-known figures of the time such as the artist Modigliani and the writer André Salmon. Interestingly the first two photographs on the film show Satie with Valentine Gross.

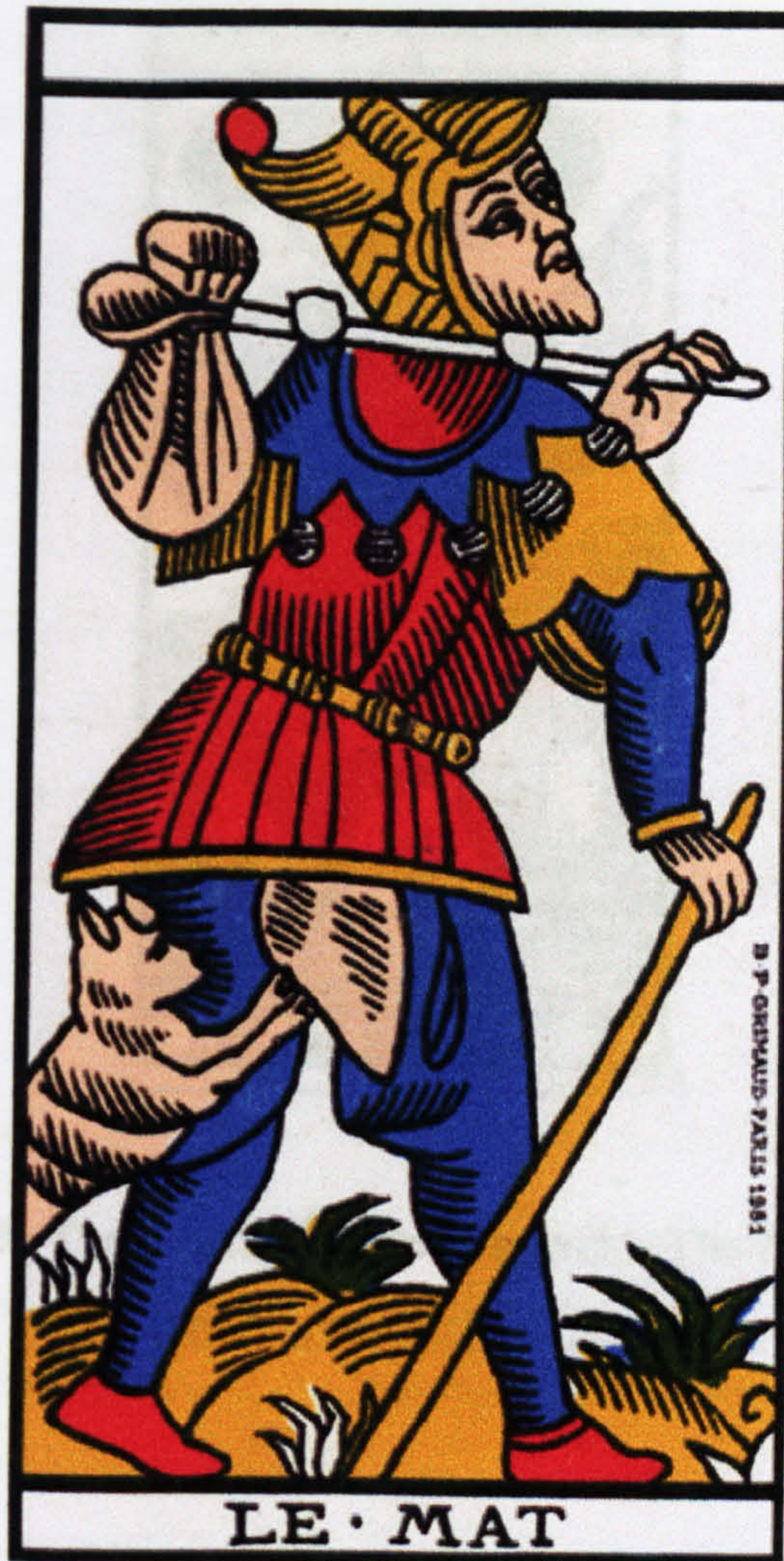


Fig. 4.18: Tarot card (Marseilles pack), The Fool
(<http://www.ophoebia.com>)



Fig.4.19: Tarot card (Marseilles pack), The Magician

(<http://www.aeclectic.net>)

¹²⁴ Shows in Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. 3, p.413.

¹²⁵ See Moore, *The Amazing World of Tarot*, p.14.

¹²⁶ Babuchoff says the Little American Girl is being based on Pickford, Pearl White and "an amalgam of movie-bell and Sargamona... Agnes", See *Picasso's "Parade"*, p.29.

¹²⁷ At the age of 34 in 1926, she was still playing a young girl of 17 in *Queen*. See E. Wheeler, *Mary Pickford*, p.131.

displayed a cup, a dagger and some coins. He holds a wand in his left hand. Picasso has changed the wand into a pipe, the dagger into the handle and spout on the coffee pot, and the coins into fruit in a dish. These items symbolise the four Tarot suit emblems: Swords, Wands, Cups and Pentacles (or Coins), which in turn represent directions in life to be chosen: those of the mind, the imagination, the heart and the body. In both Curtain and Tarot card, the magician gestures upwards with one hand and downwards with the other. Picasso had already depicted these gestures in the sketch of 1905, *Harlequins with Raised Hands* (Fig.4.11). The position of the hands allude to the famous words of the *Emerald Tablet*, written by Hermes Trismegistus: 'that which is above is the same as that which is below'. The sailor, with his costume, and gesture, becomes, by association, the Magician of the Tarot, and with his pipe, suggests a self-portrait of Picasso. But the Picasso/magician character also alludes to the Chinese Conjuror of the ballet. The colours of the sash worn by the sailor echo the red and yellow of the Conjuror's costume, and its design echoes the sash worn by Picasso in two of his self-portrait photographs of 1915-16, taken in the studio in rue Schoelcher.¹⁰⁴ The Magician is a strong card to have next to the Fool. It represents new opportunities, and gives courage to bring these to fruition.¹⁰⁵

Next to the sailor on the Curtain (Fig.4.12) is a woman with a pointed, wide-brimmed hat and curly hair hanging down to her shoulders. Linking her directly to the cinematic Part 2 of *Parade*, Picasso sets her against a pale green background that is square, like a cinema screen and appears completely incongruous amongst the characters and paraphernalia of the Curtain. She could well be a depiction of Mary Pickford who, in her publicity photographs, often wears a hat that still allows her famous girlish ringlets to be visible (Fig.4.20).¹⁰⁶ Mary Pickford, not acting but resting, as the characters in the Curtain are doing, would look like a woman rather than the adolescent she played in film roles.¹⁰⁷ Sketch MP 1558 (Fig.4.21) shows the

¹⁰⁴ Shown in Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, p.415.

¹⁰⁵ See Moore, *The Amazing Book of Tarot*, p.14.

¹⁰⁶ Rothschild sees the Little American Girl as being based on Pickford, Pearl White and 'an amalgam of music-hall and fairground...figures'. See *Picasso's "Parade"*, p.79.

¹⁰⁷ At the age of 34 in 1926, she was still playing a young girl of 15 in *Sparrows*. See R. Windeler, *Mary Pickford*, p.131.



Fig.4.20: Mary Pickford

(<http://www.goldensilents.com>)



Fig.4.21: Picasso, MP 1558, Sketch for the Woman from the Red Curtain

Picasso Museum, Paris

(Richet, *Musée Picasso, Catalogue of the collection*, Vol.II, p.164)

Figs.4.22 (a-g): Tarot cards, Marseilles pack
 (Sharman-Burke, *Understanding the Tarot*)



Fig.4.22(a): Tarot card, Marseilles pack, La Papesse

¹⁰⁰ See Moore, *The Amazing Book of Tarot*, p. 14.
¹⁰¹ Rothchild, in Picasso's "Femina", writes: "Lola Loreaux, who was to dress the part of the female Acrobat, refused to wear the body-cloth because she considered too much of her breast". See p. 124. Picasso had to design a short tunic for her to wear over her dress. In the Curtain, the bare breasts of the woman, who is dancing and full of energy, were the "black servant" character in the Curtain.
¹⁰² See Sharman-Burke, *Understanding the Tarot*, p. 100.
¹⁰³ See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, p. 100.
¹⁰⁴ Graves, *The Greek Myths*, section 126-7.

head of the woman with the 'grainy' look that films would have had in the 1916-17 era. The Tarot card La Papesse, or High Priestess, numbered II (Fig.4.22(a)), traditionally symbolises the duality of a woman/child figure, as indeed the Mary Pickford character did. La Papesse represents 'the initiate with potential as yet unfulfilled',¹⁰⁸ just as Picasso was in ballet terms. The Tarot card shows La Papesse standing against a backcloth and wearing an elaborate hat. In the Curtain this woman is half-standing, with one leg kneeling on the wooden chest.

The next two characters appear superficially to be a representation of the Acrobats, two dancers who are inextricably linked in Part 3, just as they are in the Curtain, with their arms around each other.¹⁰⁹ Picasso gives them a deeper, symbolic, meaning by equating them with the next two Tarot cards. Card III is the Empress (Fig.4.22(b)), an image linked to fecundity, the idea of birth being taken either literally, or metaphorically in the case of something creative being produced. Card IIII is the Emperor (Fig.4.22(c)), who firmly holds a sceptre (the male character in the Curtain holds a chalice), the symbol of material wealth and status.¹¹⁰ As we have seen, by 1917 Picasso's reputation was becoming firmly established: his work was being bought by wealthy patrons such as Gertrude and Leo Stein and the Russian Sergei Shchukin,¹¹¹ and his work on *Parade* had brought him into contact with the Chilean Eugenia Errazuriz.

The figure of the black servant, standing behind the male Acrobat figure, equates to Card V of the Tarot, the Pope (Fig.4.22(d)). This card is often called the Chiron card, after the wise king of the Centaurs in Greek mythology. The male Acrobat in the Curtain (Fig.4.12) holds up his chalice for wine that the servant, with his folded arms, appears to be refusing. The Centaurs were known to have a communal wine jar.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ See Moore, *The Amazing Book of Tarot*, p.14.

¹⁰⁹ Rothschild, in *Picasso's "Parade"*, writes: 'Lydia Lopokova, who was to dance the part of the female Acrobat, refused to wear the body-tights because they revealed too much of her bosom'. See p.124. Picasso had to design a short bolero top to cover her upper half. In the Curtain, the bare breasts of the woman, who is resting and out of costume, may be Picasso's ironic comment on this.

¹¹⁰ See Sharman-Burke, *Understanding the Tarot*, p.27 for this interpretation.

¹¹¹ See Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol.II, p.305.

¹¹² Graves, *The Greek Myths*, section 126.b.



Fig.4.22(b): Tarot card (Marseilles pack), The Empress



Fig.4.22: Tarot card (Marseilles pack), The Emperor



Fig.4.22(d): Tarot card, Marseilles pack, The Pope

With its link to the half-man, half-horse Chiron figure, this card is a reference to the third Manager in *Parade*, conceived by Picasso to be a black man on a horse.¹¹³ Unfortunately the rider (a stuffed facsimile of a man) fell off during rehearsal and was not replaced in 1917, leaving just the horse as Manager.¹¹⁴ Yet the Pope also implies conventionality, marriage vows, a need for outward approval,¹¹⁵ and we know that at the time of painting the Curtain, Picasso was seeking these things professionally and personally.

The most prominent feature of the guitarist in the middle of the Curtain is his cross garters, which look like the Roman numeral X and refer, therefore, to the Tarot card of the same number, all the cards in the Marseilles pack having Roman numerals (Fig.4.22(e)). This card is called The Wheel of Fortune and signifies a new beginning. The fact that the cross garters appear on a musician also links the curtain to Satie's music, especially to the *Roue de la loterie* (Wheel of Fortune), heard just before the Chinese conjuror makes his entrance.¹¹⁶ We have already seen how obliquely Picasso alludes to music in *Ma Jolie* (Fig.4.15). With this reference to Tarot card X, Picasso puts music as well as the symbolic 'new beginning' literally at the centre of this 'overture curtain'.¹¹⁷ However, equally deliberate in the Curtain's allusions to Satie's music are the sphere (the blue ball), the cube (the wooden chest) and the cylinder (the classical pillar), those fundamental shapes that underpinned cubist philosophy. Picasso arranges these in a triangle with the Picasso/harlequin figure at its centre. The geometric shapes in the Curtain are a direct reference to the construction of Satie's score, as discussed in Chapter 3.

¹¹³ Sketches MP 1582 and 1583 (see Fig.4.27(i) for the latter) show clearly that the Manager on horseback was black. And sketch MP 1587 makes the Manager look very similar to a Centaur.

¹¹⁴ The Manager on horseback was reinstated in November 1919 for the London performance. See Appendix for Massine's letter of November 1919 to Picasso.

¹¹⁵ See Moore, *The Amazing Book of Tarot*, p.16.

¹¹⁶ This music repeats itself eight times, like a wheel going round and round.

¹¹⁷ Nesta MacDonald goes further and states that Picasso put all the collaborators of *Parade* into the curtain, as well as Stravinsky, who was in Rome during rehearsals. Referring to Dr Marianne Martin's work, Nesta MacDonald agrees that Cocteau is 'the Clown' [the Harlequin behind the table] with Maria Chabelska resting her head on his shoulder, Stravinsky is the Blackamoor [from *Petrouchka*], Picasso is the guitar-playing toreador, Diaghilev is the sailor, Massine is the Harlequin in red, and Lopokova is the bare-back rider. MacDonald takes no account of Satie's part in *Parade*, however. See *Diaghilev observed by critics in England and the United States 1911-29*, p.240.

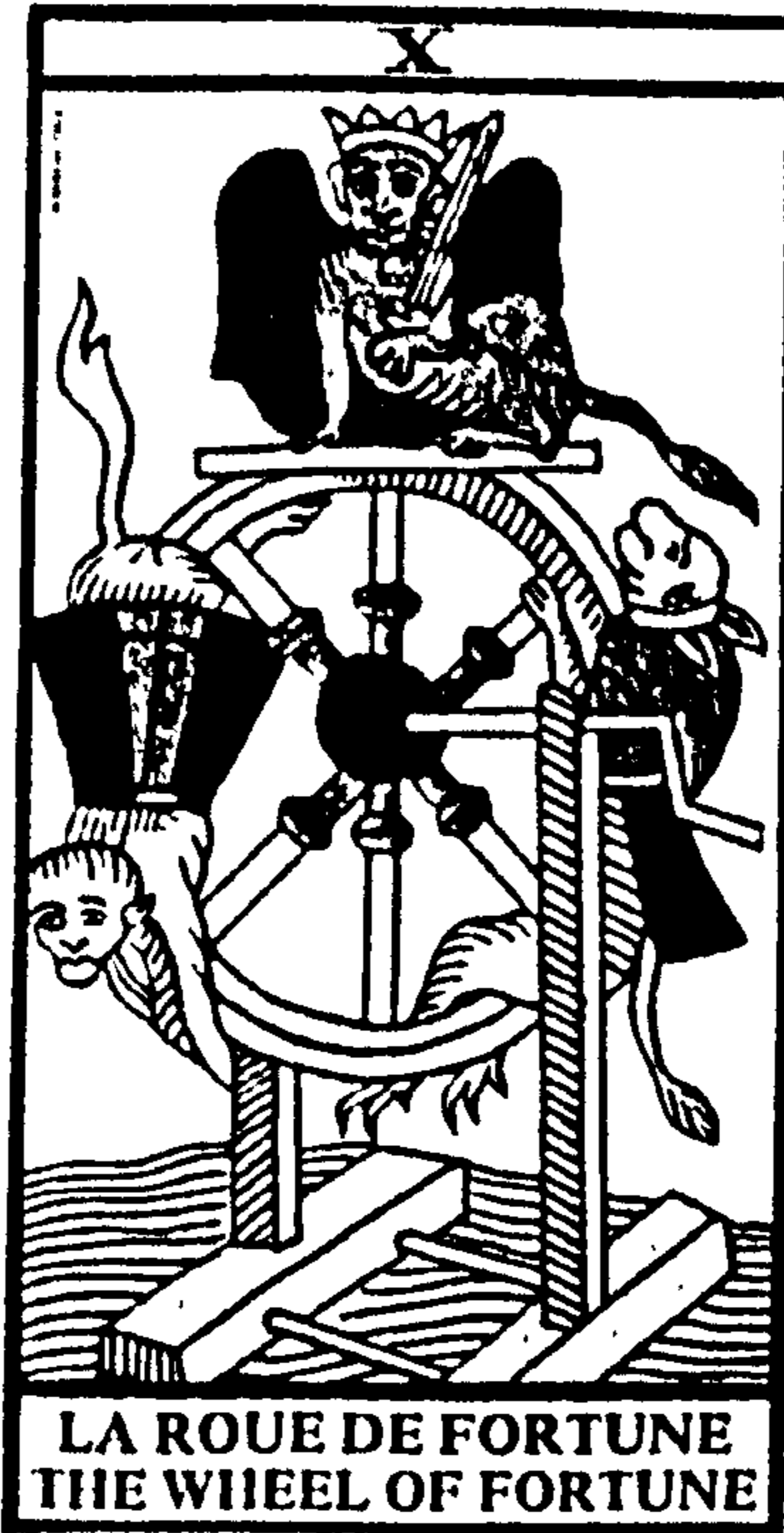


Fig.4.22(e): Tarot Card (Marseilles pack), The Wheel of Fortune



Fig.4.22(f): Tarot Card (Marseilles pack), The Star

On the left side of the Curtain Picasso's next card is number XVII, the Star, depicted on the blue ball. In the Marseilles pack, this card shows a large eight-pointed star, surrounded by smaller stars, as in the Curtain (Fig.4.22(f)). The card also depicts a naked girl pouring water into a stream. Picasso dispenses with the girl but retains the reference to water by using the colour blue, as on the card, and by adding two lines to represent the stream in the form of the familiar zodiac sign for Aquarius. This card brings hope, new opportunities and success. It is an optimistic card.

The last card that Picasso lays out in the Curtain is number XXI, The World (Fig.4.22(g)). It depicts a woman naked and apparently dancing, surrounded by a garland (called a mandala, the Sanskrit word for circle). Picasso's *Woman in a Mandala of Figures* of 1903 (Fig.4.23) demonstrates how loosely he interprets the mandala idea: the woman is not naked but wears a flowing robe and she is enclosed by a mandala of figures rather than a traditional garland. In the case of the Red Curtain, the woman becomes an *équestrienne*, and the mandala is represented by the red velvet curtains on her left, the ladder to her right and the horse's wings that encircle the lower part of her body. As Moore states: 'The Fool has completed his journey and all his previous trials and experiences culminate in card Twenty-one. The World indicates a spiritual awakening; desires fulfilled; triumph. The final goal reached. Joy and a new life. Twenty-one is a most fortunate card'.¹¹⁸ It is entirely fitting that The World is depicted by the Eva/Olga/Siren figure of the *équestrienne*. Picasso indicates that *Parade* will be a way of exorcising his demons and beginning a new life.

The Red Curtain (Fig.4.12) is surely the most complex of all Picasso's paintings to date. Starting with characters and objects which were so embedded in the French cultural life of 1917 that they appeared almost real, Picasso added layers of meaning to form a coded picture of the ballet about to be seen, a portrait of his own life and character, revealing his desires and his fears, and a glimpse into what the future might

¹¹⁸ Moore, *The Amazing Book of Tarot*, p.24.



Fig.4.22(g): Tarot Card (Marseilles pack), The World



Fig.4.23: Picasso, Woman in a Mandala of Figures, 1903

Picasso Museum, Paris
(Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol.I, p.271)

hold for him in terms of his personal and professional life. His symbols are so well chosen that they are immediately accessible at a superficial level, but they are sufficiently complex to be able to address themes such as immortality and death that the intellectual and artistic giants of the past had handled using their own iconography. Picasso's aim in this first work for Diaghilev was to show that he was the equal of the finest artists of any generation.

(b) The Décor (Fig.4.24)



Fig.4.24: Picasso, *The Décor of Parade*, 1917

(Deborah Menaker Rothschild, *Picasso's "Parade"*, p.205)

As we have seen, Picasso joined the *Parade* project on 24 August 1916.¹¹⁹ The Musée Picasso in Paris has several undated sketches of theatrical material that have been assigned to 1916 or 1916-17.¹²⁰ They are almost certainly Picasso's first thoughts for the décor of *Parade*, since some show characters onstage, set against clearly visible footlights and curtains (MP 1550, MP 1549, see Figs.4.25(a-b)) and

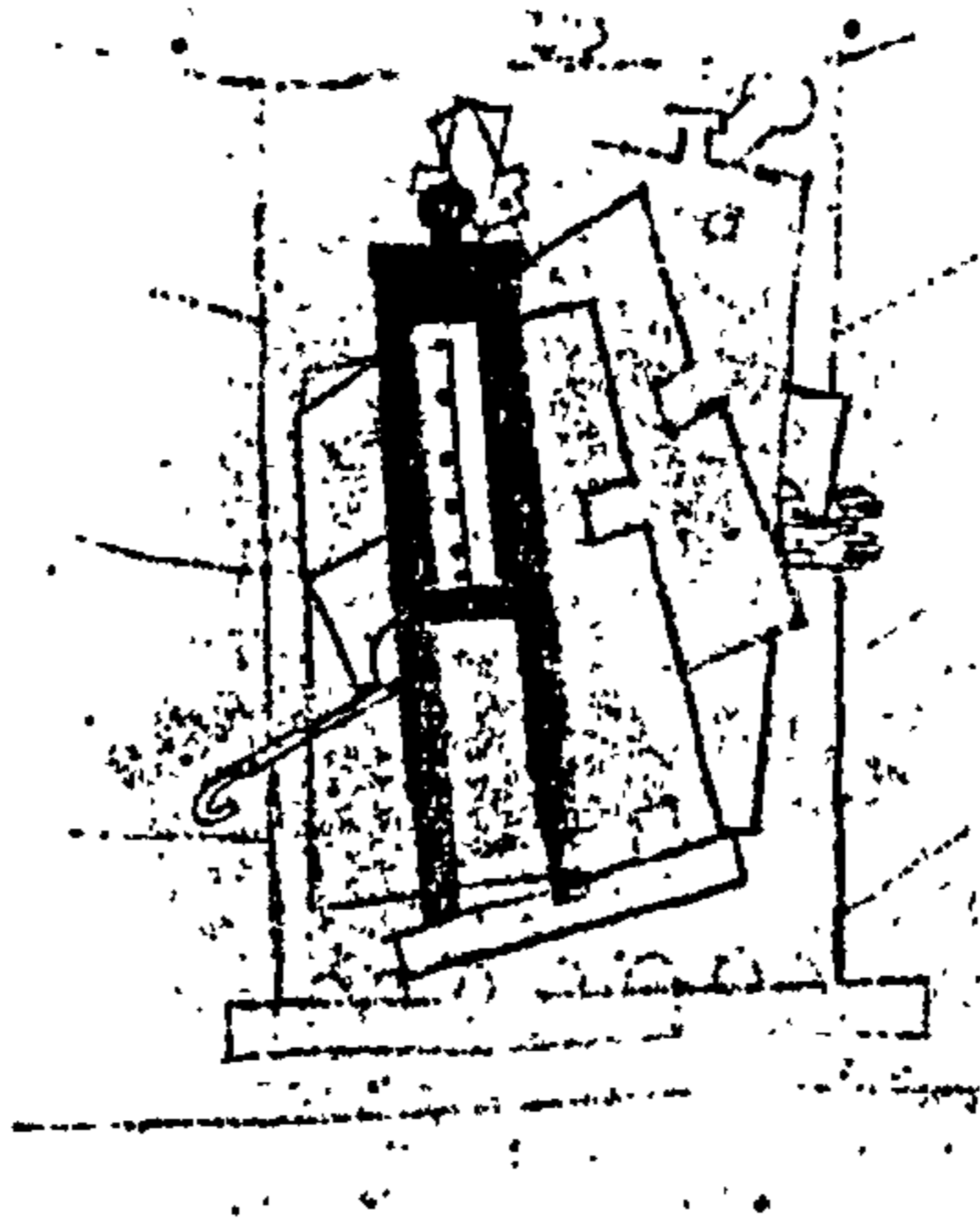


Fig.4.25(a): Picasso, MP 1550, possible sketch for the Décor

Musée Picasso
(Richet, *The Musée Picasso*, Vol.II, p.159)

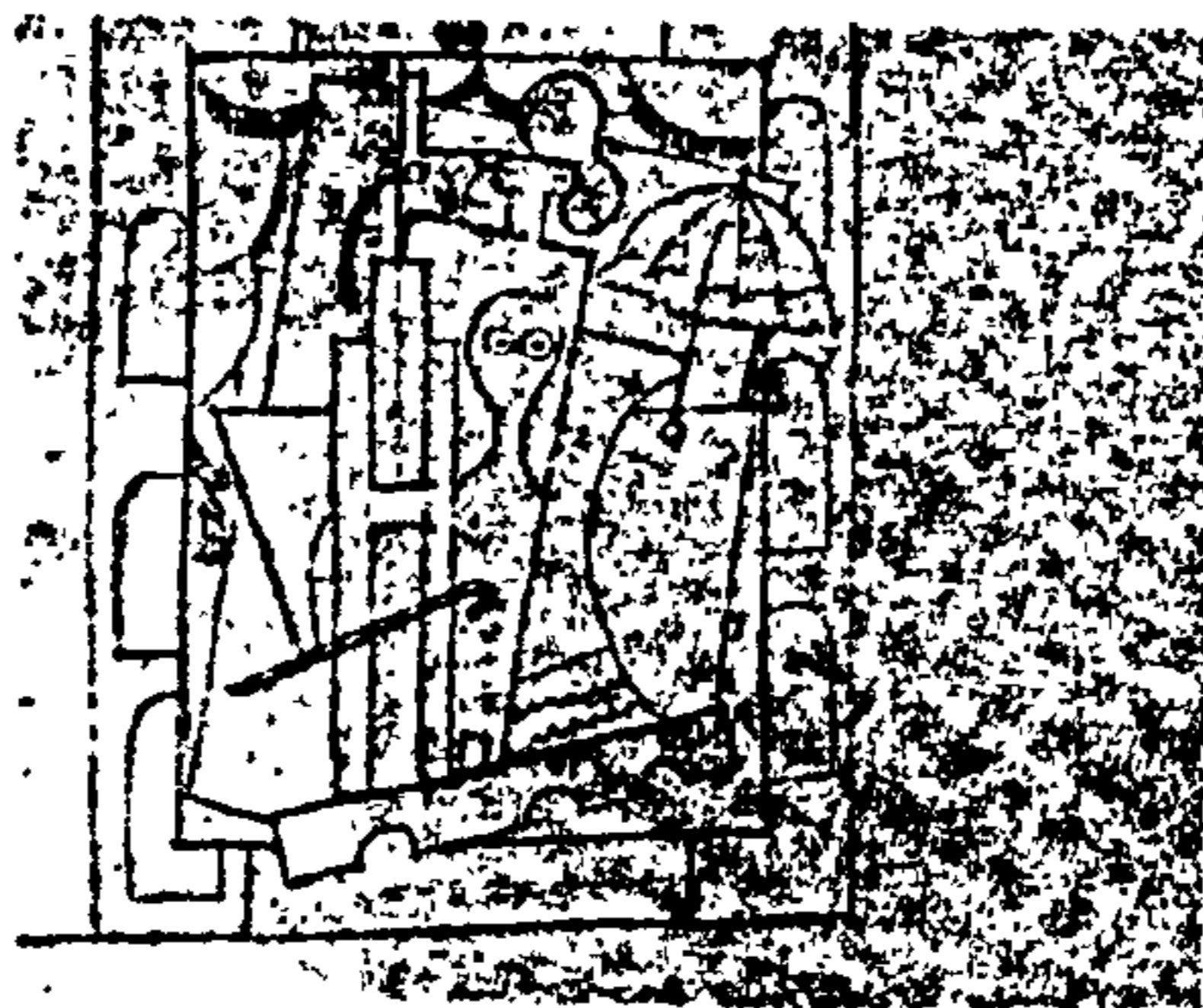


Fig.4.25(b): Picasso, MP 1549, possible sketch for the Décor

Musée Picasso
(Richet, *The Musée Picasso*, Vol.II, p.160)

¹¹⁹ See Cocteau's note appended to Satie's letter to Valentine Gross in the Appendix.

¹²⁰ See Michèle Richet, *Musée Picasso, Catalogue of the Collection*, Vol. II, *Drawings, Watercolours, Gouaches, Pastels*.

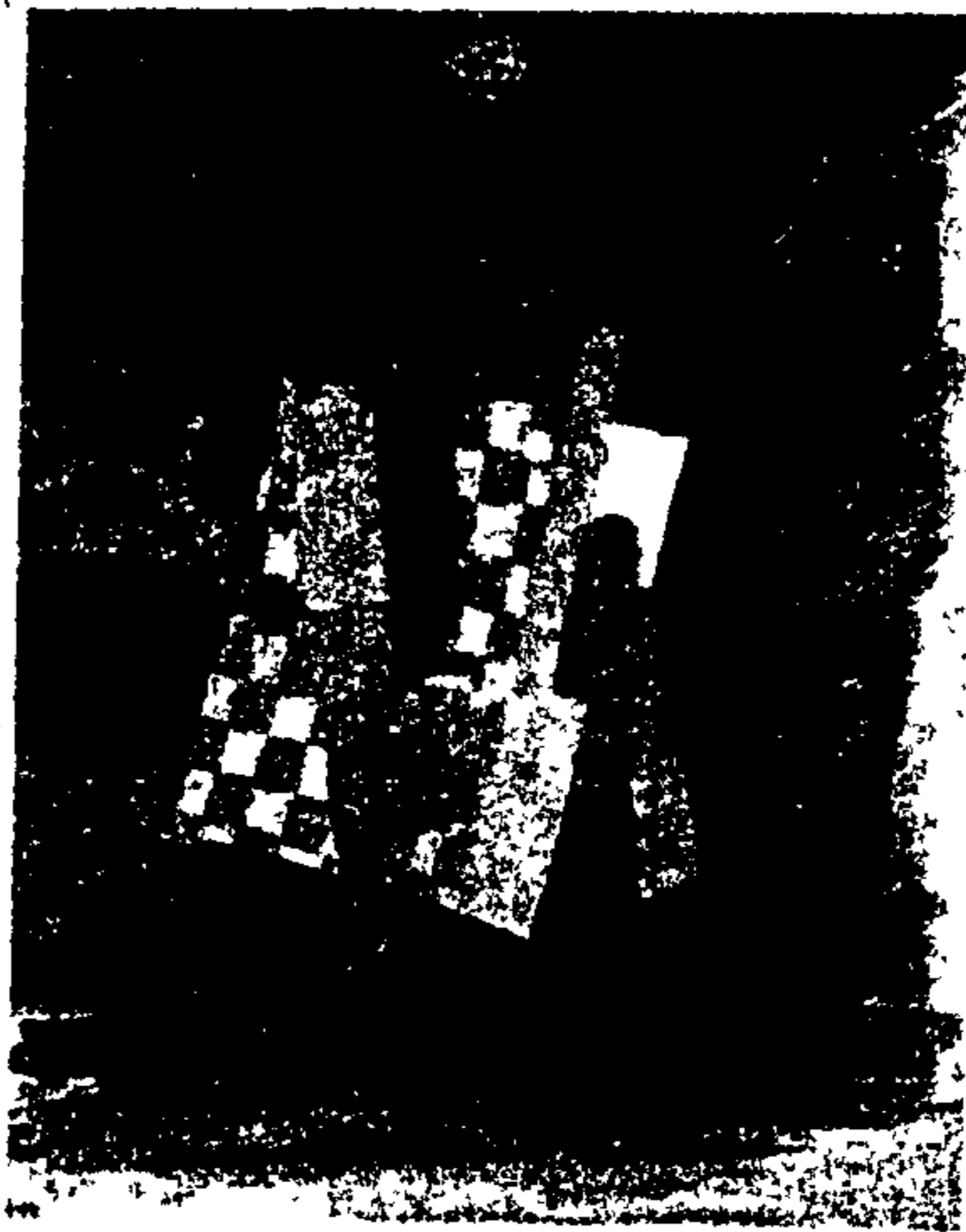


Fig.4.25(c): Picasso, MP 1546, possible sketch for the Décor

Musée Picasso

(Richet, *The Musée Picasso*, Vol.II, p.159)

with spectators (MP 1546, Fig.4.25(c)).¹²¹ These sketches show a strongly cubist design with a variety of flat, board-like figures. The next set of sketches for the décor show no footlights or figures onstage, and indicate that Picasso's subsequent thoughts were that the décor should be simply a *baraque* in a street. This is an important shift in Picasso's thinking: the décor no longer *imitates* what happens onstage but, in a true-to-life approach, becomes the entrance to the *baraque* (see Fig.4.25(d)). Yet many of this second wave of sketches also include spectators in the bottom right-hand corner (see Fig.4.25(e)), indicating that Picasso had not yet made the artistic leap that would turn the real audience of the Théâtre du Châtelet into an essential part of the experience of the fictional ballet. By the time the final décor was completed there was no painted audience (see Fig.4.24).

Fig.4.24 also shows that a number of features from the sketches were retained: the overall cubist style,¹²² the top of the circus-like tent,¹²³ tall buildings (Fig.4.25(e)); and, most importantly, the floorboards (Fig.4.25(f)). Other features, notably those that would have linked the décor with the Red Curtain, were rejected, however: the sun and galloping horse, barely visible above the entrance to the *baraque* in Fig.4.25(e); and the curtains that appear in virtually all the sketches. This is surprising in view of an early sketch (MP 1568) that shows Picasso's intention to link décor and Curtain by having a drawing of one above the other.¹²⁴

The rejection of the various links between the décor and the Curtain indicate that Picasso intended the interior of the *baraque* (shown in the Red Curtain) and the exterior (shown in the décor) to be separate places, the only direct link being provided

¹²¹ Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol.II, p.386) dates MP 1550 to 1915-16, and it is indeed very similar to the *Harlequin* that Picasso painted in 1915 (now in the Museum of Modern Art, New York), yet Picasso had no reason until late 1916 to associate his figures with footlights and curtains.

¹²² The most cubist sketch of all, MP 1562 (Fig.4.25(g)), was rejected, probably because it was difficult to read as a clear *baraque*, in spite of its curtains, balustrade and decoration.

¹²³ Ornella Volta saw the Red Curtain displayed in a courtyard in Venice in 1998 during the exhibition, 'Picasso 1917-1924'. It was hung in a slightly concave manner due to the constraint of the space and because of this, Volta saw the material of the curtain as 'une piste de cirque' ('a circus ring'). See Volta's article 'Entre Satie et Picasso: le mystère du rideau rouge' in *Le Travail de l'art*, no.4, été/automne, 1999, pp.49-60.

¹²⁴ As we have seen, early sketches for the Red Curtain included a sun and a rearing Pegasus.

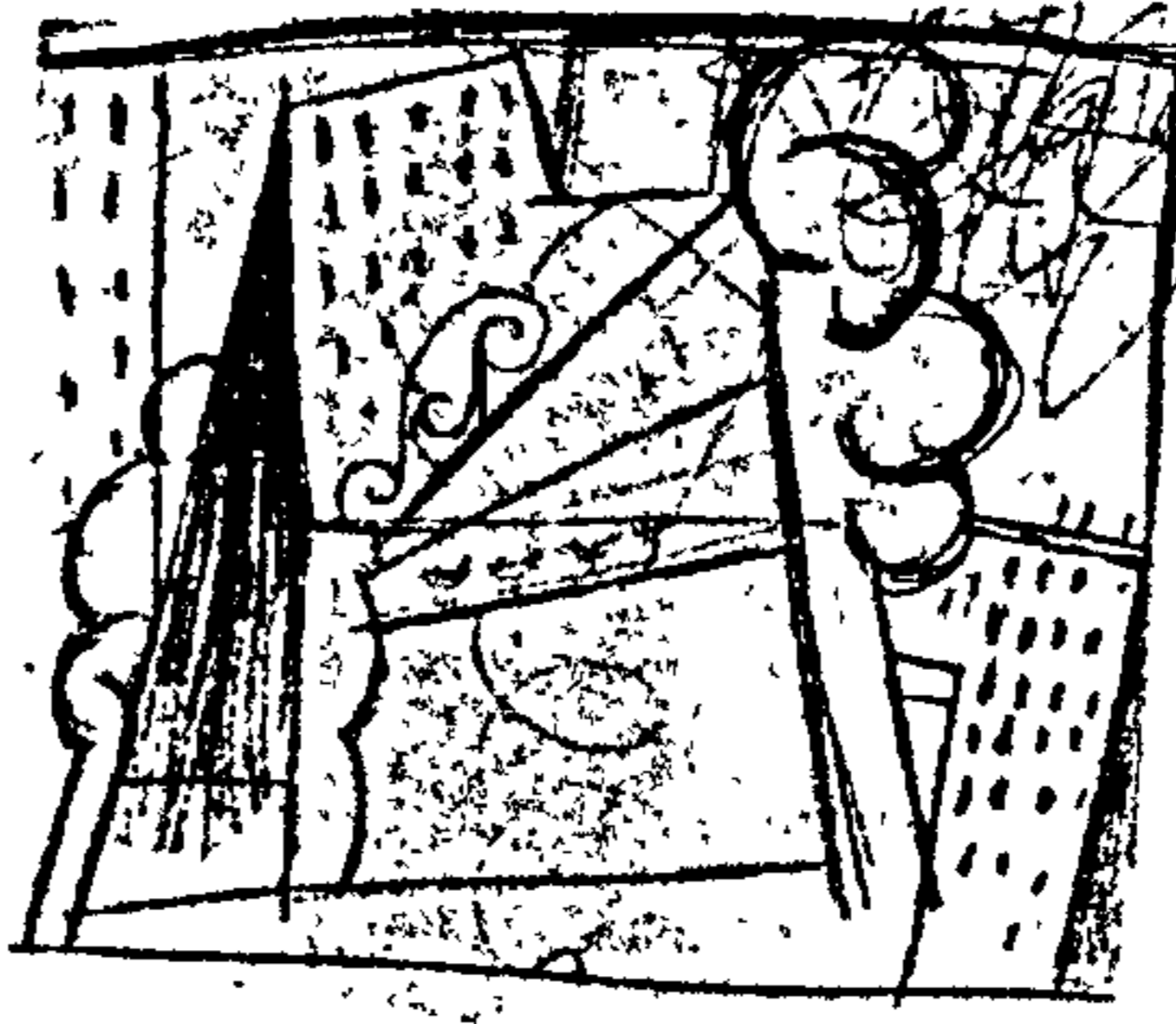


Fig.4.25(d): Picasso, MP 1564, Sketch for the Décor

Musée Picasso

(Richet, *The Musée Picasso*, Vol.II, p.165)

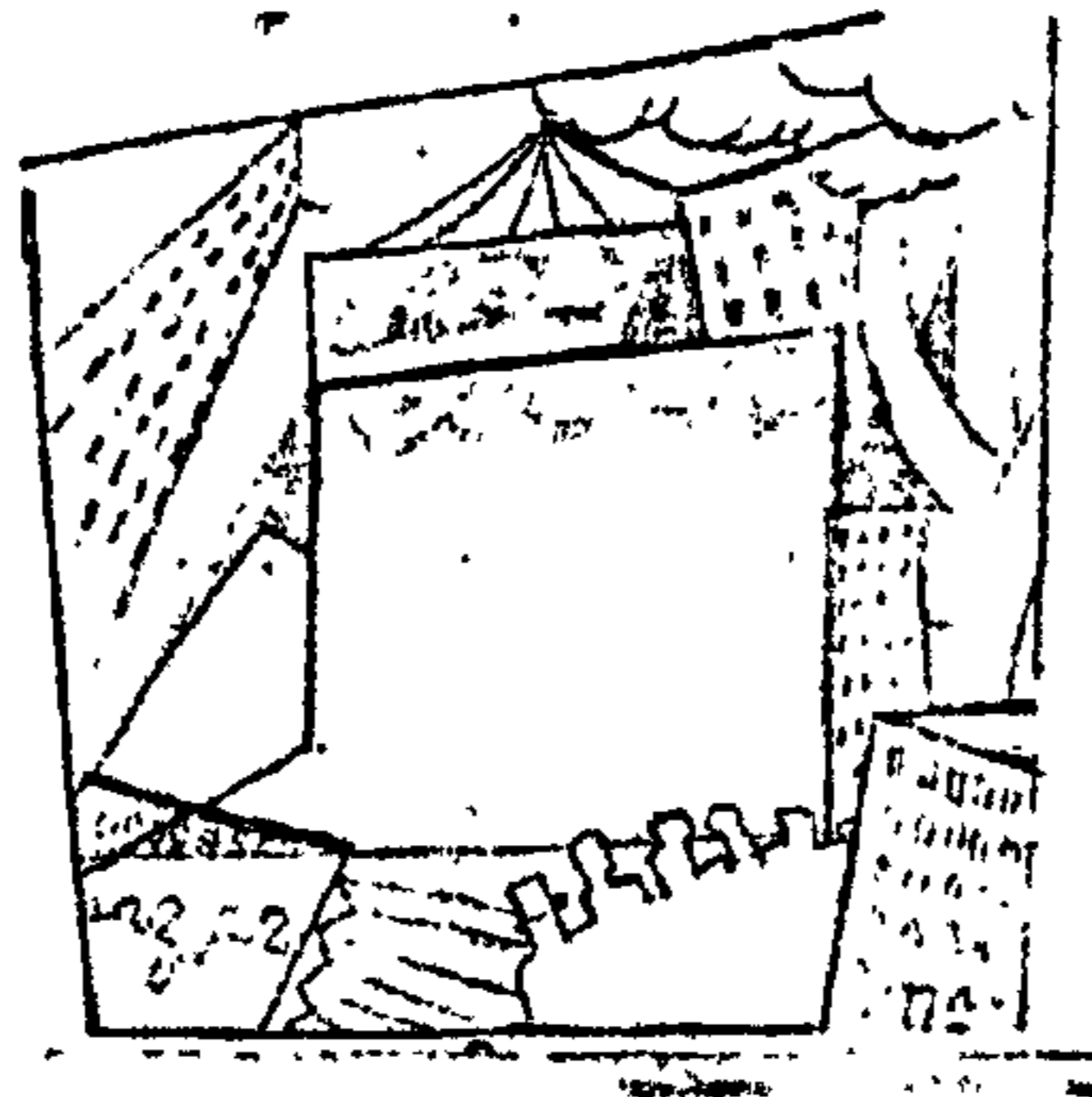


Fig.4.25(e): Picasso, MP 1560, Sketch for the Décor

Musée Picasso

(Richet, *The Musée Picasso*, Vol.II, p.164)

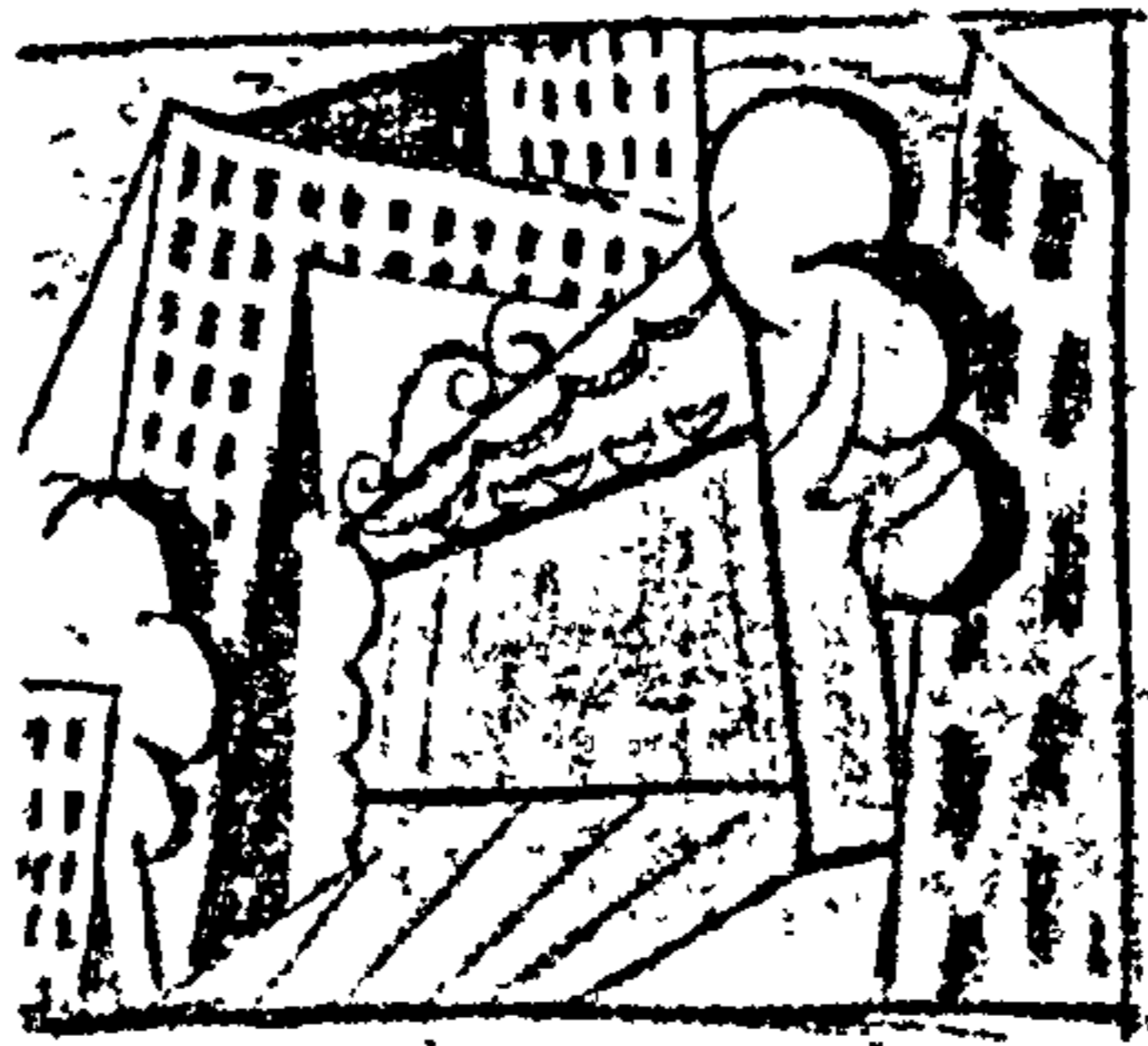


Fig.4.25(f): Picasso, MP 1566, Sketch for the Décor

Musée Picasso

(Richet, *The Musée Picasso*, Vol.II, p.165)

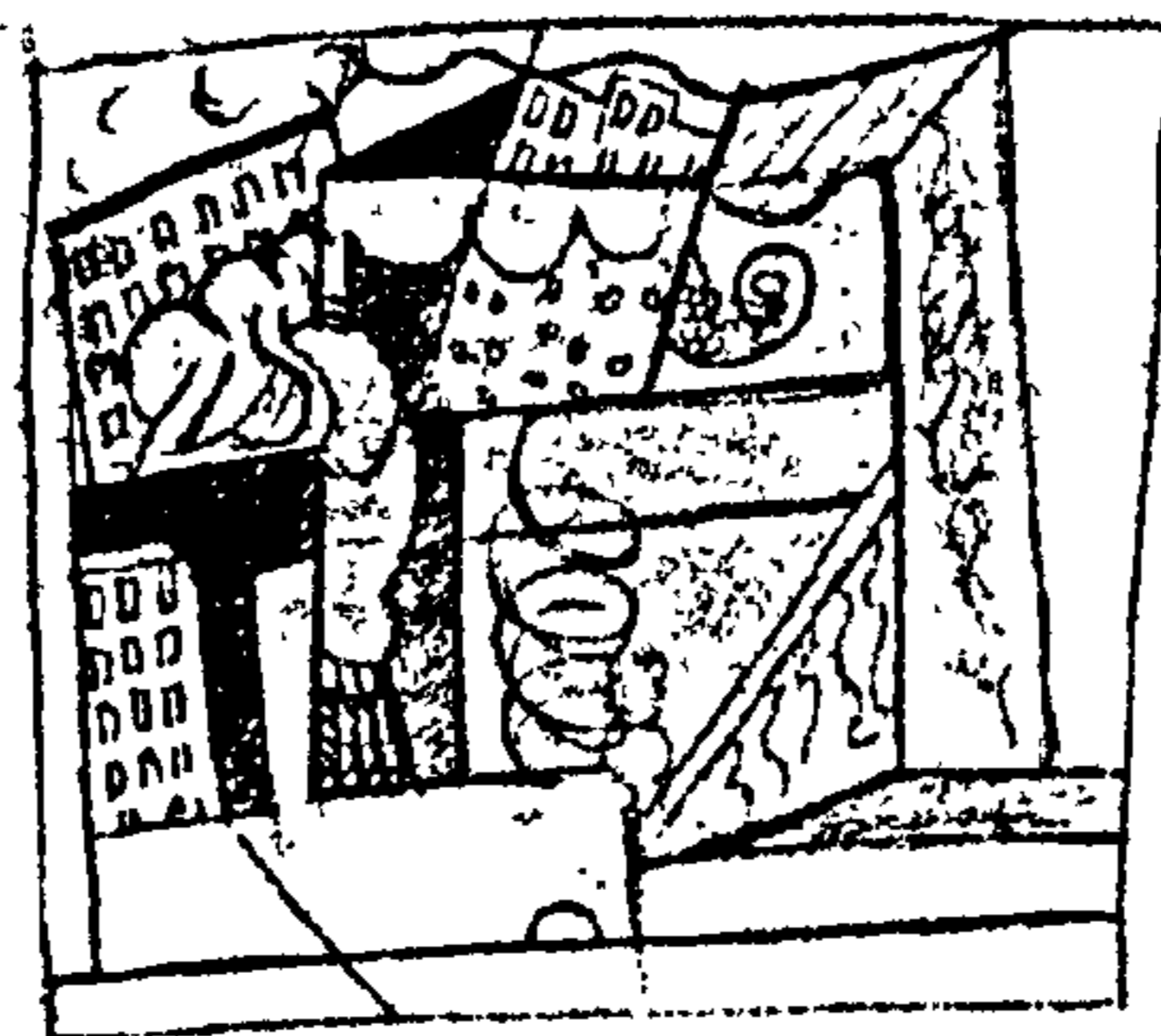


Fig.4.25(g): Picasso, MP 1562, Sketch for the Décor

Musée Picasso

(Richet, *The Musée Picasso*, Vol.II, p.165)

by the floorboards. The rejected curtains, were, as Jacques Garnier's many photographs of *baraques* demonstrate, seldom a feature on the outside of the booth.¹²⁵ By separating inside and outside in this way, Picasso has followed Cocteau's aesthetic philosophy in *Parade* which states that the majority of the audience prefers to remain on the outside of the *baraque* rather than make the effort to understand what happens inside. Additionally, the removal of the spectators from the sketches results in the *real* audience of the Théâtre du Châtelet literally being unable to enter the onstage *baraque*, thus further reinforcing Cocteau's belief in the artistic philistinism of his audience.

(c) The Managers

Picasso must soon have realised when joining the project that Cocteau had taken no account visually of the Managers that traditionally introduced a *parade*.¹²⁶ Seurat's famous painting (Fig.4.26) shows one of these iconographic figures, with a cane under his arm, standing to the right of the picture. The profusion of sketches for the Managers shows the wide variety of ideas that Picasso put forward first of all. MP 1602 (Fig.4.27(a)) depicts a boxer Manager with a towel slung round his neck, and is particularly interesting since it is linked to words written by Cocteau on the Frederick Koch score which was used in Rome. As the large wave begins in Part 2 of Satie's music, Cocteau has inserted a page with two lines of Morse code¹²⁷ written above the virtually indecipherable words 'Le manager: La gonie [L'agonie] des boxeurs, Kakones [sic] des boxeurs, oranges des boxeurs'. Both Cocteau and Picasso were great fans of boxing. As John Richardson writes:

In Montmartre, life had revolved around the circus; in Montparnasse, it revolved around the boxing ring...A few doors from Picasso's studio

¹²⁵ Garnier, *Forains d'hier et d'aujourd'hui*.

¹²⁶ This painting also shows a group of spectators, and lamps above the stage. Picasso used, but rejected, both these ideas in his sketches for the décor.

¹²⁷ The code translates as 'Sinistrés au secours' ('Victims of a disaster, help'). This juxtaposition of boxers and film (i.e. a ship sinking) suggests that Cocteau may have envisaged two shows running concurrently, possibly in adjacent booths.



Fig.4.26: Georges Seurat, *Parade*, 1887-8

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
<http://www.mtholyoke.edu>



Fig.4.27(a): Picasso, MP 1602, sketch for a Manager

Musée Picasso
 (Richet, *The Musée Picasso*, Vol.II, p.166)

¹²⁸ Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, pp 263-4.

¹²⁹ In fact, the sketch of the boxer-Manager also includes a drawing of the dancer, Maria Chabelita (with her famous long necks, whom Picasso would only have met in Rome. See Fig.4.27(a).

¹³⁰ Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, p.420.

on the boulevard Raspail was the Cercle Américain, where amateurs as well as professionals would train and spar in front of an audience... So popular was the sport with the new generation of writers – Apollinaire, Cendrars, Colette, Cocteau, Roché and Gertrude Stein – that *Les Soirées de Paris* ran boxing articles by one of its founders, René Dalize.¹²⁸

Since many of the boxers in Paris were black Americans, this kind of Manager would have been extremely topical, especially during Part 2 of *Parade*, originally entitled ‘L’Américaine’. It would seem, therefore, that a boxer-Manager was one of the possibilities for the American Manager until at least February 1917.¹²⁹

The idea of a Manager wearing a sandwich-board emerges from a number of sketches and was possibly a reference to Cocteau, since the poet, Pierre Reverdy, described him as ‘the sandwich-man of the period’.¹³⁰ Indeed in MP 1614 (Fig.4.27(b)) the sandwich-board Manager’s army uniform bears a striking resemblance to Picasso’s sketch of Cocteau, dated 1 May 1916 (Fig.4.28). This idea, like that of the boxer-Manager and the many musician Managers that appear in the sketches, was unused in the final version of *Parade*. However, three clear ideas, all subsequently used, did emerge from the profusion of sketches: a Manager on horseback (MP 1581, Fig.4.27(c)); Managers wearing carcasses (as in MP 1611, Fig.4.27(d)); and the integration of the Managers with the décor (MP 1599, Fig.4.27(e)). I would suggest that many of the ideas for the Managers were put forward during the rehearsals in Rome from February to April 1917. Some of the sketches have an Italian watermark (Fabriano), indicating that Picasso bought the paper in Italy.

¹²⁸ Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, pp.265-6.

¹²⁹ In fact, the sketch of the boxer-Manager also includes a drawing of the dancer, Maria Chabelska (with her famous long neck), whom Picasso would only have met in Rome. See Fig.4.27(a).

¹³⁰ Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, p.420.

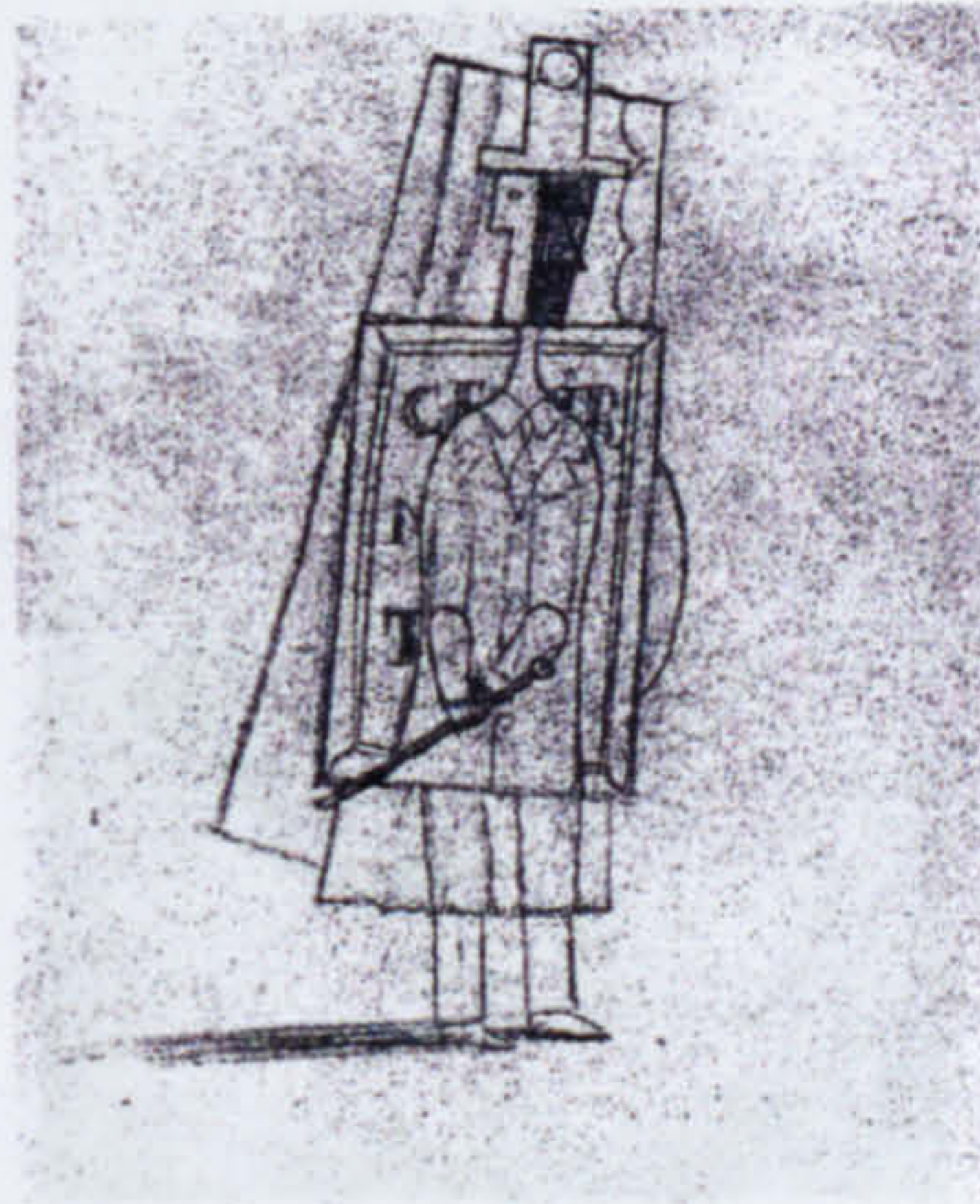


Fig.4.27(c): Picasso, MP 1581, sketch for a Manager

Fig.4.27(b): Picasso, MP 1614, sketch for a Manager

Musée Picasso

(Richet, *The Musée Picasso*, Vol.II, p.167)

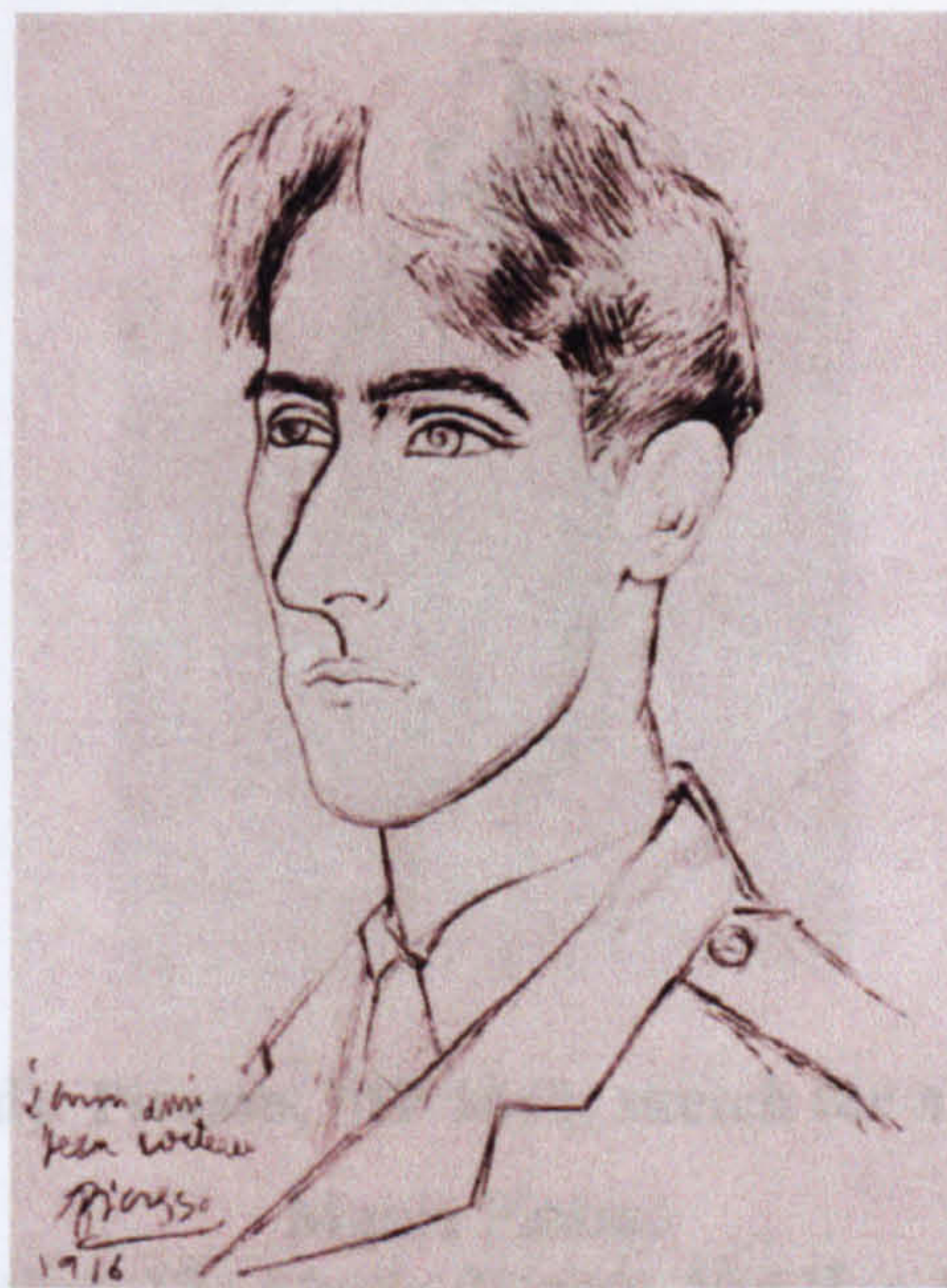


Fig.4.28: Picasso, Portrait of Jean Cocteau, 1 May 1916

Private collection
(<http://www.tamu.edu>)

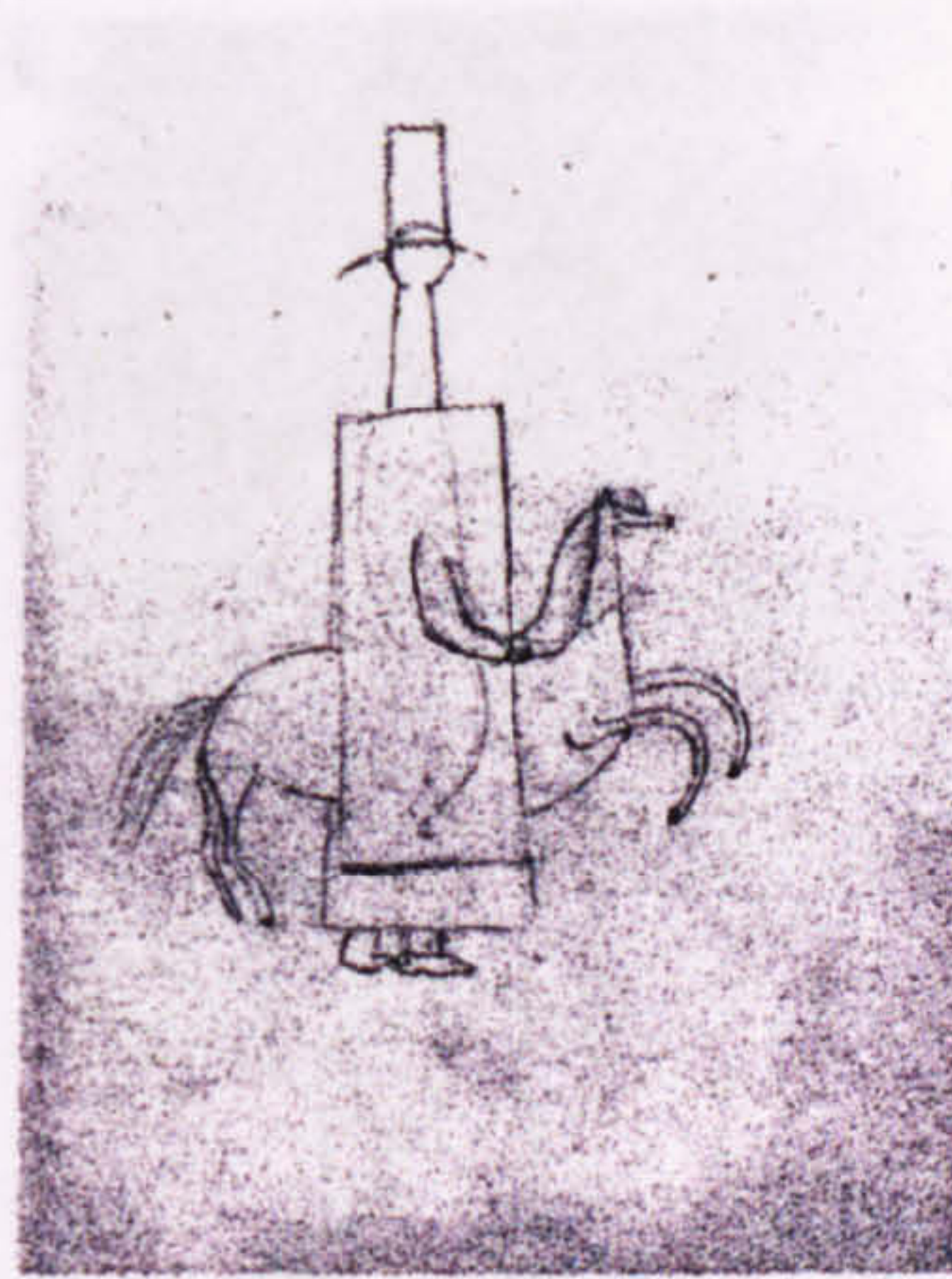


Fig.4.27(c): Picasso, MP 1581, sketch for a Manager

Musée Picasso

(Richet, *The Musée Picasso*, Vol.II, p.168)

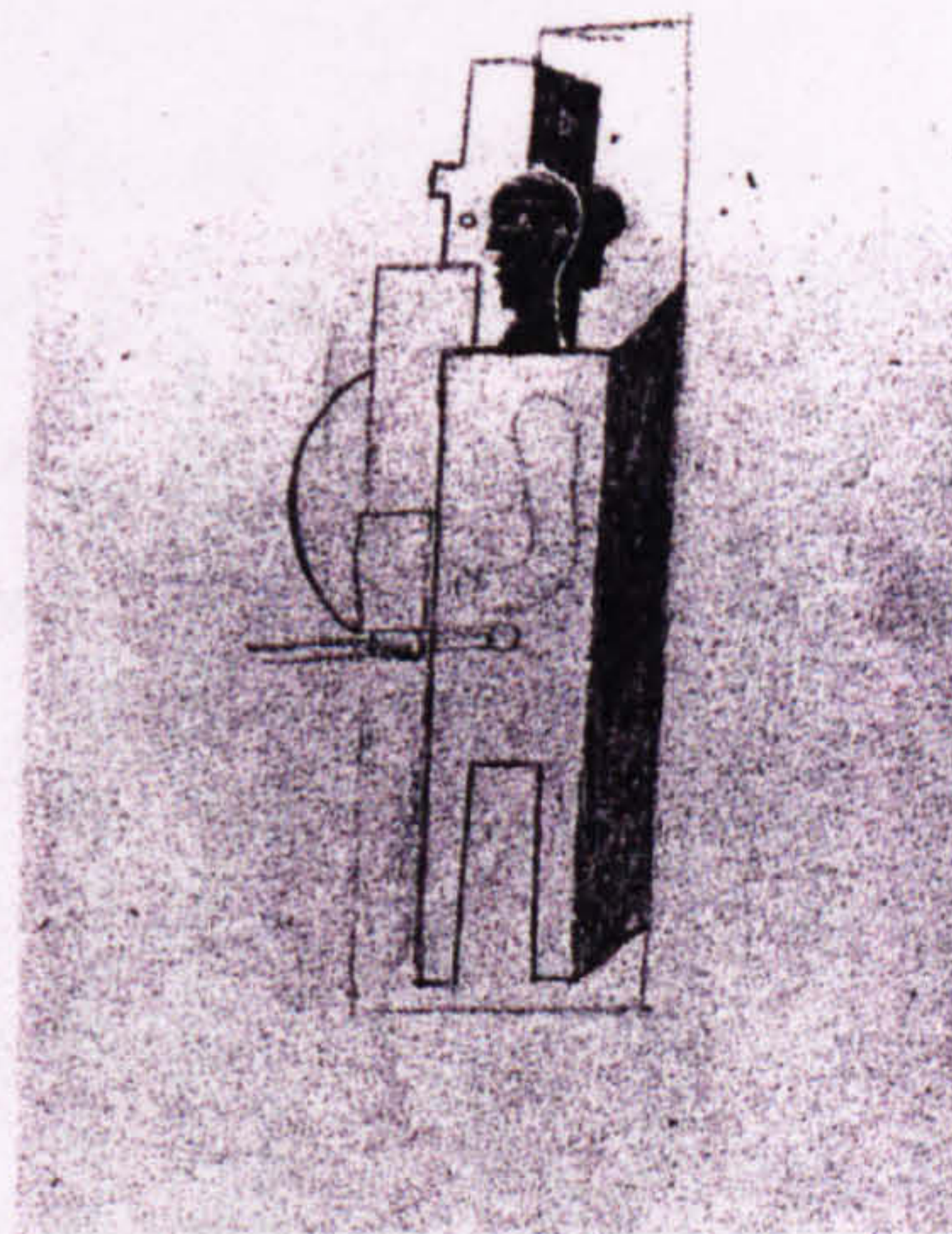
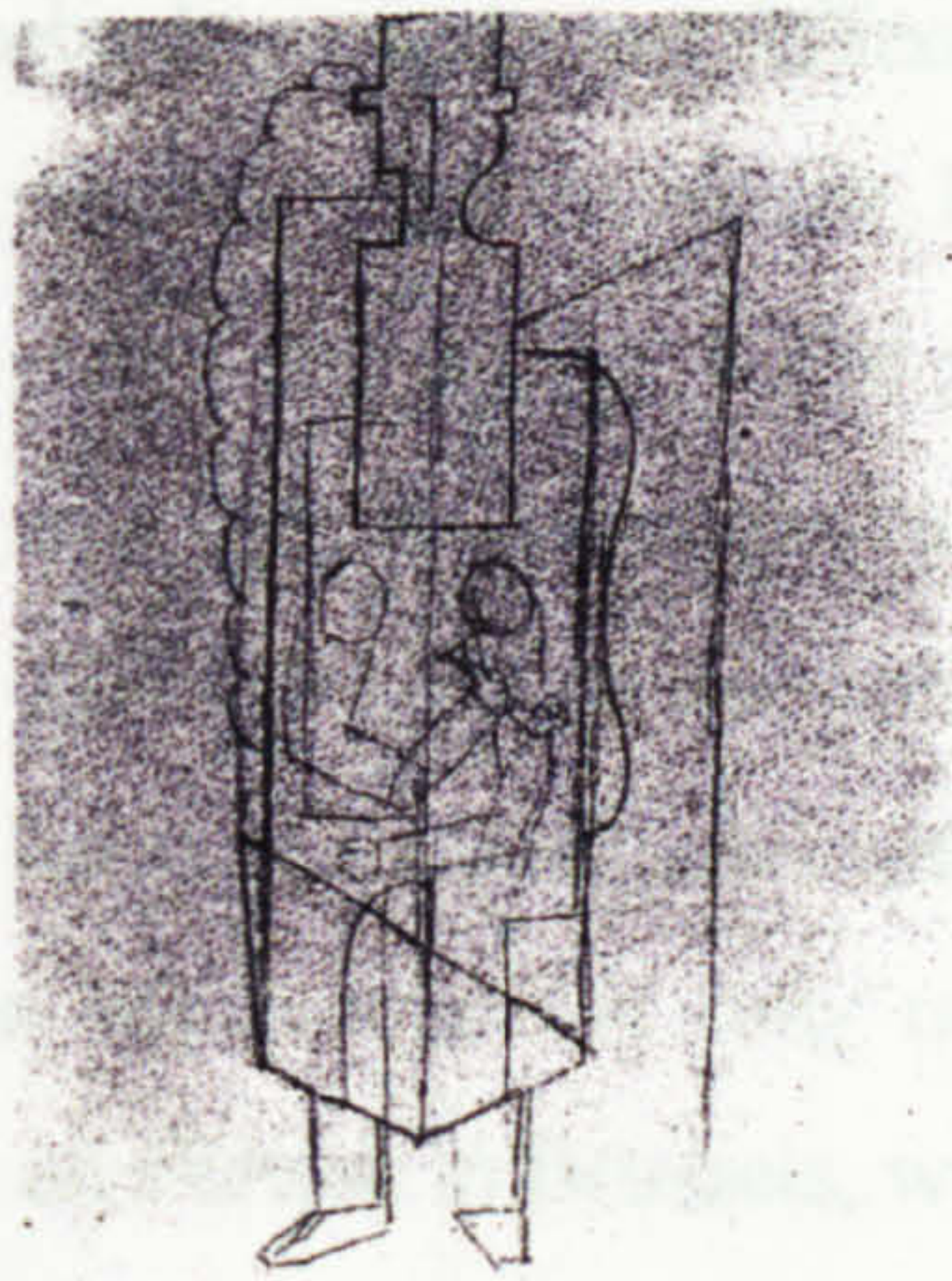


Fig.4.27(d): Picasso, MP 1611, sketch for a Manager

Musée Picasso

(Richet, *The Musée Picasso*, Vol.II, p.166)

The idea of a Manager on horse
 the many sketches show the
 dancer or dancers with both
 MP 1593 (Fig.4.27(f)) where
 attached to the horse's back.
 dancers are concerned, but the
 legs and white "feet", a dove
 Masure, who was about to get



well to work and vigorously and
 Picasso tried to combine the
 final arrangement by showing the
 horse and an empty carriage is
 in more detail - as far as the
 a black mane and tail, black
 Over fifty years later
 write to Picasso.

Fig.4.27(e): Picasso, MP 1599, sketch for a Manager
 Musée Picasso
 (Richet, *The Musée Picasso*, Vol.II, p.173)

It is well known that before the actual performance, the Manager figure fell off the
 horse and was not reinstated for the remainder of the performance in Paris in 1917. A letter of 24
 October 1919¹³² to Picasso
 rehearsals for "Parade" which
 waiting for you to send the
 men, it's better'. The figure
 London premiere, as Masure
 Appendix)



London, stage, I am beginning
 beginning of November. We are
 and the horse's leave the two
 and very successfully during the
 November 1919 shows (see
 Appendix)

Fig.4.27(f): Picasso, MP 1593, sketch for a Manager
 Musée Picasso
 (Richet, *The Musée Picasso*, Vol.II, p.170)

¹³² See letter of 5 April 1963 in the Appendix.

The idea of a Manager on horseback proved very difficult to work out logistically and the many sketches show the various ways in which Picasso tried to combine the dancer or dancers with both a horse and a rider. The final arrangement is shown in MP 1593 (Fig.4.27(f)) where two dancers form the horse and an empty carcass is attached to the horse's back. MP 1589 shows the horse in more detail as far as the dancers are concerned, but the horse is also depicted with a black mane and tail, black legs and white 'feet', a design which was not fully used. Over forty years later, Massine, who was about to put on *Parade* in Brussels, wrote to Picasso:

Jean Cocteau is delighted about [the production] but asks me to write to you to request a sketch of the horse because he says that 'the first horse was cobbled together ungracefully without the head being done properly and without the black stockings on its legs'.¹³¹

It is well known that before the actual performance, the Manager figure fell off the horse and was not reinstated for the première in Paris in 1917. Yet a letter of 24 October 1919¹³² to Picasso from Massine in London, states: 'I am beginning rehearsals for "Parade" which will be put on at the beginning of November. We are waiting for you to send the third manager to be put on the horse/let's leave the two men, it's better'. The figure on horseback was reinstated very successfully during the London première, as Massine's letter to Picasso of November 1919 shows (see Appendix).

The carcass idea which first emerged in MP 1611 (Fig.4.27(d)) was an outcome of Picasso's work in 1915-16 where portraits are no more than a series of flat board-like surfaces which overlap to convey the figure's solidity. The most famous of these works is the *Harlequin* completed in autumn 1915 and discussed earlier. The closest idea to the Managers in *Parade*, however, can be found in a sketch of 1916 of Irène

¹³¹ See letter of 5 April 1963 in the Appendix.

Lagut, Picasso's short-term mistress following the death of Eva Gouel. Picasso depicts Irène in three-dimensional 'Ingresque' fashion but her image is simultaneously shown on a two-dimensional board that slices vertically through the whole composition.¹³³ In fact the Managers' carcasses reflect the dichotomy between the two-dimensional and the three-dimensional with which Picasso wrestled during the entire cubist era. By 1906 he was painting in a sculptural manner, as so many of his portraits of this time show. Even though the figures are formed from flat, interacting planes, they stand out from their background like actors on a stage (see Fig.4.5). John Richardson quite rightly refers to Picasso at this stage as 'a sculptor trapped inside a painter'.¹³⁴ By 1909, when he produced the faceted, sculpted head of Fernande Olivier, Picasso was already beginning to translate two-dimensional cubist images into the equivalent three-dimensional versions.¹³⁵

Yet it would be a further four years before Picasso made a more serious attempt to completely merge the two genres of painting and sculpture. In a work called *Guitarist*, dated 1913, we see the body of the guitarist, depicted in collage, as well as drawn on a 2-dimensional board, all set against protruding newspaper arms and a cardboard guitar. This is almost certainly the closest parallel before 1916 to what Picasso would achieve in *Parade*: the successful merging of two- and three-dimensional forms into hybrid constructions. As André Salmon said: 'The watertight barriers have been breached. Now we are delivered from Painting and Sculpture, themselves already liberated from the imbecile tyranny of genres'.¹³⁶ The Managers' carcasses allowed Picasso once again to merge painting with sculpture but this time the 'sculpture' was a real person. The bottom of the American Manager's carcasse (Fig.4.30) begins at the dancer's knees and then depicts the continuation of the legs

¹³² Massine's letter does not state the year, but *Parade* was first given in London on 14 November 1919. See Appendix.

¹³³ Shown in Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, p.403. The sketch is owned by Picasso's heirs.

¹³⁴ Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, p.80.

¹³⁵ The three-dimensional bronze head of Fernande Olivier closely mirrors, for example, the painting of 1909, *A Woman Seated in an Armchair* (Fig.4.29).

¹³⁶ Writing in 1919 in *La Jeune sculpture française*, cited in Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, p.254.



Fig.4.29: Picasso, a Woman Seated in an Armchair, 1909

Nationalgalerie, Berlin

(http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/ladylever/exhibitions/picasso/graphics/picasso_woman_a)

Fig.4.30: Picasso, The American Manager

Fonds Kechco, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris

<http://www.musee-ladylever.com/visite/musee/picasso/peintures/1917/001714.jpg>

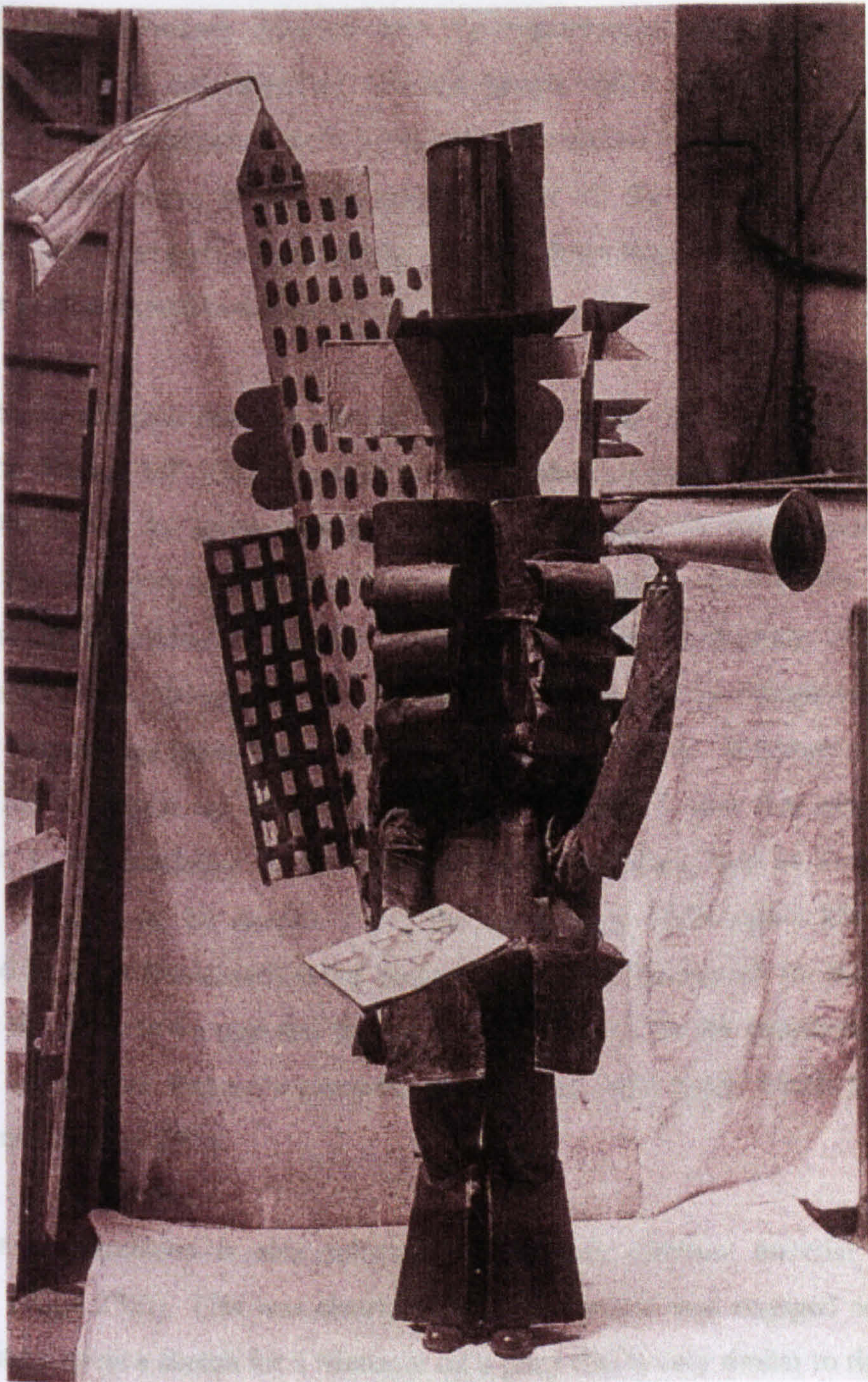


Fig.4.30: Picasso, The American Manager

Fonds Kochno, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris

(<http://www.tamu.edu/mocl/picasso/graphics/1917/opp17-14.jpg>)

and the body. Picasso confuses the three-dimensional dancer with the two-dimensional carcass, and, therefore, the real person with a painted depiction of him. But, blurring the boundaries even more, two dimensions really does become three dimensions when parts of the décor are carried by the dancers' carcasses. This fascinating idea emerged in Rome when sketches show flags, fencing, trees and parts of buildings all attached to the carcasses.

It is in these sketches that we also see depicted for the first time the scale of the Managers. Sketch MP 1591 (Fig.4.27(h)) clearly shows a dancer inside a carcass that towers above him by approximately three feet. The idea for this disparity in size between the Managers and the other dancers may well have come from the 'Gigantes' which are so embedded in Spanish fiesta culture.¹³⁷ On 15 January 1917 Picasso wrote to Cocteau: 'It says in my passport that I must leave France within three days...I suppose we leave tomorrow'.¹³⁸ Richardson writes: 'Whether or not they actually left for Spain we do not know. My own belief is that they never did'.¹³⁹ However, in the catalogue of the Matisse/Picasso exhibition held at Tate Modern, London, 11 May to 18 August 2002, the chronology of Picasso's life for 1917 (compiled by Anne Baldassari) states that on 16 January Picasso left for Barcelona.¹⁴⁰ I believe the latter to be true and that as a result the idea for the enormous Manager carcasses arose from Picasso's renewed acquaintance with Spain which he had not visited since January 1913.

The visit to Barcelona is also substantiated by very different material in sketch MP1583 (Fig.4.27(i)). This was clearly done while Picasso was engaged on *Parade*, because it contains a sketch for a Manager on a pony that is very similar to the one in

¹³⁷ As the photograph from Palau I Fabre shows (*Picasso 1917-1926, From the Ballets to the Drama*, p.25) these are giant figures, often religious, that completely cover the wearer who must look out through a small concealed gauze panel, exactly like Picasso's French and American Managers do.

¹³⁸ Cited in Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II, p.430. The 'we' refers to himself and Irène Lagut.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ Cowling et al. (eds.), *Matisse/Picasso*, p.369. The most important festival in the Spanish calendar (that of Los Reyes, the Three Wise Men) takes place on 6 January, when gigantic figures are carried through the streets of Barcelona.

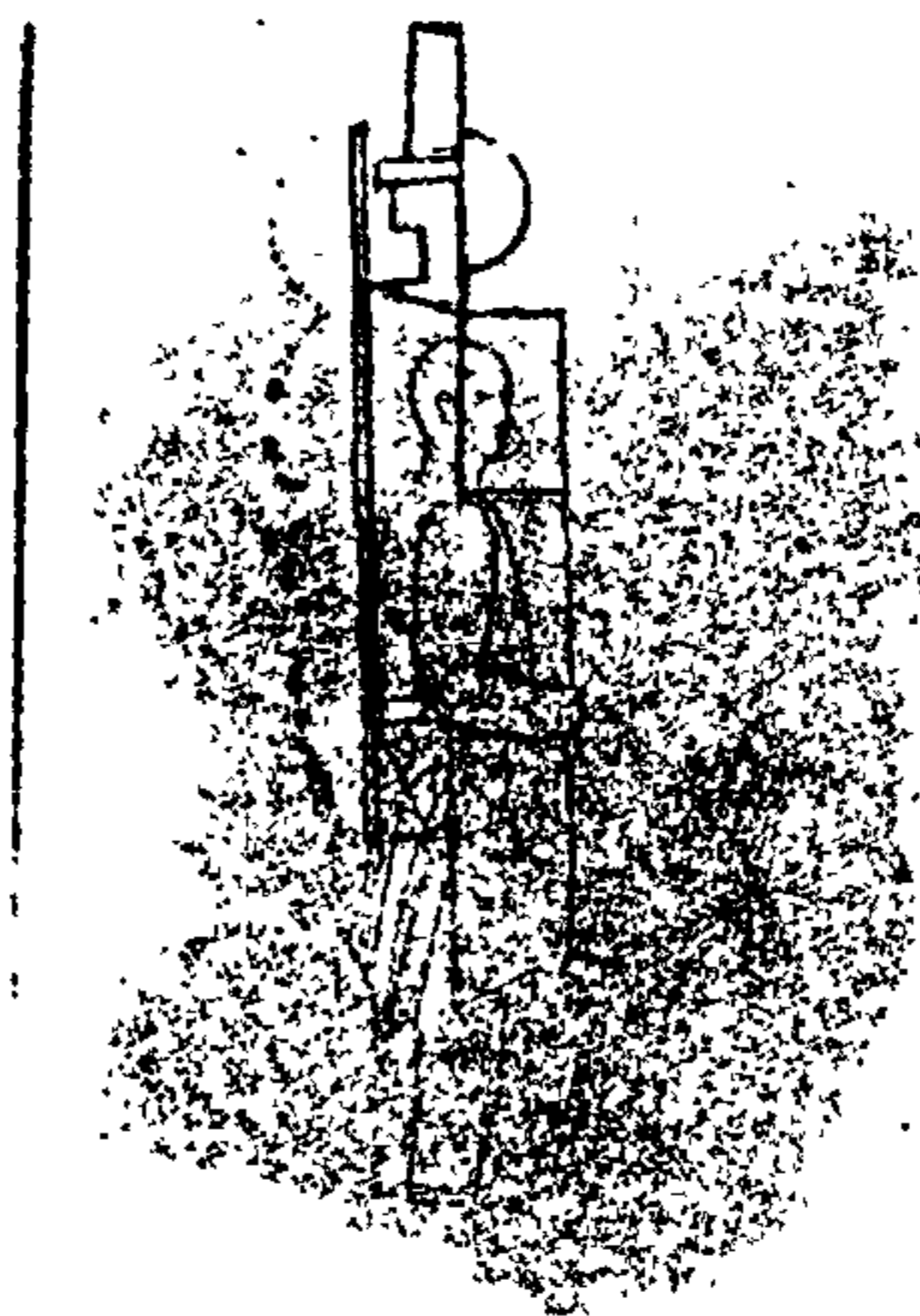


Fig.4.27(h): Picasso, MP 1591, sketch for a Manager

Musée Picasso

(Richet, *The Musée Picasso*, Vol.II, p.172)



Fig.4.27(i): Picasso, MP 1583, sketch for a Manager above the sketch for a table in front of a window

Musée Picasso

(Richet, *The Musée Picasso*, Vol.II, p.168)

MP 1581 (Fig.4.27(c)). What marks out MP 1583 as very important is the sketch, beneath the horse, showing a little table in front of an open balcony-window. This is new material for Picasso¹⁴¹ and he would not return to the same theme until 1919 when he painted a similar configuration in front of a window in St. Raphael (Fig.4.31). What is so interesting as far as *Parade* is concerned is that this new material showed Picasso thinking about the concept of interior/exterior space, a theme that is at the heart of the ballet and which would develop the discussion about two- and three-dimensional art so fundamental to cubism.

To a limited extent, Picasso had already tackled the issue of how to portray 'other' spaces. In 1914, for instance, in *Pipe and Sheet Music*, he used a mirror over a mantelpiece to reflect the stippled wallpaper that exists behind the viewer (and, in virtual reality, behind the mirror).¹⁴² *Open window at St Raphael* of 1919 attempts to capture the space outside the room and to bring it inside (Fig.4.31). The balcony outside is depicted on the floorboards of the room in a naturalistic perspectival way, yet Picasso remains true to the cubist principles of the two-dimensional picture plane by portraying the violin as a two-dimensional cardboard cut-out, propped on the table. In *Still Life on a Table*, a similar work of 1920, Picasso goes even further by dismantling the view of the rue de Penthièvre in Paris, and putting it on the table, like a series of two-dimensional photographs.¹⁴³

In *Parade*, too, Picasso questions the relationship between inner and outer spaces. What we see on the Red Curtain is an inner space, yet the resting performers are set

¹⁴¹ Roland Penrose says that in 1915 Juan Gris produced a still life in front of an open window looking onto the rue Ravignan. See *Picasso*, p.82.

¹⁴² Krauss, in *The Picasso Papers*, p.161, discusses this work. Cocteau, too, was fascinated by the idea of what was hidden from view. As we saw in Chapter 2, he aimed to give a further, unseen dimension to the Chinese conjuror, and in 1946 he would explore by cinematographic trickery what was behind the mirror in *Le Sang d'un poète*.

¹⁴³ See Penrose, *Picasso*, p.82. The 1920 painting is in the Norton Simon Museum of Art, Los Angeles.



Fig.4.31: Picasso, Open Window at St. Raphael 1919

Private collection

(http://www.soho-art.com/shopinfo/uploads/1043845291_large-image_82_open_window_at_st_)

against what looks like an outer space, but could well be just a theatrical backdrop.¹⁴⁴ The décor represents an outer space yet the French Manager moving within it appears to carry part of the *baraque*. Until the advent of *Parade*, inside and outside have been two separate worlds for Picasso.¹⁴⁵ In the ballet Picasso makes each separate entity ambiguous, but, most importantly, he also links them: the Red Curtain and the décor both have the same floorboards. Both spaces belong together as part of the same building in Picasso's unified composition, but both are simultaneously two-dimensional and three-dimensional. When Picasso exhibited at Paul Rosenberg's gallery between 20 October and 15 November 1919, the 167 works were divided between cubist and neoclassical pictures. Rosalind Krauss says that the works typified by the *Open Window at St Raphael* (which she calls Picasso's 'Balconies' pictures) show a 'consumation of a marriage between the Cubist revolution and Renaissance perspective'.¹⁴⁶ Hence the importance in *Parade* of the Uccello-like perspectival floorboards (see Fig.4.32),¹⁴⁷ which, in 1917, show him anticipating this marriage between a cubist and renaissance aesthetic, as outlined by Krauss. It was no accident on Picasso's part that he saw himself as a modern Uccello: his nickname was 'oiseau de Bénin' ('Benin bird') and Uccello's name means bird.¹⁴⁸

I would argue that *Parade* was a catalyst for the body of work that marks the triumphant conclusion of Picasso's cubist endeavours. The ballet enabled him to explore from a new perspective the concept of space: how to express what is 'behind the picture' whilst being true to the reality of the two-dimensional picture plane. This was then only possible within the theatre. As we have seen, he would return to this

¹⁴⁴ The ballerina Tamara Karsavina remembers how Diaghilev interrupted a rehearsal by bringing onto the stage tables and food for the dancers who picnicked against the backdrop for *Armide*. See John Drummond, *Speaking of Diaghilev*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁵ Although *Dog (rue Schoelcher)* of spring 1915 (now in the Musée Picasso) depicts an outdoor scene, there is a window, top left, which tells us that this is a view from inside. Yet the two worlds do not collide: they are still separate.

¹⁴⁶ See R. Krauss, *The Picasso Papers*, p.193.

¹⁴⁷ Uccello's painting *The Rout of San Romano* (c.1450, exhibited in the National Gallery, London) is an exercise in foreshortening (see Fig.4.32). Uccello was obsessed by the discovery of perspective in art. Picasso's floorboards in *Parade* immediately call to mind this painting. Additionally, the prancing pony of MP 1583 (Fig.4.27(i)) looks very similar to the white pony in the foreground of Uccello's painting.

¹⁴⁸ See the letter of 28 May 1917 from Olga Khoklova to Picasso.

concept in 1919 and 1920, marking the completion of the long investigation into how to depict a three-dimensional reality whilst being true to the two-dimensional canvas. As the 1917 version of the ballet opened, the audience was given a glimpse of what was ‘behind the picture’ or ‘inside the box’: it was a performance that had finished, but was about to start again.¹⁴⁹ As Satie’s short *Prélude* was played, the audience could contemplate this scene very briefly before being hurried to the space ‘outside the box’, with no apparent access to the interior. Yet it is the ‘renaissance’ floorboards leading, through their perspective, into the *baraque*, that give the audience a clue about how they can be guided inside for a ‘real’ performance: only through art itself. But by the time the Red Curtain descends again, it is too late and the performance is over once more. The ‘inside-outside-inside’ cycle mirrors the circularity of Satie’s score and Cocteau’s belief that the majority of people remain on the outside of artistic endeavour. Picasso paraded Cubism’s preoccupations in front of the audience in 1917 but they were almost certainly unaware.



Fig.4.31: Paolo Uccello: The Rout of San Romano

National Gallery, London

(http://www.abstract-art.com/abstraction/12_Grnfthrs_fldr/g0000_gr_inf_images/g013_uccello)

¹⁴⁹ One of the unused sketches for the décor is MP 1561. It is painted, not just sketched in pencil, and depicts a cube-shaped box on a street corner.

5: Massine's involvement in *Parade*

An artist arrives at a final result, not as something occasional – because he likes it – but following a principle and a process of thought.

Léonide Massine¹

The difficulties inherent in assessing Massine's contribution to *Parade* are considerable because, unlike that of Satie and Picasso, his work of 1917 remains essentially undocumented.² However, we can glean an enormous amount of information about his influences and artistic philosophy from his autobiography,³ as well as from the excellent biography by Vicente García-Márquez (one of only two to have been written in English, the other being Leslie Norton's *Massine and the Twentieth-Century Ballet*) and the numerous articles about this most private of individuals.⁴ In spite of, or perhaps because of, the huge number of works that he choreographed (and the differing quality thereof), Massine appears not to have endeared himself to balletomanes in the same way as older contemporaries such as Fokine and especially Nijinsky.⁵ When he left Diaghilev's Ballets Russes in February 1921, he became a globe-trotting choreographer, sometimes organizing

¹ In conversation with Fred Maroth in California, 1977, cited by Vicente García-Márquez in *Massine A Biography*, p.92.

² Writing in December 1963 to Picasso, on the subject of the revival of *Parade* at the Théâtre de la Monnaie in Brussels, Massine states: 'Fortunately, I have all my choreographic notes'. ('Heureusement, j'ai toutes mes annotations chorégraphiques.') This letter is in the Musée Picasso, AP.CS815. I have been unable to locate Massine's notes from 1917, however. See Appendix for the full text of the letter.

³ *My Life in Ballet*, written in 1968, eleven years before his death at the age of 84.

⁴ García-Márquez, who met and interviewed Massine on three separate occasions, draws a clear distinction between 'the artistic giant...[whose] creative work is well documented...and ...Massine, the man of flesh and bone [who] remains forever an enigma'. *Massine A Biography*, p.xiii.

⁵ Massine choreographed more than 100 ballets in his long career, sixteen of which were for Diaghilev: *Soleil de Nuit* (1915); *Las Meninas* (1916); *Kikimora* (1916); *Les Femmes de bonne humeur* (1917); *Contes Russes* (1917); *Parade* (1917); *La Boutique fantasque* (1919); *Le Tricorne* (1919); *Le Chant du rossignol* (1920); *Pulcinella* (1920); *Le Astuzie Femminili* (1920); *Zéphyre et Flore* (1925); *Les Matelots* (1925); *Mercure* (1925) (originally commissioned for Count Étienne de Beaumont's 'Soirée de Paris' season of 1924); *Le Pas d'acier* (1927); and *Ode* (1928). This compares with just five by Nijinsky: *L'Après-midi d'un faune* (1912), *Jeux* (1913), *Le Sacre du printemps* (1913), *Till Eulenspiegel* (1916) and *Mephisto Waltz* (1916).

small ballet companies of his own,⁶ sometimes working for established companies as a guest artist.⁷ His natural instincts as a workaholic⁸ were towards constant renewal and experimentation,⁹ yet his artistic approach remained the one he had learned from his years with Diaghilev: an emphasis on good technique; a thorough academic study of the background to a new work; a fusion of artforms; and the importance of first-rate collaborators.

a) Massine's background in drama

Whereas Nijinsky brought an unsurpassable athleticism and a seemingly natural balletic technique to his work for Diaghilev's company,¹⁰ one of Massine's foremost contributions was his talent for mime and the strong characterisation that he had learnt in Moscow at the Imperial Theatre School.¹¹ He entered the ballet department in 1904, at a time of artistic upheaval in Moscow.¹² Alexander Gorsky, a principal dancer with the Maryinsky Theatre, had been appointed in 1900 as *régisseur*¹³ in the

⁶ As late as 1960, aged 65, he formed a new company, Balletto Europeo, which appeared at the Edinburgh Festival.

⁷ For example, he worked for the Sadler's Wells Ballet at Covent Garden in 1947, where he revived some of his Diaghilev ballets as well as creating new works such as *Clock Symphony*.

⁸ Massine's son, Lorca, told García-Márquez: 'We listened while he talked about his work, laughed when he laughed, and stopped when he stopped'. (Conversation in 1987, cited in *Massine, A Biography*, p.327.)

⁹ One of Massine's most controversial works is *Choreartium* (1933), in which he choreographed Brahms's Fourth Symphony. This kind of abstract ballet now forms the everyday repertoire of contemporary dance companies such as Ballet Rambert.

¹⁰ Nijinsky's sister, the choreographer Bronislava, said: 'It was impossible to perceive when he was finishing one *pas* and when he was starting the next. All the preparations were concealed in the shortest possible time, the very instant of the foot touching the floor of the stage. On a background of persistently repeated *entrechat* 6 [a spring upwards in which the legs criss-cross at the lower calf], *entrechat* 8, *entrechat* 10, a whole range of movements played in the body of Nijinsky – vibrating, trembling, fluttering, flying...It was one continuous *glissando* in which all the *entrechats* flowed together in an upward flight'. Cited by Gennady Smakov in *The Great Russian Dancers*, p.212.

¹¹ There were Imperial Theatres (subsidised by the Russian state) in St. Petersburg and Moscow. In the former they were the Maryinsky Theatre (for opera and ballet) and the Alexandrinsky Theatre (for drama); in Moscow they were the Bolshoi Theatre (opera and ballet) and the Maly Theatre (drama). They recruited performers from their respective Theatre Schools.

¹² I am indebted to García-Márquez, *Massine, A Biography*, for much of this background information about Massine's education.

¹³ Responsible for rehearsing and mounting ballets in the repertoire.

Bolshoi Theatre. Gorsky's interest in the ideas of Konstantin Stanislavsky¹⁴ added a new dramatic dimension to the ballet, as his revival of *Don Quixote* (1900)¹⁵ showed:

Instead of the stiff and frozen lines of the corps de ballet, there appeared a living crowd of characters – moving, laughing, selling their wares on the piazza. Instead of make-shift costumes, there were real Spanish ones.¹⁶

Gorsky also introduced character dancing into new productions of such stalwarts of the repertoire as *Swan Lake*.¹⁷ In other words, Stanislavsky's realist philosophy was beginning to make its mark. Massine, as a Moscow student (unlike Fokine and Nijinsky, who were products of the St. Petersburg Imperial Theatre), was able to absorb Gorsky's approach on a day-to-day basis.¹⁸ Yet, had he been solely a dancer, it is unlikely that Massine would have become such an original choreographer. Imperial Theatre students took part in both ballet and theatre productions, and from the age of ten, Massine's dramatic education was guided by Alexander Yuzhin, a

¹⁴ Stanislavsky and Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko founded the Moscow Art Theatre in 1898. As Lynn Garafola says, Stanislavsky based his philosophy on 'stylistic unity, dramatic coherence, and psychological plausibility'. See *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.20. He invented 'method acting' (living a character completely) which was adopted by Marlon Brandon, amongst others.

¹⁵ It is important to understand what preceded Gorsky's novel, more realist approach. *Don Quixote* had first been created in 1869 by Marius Petipa, a dancer and *maître de ballet* in St. Petersburg. He raised the standard of dance technique, but worked within a restricted framework where music, scene painting, choreography and story were completely separate entities. Choreographically his formula demanded five or six acts, focusing on a *prima ballerina* who danced a *pas de deux* that included variations and a coda, as well as a *pas d'action* in which she had to display her miming abilities. The *premier danseur* was also given a variation to dance, but his role was to support the ballerina. The *corps de ballet* served as a background for the ballerina to display her technique. I am indebted to Cyril Beaumont's *Complete Book of Ballets* for this information. In fact the Petipa ballets were riddled with what Lynn Garafola calls 'dualities': mime scenes versus purely danced ones (as Beaumont also points out); character dances versus academic ones; historically accurate costumes versus tutus. See Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.10. It is ironic that even today it is Petipa's *La Bayadère* (1875), *Sleeping Beauty* (1890) and *Swan Lake* (1895) that still form the backbone of the classical repertoire.

¹⁶ Natalia Roslavleva, 'Stanislavsky and the Ballet', in *Dance Perspectives*, 23, 1965, p.23, cited in Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.21. Unlike Petipa, Gorsky attempted to marry story with choreography and to give the *corps de ballet* a role of its own.

¹⁷ Massine danced in Gorsky's 1912 production of this ballet. See García-Márquez, *Massine*, p.23.

¹⁸ Massine, who danced in *Don Quixote* in 1913, later criticised the 'Spanish' movements as inauthentic, however, and said that 'they were probably derived more from personal impressions of Cervantes's novel than from an objective study of native Spanish dancing'. Massine, *My Life in Ballet*,

champion of Stanislavsky's ideas. At the Maly Theatre, Massine not only observed leading actors in rehearsal and performance, but also acted alongside them¹⁹. He learnt to imitate their gestures and voices and, by the age of fifteen:

... had definitely decided that I would be an actor... Yet I realized too how much of my ballet training had helped me in my acting. Physical control and an understanding of movement were invaluable assets when it came to character interpretation and projection on the legitimate stage. In fact both halves of my education complemented each other. My acting improved through my knowledge of movement, and my experience in the theatre helped me to create vivid characterisations in my dancing.²⁰

When approached at the end of 1913 by Diaghilev to join the Ballets Russes, Massine had an agonising decision to make. His acting career had become so successful that he was being considered for the part of Romeo in a forthcoming production at the Maly.²¹ Also, in conversation with García-Márquez in 1978, Massine recounted how he had met Stanislavsky *chez* Olga Gosvskaya, a Maly actress who had joined the Moscow Art Theatre in 1910. Not only was he familiar with Stanislavsky's theories,²² but he had also discussed the possibility of working with the famous director.²³ Massine's account of his initial discussions with Diaghilev shows that the impresario 'was preparing me for an entirely new concept of ballet. He talked about a new culture emerging from our old academic traditions, of a conception of art which

p.39. In assessing Massine's comment, one has to remember the extent to which he studied Spain and everything Spanish in order to produce *Le Tricorne* (1919). See n.77.

¹⁹ For instance in December 1911, aged 16, he appeared as Mitya in Persianinova's *The Big Ones and the Small Ones* with some of the Maly's greatest actors. See García-Márquez, *Massine*, p.18.

²⁰ Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.38. Meyerhold, too, realized the mutual benefits of drama and movement. See my discussion in Chapter 2.

²¹ García-Márquez, *Massine*, p.32.

²² Part of Stanislavsky's famous Method involved the use of emotional memory or 'affective memory', a concept put forward by the French psychologist Théodule Ribot in the 1890s. This involved reliving past experiences through something that happens in the present (a concept which underpinned the work of Cocteau's friend, Marcel Proust). See *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 28, p.532.

²³ García-Márquez, *Massine*, p.25.

was essentially his own, a fusion of music, dance, painting, poetry and drama'.²⁴ It was surely no accident that Diaghilev sought a replacement for Nijinsky in Moscow, a city which was emerging as Russia's theatrical capital.²⁵

Massine's account of his appearance in *La Légende de Joseph* (1914) shows that he instinctively brought Stanislavsky's approach to the title role, his first for Diaghilev. He writes:

There was no doubt that the dramatic and mimetic sequences in the production were easier for me than the dancing, as I was able to draw on my earlier theatrical experience at the Maly. Also the affinity I felt between myself and Joseph helped me to understand and interpret the character...[I] tried to ward off the advances of Potiphar's wife. Each time I struggled with her I seemed to project into my acting all my own anguish and heartbreak at having left Russia to take on this incredibly taxing part.²⁶

A subsequent review demonstrates the impact of this approach in a ballet. An unnamed critic wrote: 'Miassine [sic] cannot dance, but he can walk on to the stage in a way which will hold the attention of any audience'.²⁷ It was Massine's dramatic ability and stage presence, rather than his skills as a dancer, which had attracted Diaghilev to engage him as a replacement for the incomparable Nijinsky. Diaghilev

²⁴ Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.45.

²⁵ See García-Márquez, *Massine*, pp.388-9, nn.16 and 17, for detailed background information on Moscow's role in Russian theatre.

²⁶ García-Marquez, *Massine*, p.53. Valentina Litvinoff writes: 'As Konstantin Stanislavsky had once pointed out, all theories on theatre techniques are based on what the really great performers do intuitively'. See *The Use of Stanislavsky within Modern Dance*, p.11.

²⁷ García-Marquez, *Massine*, p.61. Massine continued to use the Russian version of his name until his first visit to America in 1916, when Diaghilev suggested that 'Massine' might be easier than Miassine for English-speaking audiences to remember. See Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.81, footnote.

had no plans to employ Massine as a choreographer in the first instance.²⁸ Not only was he inexperienced but his dancing was not good enough. Massine recounts how he was

weighed down by a sense of my own inadequacy...Diaghilev...told me not to worry about the dancing too much, for it was more important to convey with conviction the underlying character of Joseph. But he also arranged for me to have private lessons with Enrico Cecchetti, who was the official ballet-master of Diaghilev's dancers.²⁹

b) The importance of mime in *Parade*

It would be *Parade*, three years later, a revolutionary ballet (in every sense) in which mime and dance were completely integrated, which would demonstrate the extent to which the Ballets Russes had moved away from the choreographic stricture in which the *pas d'action* was separate from other dances. Massine, as the Chinese Conjuror, and Marie Chabelska, as the Little American Girl, did not have a discrete dance for showing off their miming abilities, as in the traditional *pas d'action* of classical ballet, but they mimed and danced throughout the entire first two parts. Massine recalls his choreography for the Chinese Conjuror as being a 'parody of the usual pseudo-oriental entertainer with endless tricks up his sleeve'.³⁰ His description of the dance shows that it relied wholly on mime for its effect:

²⁸ When Nijinsky left the Ballets Russes at the end of 1913, Diaghilev recalled Fokine who at first refused to return to the company. However, after a five-hour telephone call, 'Diaghilev wore him down and obtained his promise to call the next day'. In the event, Fokine agreed to re-stage his old ballets and to create seven new ones, of which *La Légende de Joseph* was the first. See Richard Buckle, *Nijinsky*, p.401.

²⁹ Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.54. Cecchetti, who had taught Anna Pavlova, Tamara Karsavina and Vaslav Nijinsky, gave Massine a thorough grounding in classical technique.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.103.

I marched stiffly round the stage jerking my head at each step. Then going to the centre I bowed to the audience and began my act...With an elaborate flourish I pretended to produce an egg from my sleeve and put it in my mouth. When I had mimed the action of swallowing it, I stretched out my arms, slid my left leg sideways till I was almost sitting down, and with my left hand pretended to pull the egg from the toe of my shoe. The whole thing took only a few minutes, but it had to be done with the most clearly defined movements and broad mime. When I had retrieved the egg I leaped round the stage again, then paused, puckered up my lips and pretended to breathe out fire.³¹ One last march round the stage, a final deep bow, and I disappeared.³²

This description shows that the movements of classical dance were absent from Part 1. In Cocteau's *Carnet de Travail* (also known as the *Cahier romain*) which Massine gave him on his first day in Rome,³³ there are nine parts listed for the Chinese Conjuror's dance: '1) a bow, and checking of accessories;³⁴ 2) the egg; 3) the fan; 4) fire (central gesture); 5) knife thrower's dance; 6) mysterious trick; 7) the egg; 8) the fan; 9) deep bow'. Numbers 5 and 6 were marked 'pas immobile' (stationary) and numbers 7 and 8 were marked 'tête coupée' (head cut off).³⁵ While we cannot know for certain whether Massine included all these features, it is clear from his account of

³¹ It is interesting to compare this gesture with a similar one performed by the Moscow-trained ballerina Ektarina Geltzer. She was nine years older than Massine and danced the role of Nikiya in *La Bayadère* (in St. Petersburg in 1902) where she 'introduced Isadora Duncan's "mute speech" for which an anonymous critic took her to task: "...Madame Geltzer resorted to a device that, in my view, is absolutely inadmissible in ballet. She moved her lips, as if whispering words". See Smakov, *The Great Russian Dancers*, p.87. Geltzer became a member of the Ballets Russes, dancing in Fokine's *Les Orientales* (1910). See Lynn Garafola and Van Norman Baer (eds.), *The Ballets Russes and Its World*, p.325.

³² Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.103. According to García-Márquez, Massine originally wanted to dance the part of the Acrobat, but was so powerful as the Conjuror that Cocteau asked him to dance that role instead. See *Massine, a Biography*, p.93, in which the author refers to an undated letter from Cocteau to Misa Edwards containing this information.

³³ Cocteau also gave Massine a notebook in Rome. This is known as the 'January notebook'.

³⁴ In the Frederick Koch score, Cocteau has written 'lanternes' and 'aquariums'. This not only ties in with the *Cahier romain*, but also closely matches a poster of 1915 showing Chung Lin Soo, the 'Marvellous Chinese Conjuror', holding a Chinese lantern. See this reproduction in Rothschild, *Picasso's "Parade"*, p.78. Thus reality came to *Parade* in a number of forms.

³⁵ These instructions are in Cocteau's *Cahier romain*, reproduced in Axsom, *Parade: Cubism as Theater*, p.329.

the dance and from Cocteau's written instructions that the choreography was to be revolutionary. The stiffness and jerkiness of the movements, the facial expressions and the intention for the Conjuror to stand still and mime certain actions all went against classical ballet conventions. The mime became shocking when, according to Cocteau's handwritten additions to page 14 of the Frederick Koch score, the Conjuror, with his 'head cut off' does a 'dangerous movement, a frightful lap of the stage [frightful because his head is cut off] while the manager starts to shout out the text again once only'.³⁶ With the omission of Cocteau's sung description of torture, as discussed in Chapter 2, we do not know if this part of the mime was included. However, we can imagine that the audience would have been shocked by such an image, especially one that Massine, with his exceptional dramatic talent, would have conveyed so realistically.³⁷

In Part 2 of *Parade* Marie Chabelska, the Little American Girl,

did an imitation of the shuffling walk of Charlie Chaplin, followed by a sequence of mimed actions reminiscent of *The Perils of Pauline* – jumping on to a moving train, swimming across a river, having a running fight at pistol-point, and finally finding herself lost at sea in the tragic sinking of the *Titanic*.³⁸

Once again classical dance was shunned in favour of movements that realistically mimicked the antics of cinema stars. In fact, far from mime being an additional feature in *Parade*, the ballet depended on the audience's recognising and

³⁶ 'un exercice périlleux. Tour terrible du chinois pendant que son manager recommence à crier une seule fois le texte'.

³⁷ It was probably not the combination of dance and text that offended the ever-adventurous Diaghilev, especially at this period when he was experimenting with modernism. After all, *Feu d'artifice* (April 1917) was a ballet without dancers. According to García-Márquez, *Massine*, p.360, *Le Coq d'or* (1914), had been danced on stage with singers in the orchestra pit, although Massine says that the singers were 'seated in groups on each side of the stage'. Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.50. Also, *Le Soleil de Nuit* (1915) included an interpolated song, 'Song of Lel'. *Ibid*, p.75.

³⁸ Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.104.

understanding the mimetic references.³⁹ It was this approach – the integration of mime and dance – that made *Parade* so different from previous ballets. Massine's complete confidence in his acting ability meant that he could take mime much further than previous choreographers,⁴⁰ and make it the basis of his creative work.⁴¹

c) The importance of classical ballet traditions for Massine

Massine's integration of mime and dance implies that academic steps and gestures, which formed the basis of all good dancers' technique, were a secondary choreographic tool at his disposal. Yet Diaghilev was very careful to underpin the company's performances with the virtuosic discipline taught by his ballet-master, Enrico Cecchetti, one of the greatest classical dancers. Massine had already encountered this search for technical excellence in the Imperial Theatre School and subsequently at the Bolshoi, and it was a culture he again entered in January 1914.⁴²

³⁹ This is made quite clear by Cocteau's handwritten assertion on page 32 bis of the Frederick Koch score that 'Silence is needed [for] the acrobat's aeroplane [movement] which imitates the classic music-hall scene'. ('Il faudrait du silence aéroplane de l'acrobate pour pasticher la scène classique au Music Hall.')

⁴⁰ Fokine had made some concessions to mime within ballet. Despite being based in St. Petersburg, he had also seen and been enthusiastic about Stanislavsky's realist approach. He was able to translate this into *Petrouchka* (1911) in which 'his living crowd, was, above all, an assemblage of individuals – coachmen, gypsies, street-hawkers, wet nurses, organ grinders, jesters – who arrive onstage with biographies and fully delineated personalities.' See Garafola's 'The Liberating Aesthetic of Michel Fokine', Chapter 1 in *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.23. Garafola also points out that Nijinsky's art 'did not spring from an artistic void, but belonged fully to the theatrical culture of its era', especially from Meyerhold's ideas. *Ibid.*, p.74.

⁴¹ Even two decades later Massine continued to use the dramatic lessons he had learned in Moscow. He recalls his creation of the Musician in *Symphonie Fantastique* (1936): 'I was fascinated also by the morbid personality of the chief character, and as I began to interpret the role...I found it called for a good deal of dramatic action. Here once again my early experiences as an actor at the Maly proved invaluable. ...if I had not been able to identify myself with the young Musician, my dancing would have been meaningless'. Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.201.

⁴² It is interesting that Diaghilev continued to look back to the academic style, as demonstrated by his employment of Cecchetti, yet simultaneously strove to create a new aesthetic. This dichotomy was present from the very beginnings of the Ballets Russes. When first considering taking ballet to the West, in 1909, Diaghilev felt that he had to include the Maryinsky's *prima ballerina*, Matilda Kschessinskaya, 'a dancer in the traditional style, too set in her mould to adapt herself to Fokine's new plasticity of movement, and the choreographer objected to her participation'. See Buckle, *Nijinsky*, p.74. Yet in London, in November 1911, she partnered Nijinsky in the *Grand pas de deux* from the Petipa ballet *La Belle au bois dormant* (an excerpt which Diaghilev called *Aurore et le Prince* for this occasion). *Ibid.*, p.249. The inclusion in the repertoire of a both a Petipa ballet and a very traditional ballerina clearly demonstrates Diaghilev's dual attitude of challenging and satisfying his bourgeois audiences and, of course, of attempting to satisfy everyone in order to ensure commercial success.

The so-called Cecchetti Method, which all the Ballets Russes dancers were obliged to learn, was based on:

the Italian classical method which had evolved from the eighteenth-century ballet-master Carlo Blasis. This laid great stress on rigorous practice designed to achieve a disciplined technique, and on the movements of the upper part of the body, emphasizing the *port de bras*,⁴³ and so co-ordinating the movements of the arms and the head in order to develop the *épaulement*.⁴⁴ Cecchetti's lessons...followed a carefully worked-out schedule, based on daily loosening and strengthening work at the *barre* followed by centre practice that included several *adagios*. After that the pupil progressed to *allegro* movements which the maestro changed every day according to an established routine: Monday, *assemblés*;⁴⁵ Tuesday, *ballonnés*⁴⁶ and *sauts de basque en tournant*,⁴⁷ *temps de cuisse*,⁴⁸ and *bourrés*⁴⁹ of all kinds; Wednesday, *ronds de jambe*;⁵⁰ Thursday, *grands jetés*⁵¹ of all kinds; Friday, *batterie*⁵² and *cabrioles*;⁵³ Saturday, *coupés*.⁵⁴

Massine realised that Cecchetti's teaching 'was in essence opposed to the natural fluid movements of Fokine's choreography,⁵⁵ [but] 'the work I did with him helped

⁴³ Carriage of the arms. G.B.L. Wilson, in *A Dictionary of Ballet*, p.200, says that 'a graceful disposition of the arms in relation to the body, head and legs, is just as important to the dancer as good footwork.' I am indebted to Wilson for his explanation of this and the following details of dance technique.

⁴⁴ The placing of the shoulders.

⁴⁵ Leaps in which the dancer brings the feet together before alighting.

⁴⁶ A broad bouncing step.

⁴⁷ A turning step performed in the air with one leg straight and the other drawn up.

⁴⁸ A spring into the air.

⁴⁹ Small, even, staccato steps.

⁵⁰ A movement in which the extended leg sweeps round, for example, from front to back.

⁵¹ Leaps from one foot to the other.

⁵² A movement in which the feet beat together.

⁵³ A leap upwards in which one leg is extended outwards and the other is brought up to meet the first.

⁵⁴ A movement on *pointe* in which the weight is transferred from one foot to the other by a 'cutting away' movement. The Cecchetti Method is outlined by Massine in *My Life in Ballet*, p.55.

⁵⁵ Fokine had also been influenced by Isadora Duncan. Diaghilev wrote that 'Fokine was mad about her, and Duncan's influence on him was the initial basis of his entire creation'. Cited in Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.39,

me to attain the flexibility I needed to interpret those movements'.⁵⁶ Furthermore his interest in academic technique was such that in 1916 he acquired⁵⁷ first editions of the works of some great choreographers, dancers and composers from the past: Carlo Blasis (1797-1878)⁵⁸; Raoul Feuillet (1675-1730);⁵⁹ Louis Pécour (1655-1729); and Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764).⁶⁰ Massine writes: 'My study of them helped me to understand the principles underlying the method which I had been learning from Cecchetti, and I could see now that Fokine's theories, although quite revolutionary, had their roots in the system which had been established three hundred years ago'.⁶¹ In his own ballets, Massine simultaneously embraced classical technique, or freely adapted it like Fokine, or abandoned it altogether, as Nijinsky had done in *L'Après-midi d'un faune* (1912).⁶² When Marie Chabelska, as the Little American Girl, crossed 'the stage in a succession of convulsive leaps, her arms swinging widely',⁶³ it is clear that Massine had abandoned the traditional ballerina's *port de bras*. Yet the Acrobats in Part 3 performed a *pas de deux*, with pirouettes, arabesques and lifts.⁶⁴ Massine's approach, like Fokine's and Nijinsky's, was eclectic, depending on what effect he sought.

⁵⁶ Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.55..

⁵⁷ In *My Life in Ballet*, p.92, Massine says that he bought these at auction. García-Márquez, *Massine*., p.82 and Buckle, *Diaghilev*, p.318, say that Diaghilev bought them for him.

⁵⁸ His *Treatise on the Dance* (1820) and *The Code of Terpsichore* (1830) formed the basis of subsequent Classical ballet training. As Massine puts it: 'It was he who more than anyone was responsible for laying the groundwork of contemporary ballet...All his discoveries were still essential for ballet training, and were the basis of Cecchetti's own method'. Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.93.

⁵⁹ He was known for his system of dance notation, a subject Massine had studied at the Imperial Theatre School. Massine would go on to publish his own system of notation in 1976.

⁶⁰ The famous composer of operas and ballets who collaborated closely with his *maître de ballet*, Cahusac.

⁶¹ Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.93.

⁶² Garafola, in *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.57, writes that Nijinsky 'broke [movement] down, took it apart, and put it back together again...Nijinsky ... abandoned [virtuosity] entirely, along with the classical technique that supported it. *Faune* went back to basics. The dancers walked and pivoted, inclined, knelt, and in a single instance jumped'.

⁶³ Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.104.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.105

d) The importance of the visual arts in Massine's aesthetic

As we have seen in some of *Parade*'s choreography, Massine continued Fokine's and Nijinsky's dismantling of academicism but, aided and abetted by Diaghilev's enthusiastic assimilation of modernism, his main consideration was to create a work in which choreography took an equal place within a framework bounded by music, drama and visual art, but especially by visual art. In a key article of 1919 in which he expressed his philosophy, Massine wrote,

I believe that in the art of the ballet we must strive to reach a synthesis of movement and form, of choreography and plastic art, a blend in which the two essentials would be balanced, but with a certain inclination, perhaps, towards the plastic element.⁶⁵

Between 1914 and 1917 Massine learnt how to marry choreography (movement) with the ballet's design (form). This was a fundamentally different approach to that of his predecessors,⁶⁶ as he makes clear,

Fokin [sic] gave us pure movement; there is little space devoted in his creations to the plastic form. Nijinsky is a full contrast, a counterweight to Fokin: he sees in choreography not so much movement as form, a plastic art ignoring movement and often arresting it.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Massine, 'On Choreography and a New School of Dancing', in *Drama*, 1/3, Dec. 1919, pp.69-70.

⁶⁶ Fokine's *Cléopâtre* (1909), set in Egypt, contained an inappropriate Bacchanale choreographed for 'Greek maidens, accompanied by two satyrs'. See Beaumont, *Complete Book of Ballets*, p.697. Nijinsky's ballets, on the other hand, show greater awareness for overall design. Garafola, however, citing the biographer Arnold Haskell, suggests that the unusual two-dimensional frieze-like aspect to the choreography of *L'Après-midi d'un faune* was conceived more by Diaghilev and Bakst than by Nijinsky. See Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.52. As regards *Le Sacre du printemps* (1913), the art critic Roger Fry felt that 'dance and music had outstripped the scenic artists, [and] had arrived at a conception of formal unity which demanded something much more logically conceived than the casual decorative pictorial formula of the scenery'. Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.68.

⁶⁷ Massine, 'On Choreography and a New School of Dancing'.

Using movement, whether classical or not, as an essential component, Massine sought to integrate two-dimensional design, hitherto a separate entity from movement, with three-dimensional *plastique*, a philosophy not dissimilar to that of Picasso's cubism. The creation of the Managers was exactly that integration: the two-dimensional scenery became three-dimensional *décor qui bouge* (moving décor).⁶⁸ In Massine's hands, dance was to be an evocation and interpretation of the ballet's design.⁶⁹

It was Massine's early interest in the visual arts that led to his achieving this synthesis of movement and form. While still in Moscow he was taken by his friend, the dancer Nicholas Zverev,⁷⁰ to a private art school run by Anatoli Petrovich Bolchakov.⁷¹ The artist and Massine formed a lasting friendship and it was Bolchakov who first gave the dancer a wide-ranging artistic education. This encompassed Byzantine art, the Italian Renaissance, Impressionism and, most importantly for the years leading up to *Parade*, a taste for modernism through the works of the contemporary Russian artist, Michel Larionov. Not only would Larionov join Diaghilev's company in July 1916⁷² but under Diaghilev's instructions, he oversaw Massine's first forays into choreography.⁷³

⁶⁸ In *Aleko*, a ballet created in 1942, Massine also used dancers as part of the *mise-en-scène*: 'girls wearing black gloves, with arms extended in the form of a Latin cross, are held high in the air to make a background for the drama'. García-Márquez, *Massine*, p.296.

⁶⁹ This is exactly what Guillaume Apollinaire commented on in his programme notes for *Parade*'s premiere. He called it 'This new union – for up until now stage sets and costumes on the one hand and choreography on the other were only superficially linked'. This article was published a week before the performance, in *Excelsior*, 11 May 1917, and also formed the programme note for the premiere of the ballet on 18 May 1917. See Appendix.

⁷⁰ He would dance the role of the Acrobat in the premiere of *Parade*.

⁷¹ See García-Márquez, *Massine*, pp.20-1.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp.51ff..

⁷³ Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.73. Tatiana Loguine cites Massine's dedication to Larionov, written on a photograph in 1917: 'To dear Michel Feodorovitch, in memory of our work together and our friendship. His affectionate pupil: Léonide Massine, Paris, 1917'. ('Au cher Michel Feodorovitch, en souvenir de notre travail commun et de notre amitié. Son élève affectionné: Léonide Massine. Paris, 1917.') In Loguine's book the dedication is in French, but Massine undoubtedly wrote it in Russian. See Loguine, *Gontcharova et Larionov, cinquante ans à St. Germain des Prés*, p.53. Serge Grigoriev, Diaghilev's *régisseur*, saw the result of Larionov's tutelage in Massine's first performed ballet, *Le Soleil de nuit* (December 1915): '[I] was struck by its harmony. The outline of the dances, what one calls their architecture, was perfect. The ballet brimmed over with ideas, with new typically Russian steps; the female and male dances were well balanced. To my astonished question: "How did that happen?" they replied: "Larionov has helped Massine"'. ('[Je] fus frappé par son harmonie. Le plan des danses, ce qu'on appelle leur architecture, était parfait. Le ballet débordait de trouvailles, de pas originaux typiquement russes; les danses féminines et masculines y étaient bien équilibrées... A ma

Bolchakov laid the groundwork for Massine's artistic knowledge, but in 1914 Diaghilev immediately set about broadening it.⁷⁴ Even before Massine had appeared in *La Légende de Joseph*, Diaghilev 'explained that [José-María] Sert's setting had been inspired by the paintings of the great Venetian artists of the Renaissance period, Veronese and Tintoretto'.⁷⁵ Massine's reaction was to make 'a mental note to go and see the paintings of Titian, Veronese, and Tintoretto, to learn about Palladian architecture, to find out who Brunelleschi was'.⁷⁶ This thirst for knowledge was directed into thorough study for each ballet he choreographed.⁷⁷ Massine's first attempt at choreography, *Liturgie*, a ballet begun in late 1914 but never performed, shows how closely he attempted to match movement with form, even at this early stage.⁷⁸ It was to be a series of 'choreographic tableaux in the style of Byzantine mosaics and Italian primitives' with costumes by Natalia Goncharova and décors by Larionov.⁷⁹ Massine recounts how he 'devised a succession of angular gestures and

question étonnée: "Comment cela est-il arrivé?" on me répondit: "Larionov a aidé Massine!") *Ibid.*, p.107.

⁷⁴ By April 1917 Massine had acquired a very impressive art collection, either through gifts from Diaghilev, or works he had bought himself. García-Márquez, *Massine*, p.95, lists his collection as follows: 'two Baksts, one Braque, six Carràs, one de Chirico, five Deperos, one Derain, two Gleizeses, three Gontcharovas, three Grises, one Larionov, three Legers, three Lhôtes, six Picassos, four Riveras, one Severini, four Survages and two Zarregas'. In a very formal letter of 21 January 1917 from Rome to Picasso, Massine writes: 'Mr. Diaghilev has arranged a great treat for me, he has brought me your canvases. I live now surrounded by them. I am happy, no longer being alone, - I see them as I work and I have more confidence'. See Appendix for the original French version. This letter is in the Picasso Museum, AP.CS782.

⁷⁵ Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.46. But Diaghilev's comment to *Joseph's* librettists, Hugo Von Hofmannsthal and Count Harry Kessler is more illuminating. When they argued about the underlying philosophy of the ballet Diaghilev replied '...you must remember that this is a ballet, and our prime concern must be with its visual impact'. *Ibid.*, p.56.

⁷⁶ Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, pp.46-7.

⁷⁷ By the time of *Le Tricorne* (1919) Massine had studied Spanish flamenco dancing in Spain with genuine Spanish performers, and had also attempted to understand Spanish culture by attending bull-fights. He writes: 'I realised too that it was essentially the same elements in the Spanish temperament which had produced both their dances and their national sport'. Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.122.

⁷⁸ Grigoriev shows how much help Massine needed from Diaghilev in this, his first ballet. He writes: 'Massine needed constant help, advice, explanations about the conception of the ballet and daily supervision of his work'. ('Massine avait besoin de son aide constante, de ses conseils, des explications de l'oeuvre imaginée et du contrôle quotidien de son proper travail.') He gives this as a reason for the ballet not reaching the stage. Diaghilev was too busy with other things to see the ballet through to fruition. Loguine, *Gontcharova et Larionov*, p.107.

⁷⁹ Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.73.

stiff open-hand movements inspired by Cimabue's Virgin'.⁸⁰ He also underlines how he and Goncharova⁸¹ had a common aim:

In her costume sketches Goncharova emphasized such vital details as the Byzantine hand positions and the angular, in-turned arm movements of Christ for the scene of the Resurrection, evoking the effect I was striving for in my creation.⁸²

This method of working - turning visual art into choreography - was repeated throughout Massine's career. If he knew little about the subject, he studied until he did. For *Les Femmes de bonne humeur* (premiered in Rome in April 1917), Massine, following Diaghilev's advice, studied the painter Francesco Guardi and

others of the period, and I found that they did indeed help me to visualize the stylized manners of the time. From Watteau's 'Fêtes Galantes' I took the languorous gestures of the women, their delicate hand movements, and the ineffable sadness of their backward glances. Pietro Longhi, with his sharp sense of domestic detail, was an invaluable help when I came to do the choreography for the main scene, the supper party.⁸³

As we can see from the 'ineffable sadness' in the above extract, Massine's approach also meant that character depiction arose out of the movements and gestures that were a direct result of the visual art underpinning the ballet. Yet the movement and characterisation in *Parade* came from popular entertainment, not from a historical or ethnographic use of visual art, as was the case for Massine's previous ballets. Whereas the Chinese Conjuror's and Acrobats' roles were firmly fixed by the acts

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* See García-Marquez, *Massine*, p.54 for the photograph of rehearsals for *Liturgie*.

⁸¹ Gontcharova's name is also sometimes spelt Goncharova.

⁸² Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.73.

⁸³ Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.96.

seen in contemporary music hall and circus,⁸⁴ the Little American Girl's character was outlined by Cocteau in a series of wide-ranging phrases summarising American life,⁸⁵ most aspects of which would only have been known to the general public through film, whether from newsreel or feature films. Massine was known to be very interested in film:⁸⁶ in 1916 he bought his first camera, 'to shoot rehearsals and performances of his ballets';⁸⁷ in November 1916, while Massine was working in Rome, the Manifesto of Futurist Cinema was published in *Italia Futurista*, with the artist Giacomo Balla, a friend of Diaghilev and Massine, as one of its signatories;⁸⁸ and García-Márquez also states that Massine was fascinated with Charlie Chaplin.⁸⁹ But even with this keen cinematic interest and an eye for detail built up through study of the visual arts, Massine still required Cocteau's help in devising the choreography. Cocteau's letter of 22 February 1917 to his mother says: 'You would laugh to see me as a dancer, for Massine wants me to show him the smallest detail and I'm inventing the roles which he transforms there and then into choreography'.⁹⁰ Bearing in mind that Massine had received help from both Diaghilev and Larionov in the last two years, Cocteau's claim would appear to be completely justified, especially as it is made in a contemporary letter rather than showing Cocteau inflating his own role in *Parade* after the event. It is quite likely that Cocteau needed to teach Massine the movements and gestures of the Conjuror and possibly those of the Acrobats as well.⁹¹

⁸⁴ I have found no reference to Massine attending either music hall or circus before he conceived *Parade's* choreography. However, Cocteau's letter of 22 February 1917 from Rome to his mother says: 'Hier soir cirque'. He says that Diaghilev was in the party, but makes no mention of Picasso or Massine. But it is quite likely that Massine, Diaghilev's constant companion, also attended. See Appendix.

⁸⁵ See Appendix, letter of 1 May 1917.

⁸⁶ He went on to star in several films, one of which is the famous *The Red Shoes* (1947), directed by Michael Powell and starring Moira Shearer.

⁸⁷ García-Márquez, *Massine*, p.398, n.16. But in a letter of 4 July 1917, Massine told his former art teacher, Bolchakov: 'I take great interest in cinematography. I tried to shoot movies, but so far did not succeed'. *Ibid.* The films which he subsequently did shoot are now in the Dance Collection in New York Public Library.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.85.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* Also, Cocteau makes a point of mentioning cinema in his letters of 23 and 24 February 1917 from Rome to his mother. In the latter he says that in Rome cinema is 'la dixième muse'. See Appendix.

⁹⁰ See Appendix for the original French. Cocteau hints in the same letter that Massine has a tendency to over-complicate things, a feature of 'extreme youth'. Massine acknowledged that he had over-complicated the choreography of *Contes russes* (1917).

⁹¹ A piece of paper signed LM and included with Massine's letters to Picasso suggests that the choreographer did not research the topic of 'acrobats' until 1922. Although it is not a letter, it is dated

e) Massine and choreographic counterpoint

One of Massine's foremost contributions to choreography was his use of counterpoint, 'without which any effective ballet is impossible'.⁹² It was an aspect that he learnt slowly, through trial and error. The first editions of books on choreography by Blasis and Feuillet, acquired in 1916, taught him that 'the body includes various more or less independent structural systems each answerable only to itself, which must be coordinated according to choreographic harmony'.⁹³ By 1976 when he published his system of notation, *Massine on Choreography*, he was able to record the body's movements on three staves: one for the torso and head; one for the arms and shoulders; and one for the legs. But during late 1916 and early 1917 he was just beginning to put a contrapuntal style into practice in *Les Femmes de bonne humeur*, inventing 'broken, angular movements in the upper part of the body while

27 December (no year) and addressed from 33 Bloomsbury Street, London WC1. When Massine stayed in London with Diaghilev in 1918 and 1919 it was always at the Savoy Hotel. Only when the dancer had left the Ballets Russes in early 1921 did he stay elsewhere. A postcard to Picasso dated October 1922 is addressed from 38 Bloomsbury Street and the almost identical address would suggest that the undated December research also took place in 1922, Massine perhaps having made a mistake in writing the number of the house. In this comprehensive piece of research, Massine writes in depth about tight-rope walkers ('danseurs de corde'). He says: 'The art of tight-rope walking is very old. The Greeks knew them as 'Seocrabats' and the Romans as Hinambules: which confirms that the Ancients had four kinds of these dancers. The first were those which flew around a rope, like a wheel which turns around its hub and they hung by the neck or by the feet. The second were those which slid down a rope, on their stomachs, with their arms and legs extended. The third were those who ran along a rope hung in a straight line and even along another rope which sloped high to low. And the fourth were those who danced naturally on a rope tightened with a counter-weight like the one we see today. There were amongst these tight-rope dancers men who did dangerous jumps and who the Greeks called Cubists, and women who jumped across hoops decorated with daggers. Their acrobatic feats were surprisingly flexible and agile. LM'. ('L'art des danseurs de corde est de [sic] plus anciens. Chez les Grecs ils étaient connus sous le nom de "Seocrobates" et chez les Latins sous celui de Hinambulul: ce qui confirmerai [sic] chez les Anciens quatre sortes de ces danseurs. Les premiers étaient ceux qui voltigeaient autour d'une corde, comme une roue qui tourne autour de son essieu et qui se suspendaient par le coup [sic] ou par les pieds. Les seconds étaient ceux qui se coulaient du haut en bas sur une corde, appuyés sur l'estomac, ayant les bras et les jambes étendues. Les troisièmes étaient ceux qui couraient sur une longue corde tendue en droite ligne et même sur une autre tendue du haut en bas – et les quatrièmes étaient ceux qui dansaient naturellement sur une corde tendue avec le contre-poids comme nous le voyons aujourd'hui. Ils [sic] y avait entre eux les sauteur [sic] pour les sauts périlleux que les Grecs appelaient Cubistes, et des femmes qui sautaient au-travers des cerceaux garnis de points d'épées en devant, et qui faisaient quantité de tour [sic] de souplesses et d'agilités très surprenants. LM.') Musée Picasso, no catalogue number.

⁹² *Massine on Choreography*, p.15. This was published in 1976.

⁹³ Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.95. The books referred to are probably Carlo Blasis's *Traité élémentaire, théorique et pratique de l'Art de la Danse* (1820) and Raoul Feuillet's *Chorégraphie, ou l'Art de décrire la danse par caractères, figures et signes démonstratifs* (1700).

the lower limbs continued to move in the usual harmonic academic style'.⁹⁴ Massine attempted another type of counterpoint in the last scene of *Contes Russes*, premiered, like *Parade*, in May 1917. He tried to establish a counterpoint between the principal characters 'weaving to and fro among the corps de ballet, [but] each group overshadowed the next and it was impossible to see any of the movements clearly'. He continues:

When I saw the finished ballet I realized that I had still not grasped the basic principles of choreographic counterpoint, and I later got Larionov to help me revise it, clearing away much of the excess movement, simplifying the dances, and heightening the final impact.⁹⁵

In *Le Tricorne* (1919) Massine used yet another type of counterpoint by opposing folk and classical styles. Garafola calls it 'stylisation' because 'Massine imposed classical movements on the [Spanish] forms and rhythms he had learned'.⁹⁶ Yet his aim, as for all contrapuntal artists, was a 'fusion of opposing elements'.⁹⁷ In the ballets preceding *Parade* he was able to fuse classical dance with folk material in *Soleil de Nuit* as he would in *Le Tricorne*; classical with character dancing in *Les Femmes de bonne humeur*; and classical with new angular movement in the unperformed *Liturgie*.

He carried this contrapuntal principle into the relationship between choreography and music, something that he found difficult to resolve. In the article of 1919 he set out the problems encountered in fusing the two artforms:

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* Garafola sees this as an approach influenced by the Futurists: 'Under the tutelage of Larionov, Gontcharova, and the futurists, Massine hardened ballet's soft and "beautiful" line. He stanchied the flow and cramped the openness of classical movement and substituted contorted gestures for the rounded arms of the traditional *port de bras*'. *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.86.

⁹⁵ Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.101.

⁹⁶ Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.89.

⁹⁷ Regarding the Elgin marbles, which he saw in 1915, he wrote: 'The amplitude of the Parthenon, and the sense of natural movement conveyed by its asymmetrically disposed figures formed an interesting contrast to the pure symmetrical lines of the architecture of the building. It seemed to me that this fusion of opposing elements, which the Greeks understood instinctively, was exactly what I was aiming at in my choreography'. *My Life in Ballet*, p.166.

In the beginning this relationship was merely casual and extremely primitive. Producers of ballets ... composed dances to any music, adjusted or adapted their dances to given tunes, and so on. Nijinsky and Fokin [sic] believed in a complete correspondence in the development of a musical and choreographic idea, that music and movement are analogous. Nijinsky developed this belief to its extreme possibility in "Le Sacre Printemps" [sic] under the influence of Dalcroze. And one can dare to say that "Le Sacre Printemps" was the greatest fruit of the Dalcroze theory. I personally am extremely obliged to Nijinsky for proving that this theory of the analogy of movement and music is wrong...he so accentuated the rhythm of Stravinsky's music that he made it quite unbearable to the ear in conjunction with the choreographic movement, and so killed himself as choreograph, as that which could be listened to could not be looked at.⁹⁸

Massine was asked by Diaghilev to re-choreograph *Le Sacre* in 1920. He began by discussing the project with Stravinsky who felt that 'Nijinsky had made a mistake in following too closely the rhythms of the score'.⁹⁹ Massine attempted to reinforce the impact of the music by deliberately not imitating it as Nijinsky had done. Stravinsky pointed out that whereas Nijinsky had counted every bar, Massine based his choreography on phrases of several bars, which resulted in 'the free connection of the choreographic construction with the musical construction'.¹⁰⁰

f) Massine and music

Although Massine's study of art is well-documented, his studious attitude towards music and his wide knowledge of it are less well-known. His remarks in 1919 about

⁹⁸ Massine, 'On Choreography and a New School of Dancing'.

⁹⁹ Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.151.

¹⁰⁰ From an article in *The Observer*, 3 July 1921, cited by García-Márquez, *Massine*, p.156.

Nijinsky's treatment of the music of *Le Sacre* music show how deeply he thought about the relationship between choreography and music. Massine's parents were both professional classical musicians¹⁰¹ and he had learned the violin with a member of the Bolshoi orchestra and also played the balalaika. As a student in Moscow he had heard the dancer Maximilian Froman play New Orleans jazz on the piano and he enjoyed dancing to these jazzy rhythms.¹⁰² In January 1916 the Ballets Russes toured America and Massine was able to hear ragtime played by the band in the Plaza Hotel, New York.¹⁰³ He had first heard Satie's music *chez* Misa Edwards on 28 July 1914 when Satie and Ricardo Viñes played *Trois morceaux en forme de poire*.¹⁰⁴

In a conversation with García-Márquez in 1978, Massine said that before he began work on *Parade* he had choreographed Satie's *Gymnopédies* for the Marchesa Casati. García-Márquez writes: 'This gave him an opportunity to experiment with Satie's music and to expose himself further to the composer's style before staging *Parade*'.¹⁰⁵ Whilst this not only highlights yet again Massine's studious approach to his work, one wonders how the tranquil *Gymnopédies* prepared him for the complete contrast of *Parade*'s music. More importantly it suggests that Massine, in needing to familiarise himself with Satie's style, did not begin work on the choreography of *Parade* until the rehearsals in Rome, at which Satie was not present. Although Massine and Satie had met on several occasions while the music for *Parade* was being composed, correspondence between various parties in January and February 1917 suggests that Massine only worked with the completed score. Massine's letter of 27 January 1917 to Cocteau shows that he was looking forward to working with Cocteau 'and our dear Satie'. It also refers to 'this project ... to which I must now give an outer form worthy of our common effort', which suggests that no choreographic work had yet begun.¹⁰⁶ In a letter written to Picasso from Rome on the

¹⁰¹ His father played the French horn in the Bolshoi Theatre orchestra, and his mother was a soprano in the Bolshoi Theatre chorus. Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, pp.11-12.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p.24.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.86.

¹⁰⁴ García-Márquez, *Massine*, p.42.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.91.

¹⁰⁶ In the same letter Massine thanks Cocteau for 'the extraordinary little book devoted to your Chinaman'. See Appendix for the full text of this letter.

same day Massine asks: 'When shall we begin our work? I wish it were already complete, a success, and that you were satisfied with your collaboration with me'. More importantly he continues: 'I'll see you again in Paris, during spring whose splendour will bring us luck'.¹⁰⁷ What is also clear is that Massine at this stage did not expect to rehearse *Parade* in Rome in February, as subsequently happened.¹⁰⁸ We know that Diaghilev expected Satie to go to Rome with Cocteau and Picasso at some stage (see Cocteau's letter of 11 February 1917 to Valentine Gross).¹⁰⁹ But by 15 February Cocteau was writing to Valentine Gross that 'We're leaving tomorrow without Satie'.¹¹⁰ It would seem that Satie had chosen not to go with them, quite possibly because he wanted to work on *Socrate*, his new commission from the Princesse de Polignac, as well as on the orchestration of *Parade*. Also he hated any form of travel away from Paris, and the expense that went with it.

The fact that Massine did not insist on working with Satie during rehearsals in Rome was not unusual at this stage of his career. Of the five ballets that he created for Diaghilev before *Parade*,¹¹¹ none had music specially commissioned by a living composer: *Las Meninas* used the *Pavane* (1887: Op. 50), an existing work by Gabriel

¹⁰⁷ Letter in Musée Picasso, AP.CS782. See Appendix for full text.

¹⁰⁸ Picasso's letter of agreement sent to Diaghilev on 11 January 1917 states that the designs would be ready by 15 March and includes the proviso that he would be paid one thousand francs extra if he had to go to Rome, so this trip was certainly something which had been discussed. My own feeling is that once the music was ready, as it was by 12 February 1917, and Diaghilev was happy with it, as he was (Satie's letter of the same date to Henri-Pierre Roché makes this clear), Diaghilev saw the possibility of including *Parade* in his performances in Rome (or Naples or Florence) in April 1917 as a trial run before the Paris season which had already been arranged. The departure date was then brought forward to 17 February.

¹⁰⁹ What is interesting is that no date is yet mentioned for this visit. Cocteau simply refers to Diaghilev 'carrying us off in his cyclone'. See Appendix. On 11 February 1917 Cocteau also wrote to Apollinaire indicating that a possible visit to Barcelona was planned by the two writers in the immediate future. Cocteau writes: 'I am still detained by my cold, by the ministry and by Diaghilev who is here for a few days... Will you go to Barcelona? ...If we go there together, all well and good, if you go there alone I will nurse my cold – I won't go alone'. See Caizergues et Décaudin (eds.), *Correspondance Guillaume Apollinaire/Jean Cocteau*, p.20. See Appendix. The visit to Rome was finally fixed, therefore, at some time between 12 and 15 February.

¹¹⁰ 'Partons demain sans Satie.' In fact, Satie's letter of 18 February 1917 suggests that Picasso and Cocteau left for Rome on 17 February. See Appendix.

¹¹¹ *Liturgie* (never performed), *Soleil de Nuit* (1915), *Las Meninas* (1916), *Kikimora* (1916), *Les Femmes de Bonne Humeur* (1917), and *Contes russes* (1917).

Fauré.¹¹² *Les Femmes de Bonne Humeur* was set to music by Domenico Scarlatti which Diaghilev asked the young Italian composer, Vincenzo Tommasini, to orchestrate.¹¹³ The remaining ballets had music by composers who were dead: Rimsky-Korsakov and Liadov, and, in the case of *Liturgie*, Diaghilev had intended to use no music at all during the dancing, but wanted Russian church music to be played in the interludes between the dances. Prior to *Parade*, Massine had no opportunity, therefore, to collaborate directly with composers. This was very different from his approach in later ballets when his collaboration with a composer directly affected the choreography. For example, regarding *Pulcinella* (1920), Buckle writes:

Diaghilev had given Massine to understand that Stravinsky was scoring the Pergolesi for a large orchestra 'with harps' whereas the composer had settled for a small orchestra and a wind quartet, with songs for soprano, tenor and bass. There were no harps, no clarinets and no percussion instruments. The 'volume' of Massine's choreography had to be reduced in consequence. Stravinsky made several trips from Switzerland to adjust matters.¹¹⁴

By the time of *Mercure* in 1924, when Massine once again collaborated with Satie, Massine appeared to dictate not only the pace of composition but also some of the details. Satie's letter of 7 April 1924 told Massine: 'It is impossible for me to go more quickly, my dear Friend: I can't promise you a work which I could not justify. You who are conscience personified will understand me'.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, Robert Orledge states that Satie 'even took the exceptional step of adding 15 bars at the start of no. 4 [of *Mercure*] 'Signes du zodiaque', and 16 bars at the start of the 'Nouvelle danse' (no.11) to accommodate Massine's ideas, for these are not present in his

¹¹² Massine recalls how Diaghilev suggested this music for a Spanish ballet because of 'its haunting echoes of Spain's golden age'. *My Life in Ballet*, p.90.

¹¹³ This was the first neo-classical ballet and made a very interesting contrast with the modern, everyday reality of *Parade*, especially as they were both produced in 1917.

¹¹⁴ Buckle, *Diaghilev*, p.361.

¹¹⁵ 'Il m'est impossible d'aller plus vite, mon cher Ami: je ne puis vous promettre un travail qui ne serait pas défendable par moi. Vous qui êtes la conscience personnifiée me comprendrez.' Volta, *Erik Satie, correspondance presque complète*, p. 606.

original piano reduction'.¹¹⁶ In 1917, however, Massine had neither the confidence nor the experience to deal directly with composers. This was left to Diaghilev.

Without Satie in Rome it is clear that Massine had no influence on the music of *Parade*, as first Cocteau and then Picasso had done. Prior to final rehearsals in Paris in May 1917, Massine's meetings with Satie had been fleeting, to say the least. A letter of 10 October 1916, from Cocteau to Misia Edwards, shows that Massine and Diaghilev met Satie, Picasso and Cocteau in Paris *chez* Eugenia Errazuriz. It appears to have been a preliminary meeting, however, and certainly not one in which Massine was able to outline his choreographic ideas in any detail, especially as Satie did not complete *Parade* until 1 January 1917.¹¹⁷ On 7 January, however, Satie wrote to Valentine Gross that he had an appointment to show Diaghilev his score the following day,¹¹⁸ and on 9 January Satie refers to 'what Diaghilew [sic] asks for [being] very reasonable', presumably meaning the alterations requested by Diaghilev which Satie worked on during the next few weeks.¹¹⁹ On 11 January Satie ended his letter to Picasso with the following: 'Diaghilev and Massine send you their best wishes'. It would seem that Massine accompanied Diaghilev to Paris during this brief visit in January and, as Diaghilev's constant companion, he would certainly have heard the music to *Parade* and given his opinion.¹²⁰ Massine had already shown a preference in his ballets for exciting finales: *Soleil de nuit* (1915) ended with a dance of the Buffoons containing 'interwoven leaps, twists and turns'. It was so energetic that 'when the Buffoons entered carrying pigs' bladders on sticks, they banged them on the ground with such force that some of them shot into the orchestra pit'.¹²¹ Likewise, in the final scene of *Kikimora* (1916), 'the music swelled to a crescendo,

¹¹⁶ See Orledge, 'Erik Satie's Ballet *Mercure* (1924): From Mount Etna to Montmartre', p.245, in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 123, 1998, p.245

¹¹⁷ See Appendix.

¹¹⁸ See Appendix.

¹¹⁹ See Appendix for the letters of 9 January 1917, 11 January 1917 and 12 February 1917.

¹²⁰ Diaghilev expected Massine to be involved in musical decisions. In November 1916 the impresario hired a pianist to play through the five hundred sonatas by Domenico Scarlatti in preparation for *Les Femmes de bonne humeur*. According to Buckle: 'Massine and he took their time and made their choice [of twenty sonatas]'. Buckle, *Diaghilev*, p.318.

¹²¹ Massine, *My Life in Ballet*, p.75-6.

and the entire company entered to dance a joyous *chorovod*.¹²² In January 1917 *Parade* was due to end with a single Acrobat on stage,¹²³ hardly the exciting ending which Massine might have envisaged. It is quite likely, therefore, that he was the driving force behind the addition of the extra music which eventually became the ‘Suprême effort et chute des Managers’, a lively reprise of the vulgar music Satie had intended for the opening of the ballet, before the *Prélude du rideau rouge* was added in December 1916.¹²⁴ Massine’s handwritten comments on page 46 of the Frederick Koch score show frenetic activity by the dancers, Zverev and Lopokova. As the two Acrobats, they alternately take three bows each, presumably running to frontstage each time, and ending with a bow taken together. This happens in the space of approximately eighteen seconds. At the same time Cocteau’s handwritten notes indicate the presence of the Managers onstage and include on pages 43 bis and 44 bis their intended shouts which would have added to the cacophony.¹²⁵ This would have been a riotous ending to match that of *Kikimora*.¹²⁶

g) Massine’s realist choreography

It is important to understand how Massine’s choreography added to the realist intent of *Parade*. His desire to characterise dancers through an eclectic approach, using all kinds of appropriate movements, not just those from the classical repertoire, was an important starting point. The fact that in this particular ballet Massine was dealing with ‘real’ people from a ‘real’ situation meant that his choreography had to be even more precise than usual. The movements he gave the dancers were the choreographic equivalent of Picasso’s references in his cubist paintings to real newspapers, real

¹²² *Ibid.*, p.100.

¹²³ The second Acrobat was only included during rehearsals in Rome, Part 3 of the Frederick Koch score being headed ‘Acrobate’.

¹²⁴ See my discussion in Chapter 3.

¹²⁵ Cocteau also indicates down the side of page 46 of the Frederick Koch score that ‘When this vulgar noise [i.e. this section’s music] starts up again, the manager of the Chinese conjuror gets up and starts the same shouting as he did on page 4’. (‘A la reprise du tintamarre le manager du Chinois se redresse et recommence ses vociférations de la page 4.’) Cocteau also writes at the bottom of page 46: ‘Picasso’s CURTAIN falls here, during his shouts’. (‘Le RIDEAU de Picasso tombe là, pendant ses cris.’) This intended return to the earlier material of *Parade* would have emphasised the circularity of the overall musical structure discussed in Chapter 3.

¹²⁶ Massine had even more scope for a riotous ending when Satie’s *Final* was added in 1919.

drinks and real songs. The detailed mimetic choreography for characters who were completely fictional blurred the distinction, just as cubism had, between what was real and what was not. Massine was able to bring these characters alive in an uncannily sharp fashion and, in doing so, he underlined Cocteau's theme that it is only the 'real' that has the power to move people and allow them to engage with an artwork. Massine's choreography therefore added a vital point of engagement for the audience, in addition to those provided by Cocteau, Picasso and Satie (utterly recognisable characters, costumes and musical style). But art, as Cocteau and Picasso strove to point out, is by its very nature artificial, and Massine had also to deal with the two eleven-foot Managers whose carcasses prevented them from moving in a normal balletic fashion. For these dancers, Massine could only concentrate on the movement of the feet. This not only underlined the Managers' frenetic nature, again parodying the reality of the fairground, but, more importantly, reduced the choreography to its very essence, pure footwork. Its rhythms (written out on p.32 of the Frederick Koch score) were not hidden beneath the sound of the orchestra, but were intended to be heard as a solo, thus highlighting yet again the ballet's realist aesthetic of returning to basics in all its artforms. Massine was exactly the right choreographer for the ballet: his mimetic qualities and his understanding of the principles of contemporary art, as well as his belief in the vital links between movement and design meant that the choreography of *Parade* fitted perfectly into its aesthetic of renewal.

6: Diaghilev and *Parade*

Art and life are indivisible and reflect each other.

Serge Pavlovich Diaghilev¹

a) Diaghilev's background

Diaghilev's Ballets Russes emerged directly from a Russian artistic *milieu* that had been debating realism within the context of nationalism since the mid-1800s. As we saw in Chapter 1, realism was a topic that, in a century of revolution, swept through Europe. In Russia the literature of Gogol, Turgenev and Tolstoi already reflected the reality of Russian life during the mid-nineteenth century.² But the visual arts were still based in the historical and mythological painting favoured by the St. Petersburg Academy. Painting was slower than literature to depict life in contemporary Russia. When it did, shortly after the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, in the work of the fervently realist Itinerants, the resulting debate was fierce.³ As Diaghilev's manifesto

¹ These words, important enough to be in italics in the original text, are taken from the fourth part of Diaghilev's artistic manifesto, 'Complicated Questions', that appeared in the first two issues of *Mir Isskustva (World of Art)*. Parts 1 and 2 of the manifesto, entitled respectively 'Our Supposed Decline' and 'The Eternal Conflict', were printed in Vol. 1, nos. 1-2, November 1898. Parts 3 and 4, 'The Search for Beauty' and 'Principles of Art Criticism' appeared in Vol. 1, nos. 3-4, February 1899. Although Diaghilev, as editor-in-chief of the magazine, signed the manifesto, it is thought that his cousin, Dmitrii Filosofov, wrote it. The point is an academic one, however, because Diaghilev's artistic activities, from the beginning to the end of his career, were conducted (usually as a *primus inter pares*) as part of a like-minded group of friends and colleagues. See Joan Acocella, 'Diaghilev's "Complicated Questions"' p.71ff. in Garafola and Van Norman Baer (eds.) *The Ballets Russes and Its World*, as well as the excellent online Russian Visual Arts Project based at Sheffield University, <http://hri.shef.ac.uk/rva/research.html> This website contains many translations of Russian texts which are unavailable elsewhere (including parts 2 and 3 of Diaghilev's manifesto).

² Turgenev's *Khor and Khalynich* (1852) painted a sympathetic picture of the serfs, making its author unpopular with the government. See *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*, Vol.II, p.1291. Glyn Turton's essay 'The historical context of [Turgenev's] *Fathers and Sons*' shows the strength of the realist debate in literature in Russia: 'By the time Turgenev wrote his major works – the late 1850s and early 1860s – truth bearing had come to be seen as part of the mission of Russian literature.... Turgenev insisted that "to reproduce the truth, the reality of life accurately and powerfully, is the literary man's highest joy, even if that truth does not correspond to his own sympathies"'. Here Turton cites Turgenev's 'Apropos of *Fathers and Sons*' in *Fathers and Sons*. See Turton's essay in Dennis Walder (ed.) *The Realist Novel*, p.176.

³ The Itinerants (in Russian *Peredvizhniki*), also known as the Wanderers or Vagrants because of their travelling exhibitions, came together in 1863, when 'a group of artists...declared their secession from the [St Petersburg] Academy of Art... two years after the emancipation of the serfs. The thirteen artists who made this heroic gesture of apparent economic suicide were inspired by ideals of "bringing art to the people" ...they sought to justify their activity by making their art "useful" to society'. They

in *World of Art* demonstrates, realism as opposed to 'art for art's sake' continued to be a subject for intense discussion.⁴ Nevertheless a large and diverse groundswell of artists, including those who came to form Diaghilev's circle, emerged directly out of the realist Itinerant movement.⁵ Diaghilev acknowledged as much in his review of 'The Wandering [Itinerant] Exhibition' of 5 and 9 March 1897: 'it is from this group and from this exhibition that we should expect a new trend that will win us our place in European art'.⁶ These prophetic words heralded the long-awaited impetus for Russian art and culture that Diaghilev would adopt as a direct outcome of the Itinerant realist movement. During the next twenty years, his various projects swept through Europe, giving, as a by-product, a new voice to a large number of non-Russian artists such as Cocteau, Satie and Picasso.⁷

In 1890, aged 18, Diaghilev was introduced by his cousin, Dmitrii Filosofov, to the circle of friends who would become his collaborators and colleagues. Filosofov,⁸

believed that art 'should be primarily concerned with, and subordinate to, reality'. Camilla Gray, *The Russian Experiment in Art 1863-1922*, p.9. The fierce debate ensued partly because of the political implications behind the Itinerants' work: they sought to use the realist content of their work as a tool for social reform; but partly because they saw non-depiction of reality as 'an empty diversion'. *Ibid.*, p.10.

⁴ As Joan Acocella writes: 'The conflict between realism and [...] anti-realist movements was the major issue in Western art in the second half of the nineteenth century'. In Garafola and Van Norman Baer (eds.) *The Ballets Russes and Its World*, p.71.

⁵ Unlike the Itinerants, whose movement began at the time of emancipation of the serfs, the *World of Art* group had no overt political intent, but it is interesting to note that many of Diaghilev's circle 'contributed caricatures and drawings to anti-governmental satirical journals' during the upheavals of 1905-6. Alexander Benois was one of the few who 'avoided any involvement' in politics, seeing it as 'a mundane social activity unworthy of an artist'. See Alexey Makhrov, 'Introduction to Benois's article "Heresies in Art"' on the Russian Visual Arts website. Benois published his article in *The Golden Fleece* (1906, no. 2). Even though not politically active, Diaghilev must have been known for his pro-Revolutionary sympathies because at the time of the March Revolution in 1917 he was invited to become the new Minister of the Fine Arts. See Buckle, *Diaghilev*, p.325. When, after the Revolution, Diaghilev had to find another Russian anthem to play at performances, he asked Stravinsky to orchestrate the Volga Boatmen song. This orchestration is dated 8 April 1917 (see Buckle, *Diaghilev*, p.568, n.282). The choice is significant because the subject of the Volga Boatmen had been used by the most famous of the Itinerant painters, Ilya Repin, and Diaghilev would certainly have known this realist painting.

⁶ Written for the *Novosti i birzhevaia gazeta* and reproduced in Garafola and Van Norman Baer (eds.), *The Ballets Russes and Its World*, p.49.

⁷ Especially after the beginning of World War I when most of the Parisian avant-garde artists and musicians were involved in the Ballets Russes.

⁸ Diaghilev kept his inner circle of friends and colleagues for a very long time. Filosofov, the most literary member of Diaghilev's circle, worked closely with him on the *World of Art* magazine as well as on associated exhibitions until 1905 when they quarrelled. They did not meet again until 1928. See Buckle, *Diaghilev*, pp.87 and 506-7.

Alexandre Benois⁹ and Walter Nuvel¹⁰ had been friends at school in St Petersburg where they had formed a society, the Nevsky Pickwickians. They continued to meet as students 'to develop their ideas on art and to define their feeling of a mission to create a new art-conscious intelligentsia in Russia'.¹¹ In 1890 the painter Leon Bakst¹² joined them and subsequently so did Valentin Serov,¹³ Konstantin Korovin¹⁴ and Nicholas Roerich,¹⁵ all future Ballets Russes designers. This core of artists went on as a group with Diaghilev to found the *World of Art* magazine, to put on important exhibitions of Russian and other art, and ultimately to stage Russian opera and ballet. The backgrounds of these artists and those who subsequently joined Diaghilev's

⁹ Benois's career spanned virtually the whole of Diaghilev's working life. In the mid 1880s as a student at the St Petersburg Academy of Arts he met the Itinerant painter Nesterov and also became great friends with Valentin Serov who had studied there with the most famous of the Itinerants, Ilya Repin. See Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.16. Benois was deeply involved in the *World of Art* and subsequently with the Ballets Russes. Prior to 1914 he undertook the design for seven operas and ballets that Diaghilev took to Paris. After the war he returned from Russia to design *Le Médecin malgré lui* and *Philémon et Baucis* (both operas first produced in January 1924). Benois was, by family and instinct, a true internationalist but nevertheless the artistic magazines which he founded mainly after the demise of the *World of Art* in 1904 'were the first attempts to relate Russian movements in art to their European counterparts. The history of Byzantine traditions in Russia is likewise traced, and the sources of Russian folk-art'. See Gray, *The Russian Experiment in Art*, p.66. The magazines were *The Artistic Treasury of Russia* (1903), *The Old Years* (1907) and *Apollon* (1909).

¹⁰ In 1928 Nuvel was still sufficiently part of Diaghilev's inner circle to advise him against putting on a joint season with Meyerhold's troupe. See Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.249. It was thanks to Nuvel's society, 'Evenings of Contemporary Music' that Diaghilev first heard the unknown Stravinsky's *Fireworks* in 1909 in St Petersburg. See Gray, *The Russian Experiment in Art*, p.66.

¹¹ See Gray, *The Russian Experiment in Art*, chapter 2.

¹² His real name was Lev Rosenberg. He had been a pupil of Pavel Chistyakov, the teacher of all the most important members of the Itinerants, including Ilya Repin, who was, according to Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.14: 'the greatest living exponent of Russian realism' (he died in 1930). As Gray writes: 'Bakst...[in 1890] was full of ideas of the value of absolute realism in painting. Thinking along these lines, he painted the Madonna as an old woman, her eyes red with weeping over her dead Son'. *The Russian Experiment in Art*, p.40. By 1917 Bakst had worked on no fewer than 16 operas and ballets for Diaghilev.

¹³ Serov, who died in 1911, designed the scenery of the opera *Judith*, staged by Diaghilev in 1909, as well as the poster for the first Ballets Russes season in Paris, in the same year. His realist credentials were extremely strong, having been taught by Repin and Chistyakov. As a boy his home was in the pro-realist artistic colony at Abramtsevo. According to Buckle: 'Serov and Benois were the only people Diaghilev turned to for advice'. *Diaghilev*, p.73. Serov taught Mikhail Larionov and Natalia Goncharova at the Moscow Art College.

¹⁴ Korovin, a pupil of Repin's friend, Polenov, was introduced to Abramtsevo as a theatrical designer in the 1880s. These productions revolutionised theatre by using professional artists to paint décor as part of a unified production. Gray says: 'Thus a synthesis emerged, a dramatic unity. Stanislavsky [who] ... often used to come and perform in these domestic productions ... has attributed to them the birth of his 'realistic theatre' which in its turn has been so influential in the West'. *The Russian Experiment in Art*, p.24. Prior to 1917 Korovin was involved in five of Diaghilev's operas and ballets.

¹⁵ Roerich also worked at the pro-realist Abramtsevo. Before 1917 he, like Korovin, worked on five Diaghilev productions, most notably *Le Sacre du printemps* (1913).

enterprise¹⁶ show the strong influence of the realist movement that, as we have seen, pervaded Russia at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. The Itinerants' socially useful purpose in revealing the reality of contemporary Russia to the ordinary Russian people was developed by Diaghilev and his circle into a more systematic search for the 'Russianness' that had been all but lost since the time of Peter the Great when 'everything Russian had been dismissed as barbarous and boorish, and "culture" had come to mean something essentially foreign'.¹⁷ Diaghilev's mission, however, was just as fervent as that of the Itinerants. Like the artists in Abramtsevo¹⁸ he sought out all things Russian, from the medieval to the modern, in order to demonstrate Russia's artistic heritage not only to Russia itself¹⁹ but also to Western Europe, in the hope of making Russia a key player in artistic terms, every bit as strong as France, Germany or Italy.

The importance of Abramtsevo's example in the building of Diaghilev's enterprise cannot be overstated. This estate was founded in 1870 by Savva Mamontov, a Moscow businessman who had made his fortune in the railways and who was determined to foster Russian culture. When he bought Abramtsevo he continued the

¹⁶ There are many examples. Ivan Bilibin was a pupil of Ilya Repin, who then worked on the *World of Art*, on the opera *Boris Godunov* (1908) and the ballet *Le Festin* (1909). Mstislav Dobujinsky worked for Stanislavsky before designing the scenery for *Papillons* and *Midas*, both ballets of 1914. Alexander Golovin worked at Abramtsevo before being involved in four Diaghilev works, most notably Stravinsky's *L'Oiseau de feu* (1910). Sergei Sudeikine worked for Stanislavsky in 1905 and subsequently designed *La Tragédie de Salomé* (1913) by Florent Schmitt for Diaghilev. Goncharova and Larionov were students of Serov and Kolovin before exhibiting works at the 1906 *World of Art* exhibition. They became part of the Ballets Russes team in 1914 (*Le Coq d'or* by Rimsky-Korsakov was designed by Goncharova).

¹⁷ Gray, *The Russian Experiment in Art*, p.10. Buckle, *Diaghilev*, p.19 adds that '[Tchaikovsky's] *The Sleeping Beauty* had been coldly received at the dress rehearsal. The Emperor ... had even snubbed Tchaikovsky ... What St Petersburg society really enjoyed was French or Italian opera, sung by stars of international celebrity'.

¹⁸ Diaghilev was brought up, not in the cosmopolitan St. Petersburg, but in the provincial Perm, a city on the border of European and Asian Russia. Perm's cultural life, similar to that of Abramtsevo, focused on Russian regional arts. This was an important source of Diaghilev's lifelong interest in Russianness (he became a passionate collector of Russian books and manuscripts). See Chapter 1 of Garafola and Van Norman Baer (eds.), *The Ballets Russes and Its World*.

¹⁹ In the late nineteenth century artistic Russia was divided into two camps. One was the 'all-powerful Petersburg Academy of Art whose half-courtly, half-bureaucratic system had entirely controlled the artistic life of the country since its foundation by Empress Elizabeth in 1757'. See Gray, *The Russian Experiment in Art*, p.9. St Petersburg looked firmly to the West instead of towards Russia itself. The other camp was that of Moscow which was beginning to point the way towards an indigenous Russian art.

tradition of its former owner, the writer Sergei Aksakov, who had welcomed there many writers such as Gogol. As Camilla Gray writes: 'what Abramtsevo had been to the writers of the forties, it was to be for the painters of the seventies'.²⁰ It was at Abramtsevo that traditional arts and crafts such as woodcarving and embroidery were revived, medieval architecture and painting were studied, and scholarly work on icon painting was undertaken. In order to facilitate all of this, visits to other parts of Russia were arranged. A museum of peasant art was founded and a church built in medieval style. Most importantly for Diaghilev, Mamontov staged theatrical productions, such as *The Snow Maiden* in 1883,²¹ in which different branches of Russian, not European, arts were combined in the same unified, group-based manner that Diaghilev would use in his opera and ballet productions. Diaghilev visited Abramtsevo in 1898, ostensibly to seek financial backing from Mamontov for *World of Art*. Many years later Diaghilev gave an interview in the United States of America in which he described himself at the time of *World of Art* as a 'revolutionist...fighting for the cause of Russian art'.²² Linking his work with the kind of project begun at Abramtsevo, he continued: 'In objects of utility (domestic implements in country districts), in the painting on sleds, in the designs and the colours of peasant dresses, or the carving around a window frame, we found our motives, and on this foundation we built. And this self-realisation in Russia, consequent on a movement which had its inception some years previous in the creations of Russian authors and musicians,²³ has borne considerable fruit'. This important declaration, made at a time when the Ballets Russes was changing direction towards a more modernist, ostensibly less Russian approach,²⁴ shows how Diaghilev's fundamentally realist philosophy was

²⁰ Gray, *The Russian Experiment in Art*, p.13. I am indebted to Gray for her excellent account of Mamontov's work.

²¹ The music was by Rimsky-Korsakov (Diaghilev's teacher), the designs, in medieval Russian style, by Victor Vasnetsov. See Gray, *The Russian Experiment in Art*, p.24. Diaghilev regarded Vasnetsov as 'the radiant sign of the new Russia' and included examples of his work in the first number of *World of Art* in October 1898. See Gray, p.48. Russian singers such as Feodor Chaliapin were first promoted by Mamontov.

²² Cited in Buckle, *Diaghilev*, p.299. The interview was given in New York on 16 January 1916.

²³ Diaghilev refers here to authors such as Gogol and composers such as Dargomijsky (whose realist opera, *The Stone Guest*, with its continuous dialogue, greatly influenced Mussorgsky).

²⁴ Although Diaghilev had produced some non-Russian works before 1914 (Debussy's *L'Après-midi d'un faune*, and *Jeux*, and Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé* being the outstanding examples), it was only after 1918 that the new repertoire of the Ballets Russes turned sharply towards European composers and

based in the nationalism which he wholeheartedly embraced from the time of *World of Art*.

In order to achieve this, Diaghilev had had the vision to draw together a group of artists who each had a particular expertise in capturing the essence of Russia. Nicholas Roerich, for example, was passionate about archaeology. From the 1890s he took part in digs and contributed essays about these discoveries to historical journals.²⁵ Garafola says that Roerich 'embarked on a scholarly quest centred on the art and religious rites of the ancient Slavs'.²⁶ Stravinsky knew Roerich's particular strengths, in the same way that Diaghilev must have known them. In 1912 the composer wrote to Nikolai Findeizen, the editor of *Russian Newspaper*: 'I wanted to compose the libretto [of *Le Sacre du printemps*] with Roerich because who else ... knows the secret of our ancestors' close feeling for the earth?'.²⁷ Other artists were chosen in the same way. When preparing the costumes of *Boris Godunov* in 1908, Diaghilev

had sent out a sort of expedition under the painter Bilibine, the well-known expert on old Russia, to search the northern provinces, particularly those of Arkhangelsk and Vologda. Bilibine went from village to village buying up from the peasants a mass of beautiful hand-woven sarafans, head-dresses and embroidery, which had been hoarded in chests for centuries.²⁸

designers. One of the reasons for this was that between 1914 and 1921 Russia was isolated. As Gray says: 'From the beginning of the century Russia had been a centre of a continuous meeting and exchange of ideas from all over Europe. With the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 she was thrown back on her own resources. During this period of enforced isolation, which was to last throughout the war and ensuing Revolutionary period until the break in the blockade in 1921, Moscow and Petrograd, as it was now called, became the scenes of a fierce, concentrated activity among the artists'. *The Russian Experiment in Art*, p.185. Diaghilev, of course, was 'thrown back' on his own resources too, which were European or Russian émigré ones only.

²⁵ Gray, *The Russian Experiment in Art*, p.43.

²⁶ Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.64.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ This is from Diaghilev's memoirs, translated from the original Russian by Boris Kochno and catalogued as Pièce 122 in the Fonds Kochno. I have used Buckle's translation in *Diaghilev*, p.105.

Diaghilev's championing of Natalia Goncharova's work and the commissioning of designs for *Le Coq d'or* in 1914 yet again demonstrates that it was expertise in Russianness that he sought most. According to Gray she had done 'vigorous research into traditional Russian art' and had access to many private collections of icons.²⁹ Garafola cites an interview given in 1959 about this ballet in which Goncharova recalled her 'visits to archaeological museums where she discovered the rich heritage of peasant costume and "such treasures as the magnificent rings of our Tsars and boyars"'.³⁰ As we have seen, the detailed attention to Russianness shown by Diaghilev's circle of artists emerged from the realist movement. Diaghilev never called himself a realist but realism and nationalism were inextricably linked in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, nowhere more so than in Russia.³¹

b) Diaghilev's aesthetic and its relevance to *Parade* as a *ballet réaliste*³²

In spite of there being almost twenty years between the publication of Diaghilev's articles in *World of Art* and the première of *Parade*, the beliefs expressed by both the ballet and the manifesto are surprisingly similar. Indeed the highly cultured Diaghilev could have not failed to recognise the importance of *Parade*. Although it was not performed as often as more popular works such as *Le Tricorne*, it was given 20 theatre performances during Diaghilev's lifetime, as well as many concert and piano duet performances. Diaghilev's view of *Parade*, expressed to Serge Lifar, who

²⁹ Gray, *The Russian Experiment in Art*, pp.93 and 168.

³⁰ Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.83. The interview appeared in *L'Illustré*, 24 September 1959.

³¹ According to Joan Acocella, realism was still the official art in Soviet Russia as late as 1982. See her essay 'Diaghilev's "Complicated Questions"' in Garafola and Van Norman Baer (eds.), *The Ballets Russes and Its World*, p.75. Diaghilev certainly never abandoned a nationalist approach. After the blockade of 1914-21 he turned once more to Russia, for example when he commissioned Naum Gabo and Anton Pevsner to design *La Chatte* in 1927. These were two brothers who were at the forefront of the Russian avant-garde and wrote 'The Realist Manifesto' which appeared as a poster in Moscow on 5 August 1920. Of course, in keeping with their particular style, they gave this manifesto a constructivist slant: 'Space and time are the only forms on which life is built and hence art must be constructed'. Cited in Harrison and Wood (eds.), *Art in Theory, 1900-1990*, p.298.

³² See n.1 for details of the articles that formed Diaghilev's manifesto in *World of Art*. I have used translations by Olive Stevens for the first and fourth articles. These are on pp.76-93 of Garafola and Van Norman Baer (eds.), *The Ballets Russes and Its World*. For the second and third articles I have used Professor Robert Russell's translation from the Russian Visual Arts Project website. The printed

joined the Ballets Russes in 1923, was: 'It is one of the best bottles in my cellar. I don't want to see it shaken up too often'.³³

Diaghilev's first article, 'Our Supposed Decline', responds robustly to the criticism that modern artists are decadent if they do not seek to follow the ideas of past masters.³⁴ Diaghilev refutes this charge of decadence by criticising, in his turn, those artists who are 'longing to rebuild their ruined structures on [the] foundation of [the] dead and decaying ideas' of classicism, romanticism, and realism.³⁵ He has nothing but disdain for the admirers of painters such as Alma-Tadema, a pseudo-classicist whose followers are 'the most decrepit and therefore the most incorrigible of our enemies'.³⁶ Diaghilev's message in this first article is that each generation should construct its own art in an aesthetic of renewal, not one of slavish imitation. We saw in Chapter 2 how Cocteau railed against a theatrical world that pandered to popular taste in attempting to put an outmoded realism on the stage. *Parade*, and Cocteau in particular, was instrumental in looking afresh at ballet, sweeping away its reliance on a narrative form, on an outmoded, exotic (thanks to Diaghilev) subject matter that was no longer appropriate, on an inbuilt elegance suited to its elitist audience. Instead, Cocteau fragmented the scenario, used material from low-brow entertainment, included non-musical noises, and spoken words that were vulgar in the case of the Managers, and distasteful and inappropriate in the case of the words that were to be sung during each Part. Some of the non-musical noises, such as the typewriters in Part 2 and the noise of the aeroplane in Part 3, were included in the première. Others had to wait until 1920.³⁷ As regards the words to be sung, it is unlikely that the ever-adventurous Diaghilev suppressed these on purely aesthetic

versions of these are respectively 4 and 8 pages long. I will reference each article by its title and page number.

³³ 'C'est une des meilleures bouteilles de ma cave. Je ne souhaite pas la voir secouée trop souvent.' Gilbert Guilleminault, *La France de la Madelon*, p.242.

³⁴ According to Alexey Makhrov, in 'Introduction to Diaghilev, "Complicated Questions"', this rebuttal was meant to answer the 'vitriolic attacks by Vladimir Stasov, the champion of critical realism and nationality in painting. Stasov had accused Diaghilev and the artists of his circle of decadence and slavish imitation of debased Western models'. See Russian Visual Arts Project.

³⁵ 'Our Supposed Decline', p.83.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ See Cocteau's letter of 27 November 1920 to Valentine Gross in the Appendix.

grounds. It is far more likely that, in the context of the war, Diaghilev decided that the words implying torture (in the case of Part 1) and death on the Titanic (in the case of Part 2) were too offensive. On 31 January 1917 the Germans had announced 'the immediate introduction of unrestricted submarine warfare. All shipping, including neutral, would be sunk at sight in the war zone of the eastern Atlantic'.³⁸ This almost certainly resulted in the omission of the sung words in Part 2, and, for the sake of balance, in the other two Parts.³⁹ In the case of the vulgar words representing the Managers, due to be spoken through a loud-hailer from the orchestra pit, it is likely, from what Cocteau stated after the première, that this proved difficult logistically in a theatre as big as the Châtelet:

I realized that one voice alone, even amplified, for one of Picasso's managers, was inappropriate, was intolerably unbalanced. It would have needed three voices per manager, which would have decidedly taken us away from our principle of simplicity. At that point I substituted for the voices the rhythm of feet in the silence.⁴⁰

A letter to Guillaume Apollinaire, written by Cocteau at the end of April or beginning of May seems to confirm this: 'I don't have a minute since we met and moreover I have to devise and construct machines to amplify the sound for *Parade*'.⁴¹ The inclusion of words and voices was an integral part of Cocteau's new conception of ballet and something that had been dear to his heart since the time of *David* in 1914. The notebooks of this early work show a text written in different colours according to whether it should be spoken or sung, and the spoken and sung parts alternate in rapid succession, sometimes even performing the same words together.⁴² *David* was to have been performed by Jacques Copeau's troupe at the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier,

³⁸ A.J.P. Taylor, *The First World War*, p.169.

³⁹ The Frederick Koch score includes the sung words, but at some time during rehearsals, Cocteau has written 'Paroles supprimées' ('Words deleted') on pp.16, 32 and 42.

⁴⁰ See Appendix for Cocteau's article 'La Collaboration de *Parade*', in *Nord-Sud*, Juin-Juillet 1917, pp.29-31.

⁴¹ Caizergues et Décaudin (eds.), *Correspondance Jean Cocteau/Guillaume Apollinaire*, p.33. See Appendix.

⁴² There are 4 *David* notebooks in the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin.

a much smaller theatre that would pose no practical problems in terms of the voices being heard clearly.

Not only did *Parade* cast ballet in a new light, but each individual artform was subjected to an aesthetic of renewal. Cocteau saw *Parade* as the opportunity to return to the values of *real* theatre, with its noisy interaction between the performers and the audience, and, most importantly, its inbuilt artificiality. In this respect, he placed well-known fictional characters centre-stage to highlight the theatre's artificial environment. He even subsequently re-assessed the inclusion of the real Remington typewriters at the première, subjecting them to a rigorous reappraisal within the context of reality whose logical conclusion was that everything in an artwork had to be created:

Sadly I used real Remington machines with too thin a sound, and sad like the real chairs and real pictures placed on our stages. Thankfully PARADE was mocked. I have just found some excellent imitation machines made for a satire in which the satirist showed Satie substituting typewriters for violins. These machines made for parody will be used this time in the ballet.⁴³

As we saw in Chapter 3, Satie's aesthetic of renewal, a philosophy that he exercised throughout his career, created an unprecedented musical score by taking the harmonic series as a starting point for a construction based on painterly principles. What was intended by Cocteau to be a bland score that served as a background for noises became a revolutionary piece of work that made a genuine attempt to cast one artform in terms of another. Picasso, in his turn, revolutionised the received wisdom of several theatrical traditions: he blurred the distinction between front-stage and backstage in his enigmatic curtain; he confused the décor with the characters by creating 'moving décor' in the form of the Managers; and, together with Cocteau, he turned the real audience into part of the fictional show that was taking place onstage.

⁴³ In 'Parade', *Comoedia*, 21 December 1920, p.1. See Appendix.

Massine's aesthetic of renewal placed mime, rather than classical dance, at the heart of choreography. Even more importantly, and with Cocteau's help, Massine further revolutionised choreography by the use of footsteps alone, unsupported by the orchestra, during some of the Managers' appearances. Whereas Nijinsky had allowed the dancers' feet to beat out the rhythms in *Le Sacre du printemps* within an orchestral context, Massine's Managers worked in silence, reducing these sections of the ballet to *real*, pure choreography. None of the collaborators, therefore, could be accused of slavishly imitating previous artistic movements.

Yet Diaghilev was not averse to using material from the past. For example, he used Goldoni's text and Scarlatti's music in *Les Femmes de bonne humeur* (1917), but re-cast these in a new idiom, thanks to Massine's modernist choreography.⁴⁴ This reworking of past masterpieces was also part of Picasso's philosophy. He had an encyclopaedic knowledge of art history and often used the well-known works of the past as a basis for the creation of something new. We saw in Chapter 4 how Picasso pitted himself against Uccello in a discussion about perspective (just as Satie pitted himself against the Baroque masters of fugue in the *Prélude*). In 1935 in a conversation with Christian Zervos, the editor of *Cahiers d'art*, Picasso's words echoed those of Diaghilev:

With the exception of a few painters who are opening new horizons to painting, young painters today don't know which way to go. Instead of taking up our researches in order to react clearly against us, they are absorbed with bringing the past back to life – when truly the whole world is open before us, everything waiting to be done, not just redone. Why cling desperately to everything that has already fulfilled

⁴⁴ Regarding this work, Bakst wrote: 'Massine, for his part, has sought to emphasise in his choreography a mocking tone...It seems that with his interpretation he has put an end to sugary pastiche'. 'Massine, de son côté, a cherché à souligner dans sa chorégraphie la note burlesque...Il semble qu'avec son interprétation, il ait mis fin aux pastiches sucrés.' This is part of an article which Bakst wrote for the Ballets Russes programme of May 1917. It is included in the Fonds Kochno and can be found at Res 2248(2), bobine (reel) 575, p.35. Vincenzo Tommasini's orchestrations were a further modernisation of this ballet. Diaghilev's use of material from the past also included the ballet *Pulcinella* (1920) and *La Boutique fantasque* (1919).

its promise? There are miles of painting 'in the manner of'; but it is rare to find a young man working in his own way.⁴⁵

Diaghilev's belief in artistic renewal, expressed in 1898, never varied. In December 1928, his views on choreography, given in an interview for the Russian weekly newspaper *La Renaissance*, could have been extended to include all the arts:

It is the classical school that undeniably gives its rules to our present-day choreography. But, in order for theatrical creation to evolve, it is not enough to remain loyal to one's master. In the contemporary choreographer's work, classicism must be the means, not the end.⁴⁶

Parade illustrates precisely Diaghilev's aesthetic of renewal within a framework of tradition. Cocteau's *Acrobats* and *Conjuror* come from a long tradition stretching back to medieval fairs. Not only does he juxtapose them with the recently-invented cinema but he also invests them with complex layers of meaning in order to cast a new light on realism itself. Picasso too uses the cubist appearance of the Managers, with their cardboard constructions, as a contrast to his literal imitation of the three main characters, and sets these opposites against the classicism of the Red Curtain's academic subject matter and its Renaissance use of the medium of tempera.⁴⁷ His is a bold and all-encompassing statement about the multi-faceted, multi-layered eclecticism of real art, so different from the one-dimensional nationalistic realism of

⁴⁵ Harrison and Wood (eds.), *Art in Theory 1900-1990*, p.501.

⁴⁶ 'C'est l'école classique qui donne incontestablement ses règles à la chorégraphie de notre époque. Mais, pour qu'évolue la création théâtrale, il ne suffit pas de rester fidèle à son maître. ... Dans l'oeuvre du chorégraphe contemporaine le classicisme doit être le moyen, pas le but.' This interview can be found in Pièce 139 of the Fonds Kochno, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra. The original, in Russian, was written on the notepaper of Les Capucines, a Café-Restaurant in Paris, and was translated into French by Boris Kochno.

⁴⁷ Picasso's choice of tempera for the Curtain was significant. The use of egg yolk as a binding agent for the pigment was associated especially with Italian painting of the Renaissance, no doubt the very reason for Picasso's choice. Its properties make it a difficult medium: it must be applied gradually in thin layers; the colours cannot be blended on the surface of the painting, but must be chosen and mixed in advance; major alterations cannot be made and careful planning and drawing of the design is a prerequisite. However, the colours will appear brighter when the tempera dries and the relative lighter tonality is more visible and clearer in a dimly lit setting such as a theatre. See the article on tempera, pp.425-8, in *The Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 30, published by Macmillan.

artists such as Repin, Zola and Mussorgsky. At the end of 'Our Supposed Decline' Diaghilev asks modern art's would-be critics: 'What temple of human genius do we destroy? Show it to us, take us to this temple, since we longingly search for it, so that then, unable to hold on, we shall fall from it without fear, understanding our past greatness'.⁴⁸ *Parade* answers Diaghilev's question by fearlessly creating a new aesthetic out of the re-built temple of realism.

Diaghilev's second article, 'Eternal Conflict', debates whether art should have an ideological use or not. He cites the theorist and literary critic Nicolai Chernyshevskii, who believed that: 'Artistic form will not save a work from scorn ...if the significance of its ideas does not enable it to respond to the question "was it really worth toiling to make trifles like this?"' For Diaghilev, art is an aim in itself. Whilst it necessarily contains ideas that may be of social or other significance, art should not be used to follow an ideology. The sub-title of *Parade* was extremely emotive for its audience, since realism had dominated nineteenth-century French art and was bound up with social unrest, revolution and the nationalism that dominated the Napoleonic era. Realist literature stretched from Balzac's comprehensive depiction of the Napoleonic wars themselves to Zola's Rougon-Macquart novels set in the period that began with the revolution of 1851 and the accession of Napoleon III, and ended with the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 that no doubt still resonated in the minds of older members of the Châtelet audience in 1917. Realism was allied in the French mind to upheaval and change. To advertise a *ballet réaliste* during World War I did nothing to dispel the previous use of this term. Yet Cocteau saw an opportunity to use an emotive title to signal a change in artistic terms. It enabled him to capitalise on the nationalist feeling of 1917, but also to put forward a modern interpretation of realism that would additionally glorify a new French approach to ballet. Cocteau had been clever enough, in the face of his own 'Right Bank' society's opposition, to select as his collaborator Satie, the apparent embodiment of simplicity in musical terms. Cocteau seized the opportunity to trumpet this approach as a new *French* simplicity, completely different from the overly complex German music heard hitherto or to the

⁴⁸ Joan Acocella in Garafola and Norman Van Baer (eds.), *The Ballets Russes and Its World*, p.84.

impressionism of Debussy and Ravel. What Diaghilev had sought to do on the back of the Itinerant movement, Cocteau now echoed on the French stage.⁴⁹ Using accurately depicted French subject matter in the form of the *fête foraine*, and music that was as far removed as possible from Wagner and even Debussy, Cocteau saw his opportunity to create a form of modern realism built on contemporary French artistic endeavour. For Cocteau, *Parade* was just the starting point. He subsequently brought together the group of composers called Les Six⁵⁰ (echoing The Five⁵¹), whose music he used in *Le Boeuf sur le Toit*⁵² and *Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel*.⁵³ Cocteau's new realism was infused, like Diaghilev and Russianness, with an artistic pride in France⁵⁴ that was radically different from the social commentary on French society and politics that had dominated nineteenth-century realism.

Even the realist writer Émile Zola, entrenched as he was in the politics of his day,⁵⁵ criticised, like Diaghilev, the idea of making art a mere tool of ideology. Diaghilev cites Zola's response to the socialist writer and reformer Pierre-Joseph Proudhon:

I find that your logic was asleep on the day you made the irreparable error of accepting artists into your model state alongside your cobblers and lawyers. You do not like art, you do not like any form of

⁴⁹ Cocteau had seen *Le Sacre du printemps* and *Petrouchka* and realized exactly what Diaghilev was achieving for Russian art.

⁵⁰ Germaine Tailleferre, Arthur Honegger, Georges Auric, Francis Poulenc, Darius Milhaud and Louis Durey.

⁵¹ Mily Balakirev, César Cui, Alexander Borodin, Modeste Mussorgsky and Nicholas Rimsky-Korsakov.

⁵² 1920, music by Milhaud.

⁵³ 1921, music by all members of Les Six except Durey.

⁵⁴ Cocteau's essay of 1924, *Picasso*, acknowledges the artist as an honorary Frenchman: 'Je n'insiste pas sur l'Espagne. Picasso est de chez nous. Il a mis toutes les forces, toutes les ruses de sa race à l'école et au service de la France'. ('I do not emphasise Spain. Picasso is one of ours. He has put all his nation's strength, its cleverness, into the instruction and service of France.') See Cocteau, *Picasso*, p.27, n.1.

⁵⁵ Zola's famous essay of 1898, 'J'accuse', about the disgraced army officer Dreyfus, entered into the fierce debate that had split France into two opposing factions. See Jane Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music from the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War*, p.4 ff.

individuality, you want to crush the individual personality so as to widen the path of humanity.⁵⁶

For Zola, as for Diaghilev, art was the expression not of an ideology, but of the artist's personality, and in 'Eternal Conflict' Diaghilev cites Thomas Carlyle, the Scottish essayist, who believed that an artist's work grows up 'withal unconsciously, from the unknown deeps in him'.⁵⁷ This is a fundamental point that Cocteau puts at the centre of *Parade*: real art should be the result only of an individual's artistic vision. This is a view that Cocteau had expressed, rather obscurely, in his novel, *Le Potomak*. It was written in 1913-14 but because of the intervention of the war was not published until 1919 and significantly it is the first of his works with which he was pleased. The creature of the title lives a very limited life in an aquarium underneath the Madeleine church in Paris. Cocteau writes: 'Le Potomak looked up with his prismatic eye, and his large pink ears in the form of conch shells listened to the endless murmur of an interior ocean. (*Bravo*)'.⁵⁸ It is the artist's inner vision that is the core of realism as far as Cocteau is concerned: 'By realism, I don't mean a colourless paraphrase of life and that is why I called *Parade* "realist ballet", wanting to show by this term that this ballet was the picture of a reality which was my own and not of a reality viewed habitually'.⁵⁹ Picasso echoes these sentiments:

It's not what the artist does that counts, but what he is. Cézanne would never have interested me a bit if he had lived and thought like Jacques-

⁵⁶ 'Eternal Conflict', p.1. It is ironic that in post-revolutionary Russia 'a great experiment was being made in which, for the first time since the Middle ages, the artist and his art was given a working job, and the artist considered a responsible member of society'. Gray, *The Russian Experiment in Art*, p.276. Even Satie flirted, albeit ironically, with the idea that art should be useful. In a letter to Cocteau dated by Volta 1 March 1920, Satie wrote: 'La "Musique d'Ameublement" est foncièrement industrielle'. ("Furnishing music" is necessarily industrial.) See Volta, *Erik Satie, Correspondance presque complète*, p.396.

⁵⁷ Diaghilev, 'Eternal Conflict', p.4.

⁵⁸ 'Le Potomak levait au ciel un oeil noyé de prismes et ses grandes oreilles roses, en forme de conques marines, écoutaient le murmure infini d'un océan intérieur. (*Bravo*).' Cocteau, *Le Potomak*, p.163.

⁵⁹ 'Par réalisme je n'entends pas une plate paraphrase de la vie et c'est pourquoi j'avais intitulé *Parade* "ballet réaliste" voulant expliquer par ce terme que ce ballet était l'image d'une réalité qui m'est propre et non d'une réalité telle que les habitudes la conçoivent.' Cocteau, *Le Secret professionnel, Oeuvres complètes*, Vol.IX, p.170.

Émile Blanche, even if the apple he painted had been ten times as beautiful. What forces our interest is Cézanne's anxiety – that's Cézanne's lesson...A picture comes to me from miles away: who is to say from how far away I sensed it, saw it, painted it...We have turned [pictures] into petty and ridiculous things. We have been tied up to a fiction, instead of trying to sense what inner life there was in the men who painted them.⁶⁰

In Chapter 1 we saw that for Zola art is real life seen through the temperament of the artist. But, with a subtle difference of emphasis, for Diaghilev, Cocteau, Picasso and Satie, real art is a product of the individual artist's inner self. Diaghilev's fourth essay, 'Principles of Art Criticism' makes this clear:

the essential thing for us here is not nature [i.e. subject matter] but the personality dominated by that passion. ...Beauty in art is temperament expressed in images, and therefore it is of no concern to us where those images are taken from, as a work of art is not important in itself except as an expression of the personality of its creator. The history of art is not the history of works of art but the history of the manifestation of human genius in art forms.⁶¹

In *Parade* Cocteau puts the creative artist, embodied in the ballet's subject-matter, centre-stage, just as Diaghilev's aesthetic does. Everything about *Parade* is a statement about the creative artist. The Ballets Russes dancers, creative artists in their own right, are guided by other artists (Cocteau and Massine, who have invented the dancers' steps,⁶² Satie and Picasso who have provided the musical and decorative

⁶⁰ Harrison and Wood (eds.), *Art in Theory*, pp.501-2.

⁶¹ For this essay I have used the translation printed in Joan Acocella's article in Garafola and Van Norman Baer (eds.), *The Ballets Russes and Its World*, and this quotation is taken from pp.84-5.

⁶² There can be no doubt about this. Pages 144 and 145 of the notebook that Cocteau used in Rome show the first version, with many crossings-out, of the preamble and acknowledgements that would appear in the programme for *Parade* and in the published music. On p.145, dated 'Turin 1917', Cocteau has written 'Thème chorégraphique [sic] de Cocteau. Exécution chorégraphique de Jean Cocteau et Massine.' He has crossed out 'de Jean Cocteau' in the second sentence. Cocteau obviously

context in which to perform the steps) to mimic yet another set of performers (from a *fête foraine*). Thus one travelling troupe creates another. The dancers all imitate well-known creative artists: Chung Ling Soo, the famous Chinese conjuror, Mary Pickford/Pearl White, the famous American film-stars, and two anonymous, but equally iconic circus acrobats. In the case of the Little American Girl, the dancer also imitates yet more performers (Chaplin, for example, who in *his* turn, creates the character of a tramp). The result is a clever *mise-en-abîme* arrangement whereby we see a never-ending succession of the real and the invented intermingled *ad infinitum*.⁶³ Because of *Parade*'s circular structure, highlighted, as we saw in Chapter 3, by its music, the show could in theory last forever, in the same way that the *mise-en-abîme* recedes into infinity. Visually, the ever-repeating depth of the *mise-en-abîme* is achieved by Picasso's use of floorboards in both curtain and décor linking, in a never-ending show, the front-stage and back-stage views that continuously supersede each other, exactly as front and back do in a *mise-en abîme* arrangement.

We may well ask how Diaghilev's belief in the individual artist's pre-eminence squares with the collective approach that he always used. In 'Principles of Art Criticism', the fourth essay, he deals with this by citing the example of Gothic cathedrals where the individual identity of the masons 'became totally absorbed in the greatness of the common task...For us what is essential is the expression of the human spirit, whatever form it may take, whether in a collective or singular personality.'⁶⁴ Cocteau wrote in his Roman notebook: 'Never has a collaboration possibly been closer[,] no more examples of arguments – Each person gives way to others according to what is needed for the project'.⁶⁵

felt that he had considerable input to the choreography. This notebook is Pièce 24 of the Fonds Kochno.

⁶³ This term generally refers to a painting whose subject is looking in a mirror. This image is then reflected in a second mirror to give a never-ending series of images that recede into infinity. In a *mise-en-abîme* we also see the back and front of the subject simultaneously.

⁶⁴ See Joan Acocella's essay in Garafola and Van Norman Baer (eds.), *The Ballets Russes and Its World*, p.85.

⁶⁵ 'Jamais peut-être collaboration n'a été plus étroite plus exemples de disputes – Chacun sacrifie à l'autre selon les nécessités de la cause.' See pp.49-50 of Pièce 24, Fonds Kochno, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra.

According to Diaghilev, the value of art lies not only in the expression of an artist's personality, but in the 'accord between us [the audience] and the artist'.⁶⁶ Diaghilev believed that:

if we can take delight in what is unexpected and new when we encounter it in works of art, then – precisely because of that ability – we must unite with it, for it already exists within us but has only revealed itself because of the divining clairvoyance of the fortunate artist.⁶⁷

This statement was at the very heart of realism from its beginnings in the early nineteenth century, as we saw in Chapter 1. The realist artist sets out to have a dialogue with his audience and indeed, *Parade* in 1917 opened in a very serious manner with a contemplative fugue and contemplative Curtain both of which puzzled the audience by their lack of modernity. However, the real-life allusions of the rest of the ballet enabled its audience to relate to it directly. We saw in Chapter 2 how Proust was filled with nostalgia and regret after seeing *Parade*. Picasso and Satie had demonstrated prior to *Parade* their understanding of the value of contemporary references that, because of their instant accessibility, could elicit a variety of emotions from the public. Yet Diaghilev emphasises the 'unexpected' and the 'new'. Cocteau saw that contemporary references must be placed in a context of surprise, not in the deadening literal representation of reality that was so common in the contemporary theatre. In *David*, he failed to grasp that the references, albeit to acrobats and other trappings of a *fête foraine*, were too difficult for the public to access because they were overly esoteric.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Diaghilev's fourth essay, 'Principles of Art Criticism', p.87.

⁶⁷ 'Principles of Art Criticism', p.87.

⁶⁸ The overture of *David* consisted in a voice intoning a complex poem that included mainly biblical references together with some Greek ones and also references to the travelling fair's poor resources. By contrast, Cocteau's approach in *Parade* is far more focused. The words he intended for the Managers are easily accessible to the public.

In his third essay, 'The Search for Beauty', Diaghilev discusses Ruskin's belief that nature should be reproduced exactly, with the result that an artist's technique is reduced 'to the craft of a conscientious retoucher'.⁶⁹ Ruskin's aim was for the craft to be so perfect that it could make the subject matter look real. But, as we saw in Chapter 1, the form of a work, or its method of construction, was the vehicle by which the realist artist could draw attention to its artificiality. Indeed Picasso made the relinquishing of three-dimensional painting possible by highlighting a picture's two-dimensional limitations. This became a fundamental tenet of cubist art. And, as we saw in Chapter 2, the artificiality of a work of art was fundamental to Cocteau's perception of realism, as it was to Meyerhold's. In *L'Après-midi d'un faune* (1912) Diaghilev successfully staged a work that highlighted the artifice of ballet, so that it looked as if it had stepped directly off the surface of a Grecian vase. In other words, form and content were intricately related. Bakst's designs for this ballet, demonstrate this clear two-dimensional aim within a three-dimensional artform. Garafola says that Diaghilev and especially Bakst had a major role in designing Nijinsky's choreography in the style of 'a moving bas-relief, all in profile, a ballet with no dancing but only movement and plastic attitude'.⁷⁰ Garafola cites Meyerhold's 'static theatre'⁷¹ as a possible influence for this design, and in fact Bakst had worked with Meyerhold in 1906 and 1908,⁷² but its provenance hardly matters. The result, whether intentional or not, was to highlight the ballet's artificiality by turning it into a mere picture from a vase. The dancer, Marie Rambert, in an interview with the broadcaster John Drummond, explained that:

the feet, both parallel, were going in one direction, and the body was facing the audience, and the arms were facing the audience too, but

⁶⁹ Russian Visual Arts Project, p.4.

⁷⁰ Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p.52, citing Arnold Haskell's biography of Diaghilev.

⁷¹ This was, according to Konstantin Rudnitsky, 'intended to give not a...rendering of...real life...but the slow "music" of motion in harmony with the hidden spirit of the play'. Cited by Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, p. 54.

⁷² *Ibid.*

you walked on one line. The whole action was from one wing to the other, like on a bas-relief.⁷³

Serge Lifar cites the Russian critic, J. Tugendhold, who understood the importance of this completely new approach:

in *Faune*...the theatre [becomes] a sort of decorative fresco or *tableau vivant* ...Actually, the very basis of the theatre is the rhythm of its movement, its three dimensions.⁷⁴

The fusing of form and content, very difficult to achieve in practice, is the ideal of realist art as Cocteau and his collaborators perceived it.⁷⁵ Cocteau's depiction of a show *by* a show (completely different in intent from *Petrouchka's* show *within* a show) comes near to achieving this aesthetic. Picasso's complete interchangeability of scenery and Managers in *Parade* demonstrates it perfectly.⁷⁶ But Picasso had already refined this kind of technique many times through the medium of Cubism. The form of Satie's music, expressed numerically, as discussed in Chapter 3, is completely hidden, but it too achieves a perfect fusion between form and content. This form is different from the superficial programmatic music that simply illustrates the content of a work (for example, at the beginning of Part 2 where Satie's shimmering music reflects the flickering of the film). One wonders, although there is no evidence, whether Satie additionally took inspiration for his form in *Parade* from the drawing from the end of the sixteenth century by the German mathematician and astronomer, Johannes Kepler, called *Le Grand bouleversement*.⁷⁷ Kepler's drawing

⁷³ See Drummond, *Speaking of Diaghilev*, p.112.

⁷⁴ See Buckle, *Diaghilev*, p.274. Lifar says only that Tugendhold was 'writing in a Russian paper'.

⁷⁵ It is still a preoccupation of contemporary art. Ian McEwan's recent novel *Atonement* also sets out to fuse form with content. The novel, as the reader discovers at the end of the book, has been the invention of one of its characters, invented in her turn, by McEwan. The reader has been duped by imagining, as people still do, that the content of what he has read was somehow different from its form. The public, as Cocteau observed (see Chapter 2) too readily suspends its disbelief that art is pure fabrication.

⁷⁶ Picasso's use of the Renaissance medium of tempera for the Curtain whose subject-matter is rich in Renaissance and Classical iconography is another example of fusing form and content.

⁷⁷ It is reproduced in *Picasso: The Italian Journey 1917-1924*, edited by Jean Clair with Odile Michel. Kepler's drawing is reproduced in Jean Clair's article 'Picasso Trismegistus. Notes on the Iconography

(Fig.6.1), which Picasso may have known and communicated to Satie, shows the bottom half of a large sphere that contains a transparent cube. Inside it is another half sphere containing a pyramid that in its turn contains a sphere. As we saw in Chapter 3 each part of *Parade* begins and ends in the same way, suggesting a circular structure, that in Part 2 contains a cubic structure and in Part 3 a cylindrical one, yet

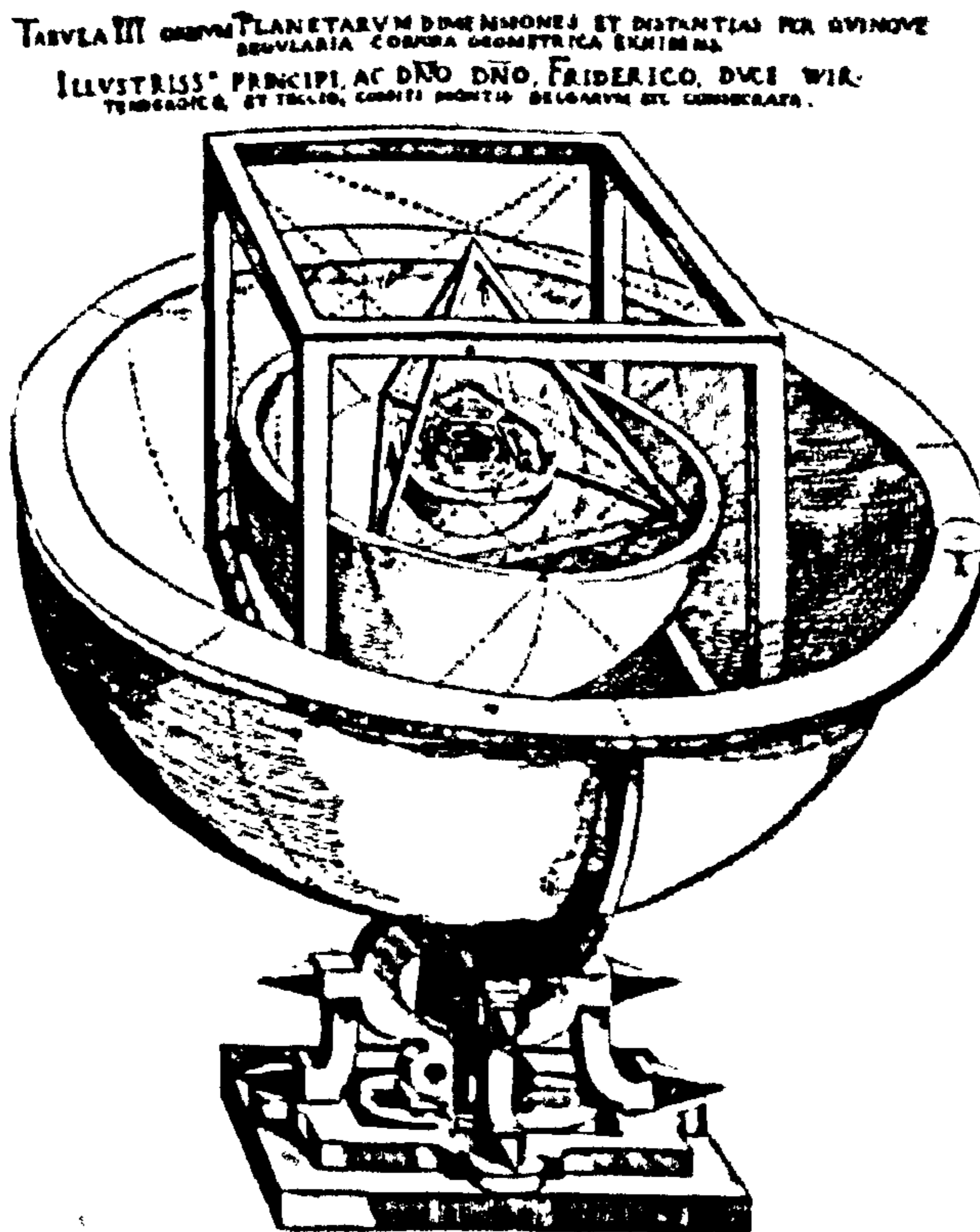


Fig.6.1: Johannes Kepler, Le Grand Bouleversement

Whereabouts unknown

(<http://www.arge-geniale.com/bilder/kepler.jpg>)

of Harlequin', p.15, but Clair does not say where the work can be seen. Clair translates the drawing's title as *The World Turned Upside Down*, very apt, if Satie did base his score on this, for *Parade* in the context of the War in 1917. I would translate *Le Grand bouleversement* as *The Great Upheaval*.

the form of the 1917 score is based numerically on a large circle's proportions that echo the content of the circular 'parade' whose programme is endlessly repeated.

Diaghilev's manifesto ends by quoting Nietzsche,⁷⁸ whom Cocteau admired, exhorting artists to find their own voice. *Parade* was to be a catalyst for each of the artists in this respect. It enabled Cocteau to break away once and for all from the slavish imitation of second-rate artists such as Anna de Noailles and to find his own voice in the theatre and subsequently in the cinema. *Parade* gave Satie, who had always known his own voice, the recognition that he deserved and ensured further important commissions such as *Socrate*, *Mercure* and *Relâche*. *Parade* opened the floodgates of classicism to Picasso, enabling him to close the door on Cubism and to go in a separate direction from Braque, who, after returning from the trenches, achieved very little that was innovative.⁷⁹ In Massine's case, *Parade* liberated him from classical choreography and opened the way to a more eclectic approach that resulted in the folk-based choreography of *Le Tricorne* (1919) as well as the abstraction that would lead to the symphonic ballet, *Choreartium* (1933), based on Brahms's Fourth Symphony.

Parade was the first ballet to combine realistic subject-matter with an onstage discussion about artistic realism. Its considerable achievement lies not just in this fact, remarkable though it is, but in the way that four individual artists came together with a *single* purpose: to put realism under the spotlight at the Théâtre du Châtelet in 1917.

⁷⁸ 'Principles of Art Criticism', p.93.

⁷⁹ It also enabled Picasso to make public his embrace of classicism. In a lecture given during the Edinburgh Festival in 2003, Professor Elizabeth Cowling recounted how Picasso had felt the need, prior to *Parade*, to keep his classically-inspired drawings hidden.

Appendix

Letters and other documents relating to *Parade*

The aim has been to provide as full a list as possible of letters and documents relating to *Parade* in chronological order. It has not been possible to find all the texts in the original French. Sources for both French and English versions are given under the relevant version of the document. Where no source is given in the right-hand column, the translations are my own. Inaccuracies in the printed translations have been tacitly corrected.

Letters relevant to Cocteau's adaptation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1915) are included because it was Satie's first collaboration with Cocteau. Of all the collaborators involved, only Satie completed his contribution (the *Cinq grimaces*). The planned production never materialised.

The references to the *Fables de La Fontaine* (May-July 1916) are included as they were also intended for Diaghilev's Ballets Russes (with a scenario by René Chalupt). Again the project never reached fruition, and was probably designed by Satie to assert his independence from the domineering Cocteau. The beginnings of Satie's 'symphonic drama' *Socrate* can also be seen in January 1917.

There are some periods of time, during the genesis of *Parade*, for which no letters have been found. The most obvious of these occurs at the time of rehearsals for *Parade* in May 1917. Since all the collaborators were together it is assumed that there was little need to correspond with each other and no time to correspond with non-collaborators.

List of abbreviations used:

Collaborators and their close friends.

- GA Guillaume Apollinaire
JC Jean Cocteau
SD Serge Diaghilev
ME Misia Edwards
VG Valentine Gross
LM Léonide Massine
PP Pablo Picasso
ES Erik Satie
IS Igor Stravinsky

Other abbreviations

- F-Pfs* Paris, Archives of the Fondation Erik Satie
F-Po Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra
US-AUS University of Texas at Austin, Harry Ransom Humanities Research
Centre (Carlton Lake Collection)

6 September 1911 ES to his brother, Conrad Satie

J'ai trouvé là [with *En Habit de Cheval*] la fugue moderne qui n'existait pas. La forme de la fugue était considérée comme incompatible avec nos idées modernes. J'ai mis huit ans pour réaliser la nouvelle fugue.

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.155)

I have found the modern fugue that did not previously exist. The form of the fugue was considered incompatible with our modern ideas. I've spent eight years working out the new fugue.

4 February 1914 JC to IS

I found it all but impossible, among those dreary Kléber orientalisms to tell you of my deep pleasure. [A performance of IS's

Il faut que la danse *n'exprime rien*. Le corps s'anime et se repose comme éclate et se tait un instrument de l'orchestre.

(Aschengreen, *Jean Cocteau and the Dance*, p.62)

The Nightingale was held in an apartment in the avenue Kléber area of Paris. Amongst the audience were Jacques Copeau, Maurice Delage, André Gide, Maurice Ravel, Jacques Rivière and (according to Robert Craft) Erik Satie. See *Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence*, Vol. I, p.74. Craft says that the performance took place in Misia Sert's Chinese room.] I had tears in my eyes, like the emperor of China, and I was proud of living in the same forest as you.

I am delighted with our project.

Dance must *express nothing*. The body moves, then is still, just as an instrument in the orchestra flares up and subsides. Along with the sound-curves there must be a visual curve that is an integral part of the ensemble. [Paulet] Thévenaz is thrilled to accept his very humble role.

I'm to arrange things with [Jacques] Copeau [a member of the editorial board of the *NRF*; he had founded his Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier in October 1913] at six tonight.

(Steegmuller, *Jean Cocteau*, p.95)

12 February 1914 IS to JC

Viens vite à Leysin! Quelle blague que les bronches ne supportent pas l'air de Leysin. C'est que Leysin n'est fait qu'uniquement pour les bronches! Viens! Car il faut causer de différentes choses. Mais sache, mon vieux, que je dois finir le Rossignol d'abord. L'idée de *David* est trop séduisante pour que je m'en absorbe avant d'avoir terminé mon Rossignol, qui semble ne marcher pas mal à ce moment-ci. Il change en pleine neige et en plein soleil. Si tout ira bien il ne changera qu'un mois encore.

P.S. Pas un seul mot à personne tu entends? Qu'on ne sache même pas que tu viens chez moi.

Come soon to Leysin! What a joke that the bronchial tubes can't take Leysin's air. It's that Leysin exists only for the tubes! Come on! For we must talk about various things. But remember, old friend, that I must finish *The Nightingale* first. The idea of *David* is too seductive for me to allow myself to become absorbed in it without first having completed my *Nightingale*, which seems at the moment to be coming along well. It sings in full snow and full sun. If everything goes well it will only sing for another month.

P.S. Not a word to anyone, do you understand? People should not even know that you are coming to my house!

(US-AUS)

(Craft, *Stravinsky, Correspondence*, Vol I, p.76)

13 February 1914 JC to IS

[Cocteau's *David* was originally planned with music by Stravinsky.] I have spoken to no-one, except of course to [André] Gide, and to Copeau and [Maurice] Delage. (Delage would probably be with us at Leysin.) Nothing is known about the matter. It is known about only the way you want it to be known about - that is, I give evasive replies to the very few people around the *N[ouvelle]R[evue]F[rançaise]* who ask me about it. Outright denial seems to me even better. As far as Leysin is concerned, it is a way to escape from the telephone and all the rest. Therefore, not a word.

Precise answers, please:

1. Is it cold?
 2. What date should I come with the work?
 3. Do you want the text [of *David*] immediately, or shall I bring it with me and explain it to you?
 4. Snow?
 5. Could you write me - roughly - for Copeau, the size of the orchestra and chorus you plan to use.
 6. Latest news of your wife.
 7. *Suppose Serge were to question me?*
- (Steegmuller, *Jean Cocteau*, p.96)

15 February 1914 IS to JC

Before answering your questions, I would like to pose one of my own to you, the reply to which I need urgently. I have just received an offer for a commission that, financially speaking, could be very advantageous. Since I am now in a state of considerable poverty, I must know immediately if the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier, in commissioning my work,

would be willing to give me a sum of six thousand francs. In exchange, the Theatre would acquire the exclusive rights for theatrical performance of the piece in France (including Monte Carlo) for two years. To rent the parts, the Theatre would simply have to ask my publisher, whose address you know.

Now in regard to these questions, I ask you to act as my representative with the administration of the Theatre and to let me know as soon as possible whether you can do this... You understand that my answers to your inquiries about *David* depend entirely upon this new question.

(Craft, *Stravinsky, Correspondence*, Vol I, p.77)

17 February 1914 JC to IS

Tout mon espoir d'échapper à ma tristesse et à ma mauvaise santé c'était notre rencontre de Leysin - ta lettre me torture... J'ai les larmes aux yeux. Le V[ieux] Colombier c'est le théâtre des jeunes et du mouvement actuel...

Il espérait de toi et de moi une vieille chose à reprendre ou trois danses très courtes...

Il ne s'agissait pas d'une 'oeuvre' mais de quelques mesures et de ton nom chez eux...

Mon cher petit - si j'avais les 6000 francs, je te les enverrais tout de suite...

All my hope of escaping from my depression and poor health lay in our meeting at Leysin. Your letter tortures me. I cannot answer you properly because I am in tears. The V[ieux] Colombier is the theatre of the young, and of the new movement: it carries on with high spirits and hard work like the *N[ouvelle] Revue Française*, on a shoestring. What it hoped for from you and me was some old thing to be revived, or three very short dances that you would write like three melodies for a concert. There was no question of a 'work', but of a few bars, and your name connected with their theatre... I will not even try to read them your letter - I would be too afraid of doing you a disservice in the eyes of a group of young people who are responsible for your present fame.. If I had the 6000 francs I would send it to you at once and we would tell them nothing about it or about my longing for these two weeks or a month that would help me to live... I beg you to write me whether you don't see some way to arrange things - to write something very short for this enthusiastic and disinterested group - or, if

(Arnaud, <i>Jean Cocteau</i> , p.127)	not, to persuade Serge [Diaghilev] not to stand in the way of this project and my marvellous trip. (Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i> , p.97)
---------------------------------------	---

19 February 1914 JC to IS

	Difficult to see each other right now. I was counting on coming in seven or eight days, and for two weeks. Telegraph or write what I should do. I remain hopeful because I know of your marvellous kindness. (Craft, <i>Stravinsky, Correspondence</i> , Vol. I, p.78)
--	---

21 February 1914 JC to IS

[musique]...drue et rugueuse comme cette époque où Jéhovah était l'ogre, (Aschengreen, <i>Jean Cocteau and the Dance</i> , p.60)	So I'll come March 2. What a joy! I will bring the notes for <i>David</i> , and probably Thévenaz if he isn't detained by [the founder of Dalcrozian Eurhythmics, Émile Jaques-]Dalcroze ... A woman theosophist has described to me one of <i>David's</i> dances according to the Magi - it is terrific. He danced around the <i>Sacred Ark: The Dance of the Planets!!!!</i> Can you imagine the music!!!! - what a noble thing we can make of it - strong and rugged like those times when Jehovah was the ogre, when the church sacrificed two thousand <i>sheep</i> in order to <i>please</i> the good shepherd. (Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i> , p.98)
---	---

23 February 1914 IS to JC

	Shall not finish <i>The Nightingale</i> for a month. Prefer to see you before that. Why not come now? There is still snow and you would find it splendid. (Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i> , p.99)
--	--

25 February 1914 JC to IS

	What good luck! So I'll leave on Monday. Dalcroze is lending me Thévenaz, as it is still impossible for me to travel alone. I'll be glad of the opportunity to acquaint you with this rough, ingenuous, fresh mind... (Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i> , p.99)
--	--

26 February 1914 IS to JC

Have just received two telegrams. They are putting pressure on me to finish *The Nightingale*. It would be more sensible, I think, to postpone our meeting a little - perhaps for three weeks. I am afraid you don't realize, *mon petit*, how little time I have and that I work all day on *The Nightingale*. There would be a real *scandale* if I didn't finish it on time.
(Steegmuller, *Jean Cocteau*, p.100)

n.d. but c. February 1914 JC to ME

If you knew what I am preparing - what I am building! I am as dreadfully sad as Nietzsche when he thought of Wagner after the Bayreuth nightmare. It is unthinkable, it seems impossible that our encounter should remain fruitless. Igor will come to his senses. If you could bring him forth from the void where *David* exists, you would be delivering him from an evil spell. I embrace you with tenderness and confidence. Oh God, my nerves!!!
(Gold and Fizdale, *Misia*, p.167)

27 February 1914 JC to IS

I am coming even though too tired. Bringing *David* despite everything. Idea too exciting not to apprise you immediately.
(Craft, *Stravinsky, Correspondence*, Vol. I, p.80)

28 February 1914 JC to IS

I take the 9.30 train Monday night with Thévenaz...What a pleasure it will be to see you and to hear *The Nightingale* again! I am seeing a lot of the theosophical Magi and old Fabre [Émile Fabre, author of *Le Timon?*], who knows everything about *David*.
(Steegmuller, *Jean Cocteau*, p.101)

7 March 1914 JC to IS

	I came with Thévenaz as far as Leysin...I'll be so glad to see you and talk about <i>The Nightingale!</i> ... Don't hold it against me that I came...Saw Serge day before yesterday - he asked me to tell you 'that he existed'... (Stegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i> , p.102)
--	---

Leysin, 7 March 1914 JC to his mother, Mme Georges Cocteau

Comme j'ai eu raison de partir. Stravinski enthousiaste. (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i> , p.137)	How right I was to leave. Stravinsky enthusiastic.
---	--

Leysin, 12 March 1914 JC to Mme Cocteau

La conception d'Igor pour <i>David</i> m'enthousiasme. Je recommence le poème. (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i> , p.140)	Igor's idea for <i>David</i> excites me. I'm starting the text again. [The <i>David</i> notebooks show this fresh start.]
---	---

Leysin, 12 March 1914 JC to Mme Cocteau

Notre travail me captive. Igor est admirable d'intelligence géniale et de génie intelligent (mariage si rare!) (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i> , p.142)	Our work captivates me. Igor is admirable for his inspired intelligence and his intelligent genius (such a rare combination!)
---	---

Leysin, 15 March 1914 IS to Jacques Copeau (director of the Vieux-Colombier Theatre)

	Jean Cocteau was supposed to write to you on the subject of our <i>David</i> . Many things have happened since then, and, consequently, I feel that I should have a meeting with you. I will be coming to Paris for the [Pierre] Monteux <i>Sacre</i> concert (around April 5). Would you please be so kind as to inform me whether you will be in Paris at that time? I rejoice at the thought of a collaboration with this group [the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier] which has supported me so generously. I hope for a rapid and affirmative reply... (Craft, <i>Stravinsky, Correspondence</i> , Vol. I, p. 82)
--	---

Leysin, 16 March 1914 JC to Mme Cocteau

Thévenaz est venu nous rejoindre pour quatre jours et il travaille avec Igor à	Thévenaz has come and joined us for four days and he is working with Igor in the
--	--

l'annexe. <i>David</i> marche comme je veux. (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i> , p.143)	annexe. <i>David</i> is progressing as I wish.
---	--

Leysin, 17 March 1914 JC to Mme Cocteau

Journée exaltante. Stravinski a joué quelque chose du <i>David</i> futur. Rien ne peut dire combien c'est beau... <i>David</i> sera bref (vingt minutes) mais c'est comme s'exprime Igor une goutte à empoisonner un éléphant de cinq actes. (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i> , p.144)	Exciting day. Stravinsky played something from the future <i>David</i> . Nothing can express how beautiful it sounds... <i>David</i> will be short (twenty minutes) but, as Igor says, it's a drop that would poison a five-act elephant.
---	---

n.d. but c. March 1914 JC to the writer, André Gide

Travail intense. Igor Stravinsky est un dynamo. Il nous étonne. <i>David</i> va devenir, je pense, quelque chose d'extraordinaire (ne ressemble à rien), et si Copeau le monte, je lui jure qu'il aura des salles. (Aschengreen, <i>Jean Cocteau and the Dance</i> , p.61)	Intensive work. Igor Stravinsky is a dynamo. Thévenaz is amazing. I think that <i>David</i> is going to become something extraordinary (it is like nothing else) and if Copeau puts it on, I assure you he will have full houses. (Stegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i> , p.103)
---	--

Leysin, 18 March 1914 JC to Mme Cocteau

Le <i>David</i> sera une chose très, très importante. Il m'amuse et m'émeut. Mon rôle dans l'affaire est grave. (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i> , p.145)	<i>David</i> will be a very, very important thing. It amuses and moves me. My role in the matter is serious.
--	--

Leysin, 19 March 1914 JC to Mme Cocteau

<i>David</i> sera prodigieux. Mais quel travail! (Bien que bref - l'ensemble durera douze minutes)...Inutile de te dire pour <i>David</i> que rien ne reste de mon texte primitif. (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i> , p.146)	<i>David</i> will be stupendous. But what a lot of work! (Although short - the whole thing will last twelve minutes)... It goes without saying that for <i>David</i> nothing of my primitive text remains.
---	--

n.d. but c. March 1914 JC to ME

	<i>David</i> will be a great surprise to you. Prodigious...Need I tell you, dearest Misia, that it belongs to you?...Igor and I dedicate the work to you...Our enthusiasm knows no bounds. (Gold and Fizdale, <i>Misia</i> , p.167)
--	--

Leysin, 20 March 1914 JC to Mme Cocteau

Rien n'empêche notre <i>David</i> de mûrir à la réverbération de l'Alpe. Thévenaz nous a quittés ce matin et cela nous gêne un peu,	Nothing stops our <i>David</i> from maturing to the reverberations of the Alps. Thévenaz left us this morning and that hinders us a
---	---

mais aucune circonstance n'arrêterait un ouvrage qui roule et de rouler s'augmente. Si réussite, courte chose d'une portée moderne considérable.
(Cocteau, *Lettres à sa mère*, p.148)

little, but no situation can stop a work which is rolling along and in rolling gets bigger.
If successful, it will be a short thing with a considerable modern thrust.

n.d. but late March 1914 JC with IS to ME, drafted, possibly not sent.

Nous allons encore vous demander un grand et grave service. *David* se forme et nous passionne de plus en plus. Or le principe même de *David*, sa brièveté, son orchestre, sa plastique, son dépouillement lui assignent une toute petite scène. D'un autre côté les trouvailles de Thévenaz nous obligent à le considérer comme inséparable de notre ouvrage auquel, du reste, il participera de nom.

Chère Misia, nous redoutons Serge et sa jalousie de "bébé". Nous redoutons

1° qu'il veuille prendre *David* (ce qui obligerait à le déformer, à le grandir, à le livrer à [Michel] Fokine, ce à quoi je - Igor - préfère ne pas le composer - car ce n'est pas une danse mais une acrobatie de gymnasiarque forain)

2° qu'il y "voie" le nouveau

3° qu'il déconseille

4° qu'il desserve

5° tout "genre monstre" enfin.

Chère Misia, vous aimerez, vous adorerez *David* et vous servirez *David* à cause de votre tendresse pour nous deux. Nous vous supplions de faire, dès utile, comprendre à Serge que cela n'a rien à voir avec la saison (ce qui est la pure vérité) que c'est une courte chose sans attrait théâtral, une parade, et qu'il serait mal de se mettre au travers parce que c'est écraser un oeuf sous le talon. (Il est assez chic pour comprendre.)

Se fâcher avec Serge serait ridicule et renoncer à cause de Serge au travail serait très, très douloureux.

Garder le secret absolu qu'a cette lettre. C'est notre confiance qui nous la dicte sans hésitation.

We are going to ask you another large and serious favour. *David* is taking shape and is exciting us more and more. The very idea behind *David*, its shortness, its orchestra, its decor, its simplicity, limit it to a very small stage.

Another aspect is that Thévenaz's inventions oblige us to consider him indispensable to our work, in which, moreover, he will be a named participant.

Dear Misia, we fear Serge and his babyish jealousy. We fear:

1) that he will want to take over *David* (which would mean that it would be distorted, made bigger, given over to [the choreographer, Michel] Fokine, all of which I - Igor - prefer not to compose for - because it's not a dance but an acrobatic sequence by a country-fair tumbler).

2) that he may "see" new things in it

3) that he would advise against doing it

4) that he would do it a disservice

5) all 'overbearing behaviour' in the end.

Dear Misia, you will like, you will love *David* and you will serve *David* because of your affection for us two. We beg you, when you can, to make Serge understand that it has nothing to do with the season (which is the honest truth) that it's a short piece which is not meant for the theatre, a parade, and that it would be bad to fall out because that would be like crushing an egg underfoot. (He is smart enough to understand.)

To quarrel with Serge would be ridiculous and to give up the work because of Serge would be very, very painful.

Keep the closely-guarded secret which this letter contains. Our trust allows us to write

<p>On vous embrasse Jean Igor P.S Les trois danses, leur présentation et les trois poèmes c'est du music-hall, trois numéros d'acrobates. (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i>, p.476)</p>	<p>it without hesitation. With best wishes. Jean Igor P.S. The three dances, their presentation and the three poems are music-hall, three acrobatic numbers.</p>
--	--

Leysin, 23 March 1914 JC to Mme Cocteau

<p>Diaghilev câble télégramme sur télégramme à Igor. Sans doute va-t-il nous mettre les bâtons dans les roues. Mais nous prévoyons les embûches et préparons les réponses. Que tout donne du mal! (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i>, p.150)</p>	<p>Diaghilev is sending telegram after telegram to Igor. He is probably going to put a spanner in the works. But we are watching out for ambushes and preparing the replies. Doesn't everything become difficult!</p>
--	---

27 March 1914 JC to IS

	<p>Could hardly say goodbye; was so sad about your troubles and so worried about our dear <i>David</i>. (Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i>, p.103)</p>
--	---

4 May 1914 JC to Comte Étienne de Beaumont

	<p>...my apologies for the strange card and the red ink, but nothing else is available in the disorder in which I live....I need someone to help me live. When one's hair, eyes and heart are all in a mess, one doesn't get along very well in a city that deflects the brightest enthusiasm into debauchery, sets traps for the ambitious, and has its nets ready if one stumbles. (Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i>, p.107)</p>
--	--

Paris, 14 May 1914 JC to IS

	<p>Madly want you to come. Just had a serious disagreement with Serge. Crucial (for you) that I speak to you before anyone else does. Above all, do not fail to telegraph arrival. (Craft, <i>Stravinsky, Correspondence</i>, Vol I, p.83)</p>
--	--

Paris, 15 May 1914 JC to IS

	<p><i>David will be the great work of the era. The "Montjoies!" [people who subscribe to the artistic publication <i>Montjoie!</i>] can no</i></p>
--	--

	<p>longer restrain their curiosity. [Ricciotto] Canudo [director of <i>Montjoie!</i>] has made excuses about his old attitude toward me (prodigious scene). <i>David is essential. One awaits David as the sand thirsts for fresh, heavy water. I am completing the second</i> [illegible]. [Illegible] perilous on his own. He works with all his heart and I think that Serge has received a severe lesson in respect to the "<i>fastes tralalas</i>". (Craft, <i>Stravinsky, Correspondence</i>, Vol I, p.84)</p>
--	--

26 May 1914 JC to IS

	<p>I did not join you tonight because audiences disgust me and I find Serge intolerable. Misia, too, completely under his thumb, is becoming offensive. I was at the back of a box, overcome by your dear music [for <i>The Nightingale</i>] and all the memories of Leysin that accompanied it. The further I go, the more I detach myself in my work from the Russian Ballet and all its parasites.... (Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i>, p.107)</p>
--	---

n.d. but c. June 1914 JC to IS

	<p>You are a long way from the work on <i>David</i>, and so am I because of the proofs of my book [<i>Le Potomak</i>]. It's as simple as that. We should have said so to each other. Silence always complicates things. (Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i>, p.108)</p>
--	--

n.d. but c. March 1915 JC to the painter, Albert Gleizes

<p>Cela presse...et je tiens à vous attendre car un patronage officiel me permet de dire "Voilà enfin de l'art de chez nous." Je prouve la différence avec Max Reinhardt. (Volta, <i>Satie et la Danse</i>, p.132)</p>	<p>[Re: A Midsummer Night's Dream] It's urgent...and I'm determined to wait for you because official patronage lets me say "Here finally is our own country's art." I'm proving that there's a difference from [the theatre director] Max Reinhardt.</p>
---	--

11 March 1915 André Lhote (cubist painter) to JC

<p>...le cubisme, qui ne se contente pas de</p>	<p>...cubism, which is not content with</p>
---	---

surfaces, a son application toute trouvée au cirque, où les personnages et les décors offrent aux spectateurs, simultanément, tous leurs profils.

(Volta, *Satie et la Danse*, p.132)

surfaces, finds its raison d'être ready-made at the circus, where the performers and the decor show the spectators all their profiles simultaneously.

27 March 1915 JC article in *Le Mot*

A new production, with French music, around *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, by our ally Shakespeare, would be a splendid benefit for the wounded - and for the non-wounded as well!

(Stegmuller, *Jean Cocteau*, p.132)

n.d. but c. March 1915 André Lhote to JC

De la confrontation de nos croquis, il résulte que nous sommes partis de points de vue différents: vous visant à une interprétation de l'actualité, moi entraîné, par suite de mon ignorance de cette actualité, à me lancer dans la pure fantaisie.

(Volta, *Satie et la danse*, p.134)

Judging from the comparison of our sketches, the conclusion is that we have set out from different points of view: you aiming for a realistic interpretation, whereas I, in the dark about this reality, have been carried away into fantasy.

n.d. but c. March 1915 JC to Albert Gleizes

Le *Songe* peut et doit être une merveille...

J'avais accueilli le signe amical de Lhote par lassitude de voir tout le monde parti (Picasso très malade) et du retard de votre réponse. Cela ne gêne en rien. Je ne m'adressais pas à son "Louis-Philippe" mais à son charme (quelquefois) des couleurs pour les costumes.

Ma traduction est littérale - grandes coupures (tout le côté "fleurette" intraduisible et ennuyeux). Reste une sorte de Cinéma du Sublime. Je vous demande, les mains jointes, d'urgence: un rouge garance pour le premier tapis, un jaune serin pour le deuxième, un vert pomme (Véronèse) pour le troisième. Je fais entrer les ouvriers (en costume de clowns à paillettes) dans leurs maisons et ils forment

The [*Midsummer Night's*] *Dream* can and must be a marvel. Médrano [Circus] orchestra a pot-pourri of everything we like directed by [the composer, Edgar] Varèse - clowns, etc...you're my saviour. I had welcomed the friendly offer from [the painter, André] Lhote out of sheer fatigue at seeing that everyone had gone (Picasso very sick) and because your reply was so delayed. That's no problem. I wasn't appealing to his "Louis-Philippe" side but to his seductiveness (sometimes) with colours for the costumes.

My translation is literal - big excisions (the whole "charm and dalliance" bit - untranslatable and boring). What remains is a kind of Cinema of the Sublime. I ask of you, hands joined in prayer, urgently: a madder red for the first mat - a canary yellow for the second - apple green (Veronese) for the third. I bring on the workmen (in spangly costumes) in their

leur rue que des projecteurs éclairent tout à coup (Chaos d'ombres et de cubes multicolores)...Après cette mise en scène toute simple, je voudrais projeter sur les tapis des attributs de lanterne magique - ombres d'arbres, taches, colombes, etc. - se déformant sur les uniformes actuels de l'alliance (Hippolyte en bonnet phrygien et Thésée en général French de cauchemar)...

(Volta, *Satie et la danse*, p.133)

houses and they form their street which projectors light up straightaway (Confusion of shadows and multi-coloured cubes)...After this quite simple staging I want to project onto the mats the attributes of a magic lantern - shadows of trees, blobs of colour, doves, etc.... A kind of cinema, sublime - Hippolytus in a Phrygian cap and Theseus like a nightmare French general.

(Brown, *An Impersonation of Angels*, p.125 and Steegmuller, *Jean Cocteau*, p.134)

Ouchy-Lausanne, n.d. [summer/autumn 1915] ME to JC

[Stravinsky] is preoccupied at this moment with another work to which he attaches great importance, and just as I feared, he will not commit himself to *David* just now. That's the only reason I did not insist on his doing it immediately. I shall tell you his reasons, to which absolutely no objection can be made. I delivered your letters, which were not read in my presence. Stravinsky seemed to be very much affected by them and told me he would write to you.

Last night, a dress rehearsal for us of what has been done these past months. Something completely new [*Le Soleil de nuit*], very beautiful, in which Massine proves that he really is someone. And how prejudiced we were against him, [the painter, José-Maria] Sert and I!!

(Gold and Fizdale, *Misia*, p.173)

4 October 1915 JC to IS

J'ai vu Madame Edwards (Misia) - il y a une seule chose que tu n'as pas bien comprise et qu'elle n'avait pas bien comprise - il importe donc que j'insiste: *David* m'est égal - ne me parle jamais de *David* - *David* est déjà transposé dans ma tête, *David* c'est toi, le Sacre, les Noces villageoises - *David* c'est un moment de nous. C'était sans doute nécessaire à notre jonction. Ce qu'il faut retenir de *David* c'est un pacte de longue et fraternelle

I have seen Madame Edwards (Misia) - there is just one thing that you have not fully understood and that she has not fully understood - it is important that I emphasize it: I do not care about *David*. Never speak to me of *David* - *David* is already transposed in my head, *David* is you, The Rite, The Wedding - *David* is a stage in our relationship. It was probably essential for our getting to know each other. What must be retained from *David*

amitié. (Aschengreen, <i>Jean Cocteau and the Dance</i> , p.65)	is a pact of long, fraternal friendship. (Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i> , p.108)
--	--

15 October 1915 ES to VG

Mais oui! Je serai enchanté de voir Cocteau - & vous, bien entendu! Vous avez eu une charmante idée, comme toujours du reste. Vous êtes un bon type. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.218)	Of course! I shall be delighted to see Cocteau - and you, needless to say. Your idea is charming, as your ideas always are. You are one of the good ones. (Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i> , p.135)
--	---

2 February 1916 JC to VG

	Not a word from Picasso - he has forgotten how to write since he has taken to <i>collage</i> . (Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i> , p.145)
--	--

6 February 1916 ES to the composer, Edgar Varèse

Reçûtes-vous mon mot de Jeudi dernier? Je vous ai fait envoyer les "Gymnopédies" par Rouart. Je vous demande de réserver ma musique pour le "Songe d'une Nuit d'Été" Vous voulez bien? Du reste, le matériel n'est pas au point. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.228)	Did you get my note of last Thursday? I asked [the music publisher] Rouart to send you the "Gymnopédies". I would ask you to hold back on my music for "A Midsummer Night's Dream". Will you do that? Apart from that, the material isn't ready.
---	---

n.d. but c. late March or early April 1916 JC to VG

	Picasso urged me to go with him to the Italian Hospital to see [Guillaume] Apollinaire [wounded on 17 March 1916]. I like his taste for bringing people together - proof of richness of heart - but I feel that the misunderstanding between Apollinaire and me, and the differences between what we think of each other, are too great for me to be willing to rush into a meeting. (Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i> , p.148)
--	--

17 April 1916 ES to VG

Demain 6 rue Huyghens (Lyre & Palette) à 8h30 précises. Soirée Ravel-Satie. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.236)	Tomorrow at 6 rue Huyghens (Lyre & Palette) at 8.30 pm precisely. Ravel-Satie evening. [Cocteau attended the concert and subsequently asked Satie to collaborate on <i>Parade</i> .]
--	--

25 April 1916 ES to VG

Grippé comme un cheval. Vais mieux. À demain, chez vous. C'est entendu.

J'espere que l'admirable Cocteau ne se servira pas de mes vieilles oeuvres. Faisons du neuf, n'est-ce pas?

Pas de blagues.

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.239)

I have flu like a horse. Getting better. See you tomorrow at your place. Understood.

I hope that good old Cocteau won't use my old pieces. Let's do something new, shall we?

No tricks.

1 May 1916 JC to VG

Je trouve à votre contact la force de rebondir. Grâce à vous j'ai envoyé à Arcueil une grosse liasse de travail. Grâce à vous je m'acharne avec solitude et somnambulisme.

(US-AUS)

This morning I posed for Picasso. He is starting a very 'Ingres' [i.e.classical] head of me to serve as a frontispiece for a young Poet's works after his premature death. Through contact with you I'm finding the strength to bounce back. Thanks to you I've sent a big bundle of work to [ES in] Arcueil. Thanks to you I am slaving in solitude and sleep-walking.

(Volta, *Satie Seen through his Letters*, p.111)

1 May 1916 JC to ES

Je suis en pleine emotion. Voici des pages. Libre à vous de les employer toutes ou une pour chaque. Ne m'en parlez même pas.

Les notes en vert ne sont que des idées neuves d'emploi du chant (voix de contralto/boîte d'en bas, voix d'enfant/boîte du haut) qui peuvent bouleverser par leur ligne et leur fraîcheur et leur chaleur en dessus des bruits de votre orchestre. C'est le mystère de l'intérieur – des haleines du monde – des songes de songe et d'*exactitude* sans quoi le songe ne vaut rien.

Tâchez d'en mettre le plus possible – dans l'ordre qui vous plait, - mais ces pages vous appartiennent – vous êtes libre – ne me demandez même pas conseil.

Elles partent du "*Cap de Bonne Espérance*", un gros poème que nous aimerons.

Que je vous aime et comme j'aime notre oeuvre *déjà faite*.

I'm at the height of emotion. Here are some pages. You're free to use them all or one for each. Don't even consult me. The notes in green are just new ideas for the use of song (contralto voice/box downstage, child's voice/box upstage) which may have an effect because of their line and their freshness and warmth above the noises of your orchestra. They refer to the mystery of the interior - breaths of the world - dreams of dreams and of *precision* without which the dream is worthless.

Try to include as much of it as possible, in whatever order you wish - but these pages belong to you – don't even ask my advice. They come from the "*Cap de Bonne Espérance*", a bulky poem which we shall like. How I like you, and how I like our work, *already completed!*

Let's go, frigate!

Jean Cocteau

My dear Satie. There's some work for

<p>Allons! Frégate Jean Cocteau Mon cher Satie. Voilà du travail pour bruiteurs. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.240)</p>	<p>noise-makers.</p> <p>[The following ideas were included with this letter: The Titanic...elevators...the sirens of Boulogne – submarine cables – tar – varnish – the machines of transatlantic steamers...<i>The New York Herald</i> – dynamos – airplanes...cinemas – the sheriff's daughter – Walt Whitman – the silence of stampedes – cowboys with leather and goat-skin chaps – the telegraph operator from Los Angeles who marries the detective in the end...the Sioux...Negroes picking maize – jail – the beautiful Mrs Astor, the declarations of President Wilson, torpedo boat mines, the tango, gramophones, typewriters, Brooklyn bridge...Nick Carter – Helene Dodge – the Hudson and its docks – the Carolinas – my room on the seventeenth floor – panhandlers – advertising – Charlie Chaplin – Christopher Columbus – metal landscapes – the victims of the <i>Lusitania</i>...the isle of Mauritius – <i>Paul et Virginie</i>.] (Rothschild, <i>Picasso's "Parade"</i>, p.81 n.19)</p>
---	--

2 May 1916 ES to JC

<p>J'ai reçu le manuscrit. Très épatant! Je mets de l'ordre dans mes idées. Écrivez-moi, n'est-ce pas? Il y a là un travail de cheval. Je suis en train de résumer le tout. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.241)</p>	<p>I've received the manuscript. Very exciting. I'm putting my ideas in order. You'll write to me, won't you. There is a lot of hard work here. I am making a summary of it all.</p>
--	--

3 May 1916 JC to VG

<p>Pneu de Satie. 'Très épatant,' dit-il. Est-ce là du chaud dans sa langue de faune? Tâchez de savoir. (Volta, <i>Satie et Cocteau</i>, p.22)</p>	<p>Telegram from Satie. 'Very exciting,' he says. Does that mean enthusiasm in his faun's language? Try to find out. (Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i>, p.151)</p>
--	--

9 May 1916 JC to VG

Suppose <i>Parade</i> rêve...J'avale mes larmes. (Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i> , p.22)	Gone to pieces overnight. I suppose <i>Parade</i> is just a dream - impossible to imagine that I'm anything but a frozen wretch jogging here and there. I'm swallowing my tears. (Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i> , p.151)
--	--

12.May 1916 JC to VG

Inquiet <i>Parade</i> , inquiet 'source', 'verve', etc. (Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i> , p.22)	Strange exhaustion. Worried about <i>Parade</i> . Worried about drying up, zest, etc. (Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i> , p.151)
---	---

12 May 1916 JC to Mme Cocteau

Il ne faut pas trop médire de Paris. C'est l'engrais des roses. Il empeste, mais il est indispensable aux artistes. J'y ai, cette fois, pour mon compte, fait une chose importante, un oeuf que couve un musicien et par la réussite duquel avait échoué <i>David</i> . Ce sont ces fatalités, cet ordre avec une apparence de désordre qui m'aide à vivre et me donne ma foi. (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i> , p.243)	You musn't criticise Paris too much. It's fertiliser for roses. It stinks, but it's indispensable for artists. As far as I am concerned, this time I have done something important, laid an egg for a musician to hatch and on whose success <i>David</i> failed. It's this fate, this order that seems like chaos which helps me to live and gives me faith.
---	---

15 May 1916 JC to VG

	Encourage me - I no longer dare have any faith in [the poem] <i>Le Cap</i> , in Satie - I'm back in a state of dreary low spirits - impossible to work. (Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i> , p.152)
--	---

15 May 1916 ES to ME

Matisse, Picasso & autres bons messieurs donnent, le 30 Mai, chez Bongard, un concert "Granados-Satie". Votre presence rue Huyghens m'ayant porté bonheur (oui, Madame), je vous demande, dans cette nouvelle cérémonie, de me patronner. Vous voulez? Ce que vous m'avez dit, chez vous, au sujet des "Ballets Russes", a déjà produit son effet: je travaille à un truc que je me propose de vous montrer d'ici peu & qui vous est dédié en le pensant & en	Matisse, Picasso and other fine gentlemen are giving a 'Granados-Satie' concert on 30 May at [Germaine] Bongard's. Since your presence at rue Huyghens brought me luck (yes, Madame), I would ask you to support me at this new ceremony. Will you? What you told me, at your house, about the "Ballets Russes" has already produced its effect: I'm working on something which I intend to show you very shortly & which is dedicated to you in its conception and its composition.
--	--

l'écrivain. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.242)	
--	--

18 May 1916 ES to VG

Je travaille avec joie. J'écris moi-même à Cocteau. Qu'il n'ait pas peur: ça marche. [...] P.S. Écrivez donc à Fargue: j'ai besoin d'un "truc" nouveau pour le <i>Concert Matisse</i> . (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.244)	I'm working happily. I'm writing myself to Cocteau. He shouldn't be afraid: things are moving. [...] P.S. Write then to [the poet, Léon-Paul] Fargue: I need a new "thing" for the <i>Concert Matisse</i> .
--	--

18 May 1916 ES to JC

N'ayez pas peur: ça marche. Quel chic sujet! Je crois que j'y suis, & bien! Veine! Où donc perchez-vous? Un mot, voulez-vous? [...] P.S. Valentine Gross me dit que vous avez la frousse. Non? Quand passez-vous à Paris? J'aimerais vous voir: il y a tellement de choses à faire que, tout seul, j'en suis baba. C'est fou. Chic! Bravo! <u>Vive Cocteau!</u> (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.244)	Don't be afraid: it's progressing. What a terrific subject! I think that I'm getting there! Lucky! Where are you holed up? Send me a note, will you! [...] Valentine Gross tells me that you're jittery. Are you? When are you coming to Paris? I would like to see you: there are so many things to do that, on my own, I am overwhelmed. It's mad. Great! Hooray! <u>Long live Cocteau!</u>
---	--

?18 May 1916 JC to VG

Lettre admirable de Satie. Vive Cocteau, dit-il. Rien ne pouvait me toucher plus. (Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i> , p.23)	Wonderful letter from Satie. Long live Cocteau, he says. Nothing could touch me more.
---	---

22 May 1916 JC to Mme Cocteau

Une lettre d'Erik Satie me reconforte. Il est ridiculement et délicieusement modeste, mais je devine entre les lignes qu'il travaille sur une bonne pente. (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i> , p.248)	A letter from Erik Satie cheers me up. He is ridiculously and deliciously modest, but reading between the lines, I can guess that he is working in the right direction.
---	---

Paris, 6 June 1916 Mme Cocteau to JC

Hier j'ai été voir Madeleine...elle m'a parlé d'une soirée chez Mme Bongard étrange milieu, étranges gens où on a joué avec commentaires indispensables, de la musique d'Erik Satie qui a déchaîné le fou-rire à tel point qu'on en pleurait! Elle ne savait pas la pauvre en me disant cela le	Yesterday I went to see Madeleine [Lemaire, a society hostess] ...she told me about a soirée <i>chez</i> Mme Bongard; strange company, strange people where they played, with necessary commentary, some music by Erik Satie, which unleashed uncontrollable laughter to such an extent
---	---

mal qu'elle me faisait en développant chez moi la sourde inquiétude qui me ronge depuis que je vois ta claire et lucide intelligence à la solde de tous ces ratés! Pour accentuer si se peut cette fâcheuse impression, j'arrive ce matin aux Aveugles où je trouve du Castel qui me dit: "Connaissez-vous la soeur de Poiret?" Non... "Eh bien il paraît qu'il y a eu chez elle l'autre jour une soirée qui dépassait la mesure du burlesque." C'est une persécution et tu vois combien j'ai raison de rester at home [sic]!

(Cocteau, *Lettres à sa mère*, p.453)

that people were crying. The poor woman did not know the pain she was causing me by telling me that. It increased the numbing anxiety which has been gnawing away at me since I've seen your bright clear-minded intelligence cheapened by all those losers! To make this annoying impression worse, I arrive this morning at the Aveugles where I find du Castel who says to me: "Do you know [the couturier, Paul] Poiret's sister?" No... "Well it seems that the other day at her place there was a soirée which went way beyond a joke." I feel persecuted and you can see how right I am to stay at home!

8 June 1916 JC to Mme Cocteau

Tu juges toujours un peu vite, de trop loin et avec une petite confusion que plus de confiance en moi dissiperait immédiatement. Mme Bongard (que je me refuse à connaître) est une sotte... Pauvre Satie avait accepté ce concert à cause de sa misère affreuse où ses meilleurs amis (Fargue auteur des paroles d'une mélodie neuve et toute la N.R.F) n'ont pu se résoudre à venir. "On ne peut se rendre chez Bongard" écrit Gallimard, à Valentine, "même pour notre pauvre Erik". Tu t'embrouilles, à travers Madeleine, bien gentille mais nulle. Satie n'a donné là que de la musique drôle, bouffe, d'Alphonse Allais son compatriote en quelque sorte et une chose orchestrée par Debussy qui est parmi les plus belles de la musique française. Tu parles de ratés - à tout âge il y eut autour des grands des ratés - ce que tu nommes ratés, groupe de ratés, c'est, depuis Claudel et Péguy académiques jusqu'à Apollinaire et Salmon par exemple jeunes, tout ce qui existe sur terre d'écrivains qui ne connaissent pas Madame de Pierrebourg. Demande à Debussy, à Vincent d'Indy, à Ravel, à Stravinsky, à tous, ce qu'ils pensent de Satie - peut-être cela balancera-t-il l'opinion de Madeleine

You always judge a little too quickly, from too far away and with a little embarrassment which more confidence in me would immediately dispel. Mme Bongard (whom I refuse to meet) is a fool... Poor Satie had accepted this concert because of his appalling poverty and his best friends (Fargue who wrote the words to a new song and all the N.R.F.) couldn't bring themselves to go to it. "We can't go to Bongard's" writes [the publisher] Gallimard to Valentine, "even for our poor Erik." You're getting mixed up in that via Madeleine, who is nice, but worthless. At the soirée Satie only played funny, jokey music, somewhat in the style of Alphonse Allais, a sort of compatriot of his, and something orchestrated by Debussy which is one of the most beautiful examples of French music. You speak about failures - in every age there have been losers surrounding great people - what you call failures, a group of failures, are, from [Paul] Claudel and Péguy in the Academy to Apollinaire and [the writer, André] Salmon as examples amongst the young, those writers who do not know the work of Mme de Pierrebourg. Ask Debussy, Vincent d'Indy, Ravel, Stravinsky,

qui pourtant était, si je ne me trompe, avec Misia, laquelle supporte mal qu'on touche à Erik Satie, ce grand inventeur sensible, caché derrière son binocle, et modeste comme un provincial d'Arcueil. Ne t' imagine pas que je me trompe. Je renifle sans commettre une erreur.

(Cocteau, *Lettres à sa mère*, p.260)

everyone, what they think of Satie - perhaps that will balance the opinion of Madeleine who moreover was, if I am not mistaken, with Misia, the one who would not accept people meddling with Erik Satie, this great inventor full of feeling, hidden behind his eyeglasses, and modest like an Arcueil provincial. Don't think that I'm mistaken. I'm turning my nose up at what you say without making a mistake.

8 June 1916 ES to JC

Ne soyez donc pas inquiet, non plus que nerveux; je travaille. Laissez-moi faire, bon vieux. Sachez que je ne vous présenterai l'oeuvre qu'en octobre. Vous n'en connaîtrez pas *une note*, avant. Cela je le jure! Voulez-vous me permettre de dire que vous êtes l'auteur du sujet? J'en ai besoin. Madame Edwards soutient cette oeuvre. Je lui ai dit qu'elle devrait attendre octobre. Je *veux* faire bien, *très*; il faut me donner crédit. Si vous venez à Paris, faites-moi signe.

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.246)

Now don't get worried or even nervous; I'm working. Let me get on with it, old chap. But I want you to know that I shall not show you my work before October. You won't hear *a note* of it before then. That I swear! Will you allow me to call you the author of the work. I need to. Madame Edwards approves of this project. I've told her she will have to wait until October. I *want* to do it well, *very*; you must give me credit for that. If you are coming to Paris, let me know.

After 8 June 1916 JC to ME, but possibly never sent.

A letter from Erik Satie absolves me from my vow of silence. One evening in your house, by thrilling coincidence, Satie asked me to collaborate with him at the very moment I was about to ask him the same. That little miracle happened in the presence of Valentine Gross, who thus learned of the matter. I kept the secret until I was sure that the work was well on the way, having suffered from being overhasty with Igor. This was also Satie's explicit wish. Moreover, though nothing is left of *David*, *David's* failure surely served to make possible the birth of the new work - there are mysteries that are beyond human understanding. You will be the first to hear it, so I am telling you about it at once - dropping my incognito (for you alone) the moment Satie asks me. We won't take less

	<p>than your 'love' - mere 'approval' would kill us poor Arcueil-Anjou minstrels. It is a very short work, which resembles the composer - everything goes on behind the eyeglasses.</p> <p>P.S. Since the title is not definite, I leave it vague.</p> <p>[Steegmuller states that a second version of the letter and the postscript exists: 'Since the title is not definite I leave the ? [a question-mark] of the Maîtres de New York.' [Steegmuller suggests that this is a reference to the symbol of interrogation favoured by Marcel Duchamp and other early New York Dadaists.]</p> <p>(Steegmuller, <i>Jean Cocteau</i>, p.155)</p>
--	--

9 July 1916 ES to ME

<p>Je viens mardi, n'est-ce pas? Si oui, pas un mot: j'arriverai moi-même.</p> <p>J'ai beaucoup réfléchi à ma petite idée de "<i>Fables</i>". Ça marchera & je veux que cela vous plaise.</p> <p>Le 'truc' Cocteau viendra après. Je ne l'abandonne nullement. Je ne suis pas un lâcheur. Aussi Diaghilev n'est pas un homme à revenir sur son acceptation, j'imagine?</p> <p>Ces "<i>Fables</i>" nous permettront d'être très moderne, car nous rejetons froidement le pastiche. Foin de ce dernier!</p> <p>Ce bon vieux La Fontaine en sera tout cramoisi, le pauvre. Au fait, j'ai un de mes amis qui habite sa rue, à Passy. J'irai faire un tour de ce côté: cela m'inspirera.</p> <p>Je vais chez votre frère, ce soir. Y serez-vous?</p> <p>(Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.110)</p>	<p>I am coming on Tuesday, am I not? If so, not a word: I'll arrive myself.</p> <p>I have thought a lot about my little idea for the "<i>Fables</i>" [of La Fontaine]. It will work & I want you to be pleased with it.</p> <p>The Cocteau 'thing' will come afterwards. I'm not giving it up at all. I'm not fickle. Also Diaghilev isn't a man to go back on his word, I think.</p> <p>These "<i>Fables</i>" will allow us to be very modern, since we coldly reject pastiche. To hell with this!</p> <p>Dear old La Fontaine will turn quite red, poor thing. In fact I have a friend who lives in his street, in Passy. I'll go for a walk round there: that will inspire me.</p> <p>I'm going to your brother's this evening. Will you be there?</p>
---	---

11 July 1916 JC to VG

<p>Vous voir! Nous voir! Voir Erik! Voir, vivre, et créer.</p> <p>(Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i>, p.23)</p>	<p>The huge tent is shifted to a new location every five minutes. Dreary pageant of filthy bedding, the front advances, leaving us behind. To see you! To see each other! To see Erik! To see, to live and to create.</p> <p>(Steegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i>, p.157)</p>
---	---

10 or 11 July 1916 JC to Mme Cocteau

Parlé de Misia...avec Boche liftier du Meurice. Raconte Misia, je ne lui écris plus n'ayant aucune réponse à des lettres qui en demandent.

(Cocteau, *Lettres à sa mère*, p.279)

Spoken about Misia ... with German lift-attendant at the [Hotel] Meurice. Tell Misia, I'm not writing to her any longer, since I have had no reply to letters which need one.

July [?], 1916 ME to JC

Quoique je n'aie rien dit à Satie, je sais que, s'il veut faire quelque chose pour Serge, votre présence sera inutile. Je passe outre sur cela, en tous cas. J'attends Serge cette semaine et j'espère travailler tout cela une fois pour toutes. Satie vient me voir assez souvent et j'ai vraiment de grands espoirs sur lui. Il est candide et actif et j'espère qu'il saura se libérer des menaces qui pèsent sur lui.... J'ai demandé à Stravinsky d'appuyer Satie et il était si enthousiaste qu'il pensait même de combiner ce projet avec la nouvelle oeuvre qui lui a été commandée par Polignac [*Renard*] pour faire une courte et parfaite soirée.

(Volta, *Satie/Cocteau*, p.24)

Although I have said nothing to Satie, I know that, if he wants to do something for Serge, your presence will be unnecessary. I'll pass over this however. I'm expecting Serge this week and I hope to work all that out once and for all. Satie comes to see me quite often and I have really high hopes of him. He is straightforward and sprightly and I hope that he will be able to shake off the threats which weigh him down.... I have asked Stravinsky to support Satie and he was so enthusiastic that he even thought of combining this project [*Fables* or *Parade*?] with the new work which has been commissioned from him by Polignac [*Renard*] in order to make a short and perfect evening.

13 July 1916 ES to VG

Pour ce qui est de moi, je ne travaille pas: j'ai, sur moi, une dépression épouvantable que je ne puis surmonter.

Cela va mal. J'ai envie de faire des mufleries au pauvre monde. Du reste, j'en fais.

Stern m'invite à dîner ce soir. Je n'y vais pas. Il me dégoûte.

Que devient Cocteau? À lui aussi, j'ai fait une muflerie que je vous conterai plus tard, beaucoup plus tard. Oui.

Vous, chère amie, vous êtes à l'abri de ces "représailles".

J'ai vu Diaghilev et ai fait affaire avec lui. Je lui ai soumis une idée qui lui a plu d'autant qu'il cherchait dans cette voie et ne trouvait rien. J'aurai là une série de

As far as I'm concerned, I'm not working: I'm overcome by a terrible depression that I can't shake off.

I'm feeling bad. I feel like playing dirty tricks on the poor world. As a matter of fact, that's what I'm doing.

[The painter, Charles] Stern has invited me to dinner this evening. I'm not going. He disgusts me.

What is happening with Cocteau? I've played a dirty trick on him, too, and I'll tell you about it later, much later. Yes.

You, dear friend, are sheltered from these "reprisals".

I have seen Diaghilev and have made a deal with him. I put forward an idea that pleased him especially as he was looking

<p>trucs "à moi". Vous entendez? Nous avons fait très bon ménage lui et moi. Il me roulera?* Probablement. Tant pis pour lui. [...] *Je ne commence pas ce "truc" sans une avance. Ai-je tort? Non.</p> <p>(Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.248)</p>	<p>for something in that vein and couldn't find anything. I'll have a range of things "of my own". Do you understand? We got on well together, he and I. Will he put one over on me?* Probably. He'll regret it. [...] *I won't start this project without an advance. Am I wrong? No.</p>
---	--

13 July 1916 JC to VG

<p>J'ai un sentiment d'angoisse et de solitude folles... Vous supplie faire signe, exorciser contre diable, voir Satie et savoir. Je crèverai de cette déception.</p> <p>(Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i>, p.23)</p>	<p>I feel terribly alone and anguished... I beg you to let me hear from you, exorcise the devil, see Satie, learn what is going on. If this thing fell through it would be the end of me.</p> <p>(Steegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i>, p.163)</p>
--	---

n.d. but c. July 1916 JC to VG

<p>Avais-je assez senti le drame Satie. J'espère drame un terme excessif. Votre apparition de cygne disperse les grenouilles. Ecrivez vite. Inquiétude pour <i>Parade</i>.</p> <p>(US-AUS)</p>	<p>Was I fully aware of the Satie drama. I hope that drama is an excessive word. Your swan-like appearance disperses the frogs. Write quickly. Worried about <i>Parade</i>.</p>
--	---

18 July 1916 ES to the pianist, Ricardo Viñes

<p>Vous êtes invité, Cher & Délicieux Complice, demain <u>Mercredi</u>, à diner chez Madame Edwards (20h). Il y aura Valentine, Picasso & A! Paul Hinn-Air, le critique célèbre.</p> <p>(Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.249)</p>	<p>You are invited, Dear and Delicious Accomplice, tomorrow, <u>Wednesday</u>, to dinner <i>chez</i> Madame Edwards (8pm). There will be Valentine, Picasso & Apollinaire, the famous critic.</p>
---	--

n.d. but c.24 July 1916 JC to VG

	<p>I'm not counting on Picasso but he has certainly given me more pleasure than he could ever cause me pain.</p> <p>(Steegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i>, p.157)</p>
--	--

n.d. but probably 24 July 1916 JC to ME

	<p>This is written in a Bessonau tent, a lovely house swollen with light, like a cloud by Monsieur Jojo [Sert], with planes that champ the sky and eat out of your hand. Celluloid windows. A road crowded with captive Huns that look like servants,</p>
--	---

thrown out by Kessler [a German art collector and patron of the arts] and great guns camouflaged as rustic scenery, painted by [the designer Léon] Bakst, or by Picasso, retaliation for the cubism that is bombarding Munich.

Your letter arrived as though dropped by pigeon post, and reassured my heart. Being far away, in the land of cannibals, one begins to worry and doubt even the most loyal.

The work that I am 'pregnant' with begins to get organised, sends me into paroxysms of despair, and gives me many a consolation. Nothing can describe the 'androgynous' discomfort of the poet who fertilizes and gives birth at the same time.

Satie is an angel (well disguised), an angel from Arcueil-se-Cachan. [Arcueil in hiding] My part of the work doesn't make things easy for him - on the contrary. I wish our collaboration could move you as much as it moved me the day when I told him what he ought to write. An unforgettable Anjou [Cocteau lived in the rue d'Anjou] evening, of such a marvellous richness, such electric response. I can see by his cards that things are going the way I most want them to go. It is *his* drama - and the eternal drama between the audience and the stage - in a form as simple as a penny-peepshow. You know my *love* for and *cult* of Igor - my distress about the stain on the beautiful snow of Leysin and the book I plan to write on his character.

I hope he doesn't ever imagine that I am 'grafting' any cuttings of *David*; there were two sides to *David*, one definite and one confused - a part of myself, and a part of 'circumstances', if one might say so. I bumped into Igor as I progressed towards Satie without knowing it, and perhaps Satie is at the corner of a road that will bring me back to Igor. On the whole, the Stravinsky-Cocteau affair was heavy and full of misunderstanding. Our meeting

	<p>with Satie represents nothing but light and happiness. Dear Misia - I am boring you - you would laugh to see me with my printing-ink - very Bonapartian at the canvas threshold of one of the few houses that you have not frequented - the gun emits huge flashes of heat-lightning - wounded negroes arrive in crowds. The engines are snorting. (Stegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i>, p.157)</p>
--	---

31 July 1916 ES to JC

<p>Oui, cher Ami, je vais Quai Voltaire, demain. Du moins, je le crois. Heureux de vous voir vous-même et moi-même. Les lettres, c'est gentil, mais ce n'est pas verbal. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.250)</p>	<p>Yes, dear friend, I'm going to Quai Voltaire [<i>chez</i> Misia Edwards] tomorrow. At least, I think so. Happy to see you in person. Letters are nice, but they're not spoken.</p>
---	---

[?] July 1916 ME to ?

<p>Satie est vieux. Qu'il reste vieux. C'est si bien. (Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i>, p.24)</p>	<p>Satie is old. Let him stay old. It's so good that way. (Gold and Fizdale, <i>Misia</i>, p.190)</p>
--	--

4 August 1916 ES to VG

<p>Avez-vous des nouvelles de la tante Trufaldin et de l'oncle Brutus? Quelles andouilles! C'est si gentil quand vous me dites doucement – "Satie, il ne faut pas vous fâcher avec eux." Je n'oublierai pas qu'ils sont de la famille, je le jure. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.250)</p>	<p>Do you have any news of aunt Trufaldin and uncle Brutus [ME and her lover, the painter, José-Maria Sert]? What idiots! It's so nice when you say to me gently – "Satie, you must not get angry with them." I won't forget that they are part of the family, I promise. [The Ballets Russes?]</p>
--	---

[?] 4 August 1916 ES to ME

<p>Mon travail Cocteau marche. Nous avons tenu plusieurs conseils. Quel être vivant! Nous faisons très bon ménage. Vous entendrez cette oeuvre sous peu. Bathori, qui joue du piano-piano à ravir, m'offre de jouer cette partition avec moi (4 mains). (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.251)</p>	<p>My Cocteau work is progressing. We have had several meetings. What an electrifying man! We make a good partnership. You will hear this work soon. [The mezzo-soprano, Jane] Bathori, who plays piano-piano delightfully, has offered to play this score with me (duet).</p>
--	---

5 August 1916 JC to VG

	I'm frightfully depressed and confused. What to do? My only comfort is being in touch with you. Impossible to work. Help! (Steegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i> , p.163)
--	---

8 August 1916 ES to VG

Ça y est! Suis fâché avec la tante Trufaldin. Quelle vache! Oui. Vais chez Cocteau demain matin. [...] Réussir avec de tels mufles? Non. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.252)	That's it! I've fallen out with aunt Trufaldin [ME]. What a cow! Yes. I'm going to Cocteau's tomorrow morning. [...] Is it possible to succeed with such devils? No.
---	--

9 August 1916 JC to VG

Très bonne journée avec Satie. Travail. Catastrophe Erik-Trufaldin pas grave et très grave. (Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i> , p.24)	A very good day with Satie. Work. The Erik-Trufaldin [ME] disaster not serious and yet very serious. (Steegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i> , p.163)
---	---

10 August 1916 ES to VG

Cocteau est épatant. Nous travaillons ferme & avec joie. La tante sera moins vue. Ce sera plus agréable: elle ne m'amuse pas. L'oncle idem. Moi et mon cheval de <i>Parade</i> . [On the reverse of this card which shows a picture by Tade Styka of a young man on horseback] (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.252 and 867)	Cocteau is amazing. We're working steadily & happily. The aunt [ME] will be less visible. It's better that way: she doesn't amuse me. Uncle [Sert] ditto. Me and my horse from <i>Parade</i> .
--	---

Before 11 August 1916 JC to IS

	Here are a few much-needed words to put an end to this uneasiness. I have heard that you think I am hostile. My sorrow surpasses my astonishment, for I love you.... I am not going to discuss <i>David</i> : a youthful excess, a fogginess [or vision] brought on by city life and a series of inopportune circumstances, all culminating in the bungling of my first attempt at a work of which, undoubtedly, I was not yet worthy. I blame myself, and the time, when it was
--	---

	<p>impossible for me to comprehend your attitude. Today, slightly matured and free, I recognise that you were right and that, perhaps without realising it yourself, you [were able to] perceive a [true] idea by ingenious instinct.</p> <p>My veneration for you is well known. It will become more so chiefly by my work, which, at the threshold, expresses gratitude for two things: first, for having detected what lies beneath the surface, despite appearances; and second, for having accelerated my period of moulting with your incomparable dynamism.</p> <p>(Craft, <i>Stravinsky, Correspondence</i>, Vol. I, p 85)</p>
--	--

11 August 1916 JC to IS

<p>Satie, un vieil ange qui cache ses vingt ans...</p> <p>Nous collaborons ensemble pour Serge (Satie et moi)...</p>	<p>[The writer, André] Gide took me to hear your little chamber pieces at Darius Milo's [Milhaud's], a sort of Beethoven in sheep's trotters. The first piece agitates and haunts me like certain phrases of the Bible...the second and third evoke [the poet, Arthur] Rimbaud: "Cauchemar de Chinoises" [Nightmare of Chinese women] and "Après le Déluge" [after the flood].</p> <p>(Craft, <i>Stravinsky, Correspondence</i>, Vol.I, p.87)</p> <p>I often speak of you, dear Igor, with Satie and Picasso. Picasso, sentimental mandolinist and fierce Picador; Satie, an old angel who conceals the fact that he is really only twenty and composes marvellous music while his friend Claude [Debussy] reproves the young and 'has enough of all these Russians'!!! Satie and I are collaborating on something for Serge, since Serge, despite the abyss that I feel divides us, is still the only impresario with genius. Our piece will be ready in October. May it distill all the involuntary emotion given off by circuses, music halls, carousels, public balls, factories, seaports, the movies, etc. Etc. It is very short and develops in depth.</p>
--	---

13 August 1916 JC to VG

Nothing very new except that Picasso keeps taking me to the [Montparnasse café, La] Rotonde. I never stay more than a moment, despite the flattering welcome given me by the circle (perhaps I should say the cube). Gloves, cane and collar astonish these artists in shirtsleeves - they have always looked on them as the insignia of feeble-mindedness. Too much café-sitting brings sterility...[the writer] Max Jacob performs in dancing pumps on a slack rope. A convent gardener slipping dirty books to the nuns. A kind of sweet, dirty jack-of-all-trades.

May I never put on such blinkers. Misia is now inseparable from Apollinaris, who is writing poems in the form of *croix de guerre*. What is she up to with him at Maxim's? She has quite abandoned Saint-Leger Leger for him. Our good Satie, in Arcueil, is composing *marvels* for me and refuses to see Tante Brutus [ME]. A long letter to Igor S. in which I let him know that I am far from being a party to inept intrigues. To tell you the truth, Diaghilev - that Italian tenor - finds it clever to attribute to me all the blunders of the Quai Voltaire, all due to my influence, he says, - and naive Igor accuses me of treachery.

Still, it is a great thing to be in the thick of the dog-fights of great art. These chicaneries fade away as time goes on, and what is left is a divine group breathing sweetness and light. ...

(Steegmuller, *Cocteau*, p.163)

n.d. but c. August 1916 JC to Albert Gleizes

Apollinaire very tiresome with his Bolivar beard, his scar and his stupid war. Picasso I love. People are trying to set us against each other, but I refuse to listen to the obtuse, to his fellow painters who are furious with him for stealing their

	inventions. An invention, in painting! As though there could be inventions! (Stegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i> , p.164)
--	---

16 August 1916 ES to VG

Comment va? Cocteau me dit vous avoir écrit & est inquiet de votre silence. Pas malade? Reçûtes-vous une carte de moi? La 'tante' est bien une 'faiseuse d'anges': c'est un véritable monstre. Ainsi ne vais-je pas chez elle. Moi, je ne suis pas <i>fâché</i> . Non. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.253)	How are things? Cocteau tells me he has written to you and is worried by your silence. Not ill? Did you receive a card from me? The 'aunt' [ME] really is an 'angel-maker' [abortionist]. So I won't go and call on her. I'm not <i>angry</i> . No.
--	--

18 August 1916 JC to ME

Satie magicien tire la musique de son panama, de ses poches, de ses bottines. (Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i> , p.25)	Satie the magician pulls music out of his hat, out of his pockets, out of his boots.
---	--

24 August 1916 ES and JC to VG

Festin aura lieu Lundi avec Chinois, Acrobate et vous Petite Fille. Télégraphiez rendez-vous. Dimanche soir, dînerons. [...] Picasso fait <i>Parade</i> avec nous. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.254)	Feast will take place Monday with Chinese, Acrobat and you Little Girl. Telegraph meeting. Sunday evening, we shall dine. [...] Picasso is doing <i>Parade</i> with us.
---	---

31 August 1916 JC to VG

Espérais votre passage comme docteur miracle. Satie très déçu. Il avait pour vous ses poches pleines de musique. Et quelle musique! Le chinois est un chef d'oeuvre. Il y a un énorme silence et la boîte chante! 'Ils lui crevèrent les yeux, lui arrachèrent la langue.' Le chinois sort et la petite fille entre sur un orchestre de machine à écrire... Picasso et Satie s'entendent comme Misia et Serge... (US-AUS)	Was hoping that you would drop by like doctor miracle. Satie very disappointed. He had his pockets full of music for you. And what music! The Chinese magician is a masterpiece. There is a huge silence and the box sings: 'They put out his eyes, they tore out his tongue.' The Chinaman goes off and the little girl comes on to the sound of a typewriter orchestra...Picasso and Satie get on like Misia and Serge. Picasso is moulting, undergoing a transformation - Saturday night we begin real work. (Stegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i> , p.165)
--	---

1 September 1916 ES to VG

Je travaille ferme. Le "Chinois" est fini. Il n'a pas une	I'm working steadily. The "Chinese" is finished. He hasn't got a
--	---

<p>mauvaise "trompette". J'aurais aimé vous le jouer. Je suis après la "danseuse américaine". Ça marche assez bien, vous verrez. Si vous voyez Stern, demandez-lui s'il a terminé les dessins pour les amusants trucs de Fargue. Voulez-vous? Picasso veut bien travailler à "Parade". Nous avons rendez-vous avec lui chez Madame Errazuriz, demain.</p> <p>(US-AUS)</p>	<p>bad style. I would like to have played it for you. I am after the "American dancer". It's going quite well. You'll see. If you see [the painter, Charles] Stern [VG's lover], ask him if he's finished the drawings for the amusing things by Fargue. Will you? Picasso wants to work on "Parade". We have a meeting with him <i>chez</i> [the wealthy Argentinian patron of the arts] Mme Errazuriz tomorrow.</p>
---	---

5 September 1916 JC to VG

<p>Faire comprendre à cher Satie, en pénétrant les brumes d'apéritifs que je suis tout de même pour quelque chose dans <i>Parade</i> et qu'il n'est pas seul avec Picasso...</p> <p>Il me peine lorsqu'il hurle et trépigne à Picasso: 'C'est vous que je suis! C'est vous mon maître!' et semble entendre pour la première fois de sa bouche, des choses que je lui ai dites et redites. Entend-il ma voix? Il n'y a peut-être là qu'un phénomène d'acoustique...</p> <p>(US-AUS)</p>	<p>Make dear Satie understand, through the haze of aperitifs, that I do after all have some part in <i>Parade</i> and that he's not alone with Picasso. I believe <i>Parade</i> to be a kind of renewal of the theatre and not a mere opportunity for music. He hurts my feelings when he jumps up and down and shouts to Picasso: 'It's you I follow! You're my master!' He seems to be hearing for the first time, from Picasso's mouth, things I've been telling him over and over again. Does he hear anything I say? Perhaps it's all an acoustical phenomenon. Besides, I probably exaggerate the way sick people do... The Swan [VG] will quickly make Satie understand many an enigma and calm him in his inordinate hatred for the Tante [ME]. Shh! Burn this, for the work is going ahead, and that's the main thing. Picasso is inventing marvels, and Satie's American Girl is almost finished. The little American girl in <i>Parade</i> makes her entry like this: on the 47th floor an angel has made her nest in the dentist's office – and there's this little song: 'Tic tic tic Titanic toc toc the Titanic is plunging lights ablaze into the sea' [...] (Volta, <i>Satie Seen</i>, p.120 and Steegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i>, p.167)</p>
--	---

5 September 1916, ES to VG

<p>Avons rendez-vous avec Diaghilew à</p>	<p>Have a meeting with Diaghilew at 6.30 pm.</p>
---	--

<p>6h1/2. Picasso est épatant. Comment va? Travaillez? Moi, beaucoup. La tante est plus dangereuse que [nous] espérions: elle est terrible! (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.257)</p>	<p>Picasso is wonderful. How are you? Working? I am, a lot. The aunt [ME] is more dangerous than we thought: she is frightful!</p>
--	--

5 September 1916 ES to Henri-Pierre Roché (socialite and author)

<p>Ai rendez-vous avec Diaghilew et Cocteau à 6h1/2. Picasso est épatant! J'en rote. Quelle belle collaboration. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.257)</p>	<p>I have a meeting with Diaghilev and Cocteau at 6.30pm. Picasso is wonderful! He makes me belch. What a wonderful collaboration.</p>
---	--

12 September 1916 JC to VG

	<p>This atrocious frieze [of the Elgin marbles] runs up the whole expanse of Picasso's staircase. (Richardson, <i>A Life of Picasso</i>, Vol.II, p.433)</p>
--	---

14 September 1916 ES to VG

<p>Si vous saviez combien je suis triste! <i>Parade</i> se transforme, <u>en mieux</u>, <i>derrière</i> Cocteau! Picasso a des idées qui me plaisent <i>mieux</i> que celles de notre Jean! Quel malheur! Et je "suis" pour Picasso! Et Cocteau ne le sait pas! Que faire! Picasso me dit de continuer sur le texte de Jean, & lui, Picasso, travaillera sur un autre texte, le <i>sien</i>, qui est étourdissant! Prodigieux! Je deviens fou & triste! Que faire! Connaissant les belles idées de Picasso, je suis navré d'être <u>obligé</u> de composer sur celles du bon Jean, moins belles - oh! oui, moins belles. Que faire! Que faire! Écrivez-moi pour me conseiller. Je suis fou. Mille choses à Stern. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.258)</p>	<p>If only you knew how sad I am! <i>Parade</i> is being transformed, <u>for the better</u>, <i>behind</i> Cocteau's back! Picasso has ideas which please me <i>more</i> than those of our Jean! What a misfortune! And I "am" for Picasso! And Cocteau doesn't know it! What's to be done? Picasso tells me to continue working on Jean's text & he, Picasso, will work on another text, his <i>own</i>, which is astounding! Stupendous! I am becoming crazy & sad! What can I do! Knowing Picasso's fine ideas, I'm heartbroken to be <u>forced</u> to compose to those of good old Jean - oh! Yes, less fine. What am I to do? What am I to do? Write and advise me. I am beside myself. Good wishes to Stern.</p>
--	--

14 September 1916 ES to JC

Pas demain. Lundi, midi 1/2, si vous voulez. Picasso a des idées curieuses & nouvelles pour "Parade".

Il est merveilleux!

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.258)

Not tomorrow. Monday 12.30 pm, if you like. Picasso has some curious and new ideas for "Parade".

He is marvellous!

20 September 1916 ES to VG

C'est arrangé.

Cocteau sait tout. Lui & Picasso se sont entendus. Quelle veine!

Comment va? Vous travaillez?

Moi, oui. J'aimerais que vous entendiez [...]

P.S. Vous ai-je dit que je faisais bon ménage avec Diaghilew?

Toujours pas d'argent de lui.

La "tante" est à Rhum - à Rome, veux-je dire.

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.259)

It's fixed.

Cocteau knows everything. He & Picasso have reached an agreement. How lucky!

How are you? Are you working?

I am. I'd like you to hear it...

P.S. Did I tell you that I was getting on well with Diaghilew?

Still no money from him. The "aunt" [ME] is in Rhum - in Rome, I mean.

22 September 1916 JC to VG

Étiez-vous sans doute inquiète [pour] Satie. Je vous rassure tout de suite. Brave Socrate s'embrouille entre Picasso et moi - s'imagine que l'un parle blanc et l'autre noir à cause des différences de vocabulaire. Avions décidé avec Picasso de mentir à Satie pour qu'il marche sans comprendre de travers.

(Volta, *Satie/Cocteau*, p.26)

You were probably worried about Satie. Let me reassure you at once. Fine Socrates is getting into a tangle between Picasso and me - imagines one is saying white and the other black because of differences of vocabulary. Have decided with Picasso to lie to Satie so that he goes along without misunderstanding.

3 October 1916 ES to VG

Cocteau s'est occupé de ce qui ne le regardait pas.

Il m'a fortement blessé. Le fait d'être le collaborateur de quelqu'un n'implique nullement le droit de s'immiscer dans les querelles de ce quelqu'un. À plus forte raison, une intervention partielle du collaborateur peut être mal reçue du susdit quelqu'un, & a même des chances de l'être. Je tiens à *mon indépendance*. J'en ai le droit. Y porter atteinte, surtout en défendant contre moi une personne qui me répugne - ce qui m'a fait *beaucoup de torts*

Cocteau has meddled in something which does not concern him.

He has really hurt me. Being someone's collaborator certainly does not give one the right to get mixed up in that person's quarrels. All the more reason for a partial intervention by the collaborator being badly received by that person, & even a good chance of its being. I cling to *my independence*. I have the right to. To cast a slur on that, above all by upholding against me a person that I dislike - and who has *wronged me in many ways* - could only

<p>- ne saurait que me déplaire. Cocteau a fait cela. Il l'a même fait chez un étranger. Sa partialité, chère Amie, m'a frappée, car sous le couvert d'une prétendue politesse, il a dit vouloir & désirer exprimer - "à l'autre" - ses sympathiques regrets au sujet de mon attitude. Un comble, quoi! Et il trouve cela tout naturel & me le redit pneumatiquement. J'espérais qu'il s'y prendrait autrement. Il souffre? Et moi? Tous les embêtements tombent sur moi comme grêle. Je n'ai peut-être pas la tête à moi, mais ce que je sais, c'est qu'il m'a fait beaucoup de peine, & à un bien mauvais moment. Il aurait mieux fait de m'adresser un tout petit mot affectueux - & simple. [...] PS Il n'y a pas autre chose entre Jean et moi.</p> <p>(Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.261)</p>	<p>displease me. Cocteau has done that. He has even done so to a stranger. His unfairness, dear Friend, has hurt me, for under the pretext of so-called courtesy, he said that he wanted to express - to "the other person" - his sympathetic regrets about my attitude. Doesn't that beat everything! And he finds that quite natural & tells me so again by telegram. I was hoping that he would go about things differently. He's suffering, is he? What about me? All the worries fall on me like hail. I may be off my head, but I do know that he has caused me a lot of pain & at a very bad time. He would have done better to sent me a kind - and simple - note. [...] PS There is nothing else between Jean and me.</p>
--	--

6 October 1916 PP to JC

	<p>Come to my place tomorrow afternoon at six and if you can, we'll have dinner together later at Diaghilev's. (Steegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i>, p.168)</p>
--	---

10 October 1916 JC to ME

	<p>Come back quickly. I'm in a hurry to throw my arms round your neck and forget in a good laugh and good embraces a thousand mix-ups caused by distance and exhaustion. A very good meeting with Serge and Massine, whose lively intelligence and bearing appeal to me greatly. It seems to me that Serge likes our work and that he has very well understood the apparently simple way in which I have brought about the marriage of the musician and the painter. I gave them a hand in the middle. Thanks to him I am inventing new effects, and his sense of the theatre stimulates me to discover, in my field, things he suggests in his own. No doubt he</p>
--	--

will tell you about the Babel evening when Madame Errazuriz shouted in Spanish with Picasso, Serge in Russian with Massine and Satie in Sauternes with me...Picasso is moving [to a new studio] - I'm helping him and so is Apollinaire, who asks about you...For the first time I feel myself in rapport with Serge - a very nice feeling. (Volta, *Satie Seen*, p.122 and Steegmuller, *Cocteau*, p.169)

After 7 October 1916 diary entry of the diplomat, Paul Morand

J'ai été voir Cocteau, rue d'Anjou. Je le trouve en peignoir, parmi des masques de plâtre; sur sa table il y a une paire d'énormes lunettes d'écaille rapportées d'Allemagne par J[acques]-É[mile] Blanche, des prismes de verre, des dessins cubistes, des drapeaux alliés. Cocteau écrit le scénario d'un ballet avec Erik Satie et Picasso, que Diaghilew va jouer à Rome. Satie entre, pareil à Socrate; sa figure est faite de deux demi-lunes; il gratte sa barbiche de bouc entre chaque mot. Il ne parle pas de son génie, il tient surtout à avoir l'air malin. On reconnaît le demi-raté, l'homme que Debussy a toujours écrasé et qui en souffre. Satie écrit un *Socrate* pour la princesse de Polignac. Il me paraît fort jaloux de Strawinski. Cocteau raconte que Strawinski a été reçu à Madrid par l'infante Isabelle...

Parlant de Strawinski, Satie dit: "C'est un superbe oiseau et moi je suis un poisson. Strawinski n'est pas moderne; c'est un enlumineur aux couleurs violentes, mais son thème est toujours classique et souvent légendaire."

Après des années de rapports plutôt frais, la N[ouvelle]R[evue] F[rançaise] se décide à reconnaître que Cocteau existe. "C'est une ennuyeuse ruche, dit Cocteau, des abeilles qui font de la cire à parquet."

(Morand, *Journal*, p.27)

Went to see Cocteau, rue d'Anjou. I found him in a dressing gown, surrounded by plaster masks; on his table were a pair of enormous tortoiseshell spectacles brought back from Germany by [the painter] J[acques]-É[mile] Blanche, some glass prisms, cubist drawings, Allied flags. Cocteau is writing the scenario of a ballet with Erik Satie and Picasso, which Diaghilev will put on in Rome. Satie comes in, looking like Socrates; his face is made up of two half-moons; he scratches his little goatee beard between every word. He doesn't speak about his genius; his great concern is to look mischievous. One recognises the semi-failure, the man who was dwarfed by Debussy and who suffers from it. Satie is writing a *Socrates* for the Princesse de Polignac. He seems to me very jealous of Stravinsky.

(Steegmuller, *Cocteau*, p.170)

Cocteau says that Stravinsky was received in Madrid by the Infanta Isabella...

Speaking of Stravinsky, Satie says: "He's a magnificent bird and I am a fish. Stravinsky is not modern; he illuminates in shocking colours, but his composition is always classical and often epic."

After years of rather cool relations, the NRF has made up its mind to recognise that Cocteau exists. "It's an annoying beehive," says Cocteau, "bees which make wax fit for floors."

16 October 1916 ES to VG

Amitiés à Stern. Le "rag" marche. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.262)	Best wishes to Stern. The "rag" is progressing.
--	---

17 October 1916 JC to VG

	Satie is buying an umbrella a day, and Diaghilev has cabled me 500 francs for him. (Stegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i> , p.171)
--	--

19 October 1916 ES to VG

La petite américaine va bien. Le "rag" est en bonne santé. Il se place bien... La "vague" fera son effet après le "rag". Placée ainsi elle fait bien, très bien. (US-AUS)	The little American girl is going well. The "rag" is in good health. It's well placed...The "wave" will be effective after the "rag". Placed there it's good, very good.
--	--

19 October 1916 ES to JC

J'ai travaillé à notre "truc" - très fort. La "petite américaine" va bien. Le "rag" est en bonne santé: il se place bien. Toutefois, je ne pourrai vous le montrer demain, car je ne puis y travailler cet après-midi. Vous en serez "baba", à l'audition. La "vague" fera son effet après le "rag". Placée ainsi, elle fait bien, très bien. J'ai <u>beaucoup</u> écrit pour notre "truc". Beaucoup. Croyez-le, cher ami. À demain. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.262)	I have been working on our "thing" - very hard. The "little American girl" is doing well. The "rag" is in good health - it is well placed. However, I won't be able to show it to you tomorrow, because I can't work on it this afternoon. You'll be astounded when you hear it. The "wave" will be effective after the "rag". Placed like that it is good, very good. I have written <u>a lot</u> for our "thing". Believe me, dear friend. See you tomorrow.
---	--

25 October 1916 ES to VG

Vu Cocteau. Accepté pour Samedi - diner. [...] Amitiés à ce bon Stern. Vous ferai entendre "son" Rag-Time. C'est <i>Canevas-Rag</i> . (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.263)	Saw Cocteau. Accepted for Saturday - dinner. [...] Best wishes to good old Stern. I'll let you hear "his" Rag-Time. It's <i>Canvas-Rag</i> [a blueprint rag]. [A reference to the Rag Time theme in <i>Parade</i> using Irving Berlin's <i>That Mysterious Rag</i> as a model.]
--	---

2 November 1916 ES to VG

<p>Voulez-vous me faire tout plein plaisir, Stern & vous? Venez m'entendre, en amis. Vous viendrez? Oui. J'envoie une invitation à Cocteau. Ce sont mes débuts de "fin causeur". (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.264)</p>	<p>Will you and Stern do me an enormous favour? Come and hear me, as friends. Will you come? Yes. I'm sending an invitation to Cocteau. This is my debut as a "witty talker". [Reference to Satie's talk, 'Les Animaux dans la Musique'.]</p>
--	---

6 November 1916 ES to the writer and critic, Georges Jean-Aubry

<p>Mais non: j'ai à travailler pour Diaghilew. Je ne puis laisser mon travail, même pour quelques jours. J'ai reçu de Diaghilew une avance & il compte sur moi pour fin décembre. "Parade" passera en février, au plus tard. Les répétitions auront lieu à Rome. Combien je suis désolé de ne pouvoir venir. [...] Je suis loin d'avoir terminé mon ballet. La partie est sérieuse. Diaghilew, avec lequel je suis en correspondance, est un homme aimable, mais terrible; il me force à "turbiner" Si je vous avais vu avant votre départ pour l'Angleterre, vous auriez su que je lui avais joué une partie de "Parade". Très content de ce qu'il avait entendu, il m'a payé en partie & je dois lui livrer le reste au plus tôt. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.265)</p>	<p>No, I have work to do for Diaghilew. I can't leave it even for a few days. I've received an advance from Diaghilev & he is counting on me for the end of December. "Parade" will take place in February at the latest. The rehearsals will take place in Rome. How sorry I am not to be able to come. [...] I am a long way from finishing my ballet. The game is serious. Diaghilew, with whom I am in contact, is a pleasant man, but dreadful: he forces me to "grind on". If I had seen you before you left for England, you would have known that I had played a part of "Parade" for him. Very happy with what he heard, he partially payed me & I must give him the rest as soon as possible.</p>
--	---

20 November 1916 ES to JC

<p>J'ai lu ce que vous avez écrit sur moi. C'est trop beau "pour moi". Hier, Roland Manuel, chez Cipa, me disait son admiration pour ce poème. J'en suis tout ému. [...] Pourquoi écrire une si jolie chose en faveur d'un vieux "fourneau" comme moi? Je vais devenir plus que malade: vaniteux. Je ne le mérite pas. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.266)</p>	<p>I read what you wrote about me. It's too fine "for me". Yesterday, Roland Manuel, at [the brother of ME] Cipa [Godebski]'s, told me how he admired this poem. I am quite overcome [...] Why write such a nice thing about an old "boiler" like me? I shall become worse than ill: vain. I don't deserve it.</p>
---	--

26 November 1916 diary entry of Paul Morand

<p>Été rue Huyghens dans un atelier de Montparnasse, chez des cubistes. Trois cents personnes dans une petite salle; peintures cubistes aux murs; Jean Cocteau, Mme Errazuriz, Eric Satie, Godebski, Sert, dans de grands pardessus d'auto, feutres rabattus sur le nez, comme dans un mauvais lieu. Je vois Apollinaire pour la première fois, en uniforme, la tête bandagée. La seule chose drôle, ce sont les vers de la petite Durand-Viel qui a cinq ans. Jean Cocteau les récite avec sang-froid et beaucoup d'assurance. Très à son aise dans ce milieu tout neuf pour moi. Vers de Cendrars, Leroy, Max Jacob. Enfin, j'ai vu Apollinaire! (Morand, <i>Journal</i>, p.83)</p>	<p>Went to a Montparnasse atelier [Lyre et Palette], among the cubists, in rue Huyghens. Three hundred people in a small hall; cubist paintings on the wall; Jean Cocteau, Madame Errazuriz, Erik Satie, Godebski, Sert, wearing large automobile capes, their hats over their noses, as though in a place of ill repute. I saw Apollinaire for the first time, in uniform, his head bandaged. The only funny thing was the poetry of little Durand-Viel, who is five years old, recited by JC with composure and complete self-assurance. He is very much at ease in this milieu which is quite new to me. Poetry by [Blaise] Cendrars, Leroy, Max Jacob. At last I've seen Apollinaire!</p>
---	---

December 1916 JC to ES

	<p><i>Parade</i> is a kind of portrait of you. So let me offer it to you. (Richardson, <i>A Life of Picasso</i>, Vol.II, p.419)</p>
--	---

12 December 1916 ES to VG

<p>Je travaille à tour de bras: ça marche. [...] J'ai écrit le "<i>Petit prélude du Rideau Rouge</i>". C'est une exposition de fugue, très <i>recueillie</i>, très <i>grave</i> et même assez "barbeuse" - mais <u>courte</u>. J'aime ce genre, légèrement "pompiers" et faussement naïf, tout à fait "kono" - comme disent les "Japans". (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.267)</p>	<p>I'm working flat out: it's progressing. [...] I've written the "<i>Little Prelude for the Red Curtain</i>". It's a fugal exposition, very <i>contemplative</i>, very <i>serious</i> and even quite 'boring' - but <u>short</u>. I like that style, slightly traditional and mistakenly simple, quite "a so-and-so" - as the "Japanese" would say.</p>
--	--

26 December 1916 ES to VG

<p>Voulez-vous arranger un rendez-vous pour vendredi? Voyez donc cela avec le bon Stern et le bon Viñes, n'est-ce pas? Ce serait une <i>lecture "purement amicable"</i>. Dites-le au bon Stern, je vous prie. Quant à Viñes, je vous demande de lui écrire qu'il n'ait pas peur, le moins du monde. Nous serons <i>entre amis</i>. Et c'est une "<i>Lecture</i>".</p>	<p>Would you arrange a meeting for Friday? Will you see to that with good old Stern and [the pianist Ricardo] Viñes? It would be a "<i>purely friendly</i>" <i>read-through</i>. Say that to Stern, please. As for Viñes, I would ask you to tell him that he should not be afraid in any way. We shall be <i>amongst friends</i>. And it's a "<i>Read-through</i>".</p>
---	--

Rendez-moi – vous & Stern – ce service. Voulez-vous? Tous deux? (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.268)	Please do me this favour – you & Stern. Will you? Both of you?
---	---

27 December 1916 diary of Paul Morand

Passé avec Misia quelques instants à l'Alhambra; nous assistons à un match entre la championne des empaqueteuses d'oranges de Californie et le champion des constructeurs de caisses à oranges qu'exhibe un gros impresario avec un porte-voix. "C'est l'invasion du style américain qui commence. Ça promet..." (Morand, <i>Journal</i> , p.117)	Spent a short time with Misia at the Alhambra; we watched a contest put on by a huge impresario with a loud-speaker between the lady champion of Californian orange packers and the male champion of orange-box makers. "The American style is starting to invade. You bet..."
--	--

1 January 1917 ES to JC

"Parade" est <u>composée entièrement</u> : Chic! C'est cette nuit, en rentrant, que "Parade" a vu le jour – le "Jour de l'An" – sur le papier. "Parade" musique, bien entendu. Mon rôle est terminé, cher Gros; le vôtre commence. Il commence bien. Ce sera - & c'est – la première fois (foie de veau*) qu'un ballet est réellement fait par un poète. C'est justice. L'Esprit (poésie) domine là la Matière (musique). Le même événement aura lieu du côté du peintre, croyez-le. J'en ai eu la vision il y a quelques jours. Et j'ai bien vu. [...] *Excusez cette plaisanterie. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.271)	"Parade" is <u>entirely composed</u> : Great! It's last night, on returning home, that "Parade" saw the light of day – "New year's day" – on paper. "Parade" music, of course. My role is finished, dear thing; yours is beginning. It's beginning well. It will be - & it is – the first time [...] that a ballet is really done by a poet. It's deserved. The Spirit (poetry) is above the Substance (music). The same thing will happen as regards the painter, you'll see. I had the vision a few days ago. And I saw it well.
---	--

2 January 1917 ES to VG

Nous répétons, Viñes et moi, demain 4 bis rue du Sergent Hoff à 3 heures (15h). Venez-vous? J'ai terminé <i>Parade</i> . Enfin! Mais vous n'entendrez demain qu'une partie de "l'Acrobate". Le "quatre mains" n'est pas fini. Amitiés à Stern, n'est-ce pas? (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.272)	Viñes and I are rehearsing tomorrow at 4b rue du Sergent Hoff at 3 pm. Are you coming? I have finished <i>Parade</i> . Finally! But tomorrow you will only hear part of "The Acrobat". The "four hands" is not finished. Best wishes to Stern, eh?
---	--

5 January 1917 [postmark] ES to VG

Cocteau est, décidément, une brute & un saligaud.

Je ne veux plus le voir - jamais.

Il est permis d'être "mufle" mais pas à ce point.

Quel dégoûtant. [...]

P.-S. Je regrette, chère amie, de n'avoir pas à vous complimenter sur ce vilain oiseau - si coriace. Ce n'est pas un reproche. C'est une constatation - triste.

Quel veau!

Quel melon!

Quelle engelure sur les jambes!

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.272)

Cocteau is decidedly beastly & swinish.

I don't want to see him again - ever.

One can be a "rotter" but not to that extent.

How loathsome. [...]

P.S. I am sorry, dear friend, not to be able to compliment you on this ugly creature - so thick-skinned. It's not a reproach. It's a fact - sad to say.

What a clod!

What a fat-head!

What a chilblain on legs!

6 January 1917 ES to VG

Où avez-vous vu que je vais à Montparnasse? Ce dire m'est une surprise.

Je n'y vais jamais. Je vous le jure.

C'est ma belle-soeur qui parle de cela.

Ne soyez pas fâchée avec moi, je vous supplie.

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.273)

Where have you seen that I go to Montparnasse [haunt of the cubist painters]? Saying that surprises me.

I never go there. I swear it.

It's my sister-in-law [ME] who talks about that. Don't be angry with me, please.

6 January 1917 ES to VG

Je m'occupe de la "*Vie de Socrate*".

J'ai une frousse de "rater" cetter oeuvre que je voudrais blanche & pure comme l'Antique. J'en suis "tout chose" & ne sais plus où me mettre.

Ce qu'il y a une belle chose à écrire avec cette idée, c'est "*innoui*" - *inouï* est mieux, pour le vulgaire, bien entendu.

J'ai écrit à Diaghilew. Je crois qu'il aura ma lettre avant son départ de Rome. Comme cela il sera fixé - bien fixé. Toutes ces 'histoires' sont bien ennuyeuses. [...]

Si je suis "méchant" Montparnasse n'y est pour rien. C'est la vie - pas celle de Socrate - qui en est cause. Ma "belle-soeur" - ex-tante -, Aubry, Debussy et autres croient que Montparnasse me conseille. Ce sont eux qui dictent mes actes, eux seuls - & c'est assez - c'est même trop.

I'm busy with "*La Vie de Socrate*" [commission for the Princesse de Polignac].

I'm jittery about "mucking up" this work that I would like to be white & pure like the Ancients. I am all "what's-its-name" & don't know what to do with myself.

What's good about writing this thing, is that it's "*unparalleled*" [...]

I've written to Diaghilew. I think that he will get my letter before he leaves Rome. So he will be in no doubt, no doubt at all. All these rumours are really annoying [...]

If I am "bad" Montparnasse has nothing to do with it. It's life - not the life of Socrates - that is the cause. My sister-in-law - former aunt -, [Georges Jean-]Aubry, Debussy and others think that Montparnasse is advising me. They are the ones who tell me what to do, they alone -

(Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.273)	& that's enough - too much, even.
---	-----------------------------------

7 January 1917 ES to VG

<p>Si vous voyez Stern, dites-lui mille choses gracieuses & aimables de ma part, je vous prie. Viñes est un bon type, pourtant il va à Montparnasse. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.275)</p>	<p>If you see Stern, give him my kindest and best wishes, please. Viñes is a good chap, and yet he goes to Montparnasse.</p>
---	--

7 January 1917 ES to VG

<p>Que vis-je à l'enterrement? Diaghilew. Oui, lui-même. Il est venu avec Missia [sic]. Froide, Missia, gentil, Diaghilew. Combien il est fâcheux que Jean ne soit pas venu. Il y avait à faire pour lui. Beaucoup. Moi dans ce cas, je ne suis pas à "hauteur". Je suis allé chez Jean. J'ai vu sa maman. Lui ai laissé un mot, car j'ai rendez-vous avec Diaghilew demain cinq heures, qui veut que je lui montre la musique. Très grave, cela. Téléphonez donc à Jean à ce sujet. Ai envie de ne rien montrer sans le bon Viñes. [...] Se méfier d'Ida: elle est bête comme un cochon. [...] P.-S. Diaghilew très inquiet sur le compte de Picasso. Voyez Jean. Il y a de quoi. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.276)</p>	<p>What did I see at the funeral? Diaghilev. Yes, himself. He came with Misia [Edwards]. Cold, Misia, nice, Diaghilev. How annoying it is that Jean didn't come. He could have helped. A lot. As for myself in this situation, I am not "proud". I went to Jean's. I saw his mother. Left him a note, because I have a meeting tomorrow at 5pm with Diaghilev who wants me to show him the music. Very serious, that. Telephone Jean, then, about this. I don't want to show anything without old Viñes. [...] Don't trust <u>Ida</u> [Rubinstein]: she's as stupid as a pig. [...] P.S. Diaghilev is very worried about Picasso. See Jean. There's good reason to.</p>
---	---

7 January 1917 ES to JC

<p>Je viens de voir Diaghilew. Charmant. [...] j'ai rendez-vous avec lui demain, à 5 heures ([Hôtel] Éd[ouard] VII). Vous y serez? (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.275)</p>	<p>I have just seen Diaghilev. Charming. [...] I have a meeting with him tomorrow at 5 pm ([Hotel] Ed[ouard] VII). Will you be there?</p>
---	---

9 January 1917 ES to JC

<p>Ce que demande Diaghilew est très juste - mais votre remarque est encore plus juste. Pour cette fin, nous devrions nous rencontrer <u>tous trois</u>. C'est <u>indispensable</u>, & musique en main, encore. Merci de votre "pneu".</p>	<p>Diaghilev is quite right in what he asks for - but your comment is even more right. To this end, we ought to meet <u>all three of us</u>. It's <u>essential</u>, and we must have the music with us. Thanks for your "telegram".</p>
--	---

<p>Je suis curieux de savoir si la rencontre de Montrouge a eu lieu. Si je peux, je passerai vous voir demain matin. J'ai légèrement retouché la fin du "quatre mains". C'est mieux. [...] Ma "<i>belle soeur</i>" n'est plus dangereuse, je crois. Quelle veine! (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.276)</p>	<p>I'm curious to know whether the meeting in Montrouge [<i>chez Picasso</i>] took place. If I can, I'll call and see you tomorrow morning. I've slightly retouched the end of the "piano duet". It's better. [...] My "<i>sister-in-law</i>" [ME] is no longer a danger, I think. What luck! (Cooper, <i>Picasso Theatre</i>, p.335)</p>
--	---

11 January 1917, ES to PP

<p>Je travaille – tel un boeuf – à "<i>Parade</i>". Diaghilew & Massine vous envoient leurs amitiés. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.277)</p>	<p>I'm working – like an ox – on "<i>Parade</i>". Diaghilev & Massine send you their best wishes.</p>
---	---

11 January 1917 PP to SD

	<p>Confirming our verbal agreement, I accept to undertake the production (sets, curtain, costumes and properties) of the ballet <i>Parade</i> by Jean Cocteau and Erik Satie. I will make all the necessary designs and models and I will personally supervise all the work of executing them. All the designs will be ready by 15th March 1917. For this work you will have to pay me the sum of five thousand francs, and if I have to go to Rome, a thousand francs extra. The drawings and the models remain my property. Half the sum named must be paid me on delivery of the designs and models, and the other half on the day of the first performance. (Buckle, <i>In Search of Diaghilev</i>, p.94)</p>
--	---

12 January 1917 ES and JC to SD

	<p>This is to confirm our verbal agreement that you undertake to stage our work <i>Parade</i>. We grant you exclusive rights to present this ballet in every country for three years from the date of the first night. The concert rights belong to Monsieur E. Satie, but only after the ballet has been performed in the town where the concert is given. For</p>
--	---

our work Monsieur de Diaghilew undertakes to pay us a premium of three thousand francs, of which half is payable on the delivery of the piano score and the rest on delivery of the orchestral material. Besides this sum, you undertake to give the ballet at least ten times a year, paying a hundred francs a performance, except in countries (France, Belgium, Switzerland, Monte Carlo), where the authors receive royalties through the Société des Auteurs according to arrangements established by the latter.

Because of the importance of the libretto of *Parade* the authors agree between themselves that M. Jean Cocteau alone shall receive the author's royalties on each performance until these reach the three thousand francs of the premium which he cedes entirely to M. Erik Satie; after which royalties shall be divided in the usual way between composer and librettist.

In whatever country it is performed the ballet must be given in its entirety unless an additional agreement has been arrived at by both parties.

MM Erik Satie and Jean Cocteau will deliver the piano and orchestral scores of *Parade* to M. de Diaghilew and M de Diaghilev will pay the cost of copying the orchestral material, which he can use for the duration of the present contract.

Your devoted

Erik Satie Jean Cocteau

P.S. It is understood that the piano score will be delivered to you not later than 1st February and the orchestral score on 1st April 1917.

For Erik Satie and myself

Jean Cocteau

(Buckle, *In Search of Diaghilev*, p.94)

After 11 January 1917 JC to Comte Étienne de Beaumont.

Diaghilev is buying Cubist pictures and will come to put on *Parade* in May.
(Steegmuller, *Cocteau*, p.172)

?13 January 1917 ES to JC

<p>Décidément, je ne viens pas ce soir. Je serais terne, pas brillant. [...] Vous saurez présenter justement la pénible question "avances" & obtiendrez ce qu'il faut. Cela est certain: vous me l'écrivez, du reste. J'ai confiance en vous. [...] Vous avez été très gentil, hier; & je vous en remercie. [...] Picasso & vous allez parfaitement mettre "<i>Parade</i>" en vue, & bien! (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.274)</p>	<p>I really won't come this evening. I would be dull, not witty. [...] You will know how to broach the tiresome question of "advances" & will obtain the necessary. That's certain: write to me about that, anyway. I trust you. [...] You were very kind, yesterday; & I thank you for that. [...] Picasso and you will put "<i>Parade</i>" on the map, & how!</p>
---	---

18 January 1917 ES to VG

<p>Comment va? Et le bon Stern? Faites-lui mes amitiés, je vous prie; ainsi qu'à vous-même, bien entendu. Que fais-je? Je travaille à la "<i>Vie de Socrate</i>". J'ai trouvé une belle traduction: celle de Victor Cousin. Platon est un collaborateur parfait, très doux & jamais importun. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.277)</p>	<p>How's it going? And Good old Stern? Send him my best wishes, please; and to you as well, of course. What am I doing? I'm working on "<i>The Life of Socrates</i>". I've found a good translation: by Victor Cousin. Plato is a perfect collaborator, very gentle and never troublesome.</p>
--	--

21 January 1917 LM to PP, from Rome

<p>Cher Monsieur Picasso M. Diaghilew m'a arrangé une grande fête, il m'a apporté vos toiles. Je vis maintenant entre elles. Je suis heureuse n'étant plus seul, - je travaille en les voyant et j'ai plus de confiance. Quand commencerons-nous notre oeuvre commune? Je voudrais qu'elle fût déjà faite, que nous l'ayons réussi et que vous fûtes satisfait de votre collaboration avec moi, qui suis, comme vous le savez bien, votre plus affectueux et plus dévoué admirateur. Au revoir à Paris quand viendra le splendide printemps qui nous portera bonheur, et quand vous me permettrez peut être [sic] d'enlever encore quelque chose de votre séduisant atelier. (Paris, <i>Musée Picasso</i>)</p>	<p>Dear Mr Picasso M. Diaghilew has organized a great occasion for me, he has brought me your canvases. I live now amongst them. I am happy, being no longer alone, - I can see them when I work and I am more confident. When shall we begin our work together? I wish it were already done, that we had made a success of it and that you were satisfied with your collaboration with me, who, as you know, am your most affectionate and devoted admirer. I look forward to seeing you in Paris again in the coming splendid springtime that will bring us happiness, and when you will perhaps allow me to carry off something more from your seductive workshop.</p>
--	---

27 January 1917 LM to JC

	<p>I've just written a few words to Picasso expressing my keenness to work with him. Not only with him, of course, but also with our dear Satie and with you. M. Diaghilev is enchanted with the music and the general conception of the work, and I hope that we shall succeed in the realization of this project that is so dear to you, and to which I must now give an outer form worthy of our common effort. You can be sure I shall do my best. I thank you very much for the presents and the good wishes. I am very touched, and greatly enjoy leafing through the extraordinary little book devoted to your Chinaman. (Stegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i>, 173).</p>
--	--

[February, 1917] JC to IS

	<p>I have finished my work with Satie. (Craft, <i>Stravinsky, Correspondence</i>, Vol.I, p.89)</p>
--	--

Montrouge, 1 February 1917 PP to JC

<p>Miassine sera content vous pouvez lui dire. Tout s'arrangera. Je travaille à notre affaire presque tous les jours. Que personne ne s'inquiète. (Aschengreen, <i>Jean Cocteau and the Dance</i>, p.71)</p>	<p>Massine will be pleased, you can tell him. Everything will work out. I'm working on our thing almost every day. No-one should worry... (Volta, <i>Satie Seen</i>, p.125)</p>
--	---

11 February 1917 JC to VG

	<p>Diaghilev is carrying us off in his cyclone - Picasso, Satie and me - the huge pink rhinoceros is taking us on his horn all the way to Rome. Satie is buying 'bags'. Will I really go? I wonder. Tante T[rufaldin/ME] is in charge!!! (Stegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i>, p.173)</p>
--	--

11 February 1917 JC to GA

<p>Je suis toujours retenu par le rhume, le ministère et Diaghilew qui passe quelques jours - je voudrais bien arranger une <i>rencontre</i>.</p>	<p>I am detained by a cold, the ministry and by Diaghilew who is spending a few days here - I would like to arrange a <i>meeting</i>. Will you go to Barcelona? ...If we go there</p>
---	---

<p>Irez-vous à Barcelone? ...Si nous y allons ensemble, tant mieux, si vous y allez seul je soignerai mon rhume – Je n'irai pas seul. (Caizergues et Décaudin (eds.), <i>Correspondance, Jean Cocteau Guillaume Appollinaire</i>, p.20)</p>	<p>together, so much the better, if you go alone, I will nurse my cold – I will not go alone.</p>
---	---

12 February 1917 ES to H-P Roché

<p>J'ai terminé mon ballet. Diaghilev content. Moi aussi. Ai reçu monnaie.* Beaux décor, costumes et rideau de Pic-Picas-Casso. Tu verras si tu es à Paris en mai. Ce sera donné au "Châtelet". [...] *Ai mise dans le creux de ma poche. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.278)</p>	<p>I've finished my ballet. Diaghilev happy. Me too. Have received money.* Lovely scenery, costumes and curtain by Pic-Picas-Casso. You will see if you are in Paris in May. It will be on at the [Théâtre du] "Chatelet". [...] *Have put it in the hole in my pocket.</p>
--	---

15 February 1917 JC to VG

<p>Partons demain sans Satie. Impossible amener cet étrange paquet avec papattes. Le ministre lui ayant demandé: 'Connaissez-vous Rome, Monsieur Satie?' il a répondu: 'De nom, rien que de nom.' (Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i>, p.29)</p>	<p>We're off tomorrow without Satie. Impossible to take along that funny shuffling little bundle. When the Minister asked him, 'Do you know Rome, Monsieur Satie?' he replied: 'By name...only by name!' (Stegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i>, p.174)</p>
---	--

18 February 1917 ES to VG

<p>Jean & Picasso sont parties, hier, pour Rhum – Rome, veux-je dire. [...] Depuis que je passe mes journées à Montparnasse je suis devenu méchant comme un chat-tigre – plus, même. Montparnasse est un lieu de perdition. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.279)</p>	<p>Jean & Picasso left yesterday for Rhum – Rome, I mean. [...] Since I've been spending my days in Montparnasse, I have become as bad as a tiger-cat - worse even. Montparnasse is a place of perdition.</p>
--	---

19 February 1917 JC to Mme Cocteau

<p>Venons de prendre bain. Premiers pas timides dans la ville. Picasso arrive à se faire comprendre. On sort sans pardessus. (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i>, p.295)</p>	<p>We've just been bathing. First hesitant steps in the town. Picasso is managing to make himself understood. We can go out without coats.</p>
---	--

The Select Hotel, 20 February 1917 JC to Mme Cocteau

<p>Hôtel dans un jardin en pente qui domine Rome. On cueille des oranges de la fenêtre, et le soleil chauffe les meubles de satin bleu de ciel. Tout le monde nous tape</p>	<p>Hotel in a garden that slopes down and looks out over Rome. We can pick oranges out of the window and the sun warms the furniture in sky-blue satin. Everyone taps</p>
---	---

<p>sur l'épaule en poussant des cris d'enthousiasme. C'est le seul dialecte entre les naïfs futuristes et nous. Massine me plaît beaucoup. Notre travail marche. Tu sais que ma joie profonde est de créer, de mettre du rêve en forme. Serge est un ogre. On mange et on boit sans cesse. Ce matin il nous emmène en automobile. En masse, j'aime Rome qui grouille au milieu des décombres. Pas guerre. Illuminations nocturnes. Trams et cinémas. (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i>, p.295)</p>	<p>us on the shoulder and shouts enthusiastically. It's the only language between the unsophisticated Futurists and us. I like Massine very much. Our work is progressing. You know that my greatest pleasure is to create, to bring a dream to fruition. Serge is an ogre. We constantly eat and drink. This morning he's taking us out in the car. As a whole, I like Rome which swarms amidst the debris. Not war. Night-time illuminations. Trams and cinemas.</p>
---	--

Rome, n.d. but c. February 1917 JC to VG

	<p>Work progresses with fruitful disagreements. Every collaboration is a more or less successful misunderstanding. <i>Parade</i> is beginning well (touch wood). (Steegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i>, p.176)</p>
--	---

Rome, n.d. but c. February 1917 JC to VG

	<p>Massine is a Stradivarius...I think up every slightest gesture and Massine executes it choreographically. (Steegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i>, p.177)</p>
--	---

Grand Hôtel de Russie, 22 February 1917 JC to Mme Cocteau

<p>Je travaille du matin au soir. Tu rirais de me voir devenu danseur, car Massine désire que je lui montre la moindre chose et j'invente les rôles qu'il transforme séance tenante en chorégraphie. Quel bonheur de créer sur des ruines splendides, auprès du peintre que j'admire le plus au monde et au milieu d'une troupe toute jeune. Vive Corot! On aurait dû l'enterrer sous le couvercle de Raphaël. Il dirige l'oeil. Rome semble faite par lui. Picasso ne parle que de ce maître qui nous touche plus que les Italiens enragés de grandiose. Futuristes très province. Ils peignent mal et gesticulent. On nous grise avec du vin rouge et Papini (le Barrès italien) nous offre mille banquets.</p>	<p>I'm working from morning to night. You would laugh to see the dancer that I've become, for Massine wants me to show him every little thing and I invent the rôles which he transforms there and then into choreography. What joy to create overlooking splendid ruins, next to the painter who I admire most in the world and in the midst of a very young company. Long live Corot! They should have buried him with Raphael. He guides the eye. Rome seems to have been created by him. Picasso speaks only of this master who touches us more than the Italians who are wild with grandeur. Futurists very provincial. They paint badly and gesticulate. We are made drunk on red</p>
---	---

<p>Diaghilev a fait voir Rome comme Candaule sa femme. Il l'aime d'amour. Il en a l'orgueil. Sa maison est ouverte et on y mange pâtes et tomates. Hier soir cirque. Triste. Belle salle. Misia dansait sur la corde. (Sosie) Diag. dormait et il a été réveillé en sursaut par l'éléphant qui lui posait ses pattes sur les genoux. Attendons Bakst. J'écris peu à cause du travail. C'est une usine à construire. Comme Massine tombe encore un peu dans cette erreur de l'extrême jeunesse qui consiste à confondre l'originalité avec la complication, je veux être là sans répit.</p> <p>(Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i>, p.296)</p>	<p>wine and Papini (the Italian Barrès) gives us a thousand feasts. Diaghilev has shown us Rome as Candaule did his wife. He loves it passionately. He is proud of it. His house is open to us and we eat pasta and tomatoes there. Last night circus. Sad. Lovely hall. Misia was dancing on the tightrope. (Her double) Diag. was asleep and was woken up suddenly by the elephant which put its feet on his knees. We are expecting Bakst. I write little because of work. It's a construction factory. Since Massine still tends to make the mistake common to the very young of confusing originality with complication, I want to be there all the time.</p>
--	--

Rome, n.d. but c. February 1917 JC to VG

	<p>The Futurists pursue us like provincials wanting to learn the Paris styles.</p> <p>(Steegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i>, p.178)</p>
--	--

23 February 1917 JC to Mme Cocteau

<p>Picasso a un atelier, moi un bel album en parchemin offert par Massine. Entre les heures de travail on flâne le long des chefs-d'oeuvre et des boutiques illuminées. La foule regarde les films d'Emprunt projeteés sur le porche des églises et les chevaux se frayent une route sans que personne détourne ses yeux du cinéma. J'évite le MONDE. Il faut choisir. Vive le travail et le soleil!</p> <p>(Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i>, p.297)</p>	<p>Picasso has a workshop, I have a fine album made of parchment which Massine gave me. Between work, we stroll along by the masterpieces and the shops which are lit up. The crowd watches films on loan which are projected onto church porches and horses push through without anyone looking away from the cinema. I'm avoiding SOCIETY. One must choose. Long live work and sun!</p>
--	---

24 February 1917 JC to Mme Cocteau

<p>Picasso travaille dans un magnifique atelier derrière la villa Médicis, on lui monte des oeufs et du fromage romain, il refuse de sortir quand la peinture le possède. Ici règne la dixième muse: Cinéma.</p> <p>(Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i>, p.298)</p>	<p>Picasso works in a magnificent studio behind the villa Médicis, people take eggs and Roman cheese up to him, he refuses to come out when painting possesses him. Here the tenth muse reigns: Cinema.</p>
--	---

Rome, n.d. but c. February 1917 JC to ME

	<p>Tell Serge that if my staying here does not</p>
--	--

displease the Powers-that-Be too much - the work is well on the go - Massine imbued with my ideas, and, whatever Diag. may think, my absence cannot do any more harm to *Parade*. You will like my little [Marie] Chabelska, who dances the American girl and resembles Buster Brown's dog. [Léon] Bakst, a huge society parakeet with a "violon d'Ingres" on his head, a monster of Jewish duplicity, jealous of anybody loving anybody else, and capable of anything to stop their being happy. Boasts a lot and never sleeps with anyone. He is not liked among the female dancers, which was a surprise to me, as I thought he would be popular in that field. His moustache is the object of great hilarity among them. Picasso amazes me more and more every day. To live near him is a lesson in nobility and hard work. We see little of the Futurists, too provincial and bragging; they have always wanted to go straight into top gear, forgetting that this blurs the road and in effect brings them to a standstill. When they succeed it is very pretty, very graceful, very playful and very showy. They don't know that Art is a religion and that one does not fight in the catacombs in order to give religion the reputation of being 'very nice', 'very funny', etc. When they paint - their work looks like Lévy Dhurmer or Charles Stern...I hate being so far away from you... (partly in Steegmuller, *Cocteau*, p.177 and partly in Gold and Fizdale, *Misia*, p.119)

27 February 1917 JC to Mme Cocteau

Je t'écris chaque jour une lettre ou une carte selon que le travail me laisse libre ou m'empêche.

Diag. demande à Berthelot qu'il me maintienne un peu plus à Rome - c'est utile pour la réussite d'une oeuvre qui est en bonne marche...

(Cocteau, *Lettres à sa mère*, p.299)

I write you a letter or a card every day according to whether work leaves me free or prevents me from writing. Diag. asks [the minister, Philippe] Berthelot to let me stay on in Rome a little longer - it's useful for the success of a work which is progressing well.

Rome, n.d. but c. February 1917 JC to VG

	We snatch our meals between working and walking and fall asleep exhausted. (Stegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i> , p.177)
--	--

n.d. but c. February 1917 JC to ME

	Thanks for Berthelot. Serge was really worried that I might leave the work incomplete. I think you will be happy with it. The Chinese magician is done. Massine was supposed to play the acrobat but he demonstrated the role of the Chinese with such talent that I begged him to dance that role... I shall return soon in spite of Serge...Uneasy far from home. In the Pincio I dream of the quai Voltaire. (Gold and Fizdale, <i>Misia</i> , p.195)
--	---

Rome, March 1917, JC to GA

Je pense que vous aimerez <i>Parade</i> . Diagh[hilev] commence à entrevoir qu'il peut y avoir des "fautes de dessin" dans une oeuvre "moderne" et qu'on peut transfigurer le monde en le <i>copiant scupuleusement</i> . (Caizergues et Décaudin, (eds), <i>Correspondance Jean Cocteau/Guillaume Apollinaire</i> , p.24)	I think you will like <i>Parade</i> . Diag[hilev] is beginning to see that there can be "design faults" in a "modern" work and that one can transform the world by <i>copying it scrupulously</i> .
---	---

2 March 1917 JC to Mme Cocteau

Ne t'inquiète donc pas toujours de toute chose. Pour que la princesse et autres Garrett comprennent ma ligne de conduite, il faudrait qu'ils changeassent la leur, il faudrait le "Je sais-je crois" de Polyeucte. Ils considèrent tout art comme passe-temps, ce qui est légitime au lieu d'y lire une marche de la culture européenne. Ils trouvent par exemple la musique de Satie "drôle" alors que sa <i>Parade</i> est plus importante que <i>Pelléas</i> . Ils trouvent Picasso un farceur de talent, alors que c'est un maître auquel je ne compare que Raphaël si Raphaël avait, en plus,	Don't always worry about everything. In order for the princess and other [leading lights of society] Garretts to understand my line of direction, they would have to change theirs, they would need Polyeucte's "I know-I believe". They think of all art as a pastime, as something justifiable instead of reading into it the progression of European culture. They think, for example, that Satie's music is "funny" whereas his <i>Parade</i> is more important than <i>Pelléas</i> [et <i>Mélisande</i>]. They think that Picasso is a talented joker, whereas he's a master to whom I would compare only Raphael if
--	--

<p>bouleversé l'esthétique du monde. Ils trouvent la danse récréative alors que nous y cherchons la trace des plus grandes richesses d'expression, etc., etc. Mais ceci importe peu; on ne change pas des milieux et des races. L'important c'est ici le moindre, à savoir que j'ai une permission d'un mois, que Bréal m'avait souvent prié de la prendre, et que j'en profite pour voir Rome tout en travaillant à ce qui m'est interdit par mon travail d'articles de presse. (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i>, p.302)</p>	<p>Raphael had overturned the world's artistic beliefs as well. They think of dance as a recreation whereas we are trying to find in it a trace of the greatest richness of expression, etc., etc. But this is not important; you can't change people's social class or ancestry. The important thing is here the least important, that is that I have leave of one month, which Bréal has often urged me to take, and that I'm making the most of it to see Rome whilst working on what my journalistic work prevents me from doing.</p>
---	---

5 March 1917 ES to Viñes

<p>Je n'ai pas pu venir hier: travaillé à tour de bras. Dois finir 1^{er} avril. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.281)</p>	<p>I couldn't come yesterday: worked flat out. Must finish by 1st April.</p>
---	---

12 March 1917 JC to Mme Cocteau

<p>Voici du laurier de Pompéi, la pauvre petite ville. J'ai acheté cette image sur la route en regardant le Vésuve terrible qui fait semblant de fumer et observe Naples du coin de l'oeil. Je quitte demain cet éden où on se lave la fenêtre ouverte. (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i>, p.306)</p>	<p>Here's some laurel from Pompeii, poor, little town. I bought this picture on the way, looking at dreadful Vesuvius which appears to be smoking and looking at Naples out of the corner of its eye. Tomorrow I'm leaving this Eden where you can wash with the window open.</p>
--	---

13 March 1917 JC to Mme Cocteau

<p>Nous sommes de nouveau à Rome après voyage Naples, d'où Pompéi en auto. Je n'imagine pas qu'aucune ville du monde puisse me plaire mieux que Naples. L'Antiquité grouille toute neuve dans ce Montmartre arabe, dans ce désordre énorme d'une kermesse qui ne ferme jamais... Le Vésuve fabrique tous les nuages du monde. La mer est bleu marine. Il pousse des jacinthes sur le trottoirs. (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i>, p.306)</p>	<p>We are back in Rome after trip to Naples, from which to Pompeii by car. I can't believe that any town in the world would please me more than Naples. Antiquity teems in all its newness in this arab Montmartre, in this enormous chaos of a festival that never closes... Vesuvius manufactures all the clouds in the world. The sea is navy blue. Hyacinths grow on the pavements.</p>
--	---

22 March 1917 JC to Mme Cocteau

<p>As-tu vu Diaghilev? J'ai une dépêche de Bréal me disant de ne pas me faire la moindre bile...</p>	<p>Have you seen Diaghilev? I have a telegram from Bréal telling me not to worry at all...</p>
--	--

Michel-Ange était un futuriste de son époque. Il peignait avec des "idées" ce qui ne donne rien de bon... Certaines choses de Raphaël m'enchantent. Je les trouve empreintes de grâce triste et de poésie. Mais vivent les Français légers peintres de choses lourdes - pommes, pipes, arbres, chaises, gibiers, véritables dieux lares, nos idoles de famille!

La grandiloquence n'est pas la grandeur et une vraie pipe me touche plus qu'un faux ange.

(Cocteau, *Lettres à sa mère*, p.309)

Michelangelo was a futurist in his time. He painted with "ideas" which produces nothing good... I like certain things by Raphael. I find them full of sad charm and poetry. But long live the French, light painters of heavy things - apples, pipes, trees, chairs, wild animals, real household gods, our family idols!

Grandiloquence is not greatness and a real pipe means more to me than a false angel.

24 March 1917 ES to JC

Je voudrais avoir – le plus tôt possible – la lettre de l'"Américaine" écrite à la machine. J'en ai besoin immédiatement, car j'envoie l'orchestre à la copie.

Comment vont ces bons Messieurs? Je viens de chez Picasso: il n'y avait personne, sauf un chien qui gueulait comme un veau. Triste.

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.284)

I would like to have – as soon as possible – the "American girl's" letter written on the typewriter. I need it immediately, because I'm sending the orchestral score for copying.

How are those good Fellows? I have just been to Picasso's house: there was no one there, except a dog who was whining like a calf. Sad.

29 March 1917 ES to JC

Mais oui. Les changements me vont. Je leur reproche une chose, très grave pour la partition d'orchestre: leur manque d'exactitude; car je ne saisis point l'endroit précis où ils se manifestent.

Soyez donc, cher Vieux, très précis sur ce point.

J'ai vu Mutin (Cavaillé-Coll) pour les tuyaux. Il peut – je les ai vus – nous monter ces trucs.

Il demande quinze jours pour cela.

Amitiés à M. & à P. [...]

P.-S. Écrivez vite. Mon travail d'orchestre est suspendu.

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.285)

Well yes. The changes suit me. I have one thing against them, very serious for the orchestral score: their lack of precision; because I don't understand the exact place where they are to be.

Be very precise, therefore, old thing, on this point.

I have seen Mutin (Cavaillé-Coll) for the organ pipes. He can – I have seen them – set them up for us.

He needs fifteen days for that.

Best wishes to M. and to P. [...]

P.S. Write quickly. My orchestral work is interrupted.

31 March 1917 The couturier and collector, Jacques Doucet to H-P Roché

[Re: The Red Curtain]: Hardly cubist at all, with harlequins.

(Richardson, *A Life of Picasso*, Vol. II,

April, 1917, PP to Gertrude Stein

I am working all day on my décors, on the construction of the costumes...the décors will be painted here.

(Cooper, *Picasso Theatre*, p.325)

2 April 1917 ES to JC

Ai vu votre maman. Bien.
Et la lettre-machine? Et les changements?
N'oubliez pas envoyer détails.
Orchestre fini. Fais faire double copie.
Prévoyance. Écris à bon Directeur.
Et Picasso?
Amitiés à Monsieur Massine & à vous-même.
Devriez rentrer. Abusez, n'est-ce pas?
(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.285)

I have seen your mother. Good.
And the typewriter? And the changes?
Don't forget to send details. The orchestra[tion] is finished. Am having a double copy made. Just in case. Will write to the dear Director.

And Picasso?
Best wishes to Mr. Massine & to yourself.
You should come back. You're taking advantage, eh?

6 April 1917 JC to Mme Cocteau

J'ai presque achevé mon travail. Diaghilev comme toujours est un monstre capable de gentillesse et de crime. Comme dit Picasso, après avoir vécu chez lui on souhaite un voyage de Gulliver "chez les êtres humains."

(Cocteau, *Lettres à sa mère*, p.315)

I have nearly finished my work. Diaghilev as always is a monster capable of kindness and crime. As Picasso says, after living with him you long to go on a journey with Gulliver to visit "human beings."

10 April 1917 diary of Paul Morand

[Misia] parle avec enthousiasme de la révolution russe, qui lui apparaît comme un immense ballet. Bakst, dit-elle, se trouve être le beau-frère du ministre de la Guerre, Diaghilew est parent de Rodzianko qui lui a télégraphié à Rome pour lui offrir les Beaux-Arts.

(Morand, *Journal*, p.209)

[Misia] talks enthusiastically about the Russian revolution, which seems like a huge ballet to her. Bakst, she says, turns out to be the brother-in-law of the War minister, Diaghilev is related to Rodzianko who sent him a telegram in Rome to offer him the Arts.

After 13 April 1917 ES to JC

Vu [A.] Dandelot [& Fils]. Le matériel sera donné, demain, à la copie.
Donc, tout s'arrange de ce côté.
Vous devriez – demain matin – voir Cavallé-Col pour les tuyaux.
C'est 15, Avenue du Maine.

Saw [A.] Dandelot [& Fils, concert agency]. The material will be given to the copyist tomorrow.
So everything is being sorted out here.
Tomorrow morning you ought to see Cavallé-Col for the organ pipes.

<p>Dandelot n'a fait aucun vilain geste au sujet du matériel. Il a trouvé tout cela très naturel. Très naturel. Oui. J'aurai, ainsi, une bonne copie. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.286)</p>	<p>It's 15, Avenue du Maine. Dandelot didn't pull a face as regards the instrumentation. He found all that very natural. Very natural. Yes. So I will have a proper copy.</p>
--	---

18 April 1917 ES to the music publisher, Jacques Lerolle [receipt]

<p>[100 francs from Rouart et Lerolle] à valoir sur <i>Parade</i>. (F-Pfs)</p>	<p>[100 francs from Rouart et Lerolle] on account for <i>Parade</i>.</p>
--	--

22 April 1917 diary entry of Paul Morand

<p>Diné au Ritz chez Hélène: la marquise de Ludre, la comtesse de Chevigné, Cocteau, Proust. Cocteau parle de Rome, où il vient de passer deux mois, en formules courtes et lyriques. "Le Forum? Les basiliques l'ont mangé: vengeance de taupes." "La religion chrétienne? Catacombes sous terre, puis émergeant en cathédrales." "Naples! Le Pape est à Rome, Dieu est à Naples." "Rome, les marionnettes: ivres, titubantes, scènes d'amour où elles restent la bouche ouverte si le fil casse." Cocteau raconte qu'il était descendu à l'hôtel de la Minerve, avec tout le corps de ballet russe. Picasso errait dans les couloirs, vêtu d'un pyjama prêté par Mme Errazuriz. "Les Italiens ne sont pas des artistes, dit Cocteau, ils sont lourds et peignent des choses légères. Les Français sont légers et ils peignent des architectures, des natures réalistes, lourdes." (Morand, <i>Journal</i>, p.219)</p>	<p>Dined at Helen's: [Morand's sister] at the Ritz: the marchioness of Ludre, the Countess of Chevigné, Cocteau, [Marcel] Proust. Cocteau talks about Rome, where he has just spent two months, in short, lyrical turns of phrase. "The Forum? The basilicas have eaten it up: moles' revenge." "Christianity? Underground catacombs, then emerging as cathedrals." "Naples! The Pope is in Rome, God is in Naples." "Rome, the puppets: drunk, lurching about, love scenes where their mouths remain open if the wire breaks." Cocteau tells us that he stayed in the Minerva hotel, with the entire Russian corps de ballet. Picasso wandered through the corridors, dressed in pyjamas lent to him by Mme Errazuriz. "The Italians are not artists," says Cocteau, "they are serious and paint trivial things. The French are light-hearted and they paint serious architectural and real life scenes."</p>
---	--

n.d. but c. April 1917 JC to LM

	<p>Why doesn't Diaghilev ... ever write to me directly? I would tell him to suppress me completely, even on the playbill of <i>Parade</i> - my aspirations go beyond journalism, just as yours do. I made Satie write every note of the score, I enlisted Picasso's collaboration, overcoming all his principles (despite what he may be saying now), with</p>
--	--

	<p>you I have collaborated cordially, joyously and loyally, orienting your superb work in a direction that is dear to me. <i>I ask nothing more.</i></p> <p>If I am astonished, it's out of justice, not niggardliness.</p> <p>I regret only one thing, that these 'scenes' will prevent future collaborations as effective as <i>Parade</i>.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Jean Cocteau</p> <p>P.S. If I didn't push my taste for theatrical perfection to the point of effacing myself, I would have kept the words.</p> <p>(Steegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i>, p.189)</p>
--	--

April 1917 JC to LM

<p>Pensez, pour le Cheval aux décompositions d'une course dans les photographies instantanées.</p> <p>(Volta, <i>Satie et la Danse</i>, p.72)</p>	<p>For the Horse [third Manager], think about the distortions of a race in snapshots.</p>
---	---

End April/beginning May JC to GA

<p>...je n'ai pas une minute depuis notre rencontre et en plus il faut que j'invente et construis des machines à amplifier le son pour la parade... Diaghilev retarde les Ballets jusqu'au 18 – c'est sage étant donné que Picasso commence seulement à peindre.</p> <p>(Caizergues et Décaudin, (eds.), <i>Correspondance Jean Cocteau Guillaume Apollinaire</i>, p.33)</p>	<p>...I don't have a minute since we met and moreover I have to devise and construct machines to amplify the sound for <i>Parade</i>...Diaghilev is postponing the Ballet until the 18th – it is wise in view of the fact that Picasso is only just beginning to paint.</p>
--	--

4 May 1917 ES to VG

<p>Vous viendrez au ballet, n'est-ce pas? Mille fois? Dix mille fois même? Les rasoireries vont avoir lieu, pour moi.</p> <p>(Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.286)</p>	<p>You'll come to the ballet, won't you? A thousand times? Ten thousand times even? The razors will be out for me. [Reference to the critics.]</p>
---	--

11 May 1917 diary entry of Paul Morand

<p>Hier au Châtelet, ballets russes. Quel retour en arrière! Foule sur la place; autos, agitation, trépidation. A l'entrée, Sert. "Quel circuit pour en revenir là!" Est-ce "encore" ou "déjà" les Ballets? Misia, en grand uniforme, avec une tiare d'argent,</p>	<p>Yesterday at the Châtelet [theatre], Russian ballet. What a return to the way things used to be. Crowded square; cars, excitement, flurry. At the entrance, Sert: "What a route to get here again!" Is it the Ballet "again" or the Ballet "already"?</p>
--	--

cause avec Mme de Chabrilan. Vif émoi. Un petit journal de chantage a lancé le matin même un article contre la représentation. Dans la loge d'Hélène, Jules Roche. Arrive Mme de Caillavet en deuil. Salle comble. Nous sommes entre les Chabrilan, Bailby et le loge de la vieille Porgès qu'elle a donnée à des blessés russes. A quatre heures, *Marseillaise*, puis suit un chant triste que personne ne connaît, et qui se trouve être l'air des *Bateliers de la Volga*. C'est le nouvel hymne russe composé dernièrement à Rome par Strawinski. Protestations de Beaumont qui prétend que c'est un faux et que personne ne pense à l'adopter à Pétrograd. "C'est un chant de mort", glapit le vieux Roche, et il reste assis.

Commence *L'Oiseau de feu*. Hélas, dès le saut du mur, la chorégraphie de Massine fait regretter Nijinski. A la fin, il brise l'oeuf, symbole des maléfices du vieux sorcier gris et or. Quelqu'un dit: "C'est l'ancien régime qui se casse." Pour la première fois en France un immense drapeau étendard rouge tenu par un moujik en rouge. La salle murmure, peu d'applaudissements, mais pas de sifflets.

Les lumières reviennent. Marigny, chagrin, murmure: "Ils dansent, mais marchent-ils?" Roche dit: "J'ai vu la commune, le 4 septembre 1870, eh bien, croyez moi..." Mme de Chabrilan, très inquiète, regarde de-ci de-là.

Brouhaha des couloirs. Tout Montparnasse en flanelle, nuques rasées, ongles bleus et noirs. Mme Errazuriz en bénédictine espagnole, Maurice Rostand, la princesse de Polignac, Valentine Gross, Metman, Drian, Mme Jean de Segonzac, la comtesse de Mun, Sala, Sturges, Bakst, etc... Puis *Les Femmes de bonne humeur* de Goldoni. Charmante musique de Scarlatti. Décors de Bakst

Jules Roche grogne. Il dit: "Les élections de 1858 ne laissaient pas présager la fin de

Misia, dressed to the nines, with a silver tiara, is talking to Mme de Chabrilan. Great emotion. A small tabloid newspaper printed that very morning an article against the performance. In Hélène's box, Jules Roche. Mme de Caillavet arrives in mourning. Full house. We are between the Chabrilan, the Bailby and old Mme Porgès' box which she has given to wounded Russians. At four o'clock, *Marseillaise*, then follows a sad tune which noone knows, and which turns out to be the *Song of the Volga Boatmen*. It's the new Russian national anthem composed recently in Rome by Stravinsky. Complaints from [Count Étienne de] Beaumont who claims it is not genuine and that noone is thinking of adopting it in Petrograd. "It's a funeral march", barks old Roche, and he stays seated.

The *Firebird* begins. Alas, from the moment of jumping over the wall, Massine's choreography makes one miss Nijinsky. At the end, he breaks the egg, the symbol of the old grey and gold wizard's evil spells. Someone says: "It's the old régime which is being broken." For the first time in France a huge red war-flag is held by a moujik in red. The house mutters, little applause, but no hisses.

The lights come on. Marigny, upset, mutters: "They dance, but do they march?" Roche says: "I saw the commune, on 4 September, 1870, well, believe you me..." Mme de Chabrilan, very worried, looks this way and that.

Noise from the corridors. All Montparnasse in flannel, short hair, blue and black nails. Mme Errazuriz as a Spanish nun, [the playwright] Maurice Rostand, the Princesse de Polignac, Valentine Gross, Metman, Drian, Mme Jean de Segonzac, the countess of Mun, Sala, Sturges, Bakst, etc... Then *The Good-natured Women* by Goldoni. Lovely music by Scarlatti. Décor by Bakst...

<p>l'autorité..."</p> <p>...Le troisième spectacle, c'était quatre contes russes dans un décor cubiste; assez surfait. Pour finir, les danses polovtsiennes d'Igor. On sort à huit heures. Cela tient de la rétrospective et de la révolution.</p> <p>(Morand, <i>Journal</i>, p.236)</p>	<p>Jules Roche groans. He says: "The 1858 elections didn't give any warning about the end of authority..."</p> <p>...The third show was four Russian tales in a cubist setting; fairly overrated. To finish, <i>Igor's</i> Polotsvian dances. We leave at eight o'clock. It's all about retrospection and revolution.</p>
---	---

15 May 1917 ES to VG

<p>Répétition orchestre et scène – demain matin 10h1/2.</p> <p>Vous viendrez? Oui, n'est-ce pas?</p> <p>(Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.288)</p>	<p>Orchestral and dress rehearsal – tomorrow 10.30am.</p> <p>Will you come? Yes, you will?</p>
--	--

17 May 1917 diary of Paul Morand

<p>Cocteau dit que, les jours de ballets russes, Misia a l'air de marier sa fille.</p> <p>(Morand, <i>Journal</i>, p.243)</p>	<p>Cocteau says that when the Ballets Russes is on, Misia looks as if she is marrying off her daughter.</p>
---	---

18 May ES to the ballerina, Marie Chabelska (the Little American Girl)

<p>Voici de toutes petites fleurs offertes par un vieux musicien à sa jolie collaboratrice en souvenir de "Parade".</p> <p>(Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.289)</p>	<p>Here are some little flowers given by an old musician to his pretty collaborator as a souvenir of "Parade".</p>
---	--

18 May 1917 GA's programme note to the 1917 production

<p>Les définitions de <i>Parade</i> fleurissent de toutes parts comme les branches de lilas en ce printemps tardif...</p> <p>C'est un poème scénique que le musicien novateur Erik Satie a transposé en une musique étonnamment expressive, si nette et si simple que l'on y reconnaîtra l'esprit merveilleusement lucide de la France même.</p> <p>Le peintre cubiste Picasso et le plus audacieux des chorégraphes, Léonide Massine, l'ont réalisé en consommant pour la première fois cette alliance de la peinture et de la danse, de la plastique et de la mimique qui est le signe évident de l'avènement d'un art plus complet.</p> <p>Qu'on ne crie pas au paradoxe! Les Anciens, dans la vie desquels la musique tenait une si grande place, ont absolument</p>	<p>Definitions of <i>Parade</i> are bursting out everywhere, like the lilac branches of this late spring...</p> <p>It is a stage poem that the innovative composer Erik Satie has set to astonishingly expressive music, so clean-cut and so simple that the wonderfully clear spirit of France itself will be evident in it.</p> <p>The cubist painter Picasso and the most daring of choreographers, Léonide Massine, have produced it by achieving for the first time that union of painting and dance, of modelling and mime, which is the clear sign that a more complete art has arrived.</p> <p>Let no one say this is paradoxical! The Ancients, in whose life music held such a prominent place, knew absolutely nothing about the harmony that forms almost all</p>
--	---

ignoré l'harmonie qui est presque toute la musique moderne.

De cette alliance nouvelle, car jusqu'ici les décors et les costumes d'une part, la chorégraphie d'autre part, n'avaient entre eux qu'un lien factice, il est résulté, dans *Parade*, une sorte de sur-réalisme où je vois le point de départ d'une série de manifestations de cet Esprit Nouveau qui, trouvant aujourd'hui l'occasion de se montrer, ne manquera pas de séduire l'élite et se promet de modifier de fond en comble les arts et les moeurs dans l'allégresse universelle car le bon sens veut qu'ils soient au moins à la hauteur des progrès scientifiques et industriels.

Rompant avec la tradition chère à ceux que, naguère en Russie, on appelait bizarrement les *balletomanes*, Massine s'est gardé de tomber dans la pantomime. Il a réalisé cette chose entièrement nouvelle, merveilleusement séduisante, d'une vérité si lyrique, si humaine, si joyeuse qu'elle serait bien capable d'illuminer, s'il en valait la peine, l'effroyable soleil noir de la *Melancholia* de Dürer et que Jean Cocteau appelle un ballet réaliste. Les décors et les costumes cubistes de Picasso témoignent du réalisme de son art.

Ce réalisme, ou ce cubisme, comme on voudra, est ce qui a le plus profondément agité les Arts durant les dix dernières années.

Les décors et les costumes de *Parade* montrent clairement sa préoccupation de tirer d'un objet tout ce qu'il peut donner d'émotion esthétique. Bien souvent on a cherché à ramener la peinture à ses stricts éléments. Il n'y a guère que de la peinture chez la plupart des Hollandais, chez Chardin, chez les impressionistes. Picasso va bien plus loin qu'eux tous. On le verra dans *Parade*, avec un étonnement qui deviendra vite de l'admiration. Il s'agit avant tout de traduire la réalité. Toutefois le motif n'est plus reproduit mais

modern music.

This new union - for up until now stage sets and costumes on the one hand and choreography on the other were only superficially linked - has given rise in *Parade* to a kind of super-realism. I see this as the starting point of a series of manifestations of the 'new spirit': now that it has had an opportunity to reveal itself, it will not fail to attract the élite, and sets its mind on turning artistic theory and practice upside down to everyone's advantage. For it is sensible to want the arts to reach at least the level of scientific and industrial progress.

Breaking with the tradition dear to those who not so long ago in Russia were curiously dubbed 'balletomanes', Massine has taken good care not to descend into silliness. He has taken this completely new approach, so marvellously seductive, so lyrically, humanly and joyfully true to life, that it might well be capable of illuminating (if this were worthwhile) the frightful black sun of Dürer's *Melancholia* - this thing that Jean Cocteau calls a 'realistic ballet'. Picasso's cubist décor and costumes in *Parade* demonstrate the realism of his art.

This realism, or this cubism if you like, is the thing that has most profoundly shaken up the Arts during the last ten years.

The décor and costumes in *Parade* clearly show his preoccupation with extracting from an object everything that it can give in terms of artistic feeling. Very often people have tried to reduce painting to its strict elements. There is hardly anything but painting in the majority of Dutch artists, in Chardin, in the impressionists. Picasso goes a lot further than all these. You will see this in *Parade*, and astonishment will soon turn into admiration. His main purpose is to interpret reality. Yet, an object is no longer reproduced, but just depicted, and, not just depicted: it is suggested by a

seulement représenté et, plutôt que représenté, il voudrait être suggéré par une sorte d'analyse-synthèse embrassant tous ses éléments visibles et quelque chose de plus, si possible, une schématisation intégrale qui chercherait à concilier les contradictions en renonçant parfois délibérément à rendre l'aspect immédiat de l'objet.

Massine s'est plié d'une façon surprenante à la discipline picassienne. Il s'est identifié avec elle et l'art s'est enrichi d'inventions adorables comme le pas réaliste du cheval de *Parade* dont un danseur forme les pieds de devant et un autre les pieds de derrière.

Les constructions fantastiques qui figurent ces personnages gigantesques et inattendus: les Managers, loin d'être un obstacle à la fantaisie de Massine lui ont donné, si on peut dire, plus de désinvolture.

En somme, *Parade* renversera les idées de pas mal de spectateurs. Ils seront surpris certes, mais de la plus agréable façon et, charmés, ils apprendront à connaître toute la grâce des mouvements modernes dont ils ne s'étaient jamais doutés.

Un magnifique Chinois de music-hall donnera l'essor à leur fantaisie, et, tournant la manivelle d'une auto imaginaire, la Jeune Fille Américaine exprimera la magie de leur vie quotidienne, dont l'acrobate en maillot blanc et bleu célèbre les rites muets avec une agilité exquise et surprenante.

(Apollinaire, Ballets Russes programme, *F-Po*, Fonds Kochno, Rés 2248(2) Bobine 575, p.32)

combination of analysis and synthesis that takes all its visible elements into account - and, something extra, if possible, a complete 'diagram' that tries to reconcile contradictions, by sometimes deliberately ignoring the obvious appearance of the object.

Massine has adapted himself in a surprising way to the Picasso discipline. He has identified himself with it, and art has been enriched by adorable inventions like the realistic steps of the horse in *Parade* in which one dancer forms the front legs and another the hind legs. The incredible constructions which form those gigantic, unexpected characters, the Managers, far from hampering Massine's imagination, have enabled him, if one may say so, to function with greater freedom.

In short, *Parade* will upset the ideas of quite a number of the audience. They will be surprised, to be sure, but in the pleasantest way, and delighted to learn how graceful modern movement can be, something they had never suspected.

A magnificent music-hall Chinaman will give free rein to the flights of their imagination, and, with the turn of the starting handle of an imaginary car, the Young American girl will express the magic of their everyday life, whose silent rituals are celebrated by the acrobat in blue and white costume with exquisite and amazing agility.

18 May 1917, article by the designer Léon Bakst in programme for Ballets Russes

...Voici la *Parade*, ballet cubiste, paradoxal peut-être pour les myopes - vrai pour moi. Picasso nous donne une vision à lui d'un tréteau de foire, où les acrobats, chinois et managers se meuvent dans un kaleidoscope, à la fois réel et fantasque. Un grand rideau "passéiste" à dessein,

...Here is *Parade*, a cubist ballet, paradoxical perhaps for the short-sighted - real for me. Picasso gives us his own vision of a fairground stage, where acrobats, Chinaman and managers move in a kaleidoscope, both real and fantastic at the same time. A large deliberately old-

tranche entre ces fleurs du vingtième siècle et le spectateur intrigué. Les personnages sont revêtus de deux aspects opposés; les uns, constructions ambulantes, amas de trouvailles cubiques des plus spirituelles; les autres, acrobates typiques d'un cirque aujourd'hui. La chorégraphie les assimile et rend "réalistes" ces deux espèces; les unes, copies fidèles, les autres, nées dans le cerveau de Picasso.

Ce grand peintre a trouvé encore une branche de son art. C'est un décorateur – aussi. Le sentiment de la mesure le guide ici comme ailleurs. Combien ce que je viens d'écrire paraîtra paradoxal à plusieurs!

Quant à Massine, il a donné du plus inédit, du plus réaliste. Il réussit, par une suite ingénieuse et très réfléchie des mouvements saccadés et entrecoupés, un portait-édifice de chaque personnage de *Parade*, comme un architecte probe, avant de construire, examine chaque brique de son monument. Que de gaieté dans cette inspiration nouvelle! Que de tristesses en dessous. Chorégraphie bien appropriée à nous tous, êtres aux mille yeux; âmes trépidantes, comme l'auto qui nous attend à la sortie.

J'y insiste: le pas des "managers" et du "cheval" – est ce que la chorégraphie nouvelle a fait de plus saisissant...

(*F-Po*, Fonds Boris Kochno, Rés 2248(2), Bobine 575, p.35)

fashioned curtain, cuts across between these flowers of the twentieth century and the curious spectator. The characters are dressed in two opposing ways: on the one hand, walking constructions, an accumulation of the most witty cubist discoveries; on the other hand typical performers from a contemporary circus. The choreography assimilates them and makes these two groups "realist"; some are faithful copies, others are born in Picasso's brain.

This great painter has found yet another branch to his art. He is a designer – also. A feeling for scale guides him here as elsewhere. How paradoxical will what I have just written sound for some people!

As for Massine, he has put forward the most unexpected, the most realist things. He succeeds, by an ingenious and well thought-out sequence of jerky and interrupted movements, in building a portrait of each character in *Parade*, in the same way that an honest architect, before starting to build, examines each brick in his monument. How much gaiety there is in this new inspiration! How much sadness under the surface. Choreography well suited to us all, beings with a thousand eyes; trembling souls, like the car that awaits us at the exit.

I underline the point: the steps of the "managers" and the "horse" are the most startling thing that new choreography has done.

18 May 1917 JC, 'Avant *Parade*' in *Excelsior*

En même temps que Firmin Gémier s'efforce de secouer le théâtre endormi dans de vieilles routines, M. Serge de Diaghilew n'hésite pas à soutenir ce que Guillaume Apollinaire appelait ici même "l'esprit nouveau". La force de la France éclate de toutes parts sous le tonnerre d'Avril. Impossible d'interrompre ce besoin de créer, ce jaillissement, cette

At the same time that [the actor and producer] Firmin Gémier is trying to wake up the theatre from its old habits, M. Serge de Diaghilev has no hesitation in standing up for what Guillaume Apollinaire called in this very same newspaper "the new spirit". France's strength is bursting out from everywhere as a result of April's thunderbolt. Impossible to stop this need

écume de verdure irrésistible qui s'opposent au lourd esthétisme german.

Nous souhaitons que le public considère *Parade* comme une oeuvre qui cache des poésies sous la grosse enveloppe du guignol. Le rire est de chez nous; il importe qu'on s'en souviene et qu'on le ressuscite même aux heures les plus graves. C'est une arme trop latine pour qu'on la néglige.

Parade groupe le premier orchestre d'Erik Satie, le premier décor de Pablo Picasso, les premières chorégraphies cubistes de Léonide Massine et le premier essai pour un poète de s'exprimer sans paroles.

La collaboration a été si étroite que le rôle de chacun épouse celui de l'autre sans empiéter sur lui. J'aurais aimé que le public ne se trouvât pas brutalement en contact avec nous, mais qu'il eût pu suivre le travail de mes collaborateurs: Satie, composant l'étrange orphéon chargé de rêve que sera son orchestre: Massine, transposant et prolongeant ma pensée avec le rythme d'une machine pensante. Ceux qui ont vu Picasso dans un atelier des Buttes-Chaumont peindre seul le rideau qui représente une halle de funambules en demeurent émerveillés. Il se promenait sur l'immense toile, faisant fleurir sous sa brosse des figures géantes, fraîches comme des bouquets.

Parade, c'est l'histoire du public qui n'entre pas voir le spectacle intérieur malgré la réclame et sans doute à cause de la réclame qu'on organise à la porte.

Trois managers, dont un à cheval (ce cheval sort des haras de Médrano), représentent les divinités vulgaires de la réclame. Ils étonneront peut-être par leur taille géante. Tumulte des villes, maisons qui bougent autour de notre marche, affiches arrogantes, machines, autant de thèmes qui nous ont servi à établir les moeurs de ces personnages inhumains.

Il convenait non seulement de rendre sa

to create, this spurt, this froth of irresistible greenery which is quite the opposite to heavy Germanic aesthetics.

We would like the public to think of *Parade* as a work that conceals poetry under a thick wrapping of farce. Laughter is part of our make-up; it is important that we remember that and that we revive it even at the most serious times. It is too southern a weapon for us to ignore it.

Parade brings together Erik Satie's first orchestral writing, Pablo Picasso's first theatre designs, Léonide Massine's first cubist choreography and the first attempt by a poet to find expression without words.

The collaboration has been so close that each person's role is wed to that of the others without encroaching on them. I would have liked the public not to be shocked by us, but to be able to follow my collaborators' work: Satie, composing the strange dreamy, choir-like piece for his orchestra: Massine, transposing and extending my thoughts with the rhythm of a thinking machine. The people who saw Picasso in a studio in the Buttes-Chaumont [district of Paris], single-handedly painting the curtain representing the performers' space, are amazed. He walked up and down over the huge canvas bringing to life with his brush huge figures, as fresh as bunches of flowers.

Parade is about the public who won't go into the show in spite of the publicity and perhaps *because of the publicity* at the door.

Three managers, one on horseback (this horse comes out of the Médrano [circus] stable), represent the vulgar gods of advertising. Their huge size will perhaps take people by surprise. Urban noise, houses which move as we walk, arrogant posters, machines, so many ideas which we have used to establish the habits of these inhuman characters.

It was appropriate not only to restore

place au réalisme, mais encore de lui attribuer pour la première fois son véritable sens théâtral. Ce qu'on baptise jusqu'ici "art réaliste" est en quelque sorte un art de pléonasmes, et surtout au théâtre où le réalisme consiste à mettre en scène des objets réels qui perdent leur réalité du moment même qu'on les introduit dans un milieu factice.

Les trompe-l'oeil et les trompe-l'oreille de *Parade* suscitent la réalité qui, seule, même bien recouverte, possède le vertu d'émouvoir.

(Cocteau, 'Avant "Parade"', *Excelsior*, p.5)

realism to its rightful place, but also to give it its true theatrical meaning for the first time. What people until now have called "realist art" is in a way an art of tautology, and above all in the theatre where realism consists of putting on stage real objects which lose their reality from the very moment they are placed in an artificial setting.

Parade's visual and auditory illusions bring forth the reality that, even when well hidden, has single-handedly the virtue of touching people.

After 18 May 1917 the writer, Marcel Proust to JC

Je pense aussi à "l'écoissais" de la petite fille, si touchant, de la petite fille qui freine et met en marche si merveilleusement. Quelle concentration dans tout cela, quelle nourriture pour des âges de famine et quel chagrin quand j'avais encore des jambes de n'avoir pas fréquenté la poussière des cirques et tout ce dont j'ai ce soir la déchirante pitié.

P.S. Comme Picasso est BEAU.

(F-Pfs)

Also I'm thinking about the little girl's "tartan" which was so moving, about the little girl who puts on the brake and starts the car so wonderfully. What concentration in doing all that, how nourishing in times of famine and how sad that when I could still walk I didn't frequent the dusty circus and everything which this evening makes me feel with such heart-rending emotion.

P.S. How HANDSOME Picasso is.

19 May 1917 diary of Paul Morand

Salle comble hier, au Châtelet, pour *Parade*. Décors de toile, genre spectacle forain, de Picasso, une musique gracieuse de Satie, tantôt Rimsky, tantôt bastringue. Les *Managers*, constructions cubistes, ont surpris. La petite fille américaine et les faiseurs de tours avaient de charmants costumes. Massine bien aussi, en jongleur chinois. Mais l'idée centrale de Cocteau de se dégager des poncifs de la danse pour grouper une série de gestes de la vie, et ses thèmes modernes (mise en marche d'une auto, photographie, etc.) stylisés dans du mouvement, n'a pas paru tout à fait au point. Beaucoup d'applaudissements et quelques sifflets.

Full house yesterday at the Châtelet, for *Parade*. Scenery by Picasso, like a travelling show, graceful music by Satie, sometimes Rimsky, sometimes dance-hall. The *Managers*, cubist constructions, caused surprise. The little American girl and the characters doing tricks had lovely costumes. Massine good, too, as the Chinese juggler. But Cocteau's central idea - freeing dance from its conventions in favour of lifelike gestures and his modern themes (the cranking of a car, photography, etc.), stylised in movement, didn't seem quite right. Lots of applause and a few hisses.

(Morand, *Journal*, p.243)

21 May 1917 GA to LM

J'ai lu ce matin un article étonnant sur *Parade*. Il est dans *les Débats*. On m'y reproche d'avoir annoncé une chose nouvelle, merveilleusement séduisante. L'auteur s'attendait sans doute à voir paraître la reine de Saba couverte de bijoux, la nouveauté si séduisante et si simple de la petite fille américaine et le costume réaliste du chinois de music-hall lui ont échappé. Il blâme le cubisme et vante Picasso comme s'il n'était pas le cubisme même.

(Volta, *Satie/Cocteau*, p.139)

I read this morning an astonishing article about *Parade*. It's in the [*Journal des*] *Débats*. I am taken to task for having announced something new and wonderfully seductive. The author was probably expecting to see the queen of Sheba appear, covered in jewels; the seductive and simple newness of the little American girl and the realistic costume of the music-hall Chinaman have escaped him. He blames cubism and speaks highly of Picasso as if he was not cubism itself.

23 May 1917 diary of Paul Morand

Passe hier, avant dîner, chez la princesse Lucien Murat. J.-É. Blanche, la bouche tordue, me dit derrière sa main, geste familier aussi à Satie: "Cocteau a des périodes. Il est cyclique. J'ai connu, il y a six ans, la phase Anna de Noailles; Jean nous en parlait tellement que nous, qui aimions tous beaucoup Anna, ne pouvions plus entendre son nom! Aujourd'hui, c'est la phase Picasso. J'ai vu des amis de Picasso à Barcelone et suis documenté sur lui! C'est un habile qui se sert des gens, sous son air tout carré de rapin montmartrois. Il s'est servi de Cocteau."

(Morand, *Journal*, p.246)

Call yesterday, before dinner, at Princess Lucien Murat's. J[acques].-É[mile]. Blanche, his mouth twisted, says to me behind his hand, with a gesture common to Satie also: "Cocteau has phases. He is cyclical. Six years ago I knew his Anna de Noailles [the poet] phase; Jean talked about her so much that we who all loved her very much, couldn't bear to hear her name! Today it's the Picasso phase. I have seen friends of Picasso in Barcelona and have found out about him. He's a cunning chap who uses people in spite of having the straightforward look of a Montmartre artist. He has used Cocteau."

27 May 1917 diary of Paul Morand

Les auteurs de *Parade* sont désespérés. Ils retirent leur ballet. Simone de Caillavet qui, à vingt-deux ans, fait la critique dans le *Gaulois*, éreinte le spectacle. Bidou dans les *Débats* n'est pas non plus élogieux, mais n'en nie pas l'intérêt.

(Morand, *Journal*, p.250)

Parade's collaborators are in despair. They are taking off their ballet. Simone de Caillavet who at the age of twenty-two is doing the criticism in the *Gaulois*, slates the show. Bidou in the [*Journal des*] *Débats* doesn't praise it either, but doesn't deny its interest.

Rome, 28 May the dancer, Olga Khoklova to PP

Bon souvenir à Pavlouchka de Rome et Paris 1917 et n'oubliez pas Olga qui t'aime

Happy memories to Pavlouchka of Rome and Paris 1917 and don't forget Olga who

bien. "Qui me neglige, me perd." "L'oiseau du Benin s'est envolé du jardin zoologique aux Ballets russes."
(Clair (ed.) *Picasso, The Italian Journey*, p.97)

loves you dearly. "He who neglects me, loses me." "The Benin bird [Picasso's nickname] has flown from the zoo to the Russian Ballet."

30 May 1917 diary of Paul Morand

Cocteau raconte un dîner inouï, avant-hier, chez Cécile Sorel. Il y avait les Berthelot, Sert, Misia, Coco Chanel qui, décidément, devient un personnage, Simone, Lalo, Bailby, Flament et lui. "Entrez, triomphateur!" s'écrie Sorel et elle fait asseoir Cocteau à côté de Lalo qui, deux jours avant, avait écrit dans son feuilleton du *Temps* que *Parade* était "une prétentieuse niaiserie".
(Morand, *Journal*, p.253)

Cocteau talks about an outrageous dinner, the day before yesterday, at Cécile Sorel's. Present were the Berthelots, Sert, Misia, [the couturière] Coco Chanel who is decidedly becoming a somebody, Simone, [Pierre] Lalo, Bailby, Flament and Cocteau. "Enter, conqueror!" shouts Sorel and she seats Cocteau next to Lalo who, two days earlier, had written in his column in the *Temps* that *Parade* was "a pretentious nothing".

30 May 1917 ES to the critic, Jean Poueigh

...Mais ce que je sais c'est que vous n'êtes qu'un cul – si j'ose dire, un "cul" sans musique.
Surtout, ne venez plus me tendre votre main de salaud.
Combien l'on a bien fait de vous foutre à la porte de la "S.I.M" ...
(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.289)

...But what I know is that you are an asshole - if I dare say - an unmusical 'asshole.'
Above all, never again offer me your dirty hand.
How right they were to chuck you out of the "[Revue Musicale] S.I.M" ...

June/July 1917 JC, article 'La Collaboration de "Parade"'

Chaque matin m'arrivent de nouvelles injures, quelques-unes de fort loin car des critiques s'acharnent contre nous sans avoir vu ni entendu l'oeuvre; et, comme on ne comble pas des abîmes, comme il faudrait reprendre à partir d'Adam et d'Eve, j'ai trouvé plus digne de ne jamais répondre. Je consulte donc du même oeil surpris l'article où on nous insulte, l'article où on nous méprise, l'article où l'indulgence le dispute au sourire, l'article où on nous félicite tout de travers.
En face de cette pile de malentendus, de myopies, d'incultures, d'insensibilités, je pense aux mois admirables où nous avons, Satie, Picasso et moi, aimé, cherché,

Every morning new insults arrive, some from afar because critics wage war on us without having seen or heard the work; and, just as one does not fill abysses, as one would have to start again from Adam and Eve, I have thought it more dignified not to reply. I view with the same surprise therefore the article where we are insulted, the article where we are despised, the article that is smilingly indulgent, the article where we are congratulated wrongly.
Faced with this downside of misunderstanding, short-sightedness, philistinism, insensitivity, I think of the wonderful months when Satie, Picasso and

ébauché, combiné peu à peu cette petite chose si pleine et dont la pudeur consiste justement à n'être pas agressive.

L'idée m'en est venue pendant une permission d'avril 1915 (j'étais alors aux armées), en écoutant Satie jouer à quatre mains avec Viñes ses MORCEAUX EN FORME DE POIRE. ...

Une sorte de télépathie nous inspira ensemble un désir de collaboration. Une semaine plus tard je rejoignais le front, laissant à Satie une liasse de notes, d'ébauches, qui devaient lui fournir le thème du Chinois, de la Petite Américaine et de l'Acrobate (l'Acrobate était alors seul). Ces indications n'avaient rien d'humoristique. Elles insistaient au contraire sur le prolongement des personnages, sur le verso de notre baraque foraine. Le Chinois y était capable de torturer des missionnaires, la Petite Fille de sombrer sur le *Titanic*, l'Acrobate d'être en confidence avec les anges.

Peu à peu vint au monde une partition où Satie semble avoir découvert une dimension inconnue grâce à laquelle on écoute simultanément la parade et le spectacle intérieur.

Dans la première version les Managers n'existaient pas. Après chaque numéro de Music-Hall, une voix anonyme, sortant d'un trou amplificateur, chantait une phrase type, résumant les perspectives du personnage, ouvrant une brèche sur le rêve. Lorsque Picasso nous montra ses esquisses, nous comprîmes l'intérêt d'opposer à trois chromos, des personnages inhumains, surhumains, qui deviendraient en somme la fausse réalité scénique jusqu'à réduire les danseurs réels à des mesures de fantoches.

J'imaginai donc les "Managers" féroces, incultes, vulgaires, tapageurs, nuisant à ce qu'ils louent et déchaînant (ce qui eut lieu) la haine, le rire, les haussements d'épaule de la foule, par l'étrangeté de leur aspect et de leurs moeurs.

I fell in love with, researched, sketched out, built up bit by bit this little thing, so full and modestly unaggressive.

The idea for it came to me during leave in April 1915 (I was then in the army), when I heard Satie playing his *PIECES IN THE FORM OF A PEAR* as a duet with Viñes...

A sort of telepathy inspired in both of us a desire to collaborate. A week later I rejoined the front, leaving Satie with a pile of notes, of sketches, which were meant to supply him with the theme of the Chinese, the Little American and the Acrobat (the Acrobat was then alone). These notes were in no way humorous. On the contrary they insisted on the extension of the characters, on the other side of our fairground booth. The Chinese was capable of torturing missionaries there, the Little Girl of going down on the *Titanic*, the Acrobat of sharing secrets with angels.

Little by little there came into being a score in which Satie seemed to have discovered an unknown dimension thanks to which one could simultaneously hear the 'parade' and the show inside.

In the first version the Managers did not exist. After each Music-Hall number, an anonymous voice, coming from an amplifying device, sang a similar phrase, summing up the slant on the character, opening a way into a dream world.

When Picasso showed us his sketches, we understood the interest of opposing the three colourful characters with inhuman, superhuman people, who would become in short the false theatrical reality that would reduce the real dancers to the size of puppets.

I imagined therefore the 'Managers' as fierce, wild, vulgar, annoying, prejudicial to what they are praising and unleashing (which in fact took place) the crowd's hatred, laughter, shrugs, by the strangeness of their looks and their ways.

A cette phase de PARADE, trois acteurs, assis à l'orchestre, criaient, dans des porte-voix, des réclames grosses comme l'affiche KUB, pendant les poses d'orchestre.

Dans la suite, à Rome, où nous allâmes avec Picasso rejoindre Léonide Massine pour marier décor, costumes et chorégraphie, je constatai qu'une seule voix, même amplifiée, au service d'un des managers de Picasso, choquait, constituait une faute d'équilibre insupportable. Il eût fallu trois timbres par manager, ce qui nous éloignait singulièrement de notre principe de simplicité.

C'est alors que je substituai aux voix le rythme des pieds dans le silence.

Rien ne me contenta mieux que ce silence et que ces trépignements. Nos bonshommes ressemblèrent vite aux insectes dont le film dénonce les habitudes féroces. Leur danse était un accident organisé, des faux pas qui se prolongent et s'alternent avec une discipline de fugue. La gêne pour se mouvoir sous ces charpentes, loin d'appauvrir le chorégraphe, l'obligerait à rompre avec d'anciennes formules, à chercher son inspiration, non dans ce qui bouge mais dans ce autour de quoi on bouge, dans ce qui remue selon les rythmes de notre marche.

Aux dernières répétitions, le cheval tonnant et langoureux, lorsque les cartoniers livrèrent sa carcasse mal faite, se métamorphosa en cheval du fiacre de Fantômas, en monture de Charlie Chaplin. Notre fou rire et celui des machinistes décidèrent Picasso à lui laisser cette silhouette fortuite. Nous ne pouvions pas supposer que le public prendrait si mal une des seules concessions qui lui fussent faites.

Restent les trois personnages de la parade, ou plus exactement les quatre, puisque je transformai l'Acrobate en un couple d'acrobates pour permettre à Massine de

At this phase of PARADE, three actors, sitting in the orchestra, shouted, through loud-hailers, coarse advertisements like the KUB [stock-cube] poster, during orchestral pauses.

Afterwards, in Rome, where we went with Picasso to meet Léonide Massine to marry décor, costumes and choreography, I realized that one voice alone, even amplified, for one of Picasso's managers, was inappropriate, was intolerably unbalanced. It would have needed three voices per manager, which would have decidedly taken us away from our principle of simplicity.

At that point I substituted for the voices the rhythm of feet in the silence.

Nothing pleased me more than that silence and those prancings. Our figures soon looked like insects in a film exposing their ferocious habits. Their dance was an organized accident, with bad steps that go on and alternate with the discipline of a fugue. The difficulty of moving under the carcasses, far from lessening the choreography, made it break with previous rules, and look for its inspiration, not in what moves, but in what moves around it, in what moves according to the rhythms of how we walk.

At the final rehearsals, the horse, that was thundering and languorous, changed, when the cardboard-makers delivered its badly made carcass, into the horse that pulls [the film character] Fantômas's carriage, with a Charlie Chaplin frame. Our laughter and that of the scene-shifters convinced Picasso to leave the horse with this unexpected silhouette. We could not have known that the public would take against one of the only concessions made to it.

There remained the three characters of the 'parade', or to be exact the four, since I transformed the Acrobat into two acrobats to allow Massine to parody the Italian *Pas de deux* that underlay our researches of a

parodier le *Pas de deux* italien derrière nos recherches d'ordre réaliste.

Contrairement à ce que le public imagine, ces personnages relèvent plus de l'école cubiste que nos managers. Les managers sont des hommes-décor, des portraits de Picasso qui se meuvent, et leur structure même impose un certain mode chorégraphique. Pour les quatre personnages, il s'agissait de prendre une suite de gestes réels et de les métamorphoser en danse sans qu'ils perdissent leur force réaliste, comme le peintre s'inspire d'objets réels pour les métamorphoser en peinture pure sans pourtant perdre de vue la puissance de leurs volumes, de leurs matières, de leurs couleurs et de leurs ombres.

CAR SEULE LA RÉALITÉ, MÊME BIEN RECOUVERTE, POSSÈDE LA VERTU D'ÉMOUVOIR.

Le Chinois tire un oeuf de sa natte, le mange, le digère, le retrouve au bout de sa sandale, crache le feu, se brûle, piétine pour éteindre les étincelles, etc.

La Petite Fille monte en course, se promène à bicyclette, trépide comme l'imagerie des films, imite Charlot, chasse un voleur au revolver, boxe, danse un ragtime, s'endort, fait naufrage, se roule sur l'herbe, prend un kodak, etc...

Les Acrobates (avouerais-je que le cheval portait un Manager et que ce Manager tombant de sa selle nous le supprimâmes bel et bien la veille du spectacle?), les Acrobates benêts, agiles et pauvres, nous avons essayé de les revêtir de cette mélancolie du cirque du dimanche soir, de la retraite qui oblige les enfants à enfileur une manche de pardessus en jetant un dernier regard vers la piste.

L'orchestre d'Erik Satie balaye le fondu et le flou. Il donne toute sa grâce sans pédales. C'est un orphéon chargé de science. Il ouvrira une porte aux jeunes musiciens un peu fatigués de la belle

realist kind.

Contrary to what the public imagines, these characters come more from the cubist school than our managers. The managers are living scenery, portraits by Picasso that move, and their very structure imposes a certain choreographic form. As for the four characters, it was a question of taking a series of realist gestures and changing them into dance without losing their realist force, like the painter who, inspired by real objects, transforms them into pure painting without however losing sight of their volume, their subject matter, their colour and their shadows.

FOR ONLY REALITY, EVEN WELL DISGUISED, POSSESSES THE VIRTUE OF AROUSING EMOTION.

The Chinese pulls an egg from his plait, eats it, digests it, pulls it from the end of his shoe, eats fire, burns himself, stamps the ground to extinguish the sparks, etc.

The Little Girl rides in a race, goes cycling, shakes like the images in films, imitates Chaplin, chases a thief with a revolver, boxes, dances a ragtime, falls asleep, is shipwrecked, rolls in the grass, takes a photo, etc...

The Acrobats (should I admit that the horse carried a Manager and that when this Manager fell from its saddle, we did away with it on the eve of the show), simple-minded, agile and poor, we tried to dress them in that melancholy that comes from the circus on a Sunday evening, when children leaving the circus put on their coats and have a last look at the ring.

Erik Satie's music sweeps away the soft and the hazy. It is graceful without needing pedals. It's a sound world full of learning. It will open a door to young musicians who are a little tired with beautiful impressionist polyphony. Listen to it coming out of a fugue and going back into it with classical freedom. I believe that the score of "Parade" is one of the

polyphonie impressionniste. Écoutez-le sortir d'une fugue et la rejoindre avec une liberté classique. J'estime que la partition de "Parade" est un des chefs-d'oeuvre de la musique latine.

J'ai composé, disait modestement Satie, un fond pour certains bruits que le librettiste juge indispensables à préciser l'atmosphère de ses personnages. Satie exagère, mais les bruits jouaient en effet un grand rôle dans "Parade". Des difficultés matérielles (suppression de l'air comprimé entre autres) nous ont privés de ces "trompe l'oreille", *dynamo - appareil Morse - sirènes - express - aéroplane* - que j'employais au même titre que les trompe-l'oeil, *journal, corniche, faux bois*, dont les peintres se servent pour localiser les transfigurations voisines.

A peine pûmes-nous faire entendre les machines à écrire.

Voici, bien informe, le récit superficiel d'une collaboration désintéressée que couronne le succès malgré la colère unanime, tant il est vrai que depuis des siècles les générations se passent un flambeau par-dessus la tête du public sans que son souffle parvienne à l'éteindre.

("La Collaboration de "Parade" *Nord-Sud: Revue littéraire* Juin/Juillet 1917, pp.29-31)

masterpieces of southern [i.e. non-Germanic] music.

I have composed, Satie said modestly, a background for certain noises that the librettist thinks indispensable for pinning down the aura of these characters. Satie exaggerates, but the noises did play a large role in "Parade". Material problems (lack of compressed air amongst others) deprived us of these aural deceptions, *dynamo - Morse code machine - sirens - express - aeroplane* - that I used in the same way as visual deception, *newspaper, cornices, imitation wood*, that painters use to depict sudden changes in location.

We could hardly make the typewriters audible.

This is a crude account of an unselfish collaboration that is crowned by success in spite of unanimous anger, so true is it that for centuries succeeding generations have passed a torch above the heads of the public without it being extinguished by the public's breath.

3 June 1917 Jean Poueigh, review of *Parade*

Un rideau soi-disant passéiste, en réalité laborieusement primitif, sur lequel des artistes forains sont représentés dans l'attitude contorsionnée du torticolis; un décor dont la prétendue originalité réside en ce qu'il est posé tout de travers; des costumes de forme consacrée et de coloris agréable, vêtant un prestidigitateur chinois, deux acrobates et une petite fille américaine; de hideuses constructions géométriques à plusieurs plans, encageant le manager en frac et le manager de New-York; et un grotesque cheval de cavalcade

A so-called old-fashioned curtain, in reality laboriously primitive, on which fairground performers are drawn as if they have stiff necks; scenery whose supposed originality lies in it being askew; stock costumes, nicely coloured, to dress a Chinese conjuror, two acrobats and a little American girl; hideous geometric constructions in several planes, imprisoning the manager in the dress coat and the manager from New York; and a grotesque pageant horse straight out of a carnival kicking out its legs thanks to its

carnavalesque ruant par les jambes de ses deux danseurs, ne sauraient constituer un ballet qu'à moitié cubiste seulement, malgré les prétentions de M. Pablo Picasso et en dépit de la réclame et du tapage organisés autour de son nom.

L'argument et la musique de *Parade* n'ont également de cubiste que ceci: la sottise de l'un et la banalité de l'autre s'y trouvent multipliées par trois, d'où le surprenant volume qu'elles atteignent. En mettant ainsi leur imagination à nu MM Jean Cocteau et Erik Satie nous en ont dévoilé le fond. Il est parfois amusant de constater jusqu'à quel degré l'ineptie peut descendre. Mais sans doute n'était-ce pas le genre d'agrément qu'eussent préféré nous offrir les auteurs de cette tentative de rapins surréalistes.

De l'argument ou thème, je ne parlerai point: où il n'y a rien, le critique perd ses droits. J'en ferais tout autant de la musique si force ne m'était de préciser la figure du compositeur. M. Erik Satie se l'est acquise en affublant des morceaux de piano de titres, de contextes littéraires et de nuances saugrenus. Ironiste à froid, il sait mettre de l'humour partout, sauf dans sa musique. Surtout il épèle assez mal le langage des sons. Comme il veut nous persuader qu'il le parle mieux qu'un piètre amateur, il a écrit pour l'introduction de *Parade* quelques entrées de fugue dont le piteux classicisme jure avec le cubisme environnant. Et ce ne sont pas les crécelles, non plus que les machines à écrire qui parviendront jamais à introduire ici l'esprit, l'invention, le métier que font si cruellement défaut à la musique de M. Erik Satie. Un tel spectacle ...ne valait donc ni le crépitement des paumes, ni le vrillement des sifflets et c'est déjà leur accorder trop d'importance que de l'avoir discuté...

(Jean Poueigh, 'Le Carnet des Coulisses - La Musique - Parade - Soleil de Nuit - Las Meninas', *Le Carnet de la Semaine*, II,

two dancers. All these things could only make a ballet that is half cubist, in spite of Mr. Pablo Picasso's pretensions and despite the publicity and fuss organized around his name.

The storyline and the music in *Parade* are equally only cubist in this respect: the stupidity of the one and the banality of the other are multiplied by three, giving them a surprising volume. By laying bare their imagination in this way, Mr. Jean Cocteau and Mr Erik Satie have uncovered its depths. It is sometimes amusing to note just how far nonsense can descend. But probably that is not the kind of pleasure that the authors of this attempt at surrealist daubing would like to have given us.

I will not mention the argument or theme: where there is nothing, the critic loses his rights. I would do the same for the music if I did not feel constrained to pin down the composer's features. Mr Erik Satie acquired these by dressing up piano pieces with titles, literary settings and absurd innuendos. As a dead-pan ironist, he knows how to be humorous everywhere, except in his music. Above all, he cannot spell the language of sounds. Since he wants to persuade us that he speaks it better than a lame amateur, he has written for the introduction to *Parade* a few fugal entries whose classicism jars with the surrounding cubism. And it is not the rattles nor the typewriters that will ever succeed in bringing to this the wit, the invention, the craft that are so cruelly lacking in Mr Erik Satie's music. Such a show...was not worth the crackle of applause, nor the whoosh of hissing, and discussing it is already giving it too much importance...

104, 3 June 1917, p.12)

3 June 1917 ES to Jean Poueigh "Great General Blast-Furnace, Chief of Gourds & Calves" (Grand Fourneau Général, Chef des Gourdes & des Veaux"

...Tu n'es pas aussi "con" que je croyais...Malgré ton air d'andouille & ta vue basse, tu vois les choses de loin...
(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.290)

...You're not as dumb as I thought...In spite of your resemblance to the unmentionable and your short-sightedness, you see things from afar.

Fontainebleau, 5 June 1917 ES to Jean Poueigh "Famous Gourd and Composer of Genitalia" (Célèbre Gourde & Compositeur des Andouilles"

Vilain cul,
je suis ici d'où je t'emmerde à tour de bras.
(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.290)

Lousy ass-hole,
this is from where I shit on you with all my force.
(Volta, *Satie Seen*, p.132)

?June 1917 Marcel Proust to JC

[Empty box for French text]

I cannot tell you how delighted I am by the considerable stir made by your ballet. It would be almost an insult to you and your collaborators to call it a 'success'. And yet, inexplicable though it might seem, the success is real and very great. Even though in this case the success is no more than a mere foretaste, a propitious aura emanating from the future, it is not to be belittled.
(Steegmuller, *Cocteau*, p.188)

9 June 1917 GA to JC

[Il est dommage qu'un] homme de l'âge et du talent d'Erik Satie n'ait rencontré dans la presse personne d'assez indépendant pour mettre les choses au point...La vengeance, disait-on, est le plaisir des dieux. Erik Satie s'est vengé d'avance, et sa vengeance lui reste acquise, la postérité l'entérinera.
(Volta, *Satie/Cocteau*, p.35)

[It is a pity that a] man as old and talented as Erik Satie has not met anyone in the press independent enough to put things in perspective...Vengeance, it was said, is in the lap of the gods. Erik Satie has taken revenge in advance and his vengeance remains established, posterity will ratify it.

24 June 1917 GA to the lawyer, Maître José Théry

Le premier insulteur fut Poueigh. Poueigh qui ne peut sentir ce qui est moderne, y voyant toujours, on se demande pourquoi, quelque bocherie.

I am sending you Erik Satie, against whom, following *Parade*, Jean Poueigh has started a suit for slander. The first slanderer was Mr Poueigh, who has no feeling for modern art, always confusing it - oddly - with 'Hunnish' art. In short, if Erik Satie

<p>(Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i>, p.32)</p>	<p>comes to you, I have no doubt you will get him out of the mess he has got himself into by telling Mr Poueigh the truth. (Volta, <i>Satie Seen</i>, p.133)</p>
--	--

?9 July 1917 ES to Viñes

<p>Je passe jeudi à 13 heures, 5ème chambre. Je suis "frit". Tout est contre moi. Venez, cher Vieux, & veuillez prévenir nos amis. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.291)</p>	<p>I'm appearing Thursday, one o'clock, courtroom 5. I'm done for. Everything is against me. Come along, Old chap, and let our friends know. (Volta, <i>Satie Seen</i>, p.134)</p>
---	--

13 July 1917 JC to ME

<p>Pauvre Satie. Vous a-t-on dit que nous étions tous venus chez vous après le verdict? Satie ne voulait qu'on dérange personne <i>avant</i> (hélas!), il croyait l'affaire peu grave. On l'a traité comme un vieil imbécile crapuleux. C'était atroce. Et <i>L'Intran[sigeant]</i> qui ne rate jamais d'être ignoble! Que faire? Si on pouvait lui enlever la prison, car la prison le discrédite auprès de ses élèves et d'Arcueil. (Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i>, p.34)</p>	<p>Poor Satie. Did anyone tell you we were all coming to you after the verdict? Satie didn't want to bother anyone <i>beforehand</i> (alas!). He didn't think the matter was very serious. He was treated like an ignominious old imbecile. It was awful. And <i>L'Intran[sigeant]</i> never misses a chance to be ignoble! What to do? If we could only keep him out of prison, because prison will discredit him with his pupils and in Arcueil. (Volta, <i>Satie Seen</i>, p.134)</p>
---	--

?after 12 July 1917 JC to GA

<p>Je suis bien malade et triste. Je me cache 'pour mourir' comme les bêtes. Le procès de Satie et les articles ignobles me consternent. J'ai vu votre lettre. Satie m'affirme avoir été à un rendez-vous de Flore où vous n'étiez pas venu. Quel dommage! Moi, je ne pouvais rien ne sachant pas, 1° la gravité de la chose, 2° ayant la certitude que Théry agissait contre nous tous. Peut-être pourriez-vous voir Théry avant l'appel, mais je vous le répète, il y avait dans sa plaidoirie plus que de science - une sorte de joie féroce. C'était pénible et, pour les pauvres juges, Satie était un vieil homme absurde et sans excuses! Ce verdict ressemble à tous les verdicts de la foule - si l'art était judiciairement considéré comme une</p>	<p>I am very unwell and sad. I'm in hiding in order 'to die' like animals do. Satie's trial and the vile articles worry me. I've seen your letter. Satie swears that he was at a meeting at the [Café de] Flore to which you didn't come. What a pity! I could do nothing, being unaware 1) of the importance of the affair, 2) being certain that [Maître] Théry was acting against all of us. Perhaps you could see Théry before the appeal, but let me repeat that in his speech there was more than evidence - a sort of fierce joy. It was painful and, for the poor judges, Satie was a silly old man without any excuse! This verdict is like all verdicts made by the crowd - if art were legally considered to be an insult, we would be condemned to death and youth</p>
---	--

insulte, on nous condamnerait à mort et la jeunesse (l'insulte la plus grave) est envoyée à la mort par les vieux juges. (Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i> , p.35)	(the worst insult) is sent to its death by old judges.
--	--

13 July 1917 GA to ME

Si Satie m'avait appelé au tribunal, je crois qu'en ma présence Théry n'aurait pas osé être si dur qu'il semble avoir été. Mais les choses vont comme elles doivent aller et sans doute cela grandira-t-il Satie d'avoir été bafoué comme le sont tous les vrais artistes en tout temps et en tout lieu. (Hotel Drouot Sale Catalogue, Paris, 22 March 1994, item 5)	If Satie had called me to the Court I believe that in my presence Théry would not have dared to be as tough as he seems to have been by all the published accounts. But things go as they must and no doubt it will add greatness to Satie to have been jeered at, as all true artists have been at all times and in all places.
---	--

Le Céret, 14 July 1917 ES to Viñes

...Grâce à vous, je me trouve sorti d'une situation qui, pour être lugubre - j'avais trop de journaux contre moi, trop pour un seul homme, - n'en était pas plus agréable. Recevez ici même votre brevet de bon bougre: je vous le donne de bon coeur. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.291)	I want to thank you vigorously: because of you I have escaped from a situation that was as dismal as it was disagreeable - I had too many newspapers against me, too many for one man. Receive herewith your certificate as a good fellow; I give it to you in good heart. (Volta, <i>Satie Seen</i> , p.135)
---	--

18 July 1917 GA to JC

[Satie] aurait dû faire appel tout de même à mon témoignage puisqu'il voulait y faire appel avant de savoir que je connusse Théry. (Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i> , p.35)	[Satie] should have called on me as a witness anyway, since he wanted to do so before knowing that I knew [Maître] Théry.
--	---

19 July 1917 GA to Maître Théry

Satie a été évidemment imprudent. Il a agi comme un vieil étudiant du temps de Mürger. Mais on l'a tellement injurié lui-même que je me demande s'il est juste que les critiques détroussent leurs victimes après les avoir assassinées. (Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i> , p.35)	Satie has obviously been unwise. He has acted like an old student in Mürger's day. But he has been so injured himself that I wonder if it's fair that critics can rob their victims after killing them.
--	---

4 August 1917 diary of Paul Morand

Hélène et moi allons acheter des pièces au	Hélène [Morand's sister] and I went to buy
--	--

<p>bazar [in England]. Nous tombons sur Aunt Sally qui ressemble à un masque de l'île de Pâques noir, rouge et blanc avec une pipe dans le front, comme le Manager de <i>Parade</i>. Nous l'achetons pour Jean Cocteau. (Morand, <i>Journal</i>, p.307)</p>	<p>some things in the market. We came across an Aunt Sally which looks like an Easter island mask, black, red and white with a pipe in the forehead, like the Manager in <i>Parade</i>. We bought it for Jean Cocteau.</p>
---	--

10 August 1917 the writer, Max Jacob to Jacques Doucet

	<p>Poor Satie! He arrived in a terrible state. They're killing him! They're cutting his throat! They're persecuting him! The publisher Rouart won't give him any more money because he's afraid Satie's royalties may be seized. The man who won the suit has the right to seize everything poor Satie possesses, including his scores, etc. Satie will have a police record and won't be played in any publicly supported theatre. He won't have the right to travel, America is closed to him, Spain, who knows what else... In short, he feels that his life has been smashed, destroyed. Monsieur de Polignac asked him for the file on his case in order to pass it on to Henri Robert, but he does nothing, in spite of his promises. Satie would have the possibility of a stay of proceedings if he appealed, but for that he would need a solicitor and a barrister and two thousand francs. I tried to reason with him, but he is suffering and wants to suffer. I quoted examples of great artists who went to prison without their life being destroyed, in short I've preached so many sermons in the name of common sense that he seems to have made me a scapegoat for his sufferings and he suddenly rushed off almost without shaking anyone's hand and without listening to Roland-Manuel's music... (Volta, <i>Satie Seen</i>, p.136)</p>
--	--

Arcueil, 16 August 1917 ES to Madame Fernand Dreyfus (dedicatee of Satie's 'Sur un vaisseau' from *Descriptions automatiques*)

<p>J'ai un vaste et profond service à vous demander. Oui.</p>	<p>I have a huge and profound favour to ask you. Yes.</p>
---	---

Avez-vous assez confiance en moi pour me prêter jusqu'en octobre la somme de trois cents francs?

A cette date d'octobre j'aurai terminé ma "Vie de Socrate", à laquelle je travaille fortement en ce moment; & alors je pourrai rembourser ma dette.

Examinez du fond du coeur cette demande d'un pauvre homme, & voyez, Chère Dame, ce que vous avez à faire.

Mon procès marche très mal. Maurice Bernard n'est pas là mais son secrétaire a fait répondre:

- "Que la princesse de Polignac ne s'occupe pas de ce procès; Erik Satie est un boche".

C'est très gentil de sa part, mais me fixe sur la mentalité du palais: je serai sale, & bien.

Pourvu que chez Henri Robert la réponse ne soit pas semblable! Enfin! Tout s'arrange, paraît-il dans l'autre Monde.

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.298)

Do you have enough trust in me to lend me the sum of three hundred francs until October?

By this October date I will have finished my "Life of Socrates", on which I am working hard at the moment; and then I shall be able to pay back my debt. Consider from the bottom of your heart this request from a poor man and see, Dear Lady, what you have to do.

My trial is going very badly. Maurice Bernard [employee at the Ministry of the Interior] is not there but his secretary has replied on his behalf:

"The Princesse de Polignac should not be involved in this trial; Erik Satie is a hun". It is very kind of him, but I am concentrating on the palace's mentality: I shall be witty & well.

Providing that Henri Robert's [the President of the Bar] reply is not similar. Well! Everything works out, it seems on the other World.

16 August 1917 ES to JC

Mauvaises nouvelles: Maurice Bernard pas là. Son secrétaire à écrire a répondu: - "Combien la Princesse de Polignac a tort de s'occuper de ces Boches. "Parade" & les "Ballets Russes" sont boches & mal vus du front, où leurs manifestations tapageuses ont produit le plus mauvais effet."

Il est fâcheux que vous n'avez pas écrit à la princesse. Cela n'aurait pas été mauvais & l'aurait mieux disposée. On a dû la fortement travailler contre nous.

Elle revient de Maintenon. N'y aurait-il pas là-dedans un coup des Noailles? C'est pour cela, qu'il faut voir, & vite.

Voyez, je vous prie.

Abel Hermant a écrit un gentil mot sur moi dans *La Vie Parisienne*. Je viens de le remercier.

La presse se ressaisit à mon égard, il semble.

Bad news: Maurice Bernard [employee at the Ministry of the Interior] not there. His secretary for correspondence has replied: - "The Princesse de Polignac has made a great mistake in becoming involved with these Germans. "Parade" and the "Russian Ballet" are German and a bad view is taken of them at the front, where their rowdy shows have produced the worst effect."

It's annoying that you have not written to the princess. It would not have been a bad thing to do and would have put her in a better frame of mind. Somebody must have been working her up against us.

She's come back from Maintenon. Do you think the Noailles had something to do with it? That's why you should look into it and quickly.

I beg you.

Abel Hermant has written something nice about me in *La Vie Parisienne*. I have just

Georges Pioch a annoncé le décès de Poueigh - son décès d'artiste, bien entendu. Malgré cela, je suis frit, & bien, encore! Tant pis! Ils vont me saler!*

Mille choses à Lhote & à sa Dame si aimable. Si vous voyez Matisse, dites-lui mille choses de ma part, & combien je l'aime.

Je suis sans le sou, mon pauvre Vieux. Rouart prévient & prévoit la perte de mon procès.

Il ne veut plus me donner un centime. [...]

*Un ami du Palais me dit que j'aurais mieux fait de ne pas faire appel. Il est convaincu, par ce qu'il sait, que je serai augmenté - & très.

Théry s'acharne contre moi. Il m' "aura".

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.297)

thanked him. The press, it seems, is turning in my favour.

[The critic] Georges Pioch has announced the demise of Poueigh - his artistic demise, of course.

In spite of that, I am done for and well and truly, moreover. Too bad! They will give me a stiff sentence.*

All the best to [André] Lhote and his charming Wife. If you see Matisse, give him my best regards and tell him how fond of him I am.

I have no money, old chap. [The publisher, Alexis] Rouart warns me that I shall lose my case. He won't give me a centime. [...]

*A friend at the courts says that I shouldn't have appealed. He is convinced, from what he knows, that the penalty will be increased - and greatly.

[Maître] Théry is hot in pursuit. He will 'get' me.

(Cooper, *Picasso Theatre*, p.336)

17 August 1917 ES to Roland-Manuel (musician and writer)

"J'ai, peut-être, été un peu vif. Tant pis! en somme je n'ai aucun remords.

Pourvu que je n'aie pas d'ennuis avec la police. La police n'aime pas les disparitions; elle n'entend rien à la magie. On me mettra en prison; dans une prison malsaine, sans air, sans distraction, sans exercice. Je serai sur la paille, et je ne vivrai pas ma vie...

Probablement j'y resterai très longtemps. Je ne pourrai pas aller au café, ni à la chasse, ni chez mon notaire, ni en autobus, ni à la pêche de Montreuil, ni au théâtre, ni aux courses, ni aux bains de mer de famille.

"Perhaps I've been a little sharp. Too bad! in short I have no regrets.

Providing I have no trouble with the police. The police don't like disappearances; they don't understand magic at all. I shall be put in prison; in an unwholesome prison, without air, without diversion, without exercise. I shall be down and out, and I shall not live out my life. No doubt I shall fall sick; I'll have fleas, my back will be cold. I shan't be jolly. I shall develop a pot-belly and I'll be badly dressed. No one will come to see me. Probably I shall stay there for a very long time. I shan't be able to go to the café, nor hunting, nor to see my lawyer, nor on the bus, nor fishing in Montreuil, nor to the theatre, nor to the races, nor to family seaside holidays.

I shall lose all my contacts. How unlucky I am! And then I shall have to choose a barrister, a good barrister who will ask for a lot of money.

<p>.Mais...mais... j'ai un alibi - un tout-tout petit-tit-t'alibi-bi - me semble-t-il; ne puis-je dire, froidement, que j'étais hors de moi et à plus de deux mille lieues de penser que je commettais un crime? C'est un alibi sérieux, cela; et comme c'est peu compliqué je suis sauvé!"</p> <p>(Hotel Drouot Sale Catalogue, Paris, 14 May 1986)</p>	<p>What fun it is! But...but...I have an alibi - a really-really little itty-bitty alibi-bi - it seems to me; can't I say, coldly, that I was off my head and more than two thousand leagues from thinking that I was committing a crime? That's a serious alibi; and since it's not complicated I am saved! Saved from bonds and bones stiffened by a stupid imprisonment! I am my own saviour and I vote myself the thanks I deserve. In fact, I'm entitled to a fee of twenty-five francs. I shall go and pick it up. Waiter, my hat, my coat and my stick! (Volta, <i>Satie Seen</i>, p.136)</p>
--	--

? August 1917 JC to VG

<p>Maman me raconte que Satie vous lasse - qui 'tiendrait'? Un génie qui se galvaude et donne prise à ce qu'on moque ses admirateurs consterne plus que la critique imbécile. (Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i>, p.36)</p>	<p>Maman tells me that Satie is wearing you down. I can't blame you. A genius who demeans himself and exposes his admirers to ridicule is more dismaying than his stupid critic. (Steegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i>, p.201)</p>
---	---

Arcueil, 31 August 1917 ES to JC

<p>La situation devient grave. Avez-vous écrit à la Princesse? Je viens de recevoir une lettre de Méerowitch. Elle me croit en prison. C'est assez curieux. Vous m'étonnez de croire que Valentine est ici. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.301)</p>	<p>The situation is becoming serious. Have you written to the Princess? I have just received a letter from [the pianist, Juliette] Méerowitch. She thinks I'm in prison. It's quite strange. You surprise me if you think that Valentine [Gross] is here.</p>
--	---

1 September 1917 diary of Paul Morand

<p>Je vais à Versailles. Erik Satie dans le train. Il espère être acquitté en appel (il a envoyé à un critique, élève de d'Indy, des cartes postales injurieuses et a attrapé huit jours de prison). M. Robert s'occupe de l'affaire. Nous parlons du <i>Socrate</i> qu'il écrit pour petit orchestre (24 musiciens) qui lui a été commandé par Mme de Polignac... "C'est une petite chose simple, classique, élevée, à</p>	<p>I went to Versailles. Erik Satie on the train. He hopes to be acquitted on appeal (he sent abusive postcards to a critic, a pupil of d'Indy, and was given eight days in prison). M[aitre]. Robert is in charge of the case. We talked about <i>Socrates</i> which he has written for small orchestra (24 musicians) commissioned by Mme de Polignac... "It's a simple, classical, noble little piece for 4</p>
---	--

4 sopranos, et amusante”, dit-il. Puis il écrira avec Cocteau un opéra comique, *Paul et Virginie*.

(Morand, *Journal*, p.337)

sopranos, and it's amusing”, he said. Then he will write a comic opera, *Paul et Virginie*, with Cocteau.

2 September 1917 diary of Paul Morand

Déjeuner chez Maxim's avec Jean. Nous parlons de Satie: “Je n'aime pas, dit Jean, cet Alphonse Allais de la musique. Il avait d'autres dons. Il n'y a qu'une façon d'être bouffe; c'est de faire, à l'italienne, des culbutes en tournant autour d'une chose dans laquelle on ne peut pas entrer; mais lui est au centre et déforme tout.”

Puis Jean parle de l'extrême luxe américain. Je dis qu'ils vont gâter la France, ce qui est l'évidence. Jean le redoute aussi. Il dit qu'il projette un livre sur l'Amérique; puis des conférences là-bas.

(Morand, *Journal*, p.337)

Lunch at Maxim's with Jean. We talk about Satie: “I don't like that Alphonse Allais of music, [ES]” he says, “He had other gifts. There is only one way of being funny; that is by kicking something which you can't get into whilst moving around it like the Italians; but he is in the centre and distorts everything.”

Then Jean talks about extreme American luxury. I say that they will spoil France, as is becoming clear. Jean dreads that too. He says that he is planning a book on America; then lectures over there.

14 September 1917 ES to the musicologist, Henry Prunières

Vous me parlez de Debussy? Je ne le vois plus.

Parade m'a éloigné bien des amis. Cette oeuvre est la cause de bien des malheurs. J'ai contre moi mille gens déplaisants qui m'ont plus ou moins injurié. Tant pis!

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.308)

You ask me about Debussy? I no longer see him.

Parade has really distanced me from friends. This work is the cause of many misfortunes. Against me I have a thousand unpleasant people who have more or less insulted me. Too bad!

October 1917, preface by the composer, Georges Auric to the piano duet version of *Parade*

Erik Satie s'inspirant de la parade désabusée d'un petit théâtre forain n'avait pas à faire trépider dans sa musique une foule que nous rencontrons tous les jours.

Comme celui de Picasso, son art ne veut point nous séduire par une évocation brillante et mouvementée.

Dans une neuve vision, il nous présente l'individu, à sa plus grande puissance, et campe nettement d'étonnants personnages qui font songer à Rimbaud et présager un avenir sans ennui.

Les mystères terribles de la Chine, la

Erik Satie, taking his inspiration from the disillusioned 'parade' of a small travelling theatre, didn't need to put into his music a seething crowd that we meet everyday.

Like Picasso's art, Satie's doesn't seek to attract us by being glossy and animated.

With a new vision, he presents to us the individual at the height of his powers, and clearly offers us surprising characters who bring to mind Rimbaud and foretell a future without worries.

The frightening mysteries of China, the sadness of a bar at night conjured up by the

<p>tristesse de bar nocturne de la petite américaine, les gymnastiques étonnantes des acrobates: c'est là toute la douleur des tréteaux, - la nostalgie de l'orgue de barbarie qui jamais ne jouera de fugues de Bach.</p> <p>La partition de Satie est conçue pour servir de fond musical à un premier plan de batterie et de bruits scéniques.</p> <p>Ainsi elle se soumet très humblement à la réalité qui étouffe le chant du rossignol sous le roulement des tramways.</p> <p>Amis des audaces déjà connues et de la fantaisie qui nous fit rire hier, quelques écrivains avertis révélèrent l'inexpérience d'un musicien dont ils se sentaient obligés de constater le manque d'agrément et d'originalité.</p> <p>- Cependant, l'Art poursuit son chemin que nul ne peut interrompre.</p> <p>(Auric, <i>Parade, Réduction pour Piano à quatre mains</i>, Salabert, 1917)</p>	<p>little American girl, the astonishing gymnastics of the acrobats: these encapsulate the sorrows of the stage, - the nostalgia of the barrel-organ which will never play fugues by Bach.</p> <p>Satie's score is conceived to serve as a musical background to a foreground of percussion and theatrical noises.</p> <p>So it very humbly yields to the reality which stifles the nightingale's song beneath the rattle of the tram.</p> <p>Some writers in the know, who liked his previously-known audaciousness and his imagination which previously made us laugh, revealed the inexperience of this musician and felt obliged to publicise his lack of embellishment and of originality.</p> <p>- However, Art pursues its path which noone can interrupt.</p>
--	---

Le Piquey, 1 October 1917 JC to Mme Cocteau

<p>Je reste jusqu'après l'affaire Satie. Je désapprouve Satie et ne saurais quelle attitude prendre.</p> <p>(Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i>, p.34)</p>	<p>I'm staying until the Satie business is over. I disapprove of Satie and wouldn't know what attitude to take.</p>
---	---

6 October 1917 JC to VG

<p>Je vous supplie de faire en sorte qu'on ne me mêle pas aux cartes Satie.</p> <p>(Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i>, p.34)</p>	<p>I beg you to make sure that I don't get associated with Satie's communications.</p>
--	--

N.d. but c. October 1917 JC to the poet, Léon-Paul Fargue

<p>Procès Satie me dégoûte de m'effrayer. Je te supplie de veiller à ce qu'on ne m'y traîne dans toutes les sauces.</p> <p>(Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i>, p.34)</p>	<p>Satie trial disgusts and frightens me. I beg you to watch out that I don't get dragged into the whole business.</p>
--	--

15 October 1917 ES to VG

<p>Enfin! "<i>Parade</i>" vient de paraître!!</p> <p>(Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.311)</p>	<p>Finally! "<i>Parade</i>" has been published!!</p>
---	--

n.d. ?Barcelona, ?November 1917 the conductor Ernest Ansermet to SD

<p>Dans <i>Parade</i> vous réglerez la batterie selon les managers de chaque ville, j'ai fait faire</p>	<p>In <i>Parade</i> you will adjust the percussion according to the managers in each town, I</p>
---	--

<p>à Madrid les “machines à écrire” pour les <u>clefs</u> et <u>pistons</u> dans des instruments de bois et les cuivres; “roue de loterie” par “crécelle”; “flaques sonores” par “cymbale à la baguette d’éponge”; “bouteillophone” par “un mélange de célesta” et “campanelle”; “tuyau d’orgue” par contre-basson, bassoon, contrebasse, et “timbale pp”... Quant aux musiciens que vous trouverez ici et à Madrid, ce n’est évidemment pas Paris, mais ce sont des gens de très bonne volonté et consciencieux. (F-Po, Fonds Kochno, Pièce 1)</p>	<p>have organised in Madrid the “typewriters” to be the keys and valves in woodwind and brass instruments; “wheel of fortune” to be a “rattle”; “sonorous puddles” to be “a cymbal with a soft-headed stick”; “boutillophone” to be “a mixture of celesta” and “bells”; “organ pipe” by contrabassoon, double-bass, and “kettledrum pp”... As for the musicians that you will find here and in Madrid, obviously it is not Paris, but they are very willing and conscientious people.</p>
---	---

4 November 1917 JC to the painter, Jacques-Émile Blanche

<p>Satie est simple et savant comme Palestrina. Je me délecte - je colle mon oeil à ce trou de serrure qui donne sur le ciel. Il a ses défauts d’âge, de farce, de Montmartre - mais jusqu’à nouvel ordre je ne connais pas mieux - je ne parle pas des blagues qui m’énervent et me gâchent toute une partie de son oeuvre - dans <i>Parade</i> il n’y a une seule blague. (Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i>, p.32)</p>	<p>Satie is simple and wise like Palestrina. I am delighted - I put my eye to the keyhole which looks up into the sky. He has faults due to age, silliness, Montmartre - but until further notice I know no better - I’m not referring to the jokes which get on my nerves and spoil a whole part of his work for me - in <i>Parade</i> there’s not a single joke.</p>
---	--

1 December 1917 diary of Paul Morand

<p>Misia me dit qu’au procès Satie, Cocteau a manifesté, disant de l’avocat: “Je voudrais lui casser la gueule!” Commissaire de police. Scène. Cocteau accuse l’avocat d’avoir derrière lui les marchands de tableaux que le cubisme empêche de vendre. L’avocat ne veut pas se laisser arranger l’affaire. Bref Jean est menacé de six mois. Il a pris Henri-Robert, “l’avocat des mauvaises causes”. “Encore un martyr du cubisme”! fait Hélène. (Morand, <i>Journal</i>, p.436)</p>	<p>Misia told me that at Satie’s trial, Cocteau caused a stir by saying about the lawyer: “I’d like to smash his face in!” Police superintendent. Scene. Cocteau accuses the lawyer of being backed by art dealers who are being prevented from selling by cubism. The lawyer won’t come to any arrangement. So Jean is threatened with six months. He has employed Henri-Robert, the “lawyer for bad causes”. “Another martyr to cubism”! says Hélène [Morand’s sister].</p>
--	---

7 December 1917 JC to GA

<p>Histoire Théry stupide. Pas de quoi fouetter un chat (peut-être le Chat Noir, responsable des cartes de Satie et de ses</p>	<p>The [Maître] Théry affair is stupid. Not enough substance to whip a cat with (perhaps the Black Cat [cabaret in</p>
--	--

titres). (Volta, <i>Satie/Cocteau</i> , p.32)	Montmartre], responsible for Satie's cards and titles).
--	---

15 December 1917 ES to ME

Ci-joint ma demande de remise de peine. Si vous pouvez avoir une ou deux signatures ce serait parfait.[...] Merci de me tirer de ce mauvais pas. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.315)	Attached is my request for the sentence to be postponed. If you could get one or two signatures it would be perfect. Thank you for getting me out of this difficulty.
---	---

14 January 1918 ES to VG

Je vais en prison le 2 février - pour deux semaines de samedi en quinze. J'ai reçu l'invitation. N'ai aucune nouvelle de la grace. Cette chère Missia a embrouillé merveilleusement les choses. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.319)	Going into prison on 2 February, for two weeks from Saturday fortnight. I have received the invitation. Have no news about the pardon. Dear Missia [sic] has tangled things up wonderfully.
---	--

29 January 1918 Mme Cocteau to JC

Je t'avais télégraphié, écrit, il me semble, des choses claires. Je tenais de Mme Paul Adam qui le tenait de Lescouvé la certitude que la plainte était retirée. Il n'y avait donc qu'à écrire à Mme Paul Adam ou à son mari pour les remercier. (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i> , p.355)	I had telegraphed you, written to you, quite clearly, it seems to me. I knew from Mme Paul Adam who found out from Lescouvé that the action was certainly withdrawn. It just remained therefore to write to Mme Paul Adam or to her husband to thank them.
---	--

Grasse, 1 February 1918 JC to Mme Cocteau

Satie entre-t-il en prison demain? (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i> , p.357)	Is Satie going to prison tomorrow?
---	------------------------------------

Grasse, 4 February 1918 JC to Mme Cocteau

Le Pauvre Satie est-il en prison? Personne ne me renseigne et pour Valentine j'en arrive à croire qu'elle a une raison secrète de ne pas m'écrire car n'importe qui répondrait aux appels successifs que je lui envoie vainement. Silence incroyable de la N.R.F. Pourvu que Misia et Eugénie pensent à nourrir Satie. J'ai remercié Paul A. Mais d'après la lettre de Straus il semble que tout change. J'ai dû écrire à Th. à la suite de mille pourparlers entre St. et lui - il est vrai que	Is poor Satie in prison? No-one gives me any news and as for Valentine I'm beginning to think that she has a secret reason for not writing to me since anyone would reply to the constant requests that I send her in vain. Unbelievable silence from the N[ouvelle]R[evue] F[rançaise]. As long as Misia and Eugénie [Errazuriz] think about feeding Satie. I have thanked Paul A[dam]. But according to Straus' letter it seems that everything is changing. I had to write to
---	---

<p>l'avocat aime à être le seul.</p> <p>(Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i>, p.358)</p>	<p>Th[éry, Poueigh's lawyer] following thousands of negotiations between St[ern] and him - it's true that the lawyer likes to be the only one.</p>
--	--

Paris, 11 July 1918 JC to Mme Cocteau

<p>Vendredi matin je suis témoin des Picasso, mairie du VII^e. Après quoi le noce déjeuner chez Misia. C'est drôle ce destin de Misia qui même lorsqu'elle n'admire pas se trouve toujours en contact avec ce qu'il y a de mieux aux époques.</p> <p>(Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i>, p.396)</p>	<p>Friday morning I am to be a witness for the Picassos, town-hall in the VIIth district. After which wedding lunch at Misia's. It's strange, Misia's fate: even when she doesn't admire she's always in contact with what is best at any given time.</p>
---	---

Le Piquey, 31 August 1918 JC to Mme Cocteau

<p>[Picasso] a découvert instinctivement dans Cézanne, Chardin et Greco des secrets de construction que ces maîtres camouflaient et taisaient le plus possible et il a poussé plus loin leurs recherches. C'est ce qu'on nomme cubisme et c'est ce qui a donné lieu à toute une école de géomètres ridicules... Le grand apport de Picasso, c'est, outre d'avoir emmené les objets jusque dans un domaine qui lui est propre, d'avoir prouvé le luxe des choses simples, d'une pipe, d'un journal, d'un verre. Il a dégagé l'âme du chromo qui a tant de charme dans les estaminets et les loges de concierge. Son génie l'autorise à être multiple (du reste son personnage favori est Arlequin)... Dis à Germaine [Tailleferre] que j'accepte, que du reste j'ai décidé avec Madame Bathori et nos camarades (ils me l'ont demandé) de prendre la direction du ou des spectacles consacrés aux jeunes. Le premier spectacle sera une séance de music-hall dont je choisis les numéros, chacun accompagné de musique et précédé d'une introduction. Pendant l'entracte un petit orchestre jouera dans le vestibule les fameuses "musiques d'ameublement" de notre Satie et de la troupe... Diaghilev est passé par Paris mais je me suis arrangé avec Misia pour ne pas le voir, il me dégoûte.</p>	<p>[Picasso] has instinctively discovered in Cézanne, Chardin and Greco secrets of structure which these masters camouflaged and concealed as much as possible and he has pushed their investigations further. That is what people call cubism and what has given rise to a whole school of ridiculous geometricians... Picasso's great contribution, besides bringing objects into a realm that is his alone, is to have shown the luxury of simple things, of a pipe, of a newspaper, of a glass. He has brought out the inner meaning of the colour print that is so attractive in bars and concierges' offices. His genius allows him to be multi-faceted (besides, his favourite character is Harlequin)... Tell [the composer] Germaine [Tailleferre] that I accept, that I have decided, moreover, with Mme [Jane] Bathori [the singer] and our friends (they have asked me) to take charge of the show or shows dedicated to the young. The first show will be a music-hall performance for which I'm choosing the numbers, each one accompanied by music and preceded by an introduction. During the interval in the foyer a small orchestra will play the famous "furnishing music" of our Satie and the gang...</p>
--	---

(Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i> , p.418)	Diaghilev has been in Paris but I arranged with Misia not to see him, he disgusts me.
---	---

Le Piquey, 4 September 1918 JC to Mme Cocteau

Picasso met sa pudeur à ne pas se servir du cubisme comme réclame, c'est pourquoi il évite qu'on l'interroge et se livre à des exercices de virtuosité. (Cocteau, <i>Lettres à sa mère</i> , p.421)	Picasso modestly won't use cubism as an advertisement, that's why he avoids being questioned and devotes himself to virtuosic studies.
--	--

10 October 1918 ES to PP

[...] Grâce à vous, cher Ami, j'ai repris le travail & la gaieté qui l'accompagne toujours. Merci de ce changement dans ma vieille vie [...] Je suis fier d'être votre élève, & les belles choses que vous nous avez montrées enrichissent & complètent l'éducation que je puise dans les conseils qui me viennent de vous. [...] (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.341)	Thanks to you, dear Friend, I have started work again and recaptured the happiness that always accompanies it. Thank you for this change to my old life [...] I am proud to be your pupil, & the beautiful things that you have shown us enrich and complete the education that I draw on in the advice that come to me from you [...]
---	---

18 October 1918 SD to PP from Savoy Hotel, London.

	[Diaghilev reproaches Picasso for not wanting to come to London for the premiere of <i>Parade</i> .] (<i>Paris, Musée Picasso</i>)
--	---

1 December 1918 ES to H-P Roché

2° " <i>Parade</i> " - (joué à quatre mains avec une complice: femmes pianistes décidément plus intelligentes que les hommes). (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.347)	[Programme plan for visit to USA:] 2° " <i>Parade</i> " (played as a duet with one lady accomplice: female pianists are decidedly more intelligent than men)
---	---

1 February 1919 ES to the pianist, Mme Marcelle Meyer[-Bertin]

Pourquoi <u>notre</u> Pierre fait-il courir le bruit que " <i>Parade</i> ", à Londres, a été un <u>four</u> ? Pourquoi? Il ajoute que " <i>Parade</i> " n'a été joué qu'une fois. C'est une fois de trop: " <i>Parade</i> " n'a pas encore été donné à Londres. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.354)	Why is <u>our</u> Pierre [Bertin] putting out the rumour that " <i>Parade</i> ", in London, has been a <u>flop</u> ? Why? He adds that " <i>Parade</i> " was only put on once. It's once too much: " <i>Parade</i> " has not yet been put on in London.
---	--

3 April 1919 ES to Henri Prunières

[*Socrate*] C'est un retour vers la simplicité classique, avec sensibilité moderne. Je dois ce retour - aux bons usages - à mes amis 'cubistes'. Qu'ils soient bénis!
(*F-Pfs*)

[*Socrate*] It's a return to classical simplicity, with modern feeling. I owe this return - to good practice - to my 'cubist' friends. Bless them!

8 April 1919 ES to SD

Vous êtes ici! très chic!
J'aurais voulu vous dire bonjour, & vous serrer la main....
... Vous devez être très occupé: auditions d'oeuvres nouvelles; ...affaires diverses,etc....
J'avais à vous demander si vous autorisez une audition de "*Parade*" - orchestre - Salle Gaveau, le 11 mai?
Voulez-vous être assez gentil pour me le faire savoir, en m'écrivant une simple carte: Erik Satie - Arcueil-Cachan, Seine?
...& notre cher Massine? Il va bien?
(*Volta, ES Correspondance, p. 359*)

You are here! very nice!
I would like to have spoken to you & to shake your hand....
... You must be very busy: listening to new works; ...various business,... etc....
I wanted to ask you if you will authorise a performance of "*Parade*" for orchestra at the Salle Gaveau on 11 May.
Would you kindly let me know by writing just a card to Erik Satie - Arcueil-Cachan, Seine?
...& our dear Massine? Is he well?

18 April 1919 ES to H-P Roché

Ils dejeunèrent en ce lieu avec M et Mme Picasso.
...Monsieur Erik Satie brilla par son esprit - telle une '*merde*'.
...Il a un gros travail à faire pour M de Diaghilev & ... n'a aucune idée.
(*Volta, ES Correspondance, p.361*)

[Diaghilev meets ES at Hotel Westminster, rue de la Paix.]
They had lunch there with Mr and Mrs Picasso.
...Mr Erik Satie shone by his wit - like a '*shit*'.
...He has a big task to do for Mr Diaghilev & ... has no idea.

Tuesday 22 April 1919 ES to H-P Roché

Mon travail est très avancé [...]
Je ne suis pas mécontent de mes *trois minutes* de musique pour mon cher Directeur: il a eu une bonne idée: l'ouvrage sera mieux.
J'ai bien travaillé. Ce n'est pas un jeu que de reprendre une oeuvre écrite il y a trois ans. Pour moi, le temps a marché depuis 1916.
(*Volta, ES Correspondance, p.362*)

My work is well advanced [...]
I am not dissatisfied with my *three minutes* of music for my dear Director: he has had a good idea: the piece will be better.
I have worked well. It's no light thing to take up a work written three years ago. For me time has moved on since 1916.

Saturday 26 April 1919 ES to ME

Notre cher Diaghilew, mon directeur, m'a commandé un travail que je dois vous remettre après-demain.

Je ne pourrai avoir terminé que mercredi. Si vous lui écrivez, voulez-vous prévenir? Mercredi - sans faute - je vous porterai cette nouvelle "fin" de *Parade*. Cette retouche est plus importante que je ne croyais.

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.362)

Our dear Diaghilew, my leader, has commissioned from me a work which I must hand over to you the day after tomorrow.

I shan't be able to finish it until Wednesday.

If you write to him, will you warn him? Wednesday - without fail - I will bring this new "ending" for *Parade*. This alteration is more important than I thought.

27 April 1919 ES to PP

Mon travail de "*Parade*" est presque terminé.

Je remets, mercredi, le tout à Madame Errazuriz.

J'en suis très content. Je le dis immodestement.

Ainsi, la partie musicale ne sera pas mal, je crois.

Diaghilew est loin d'être bête. Il a, parfois, de bonnes idées.

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.363)

My work on "*Parade*" is nearly finished.

On Wednesday I will send it all to Madame Errazuriz [probably an error on Satie's part: he means Madame Edwards].

I am very happy with it. I say that immodestly.

So, the musical score will not be bad, I think.

Diaghilew is far from being stupid. He has good ideas sometimes.

5 May 1919 ES to Marcelle Meyer

Excusez-moi si je ne suis pas venu Salle Huyghens, samedi: je travaillais pour Diaghilev. Travail très pressé.

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.364)

Forgive me if I did not come to Salle Huyghens on Saturday: I was working for Diaghilev. Very pressing work.

6 May 1919 ES to H-P Roché

Je viens de la répétition d'orchestre de "*Parade*": Très chic!!!

J'ai un bon chef d'orchestre. Enfin!!!!

Ce vieil ouvrage - "*Parade*" - n'est réellement pas trop mal pour son âge - 3 ans: *Vieux*.

J'espère que vous viendrez l'entendre.

Parlez-en aux "*Amis*" - aux Vrais

C'est dimanche prochain, 11 mai. Salle Gaveau - à 3 heures (15 heures).

[PS] L'orchestre est très bon, bien dirigé. Le programme est intéressant, ce qui n'est pas mauvaise.

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.364)

I have just come from the orchestral rehearsal of "*Parade*": very elegant!!!

I have a good conductor. Finally!!!! [Félix Delgrange]

This old work - "*Parade*" - isn't really too bad for its age - 3 years: that's *old*.

I hope that you will come and hear it. Tell the Friends about it - the True friends.

It's next Sunday, 11th May. Salle Gaveau - at 3 o'clock (15.00).

[PS] The orchestra is very good, well conducted. The programme is interesting, which is not a bad thing.

'Jeudû' 8 May 1919 ES to VG

<p>Viendrez-vû dûmanche chez Gavot? On jû "Parodû" [...]</p> <p>Ai terminû orchestre et quâtre mains - le Choral et le Finale de "Parodû".</p> <p>P.S. Bonne répétition mardû, de "Parodû". J'étais <i>seul</i> avec Delgrange - & son orchestre, bien entendu.</p> <p>...<u>Veine!</u>...</p> <p><u>Venez</u> à la répétition samedi - <u>9h</u> chez Gaveau.</p> <p>(Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.365)</p>	<p>Will you come on Sunday to Gavot's [Salle Gaveau]? "Parade" is being played. [...]</p> <p>Have finished orchestral and 4-hand versions - the Choral and the Finale of "Parade".</p> <p>P.S. Good rehearsal Tuesday of "Parade". I was <i>alone</i> with [Félix] Delgrange - and his orchestra, of course.</p> <p>...<u>Lucky!</u>...</p> <p><u>Come</u> to the rehearsal Saturday - <u>9am</u> at Gaveau's.</p>
--	--

9 May 1919 ES to ME

<p>N'oubliez pas que vous avez une loge pour "Parade" dimanche, à la Salle Gaveau. [...]</p> <p>Il y a 4 places, réservez m'en une, je vous prie. Si vous aviez une quatrième personne: tant pis pour moi. Je me tiendrai derrière (au promenoir).</p> <p>Cette loge est à moi: je vous la donne, heureux comme un roi de vous offrir cet humble coin, recoin.</p> <p>(Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.365)</p>	<p>Don't forget that you have a box for "Parade" Sunday, in the Salle Gaveau. [...]</p> <p>There are four places, reserve one for me, please. If you have a fourth person: too bad for me. I will stand behind (in the promenade part).</p> <p>This box is mine: I'm giving it to you, happy like a king to offer you this humble nook and cranny.</p>
--	--

12 May 1919 SD to PP, from Savoy Hotel, London.

<p><i>Parade</i> passera en juin (car) il faut avoir le temps pour monter les quelques pages de musique que Satie vient d'ajouter à sa partition.</p> <p>Ce n'est pas pour que tu ne vienne pas le 20 mai - mais pour que tu ne diras pas après que je ne t'ai pas prévenu de ce changement, peu important du reste.</p> <p>(Paris, Musée Picasso)</p>	<p><i>Parade</i> will be put on in June because we must have time to set up the few pages of music that Satie has just added to his score. It's not so that you shouldn't come on the 20 May - but so that you won't say afterwards that I haven't warned you of this change, which is of little importance, moreover.</p>
--	--

13 May 1919 ES to JC

<p>Un mot: n'oubliez pas de parler de la légende: l'orchestre de "Parade" est au-dessous de tout: <u>Satie ne sait pas orchestrer</u>.</p> <p>Ce bruit venait de nos ennemis - à nous <i>trois</i>, Picasso vous & moi.</p> <p>Nous avons entendu les "<i>maîtres</i>", les</p>	<p>A word: don't forget to mention the rumour: the orchestration in "Parade" is the pits: <u>Satie doesn't know how to orchestrate</u>.</p> <p>This rumour came from our enemies, those of all <i>three</i> of us: Picasso's, yours and mine.</p>
---	---

<p>leurs. Ceux qui “savent”. Quels cochons!!! Picasso ne “sait pas dessiner”; vous, vous ne “savez pas écrire”; moi, je ne “sais pas la Musique”. C’est bien simple. Nous sommes l’ “ennemi”. Donc, allez-y, mon cher Jean; vous tomberez juste. Ainsi vous préparez l’ “Avenir” de “notre” Auric & ... d’autres. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.366)</p>	<p>We have heard the “masters”, their ones. Those who “know” how to do things. What swines!!! Picasso “can’t draw”; you “can’t write”; I “don’t know about Music”. It’s quite simple. We are the “enemy”. So, go ahead, my dear Jean; it will be just the right moment. In this way you will set up “our” Auric’s “future” & ... that of others.</p>
---	--

15 May 1919 ES to the composer, Francis Poulenc

<p>“Parade” dimanche démontra que je n’orchestre pas plus mal qu’un autre. Pour beaucoup cet ouvrage n’était bien qu’au piano. Légende!!! Je suis heureux, cher Ami, qu’un jeune musicien, tel que vous, ait pu constater que cela “SONNAIT” un peu. Delgrange a été parfait. On peut lui confier une oeuvre. Allez-y. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.367)</p>	<p>On Sunday “Parade” showed that my orchestration is no worse than anyone else’s. For a lot of people this work was only good on the piano. Fantasy!!! I am happy, dear Friend, that a young musician such as you was able to state that that “SOUNDED” a little. [Félix] Delgrange was perfect. One can trust him with a work. Go ahead.</p>
---	--

16 May 1919 ES to the composer, Darius Milhaud

<p>Carraud a écrit un article de ‘perfide salaud’ sur Delgrange et mon ‘fourbi’ paradeux. (F-Pfs)</p>	<p>Carraud has written a treacherous and filthy article on Delgrange and my parading ‘stuff’.</p>
--	---

18 May 1919, extract from article by Georges Auric in *Le Gaulois*

<p>Il serait facile de réunir ce qui fut la critique de <i>Parade</i> [en 1917] et d’en composer un bien curieux petit livre, “<i>De la musique la plus laide du monde...</i>” Seulement, on aurait soin de consulter, cette lecture achevée, la partition de Satie. Peut-être y découvrirait-on alors ce qu’était au juste et ce que demeurera <i>Parade</i>: la première manifestation musicale de cet “esprit nouveau” qui maintenant s’épanouit en liberté dans la jeune peinture et la jeune poésie française. Un art tout particulier s’impose là...net, franc, dégagé, tout aussi opposé d’ailleurs à</p>	<p>It would be easy to assemble the criticisms of <i>Parade</i> [in 1917] into a curious little book, ‘<i>The ugliest music in the world...</i>’ Only, one should take care, once the book is finished, to consult Satie’s score. Perhaps then one would discover exactly what <i>Parade</i> was and will remain: the first musical manifestation of this ‘new spirit’ that is now freely flourishing in modern painting and modern French poetry. A very individual art is asserting itself here...clear, free, disengaged, quite the opposite, moreover, of that ‘futurism’ that people, in the crazy confusion of such a</p>
--	---

ce "futurisme" qu'on y crut trouver, dans la confusion absurde d'une journée trop bruyante, qu'à l'impressionisme charmeur de Claude Debussy.

Debussy, après Mallarmé et Monet, nous touche doucement, nous fixe, nous fascine. *Le Prélude à l'Après-Midi d'un Faune, Les Nocturnes, Le Quatuor, Pelléas* sont des chefs-d'oeuvre. Mais nous nous sommes réveillés et désengourdis de cette musique. Ceci n'est pas une phrase facile; la tristesse contagieuse des oeuvres poussées sous le climat débussyiste montre aujourd'hui assez bien à quel point nous avons besoin de nous secouer d'une telle fièvre de *changer d'air*.

[...] Par son génie même, tout grand artiste est une façon d'enchanteur. Mais pour nous charmer, Picasso n'use que de *moyens honnêtes*. C'est ce qui permet de le classer. Satie, dans *Parade*, dédaigne l'artifice, les fausses perles, et promène M. Ingres dans un orchestre étonnamment dépouillé et claquant. A lire sa partition on ne peut comprendre ce qui a pu le faire passer, en 1917, pour une mauvaise plaisanterie, extravagante et discordante. Rien de plus éloigné du "futurisme", des "sons en liberté", des "bruiteurs italiens" que cette oeuvre dont, au contraire, la très grande simplicité harmonique doit choquer, comme une pauvreté, un *debussyiste* familier de l'"accord rare", du raffinement précieux.

Et c'est pourtant cette simplicité si spéciale qui nous paraît caractériser par dessus tout l'esprit dont est animé Satie. Il aime les lignes droites, crée une façon de perspective musicale nouvelle où l'oreille ne chavire plus dans un jeu d'accords.

Le superbe mouvement de *Pétrouchka*, du *Sacre du Printemps*, nous soulève, nous emporte à travers l'univers frénétique d'Igor Strawinsky. Son oeuvre de génie doit bouleverser fatalement bien des courants obscurs. Mais elle charrie avec

noisy day, thought they could see in it, and the opposite of the charming impressionism of Claude Debussy.

Debussy, after Mallarmé and Monet, touches us gently, holds us, fascinates us. *Le Prélude à l'Après-Midi d'un Faune, Les Nocturnes, The Quartet, Pelléas* are masterpieces. But we have woken up from this music and thrown off our sluggishness. This is not a facetious sentence; the infectious sadness of works grown under the Debussy climate shows today quite well just how much we needed to shake ourselves out of such a fever, *to have a change of air*.

[...] By his very genius, every great artist is a kind of enchanter. But in order to charm us, Picasso only uses honest means. That is what allows him to be rated. Satie, in *Parade*, rejects artifice, fake pearls and puts forward M. Ingres in an astonishingly lean and snappy orchestra. Reading his score, one cannot understand what, in 1917, apparently made him a bad joke, excessive and discordant. Nothing could be further from 'futurism', 'free sounds', 'Italian noisemakers' than this work, whose very considerable harmonic simplicity must be shocking, apparently poverty-stricken, to a *Debussy disciple* used to the 'unusual chord', and mannered refinement.

And yet it is this special simplicity that seems to us to characterise above all the spirit that moves Satie. He loves clear lines, creates a kind of new musical perspective in which the ear is no longer upset by clever tunefulness. The wonderful impulse in *Pétrouchka*, in the *Rite of Spring*, lifts us, carries us through the frenetic world of Igor Strawinsky. His works of genius must kill off many obscure tendencies. But it carries with it a flash of fairground colour where Slavic genius explodes, and we won't allow ourselves to be carried away in its sweep, we won't

elle un éclat bariolé de kermesse où explose le génie slave et nous ne nous laisserons pas emporter dans son tourbillon, nous n'oublierons pas tout ce que nous aimons et chérissons cette force, cette jeunesse lucide de France.

Félix Delgrange a donné l'autre jour, à un concert de "Pour la Musique" l'orchestre de *Parade*. Souhaitons-lui le courage de renouveler cette belle audition. On découvrira ainsi, j'en suis sûr, toute la profonde nouveauté que permet de présager une telle oeuvre.

Si en 1917, la foule choquée s'est cabrée au-devant du "ballet réaliste" et a sifflé, elle saura bien, oubliant quelques vieux novateurs, respecter Debussy, Ravel, Roussel, et suivre Strawinsky et Satie.

(Georges Auric, 'Les Fortunes diverses de "Parade"', *Le Gaulois*, 18 May 1919, p.3)

forget everything we love and cherish, that vigour, that clear youth of France.

Félix Delgrange put on the music of *Parade* the other day, at a 'For Music' concert. Let us hope that he is brave enough to repeat that fine recital. By doing so, people will discover, I am sure, all the profound novelty that such a work allows one to predict.

If in 1917, the shocked crowd jibbed at the 'realist ballet', and hissed, it will learn, by forgetting a few old innovators, how to respect Debussy, Ravel, Roussel, and how to follow Strawinsky and Satie.

Monday 19 May 1919 ES to JC

Très bien, votre article. J'en suis très content.

Avant-hier, j'ai eu 53 ans. Ce n'est pas mal, pour un "jeune".

Mille choses à votre maman.

Je regrette beaucoup qu'elle n'ait pu venir entendre "*Parade*". Dites-le-lui.

J'aurais aimé qu'elle l'entendît.

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.367)

Very good, your article. I'm very happy with it.

The day before yesterday I was 53. It's not bad for a 'youngster'.

Compliments to your mother.

I regret very much that she was unable to come and hear "*Parade*". Tell her so.

I wish she could have heard it.

21 May 1919 ES to Georges Auric

Je n'ai pu avoir votre article [in *Le Gaulois*] que cet après-midi – je suis allé le prendre au journal. Excusez-moi, n'est-ce pas?

Très bien, cet article. Je suis heureux de votre bonne opinion sur moi. Merci, cher ami. Vous présentez les choses très justement.

Les "*impressionnistes*" sont situés ainsi qu'il convient - & très poliment, encore. Trop.

Ils ne se conduisent pas ainsi avec nous.

Les "*avancés*" sont toujours trop "*chics*" -

I wasn't able to see your article [in *Le Gaulois*] until this afternoon – I went to get it in the newspaper. Forgive me, won't you?

Very good, this article. I am pleased with your good opinion about me. Thank you, dear friend. You put things very precisely.

The "*impressionists*" are put in their place - & very politely, even. Too much so.

They don't behave like that towards us.

The "*avant-garde*" are always too "*nice*" - in politics as in art.

en politique comme en art. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.368)	
---	--

31 May 1919 ES to H-P Roché

Picasso est à Londres, pour <i>Parade</i> , qui passe ces jours-ci. Auric a écrit dans le <i>Gaulois</i> un article très bien sur <i>Parade</i> . (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.369)	Picasso is in London, for <i>Parade</i> , which is on at the moment. Auric has written in the <i>Gaulois</i> a very good article on <i>Parade</i> .
--	---

20 June 1919 ES to Darius Milhaud

P.-S. Carraud a écrit un article de " <i>perfide salaud</i> " sur Delgrange & mon " <i>fourbi</i> " paradeux. J'ai écrit un mot au bon Delgrange. Il a du courage. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.371)	Carraud has written a " <i>perfect bastard</i> " of an article on Delgrange & my parading " <i>thing</i> ". I've written a line to Delgrange. He's cheerful.
--	---

5 August 1919 ES to VG

Je viendrai jeudi à 10 h - chez vous. Nous partirons pour ce que vous savez. - M Hugo est 'un bon type', très 'chic'. Je suis heureux tout plein d'être des vôtres dans cette partie de votre vie. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.376)	I'll come on Thursday at 10 - to your house. We'll leave for you know what. Mr Hugo is 'a good chap', 'first-rate'. I am truly happy to be of service to you in this part of your life. [ES and JC were witnesses at the wedding of VG and Jean Hugo]
---	---

12 October 1919 SD to PP, from Savoy Hotel, London

...dans deux semaines nous donnons la " <i>Parade</i> ". Massine croit plus drôle de laisser le cheval avec <u>deux</u> hommes, il trouve que les mouvements font plus variés et te prie d'envoyer un petit dessin du manager qu'il faut mettre <u>sur</u> le cheval. (Paris, <i>Musée Picasso</i>)	...in two weeks we are putting on " <i>Parade</i> ". Massine thinks it would be funnier to leave the horse with <u>two</u> men, he finds that the movements have more variety and asks you to send a little sketch of the manager to go <u>on</u> the horse.
---	--

24 October 1919 LM to PP, from Savoy Hotel, London

Je commence à repèté [sic] " <i>Parade</i> " qui passe au commencement de Novembre. Nous attendons de vous le troisieme manager q'ont [sic] va poser sur le cheval/laissons les deux hommes c'est plus fort. (Paris, <i>Musée Picasso</i>)	I am beginning rehearsals for " <i>Parade</i> " which is on at the beginning of November. We are awaiting from you the third manager that will be put on the horse/ let's leave the two men, it's better.
--	---

November 1919 LM to PP, from Savoy Hotel, London

Enfin <i>Parade</i> a passé et avec succes. Le	Finally <i>Parade</i> was put on, and
--	---------------------------------------

manager sur le cheval est très réussi et c'est beaucoup plus drôle qu'avant. J'ai ajouté la fin et je crois que comme ça le ballet est plus complet.

Le public a rié [sic] moins qu'à Paris, car même pour savoir rire il faut avoir du talent, mais on est très bien disposé.

Parade passera dix fois pendant nos dernières semaines à Londres.

Karsavina par endroit fait bien mais les mouvements sont moins nets que chez Chabelska. La virginité de l'acrobate n'a pas été [sic] ébranlée par son costume car on a ajouté [sic] le figaro et un pantalon ça était plus que convenable.

(Paris, Musée Picasso)

successfully. The manager on the horse was very successful and it was a lot funnier than before. I have added the ending and I think that the ballet is more complete like that.

The public laughed less than in Paris: knowing how to laugh takes talent, but one is very well disposed.

Parade will be put on ten times during our last weeks in London.

Karsavina [the ballerina] does well in places, but the movements are less sharp than [Maria] Chabelska's. The purity of the acrobat has not been compromised by her costume because the bolero and trousers were added. That was more suitable.

22 November 1919 ES to the singer, Paulette Darty (Mme. Édouard Dreyfus)

... "*Parade*" a obtenu à Londres un très gros succès. C'est Karjavina (!) qui danse la "*Petite Fille Américaine*".*

C'est curieux, ce succès. J'ai vu un attaché de l'Ambassade anglaise, ici (à Paris – bien entendu – pas à Arcueil) qui assista à la "*première*". Cet homme, froid comme le Diable, en était encore tout "*baba*", le pauvre, & m'a dit que c'était....

....*Le plus grand succès* des "Russes" à Londres!

[...]

*elle a été rappelée SEPT FOIS! Parfaitement.

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.383)

... "*Parade*" secured very great success in London. It's Karjavina (!) [Tamara Karsavina] who dances the "*Little American Girl*".*

This success is curious. I saw an attaché to the English Embassy, here (in Paris – of course – not in Arcueil) who was at the "*premiere*". This man, as cold as the Devil, was still dumbfounded by it, poor man, & told me that it was ...*The greatest success* by the "Russians" in London!"

[...]

* she was called back onstage SEVEN TIMES! Perfection.

26 January 1920 Mme Cocteau to VG (now Valentine Hugo)

The Russians are here - Jean goes seldom, because of Diaghilev, whom he detests and for good reason. Misia is very unhappy about it - she is hypnotised by that monster. (Stegmuller, *Cocteau*, p.240n)

5 April 1920 ES to PP

[...] "*Parade*", m'a écrit Diaghilew, sera donné en mai à notre "*Opéra*". J'en suis content.

[...] "*Parade*", Diaghilew wrote to me, will be put on in May at our "*Opéra*". I am pleased about it.

(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.400)

6 May 1920 ES to PP

<p>Vous voyez d'ici ma tête! Moi qui, simplement, croyais que "Parade" serait donné! Quel idiot! Diaghilew s'est bien fichu de moi; & il a eu raison, le bougre. Très. Pour une bonne blague, c'est une bonne blague – très réussie & très drôle... (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.403)</p>	<p>You can see my long face from here! I who, simply, thought that "Parade" would be put on! What an idiot! Diaghilew has really mucked me about; & he was right, the devil. Very. As a good joke, it's a good one – very successful & very funny...</p>
--	--

6 May 1920 ES to Countess Étienne de Beaumont

<p>"Parade" ne passe pas à l'Opéra. Pourquoi? Je l'ignore, ou le sais trop. Quand aurons-nous la révolution? – la révolution artistique, naturellement. Rouché est un veau – simplement. Ce n'est pas de sa faute, mais c'est bien triste, n'est- ce pas? Oui. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.404)</p>	<p>"Parade" won't be put on at the Opéra. Why? I don't know, or know too well. When shall we have the revolution? – the artistic revolution, of course. [Jacques] Rouché [director of the Paris Opéra] is an ass – simply. It's not his fault, but it's really sad, isn't it? Yes.</p>
---	--

30 May 1920 ES and JC to Comoedia

<p>Nous n'avons jamais été partisans de <i>Parade</i> à l'Opéra. L'Opéra est un cadre trop vaste pour une oeuvre décorativement et orchestralement dépourvue de pompe. Si M. Rouché donne <i>Parade</i>, c'est qu'il le veut bien, et alors il ne fallait pas la donner "en cachette", mais au même titre que les autres ballets de M. de Diaghilew. Nous prévenons les amis de <i>Parade</i> qu'ils verront, ce dimanche, en matinée, un spectacle incomplet, monté sans notre contrôle, et avec notre désapprobation. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.408)</p>	<p>We have never been supporters of putting on <i>Parade</i> at the Opéra. The Opéra is too large a frame for a work that is decoratively and orchestrally stripped of pomp. If M. Rouché puts on <i>Parade</i>, it is because he wants to, and there was no need to put it on 'secretively', but on the same terms as M. Diaghilew's other ballets. We warn the friends of <i>Parade</i> that they will see, this Sunday afternoon, an incomplete show, put on without our checking it, and with our disapproval. [In the event Diaghilev withdrew <i>Parade</i> from this performance and replaced it with <i>Le Tricorne</i>.]</p>
--	---

Monday 31 May 1920 ES to JC

<p>[...] M. Laloy n'aime pas le <i>Chinois</i> de "Parade" parce qu'il n'a pas l'air d'un parfumeur... Avais-je raison?... Il trouve que la "Petite Fille américaine"</p>	<p>M. [Louis] Laloy [the journalist] doesn't like the Chinaman in <i>Parade</i> because he doesn't look like a perfume-maker. [Rouché was a parfumeur] Am I right?... He thinks that the "Little American girl"</p>
---	---

<p>n'est pas assez chinoise...Avais-je raison?... Est-ce vrai que Picasso va devenir Chinois?... Avais-je raison?...[...] Le "<i>Tricorne</i>" est mieux que "<i>Parade</i>": [...] Occupez-vous de cela, mon Bon Gros; il serait fâcheux de ne pas avoir fait, au moins, tout notre possible dans cette chose, bien que la saisie ne me déplaie pas trop:...ce serait assez drôle, il me semble... (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.114)</p>	<p>isn't Chinese enough. [Laloy was an expert on Chinese music] Am I right?.. The "<i>Tricorne</i>" is better than "<i>Parade</i>"[...] Take care of that, old chap; it would be annoying not to have at least done everything possible in this matter, even though the embargo doesn't displease me too much... it would be quite funny, it seems to me...</p>
--	---

19 August 1920 ES to Darius Milhaud

<p>Madame Edwards ne porte plus un des grands noms de France: elle s'appelle Sert, comme le grand peintre espagnol du même nom. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.420)</p>	<p>Madame Edwards no longer has one of the great names of France: she is called Sert, like the great Spanish painter of the same name. [ME divorced the industrialist, Alfred Edwards and married the painter, José-Maria Sert on 22 August 1920.]</p>
--	--

19 August 1920 JC to Darius Milhaud

<p>Je te conjure de m'attendre pour le jazz. [n.4: 'Allusion au groupe de jazz band évoqué par Auric dans <i>Quand j'étais là</i>...ou bien annonce du shimmy intitulé <i>Caramel mou</i>, op. 68 écrit par Milhaud sur un texte de Cocteau, publié à la Sirène en 1921?'] Ne le fais avec personne. Je veux y mettre au point mes recherches pour la première version de "<i>Parade</i>". (Caizergues et Mas (eds.), <i>Correspondance Jean Cocteau - Darius Milhaud</i>, p.31)</p>	<p>I beg you to wait for me as regards the jazz. [n.4: 'Allusion to the jazz band group referred to by Auric in <i>Quand j'étais là</i>...or the announcement of the piece called <i>Caramel mou</i>, op.68 written by Milhaud to a text by Cocteau, published by La Sirène in 1921?'] Don't go ahead with anyone. I want to lick into shape my researches for the first version of "<i>Parade</i>".</p>
--	--

27 November 1920 JC to VG

	<p>Diaghilev is sweet as sugar and is letting me stage <i>Parade</i> as it always should have been staged. (Steegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i>, p.261)</p>
--	---

13 December 1920 ES to VG

<p>"<i>Parade</i>" passe le 21 de ce mois. Cocteau continue les "<i>trucs</i>" rasoirs de 1917. Il nous "<i>rase</i>", Picasso & moi, que j'en suis tout moulu. Chez lui c'est une manie. "<i>Parade</i>" est de lui "<i>seul</i>". Moi, je veux</p>	<p>"<i>Parade</i>" will be put on on the 21st of this month. Cocteau continues his boring "<i>tricks</i>" of 1917. He's "<i>boring</i>" Picasso & me till I'm shattered. It's a craze with Cocteau.</p>
--	--

bien. Mais pourquoi n'a-t-il pas fait les décors & les costumes, & n'a-t-il pas écrit la musique de ce pauvre ballet?
(Volta, *ES Correspondance*, p.430)

"Parade" is his "alone". That's fine with me. But why didn't he do the scenery & the costumes, & why didn't he compose the music for this poor ballet?

21 December 1920 article by JC in *Comoedia*

Le cheval de PARADE va réapparaître sur la scène du Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. Ce brave cheval qui nous amusait et faisait rire les machinistes aux âmes simples, fâcha beaucoup le public de 1917. Car le public est un enfant qui veut qu'on le traite comme une grande personne et qui se fâche si on le mène à guignol.

Quand nous avons donné PARADE le dadaïsme était inconnu. Nous n'en avons jamais entendu parler. Maintenant, nul doute que le public reconnaisse DADA dans notre cheval sans malice.

Or j'aime mes amis Picabia et Tzara. Au besoin je leur prête main forte, MAIS JE NE SUIS PAS DADAÏSTE. Sans doute est-ce encore la meilleure façon de l'être.

NON, PARADE n'est ni dadaïste, ni cubiste, ni futuriste, ni d'aucune école. PARADE est PARADE. C'est-à-dire un gros jouet.

Aussi Serge de Diaghilew le pose-t-il dans votre soulier de Noël.

Trois managers féroces, vulgaires, surhumains, inhumains, font la réclame d'un spectacle auquel un prestidigitateur chinois, une girl américaine et deux acrobates servent de parade. N'entrons pas. Les managers furieux, les quatre petits personnages trop modestes nous suffisent.

Dedans, doivent sévir la richesse, le grand jeu, Wagner and Co, le sublime, ce lion couché dans l'L majuscule des Magasins du Louvre. Plus de pénombre, de poudre aux yeux. PARADE peut se voir sans pleurer ni rire - s'entendre sans mettre la figure dans les mains.

En 1917, le public du Châtelet PRIT SON PROPRE TAPAGE POUR LA MUSIQUE DE PARADE. Le concert Félix

The horse of PARADE is to return to the stage of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. This worthy horse that amused us and made unpretentious stage-hands laugh, angered the public greatly in 1917. Because the public is a child who wants to be treated as an adult and gets angry if he is taken to a Punch and Judy show.

When we first gave PARADE, dadaism was unknown. We had never heard it mentioned. Now the audience will certainly recognise Dada in our inoffensive horse.

I love my friends [Francis] Picabia and [Tristan] Tzara. If necessary, I support them, BUT I AM NOT A DADAÏST. That is still probably the best way to be one. NO, PARADE is neither dadaist, nor cubist, nor futurist, nor of any school. PARADE is PARADE, in other words, a big toy.

And so Serge de Diaghilew puts it into your Christmas stocking.

Three ferocious managers, vulgar, superhuman, inhuman, advertise a show for which a Chinese conjuror, an American girl and two acrobats act as the 'parade'. We stay outside. The furious managers, the four unassuming little characters are enough for us.

Inside rages richness, high art, Wagner and Co, the sublime, that lion buried in the capital L of the Louvre Shops. No more half-light, no more bluffing. PARADE can be seen without crying or laughing - can be heard without burying one's head in one's hands.

In 1917 the Châtelet audience TOOK ITS OWN ROWDINESS FOR THE MUSIC OF PARADE. The concert given by Félix

Delgrange, salle Gaveau, (11 mai 1919) dissipa ce malentendu.

L'audace de Satie consiste à être simple, d'une simplicité neuve, savante, linéaire, après une période interminable de musique diffuse et compliquée.

Les oreilles "myopes" rompues aux raffinements harmoniques de l'impressionnisme musical, aux masses somptueuses de la musique fauve, prennent l'économie de PARADE pour de la pauvreté. Elles ne peuvent comprendre cet orchestre mince comme un boxeur, comme un cheval de courses.

Les motifs se succèdent, distincts les uns des autres comme des objets. Rien ne les brouille, ne les enchevêtre, ne les développe. Satie dessine sans estompe. Il travaille à l'emporte-pièce. Voici rejointe la franchise du contour, la grande qualité de chez nous.

Puissent les clefs et les quolibets ne pas transformer tout cela en jazz-band. Un orchestre si discret, couvert par des rires, devient vite un charivari. Après, on le juge comme tel sans l'avoir entendu.

Le public croit toujours qu'on cherche à se moquer de lui. Pourquoi? Quel avantage y trouveraient les artistes?

Imaginez le dépense, le travail que nécessitent la mise en scène d'une pièce comme PARADE, les quatre vingt musiciens qui l'exécutent, mon voyage à Rome avec Picasso pour rejoindre la troupe russe, la fatigue de Massine auquel je racontais les rôles et qui transformait mes gestes en danse comme Picasso transforme un groupe d'objets en peinture, le dévouement des interprètes qui portent les lourdes carcasses des managers, Picasso peuplant l'immense rideau devant lequel on joue la fugue qui ouvre et ferme la partition - tant de recherches, d'ébauches, de nuits blanches au théâtre, de disputes et d'amitié...à seule fin de mystifier une spectatrice des fauteuils d'orchestre.

Delgrange, at salle Gaveau (11 May 1919), dispelled that misunderstanding.

Satie's daring consists in being simple, with a new, knowing, linear simplicity, after an interminable period of music that was unfocused and complicated.

'Short-sighted' ears, broken in by the harmonic refinements of musical impressionism, by the sumptuous mass of colourful music, take the thrift of PARADE for poverty. They can't understand that orchestra which is lean like a boxer, like a racehorse.

The themes follow one another, each one different from the others like objects. Nothing blurs them, mixes them up, develops them. Satie writes sharply. He works with a cutting-tool. This is our country's clarity of contour joined up with great quality.

May keys and gibes not transform all that into a jazz-band. Such an unobtrusive orchestra, buried under laughter, quickly becomes a racket. Afterwards, people judge it as such without having heard it.

The public always believes that it is being made fun of. Why? What benefit would artists find in doing that?

Imagine the expense, the work entailed by the production of a piece like PARADE, the eighty musicians that perform it, my trip to Rome with Picasso to work with the Russian company, the exhaustion of Massine to whom I described the roles and who transformed my gestures into dance in the same way that Picasso transforms a group of objects into a painting, the devotion of the dancers who wear the Managers' heavy carcasses, Picasso painting the huge curtain to which is played the fugue that opens and closes the score - so much research, rough sketches, nights spent in the theatre, arguments, friendship...the one goal being to mystify the theatre audience.

It brings to mind a little dog who believes

On pense à un petit chien qui croirait que sa maîtresse donne un bal pour qu'on lui marche sur les pattes.

Cependant, malgré le succès de PARADE à Londres, je persiste à croire que le public parisien est le seul qui vaille, qui réagisse, qui vive, qui ne refuse pas de reconnaître ses erreurs. Depuis la première en 1917, il a réfléchi. J'ai publié LE COQ ET L'ARLEQUIN, SOCRATE a consacré Satie, Picasso honore la France, LE BOEUF SUR LE TOIT a remporté un succès cordial et le Groupe des Six commence l'oeuvre collective à quoi PARADE pourrait servir de préface.

J'espère, du reste, en ce qui me concerne, pouvoir mieux mettre au point quelques détails rendus impossibles à la création, par les circonstances.

C'est ainsi que Satie, pendant la danse de la petite fille, évoque une certaine atmosphère américaine par le bruit des machines à écrire, léger tic-tac légitime à la batterie. L'orchestre le souligne avec les cordes.

A l'époque, ces machines firent scandale. Depuis, les nègres ont habitué le public à plus d'épices.

Or, au théâtre, toute chose doit être fausse pour paraître vraie, en tenant compte de l'optique et de l'acoustique théâtrales. J'employais à regret de véritables machines Remington trop maigres et tristes comme les vrais fauteuils et les vrais tableaux placés actuellement sur nos scènes.

Heureusement qu'on plaisanta PARADE. Je viens de trouver d'excellentes fausses machines fabriquées pour une revue où le revuiste montrait Satie substituant les machines à écrire aux violons.

Ces machines faites pour la parodie serviront cette fois dans l'oeuvre.

De même, au Châtelet, le dialogue des managers que rythme le bruit des pieds, semblait un peu vide. J'avais supprimé le texte et les porte-voix, mais je voulais qu'on entendît au dessus de cette danse

that its mistress gives a ball so that people can tread on its paws.

However, in spite of the success of PARADE in London, I still believe that the Parisian public is the only one that counts, that reacts, that is alive, that does not refuse to admit its mistakes. Since the premiere in 1917, it has reflected. I have published LE COQ ET L'ARLEQUIN, SOCRATE has sanctified Satie, Picasso is a credit to France, LE BOEUF SUR LE TOIT has been a hearty success and Les Six is beginning the collective work for which PARADE could serve as a preface.

I hope, moreover, as far as I am concerned, to be able to put into better effect a few details which were made impossible by circumstances when the work was created.

It's thus that Satie, during the Little Girl's dance, evokes a certain American atmosphere by the noise of typewriters, a light tic-tac justifiable in the percussion section. The orchestra underlines it with strings. At the time, these typewriters caused a scandal. Since then, black people have accustomed the public to more spices. Now, in the theatre, everything must be false to seem true, taking account of the optics and acoustics of the theatre. Sadly I used real Remington machines with too thin a sound, and sad like the real chairs and real pictures placed on our stages.

Thankfully PARADE was mocked. I have just found some excellent imitation machines made for a satire in which the satirist showed Satie substituting typewriters for violins.

These machines made for parody will be used this time in the ballet.

In the same way, at the Châtelet, the dialogue of the managers to the rhythm of the feet, seemed a little empty. I had omitted the text and the loud-speakers, but I wanted people to hear a kind of factory hum above this mechanical dance. In the theatre [des Champs-Élysées] on the

<p>mécanique une sorte de chant d'usine. Au théâtre de l'Avenue Montaigne, je peux l'obtenir, grâce à l'orgue - Dieu me pardonne - en combinant le bourdon et un do dièze.</p> <p>Vous voyez que je vous livre mes secrets. Le reste ne m'appartient pas et je vous en laisse la surprise.</p> <p>(Jean Cocteau, 'Parade', <i>Comoedia</i>, 21 December 1920, p.1)</p>	<p>Avenue Montaigne, I can do that, thanks to the organ – may God forgive me – by combining the drone with a C sharp.</p> <p>You see how I am giving away my secrets. The remainder does not belong to me and I leave you to be surprised by it.</p>
--	--

23 December 1920 JC to VG

	<p>Let me tell you right away that <i>Parade</i> was a triumph. Why weren't you there?</p> <p>(Steegmuller, <i>Cocteau</i>, p.261)</p>
--	--

1 January 1921 André Gide, diary

<p>...été voir <i>Parade</i> - dont on ne sait ce qu'il faut admirer le plus: prétention ou pauvreté. Cocteau se promène dans la coulisse où je vais le voir: vieilli, contracté, douloureux. Il sait bien que les décors et les costumes sont de Picasso, que la musique est de Satie, mais il doute si Picasso et Satie ne sont pas de lui.</p> <p>(André Gide, <i>Journal 1889-1939</i>, p.688)</p>	<p>Saw <i>Parade</i>. Hard to say what is more striking, the pretentiousness or the poverty. Found Cocteau walking up and down in the wings, older, tense, uneasy. He is perfectly aware that the sets and costumes are by Picasso, and that the music is by Satie, but he wonders whether Picasso and Satie aren't by him.</p>
--	---

17 January 1921 ES to Mme Gabriel Milhaud (mother of Darius Milhaud)

<p>Excusez-moi de ne vous avoir pas plus tôt remerciée pour votre charmante carte. Vous voulez bien me pardonner?</p> <p><i>Parade</i> n'a pas mal marché.</p> <p>(Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.438)</p>	<p>Forgive me for not having thanked you earlier for your charming card. Will you forgive me?</p> <p><i>Parade</i> didn't go badly.</p>
--	---

7 May 1921 ES to Henry Prunières

<p>P.-S. Votre "revue" a publié – paraît-il – un très bon article sur "<i>Parade</i>" (les décors, bien entendu). C'est une bonne idée: la "revue" n'avait pas à parler de la "musique" de cet ouvrage – heureusement.</p> <p>(Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.445)</p>	<p>P.S. Your "magazine" published – it seems- a very good article on "<i>Parade</i>" (the design, of course). It's a good idea: the "magazine" didn't need to discuss the "music" of this work – fortunately.</p>
--	---

8 May 1921 ES to Paul Collaer, the Belgian writer on music, conductor and organiser of concerts

<p>[...] Voici le programme du mois: "<i>Parade</i>" le 19 (à la Gaîté-Lyrique); [...] le</p>	<p>[...] Here is the programme for the month: "<i>Parade</i>" on the 19th (at the Gaîté-</p>
---	---

21: "Parade" ... (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.446)	Lyrique); [...] on the 21 st : "Parade" ...
---	--

December 1922 [?] ES to M. Hepp (music publisher chez Rouart et Lerolle)

<p>...Ce qui est plus grave, c'est la perte du "quatre mains" (original, & dont je n'ai pas de double) de "Parade".</p> <p>Cette oeuvre est annoncée: comment fera-t-on pour les répétitions chorégraphiques? Milhaud ne l'a certainement pas. Cela n'avait aucun intérêt pour lui, & ne s'accordait pas avec son matériel (symphonique).</p> <p>Le matériel "théâtre" a été prêté à Massine. Lui, qui a intérêt à nous être désagréable, a bien pu garder ces parties complémentaires & très importantes. Voici plusieurs mois que j'en réclamaï une copie!</p> <p>"Parade" ne pourra pas être joué. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous dire combien cela me fait de la peine.</p> <p>Je m'en vais, car je suis désolé de tant de negligence.</p> <p>(Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i>, p.509)</p>	<p>What is more serious is the loss of the "duet" (the original, of which I do not have a copy) of "Parade".</p> <p>This work is advertised: how will choreographic rehearsals take place? Milhaud certainly does not have it. That was of no interest to him, & did not tally with his (symphonic) material.</p> <p>The "theatre" material was lent to Massine. He, who has an interest in being unpleasant towards us, may well have kept these extra and very important parts. I have been asking for a copy of them for several months!</p> <p>"Parade" will not be able to go ahead. I don't need to tell you how much that bothers me.</p> <p>I will finish now, for I am upset by so much negligence.</p>
--	--

19 June 1923 ES to SD

<p>Deux services à vous demander: être assez gentil pour me réserver une loge pour "Parade"...Je passerai mercredi matin – vers onze heures – en prendre le numéro à l'Hotel Continental...Est-ce possible? ... Que cela soit, je vous supplie!</p> <p>Autre chose: Prier l'ami Ansermet de bien vouloir prendre un peu plus de mouvement, surtout dans le Prélude...vous voudrez bien?</p> <p>(F-Po, Fonds Boris Kochno, Pièce 87, no.10)</p>	<p>Two favours to ask you: would you kindly reserve a box for me for "Parade"...I will come on Wednesday morning – at about 11a.m. – to get the number at the Continental Hotel. Is that possible? ... I hope it is!</p> <p>Something else: Ask our friend [Ernest] Ansermet to take things a little more quickly, especially in the Prelude... Will you do that?</p>
--	---

19 June 1923 ES to SD

<p>Parlez aussi à Ansermet des mouvements, s'il vous plaît. C'était mou & trop lent. Ansermet est excusable, du reste. Je n'aime pas beaucoup les "bruits" faits par Jean. De ce côté, rien à faire: nous avons</p>	<p>Speak to Ansermet about the tempi, please. It was slack & too slow. Ansermet is pardonable, moreover. I don't really like the "noises" made by Jean. Nothing can be done on that score: we have a lovable</p>
---	--

<p>devant nous un aimable maniaque ... Je me lèche encore les oreilles, des "Noces". (<i>F-Po</i>, Fonds Boris Kochno, Pièce 87, no.9)</p>	<p>fanatic before us ... I'm smacking my ears again over [IS's] "Les Noces".</p>
--	--

9 October 1923 François Hepp[?] to ES

<p>Monsieur Diaghilew nous avait promis de nous communiquer les quatre mains qui complétaient <i>Parade</i> pour nous permettre d'en prendre copie et de le faire ajouter au matériel, mais je ne vois rien venir depuis lors. Vous seriez bien aimable de voir un peu où en est la chose et d'insister auprès de lui pour que l'affaire soit réglée. J'écris d'ailleurs à Diaghilew dans ce sens, par ce même courrier. (<i>Volta, ES Correspondance</i>, p.566)</p>	<p>Mr Diaghilew had promised to let us have the duet that completed <i>Parade</i>, to allow us to take a copy and to add it to the score, but I have not received anything since then. Would you be so kind as to check on the progress and to press him to complete this business. I am writing to Diaghilew about this today.</p>
---	---

18 October 1923 ES to the writer and publisher, Marcel Raval

<p>Koussevitsky joue, le 8 novembre – à l'Opéra – "Parade". Oui... Bravo! fais-je, en me serrant la main... Curieux signe du temps, dis-je. (<i>Volta, ES Correspondance</i>, p.568)</p>	<p>Koussevitsky doing <i>Parade</i> 8 November - at the Opéra. Hurray! I say, shaking hands with myself... Curious sign of the times, I say.</p>
--	--

17 November 1923 ES to Paul Collaer

<p>"<i>Parade</i>" a très bien marché à l'Opéra (Koussevitzky). Les bourgeois ont digéré assez bien – sauf Vuillermoz, qui en "rote" encore – cette bonne vieille oeuvre, âgée (déjà) de sept ans. (<i>Volta, ES Correspondance</i>, p.572)</p>	<p>"<i>Parade</i>" went very well at the Opéra (Koussevitzky). The middle classes took it very well – except [the critic, Émile] Vuillermoz, who is still belching from it – this good old work, seven years old (already).</p>
---	---

27 May 1924 ES to the composer and conductor, André Messager

<p><u>Pour des raisons toutes particulières (& où, je m'empresse de le dire, votre haute personnalité ne se trouve aucunement en cause),</u> je ne pourrai assister aux répétitions de "<i>Parade</i>". Toutefois, par respect pour le grand artiste que vous êtes, je me tiens à votre entière disposition dans le cas où vous jugeriez nécessaire une rencontre "<i>privée</i>" entre nous. D'un autre côté, Darius Milhaud – qui a dirigé plusieurs fois "<i>Parade</i>" –</p>	<p><u>For very particular reasons (& let me earnestly say that your distinguished personality is by no means the cause),</u> I cannot be present at the rehearsals for "<i>Parade</i>". Yet, out of respect for you as a great artist, I am entirely at your disposition in case you should judge it necessary for us to have a "<i>private</i>" meeting. Alternatively, Darius Milhaud – who has conducted "<i>Parade</i>" several times – has offered to be</p>
---	---

s'offre à me remplacer auprès de vous, si vous le désirez. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.615)	a replacement for me, if you so wish.
---	---------------------------------------

30 June 1924 ES to André Messager

Permettez-moi de remercier respectueusement le grand artiste que vous êtes pour votre si scrupuleuse interprétation de <i>Parade</i> . Mes amis m'en parlent avec enthousiasme. Que n'ai-je pu venir! (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.623)	Allow me to respectfully thank the great artist that you are for such a careful interpretation of <i>Parade</i> . My friends tell me about it enthusiastically. If only I had been able to come!
--	--

16 July 1924, Jacques Lerolle [?] (music publisher) to ES

Diaghilew nous a fait remettre le matériel de <i>Parade</i> . Je crois bien que le fameux 4 mains n'y est pas. (Volta, <i>ES Correspondance</i> , p.625)	Diaghilew has sent the material concerning <i>Parade</i> . I believe that the famous duet is not there.
---	---

April 1963 LM to PP

Notre Parade sera recrée [sic] par moi au Théâtre Royal de la Monnaie à Bruxelles en Février 1964. Jean Cocteau est enchanté de cela mais il me demande de t'écrire pour te demander de faire un croquis du cheval car il dit que "le premier cheval été [sic] bâclé sans grace, sans que la tête soit constituée, sans les jambes aux bas noirs." Je te prie donc de ne pas refuser de m'aider pour ce détail, car je voudrais tout réussir cette reprise – maintenant historique. J'espère que tout les deux vous viendrez à la premiere. (Paris, Musée Picasso)	Our Parade will be recreated by me at the Théâtre Royal de la Monnaie in Brussels in February 1964. Jean Cocteau is delighted about it but he asks me to write to you to request you to do a sketch of the horse because he says that "the first horse was rushed mercilessly, without the head being well-made, without the legs having black socks." I beg you therefore not to refuse to help me with this detail, because I would like this revival – now historic – to be a success. I hope that both of you will come to the premiere.
---	--

22 July 1963 LM to Mme Françoise Picasso (wife of the artist)

Il y a quelque temps, j'avais écrit [sic] à Pablo au sujet de "Parade" que je suis en train de préparer pour le Théâtre de la Monnaie à Bruxelles. La premiere et [sic] fixé pour le 15 fevrier 1964. Toutefois il nous manque certaines elements pour le décor et les costumes – nous espérons de les trouver sans déranger votre marie [sic]. Il y a cependant un détail, qui cela [selon?] Jean Cocteau n'a jamais été reussi – en exécution – le cheval – et "manque de	Some time ago I wrote to Pablo about "Parade" which I am preparing for the Theatre de la Monnaie in Brussels. The premiere is fixed for the 15 February 1964. However, we need certain things for the décor and costumes – we hope to find them without disturbing your husband. There is however one detail, which according to Jean Cocteau was never successful – in the production – the horse – and "lacks charm". Could you therefore ask Pablo to
---	--

<p>grace". Pouvez vous donc demander Pablo de faire un croquis du cheval – <u>comme il le veut</u> et de me l'envoyer à l'adresse ci-dessus. Je vous serai infiniment reconnaissant pour cela. (Paris, Musée Picasso)</p>	<p>do a sketch of the horse – <u>as he would like it</u> and to send it to me at the above address. I shall be infinitely grateful to you for that.</p>
---	---

7 December 1963 LM to PP

<p>Peux-tu me voir Mougins concernant Parade entre seize et dix-neuf décembre. (Paris, Musée Picasso)</p>	<p>Can you see me in Mougins [where PP lived] concerning Parade between 16 and 19 December.</p>
---	---

29 December 1963 LM to PP

<p>Il y a quelque temps je t'ai écrit ainsi qu'à ta femme concernant la reprise de Parade ce Février 1964 au théâtre Royal de la Monnaie de Bruxelles. N'ayant pas reçu de réponse je crains que mes lettres se soient égarées. J'ai ramassé tout ce que j'ai pu comme matériel de Parade (reproductions, photos) mais il me manque la couleur. Si tu peux me donner les indications nécessaires pour cela je te serai profondément reconnaissant. Heureusement, j'ai toutes mes annotations chorégraphiques, je tâcherai donc de présenter ce ballet aussi bien que possible. Nous espérons d'ailleurs aussi avoir le rideau original si M. Jean Cassou veut bien nous le prêter. A ce propos je compte venir te voir tout de suite après mon engagement à Vienne, c'est à dire le 22 Janvier. Je pense qu'il suffira de quelques heures pour régler tout ceci (j'apporterai bien entendu tous les documents en question). (Paris, Musée Picasso)</p>	<p>Some time ago I wrote to you as well as to your wife concerning the revival of Parade this February 1964 at the theatre Royal de la Monnaie in Brussels. Not having received a reply I'm worried that my letters have gone astray. I have gathered everything that I could as regards material for Parade (reproductions, photos) but I am at a loss for the colour. If you could give me the necessary information for that I would be deeply grateful. Fortunately, I have all my choreographic notes, I will try therefore to present this ballet as well as possible. We hope moreover to have the original curtain if M. Jean Cassou will lend it to us. In this connection I expect to come and see you straight after my work in Vienna, that is to say on 22 January. I think that a few hours will be enough to sort all this out (I will of course bring all the relevant documents).</p>
--	--

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, Courtney S.: 'Erik Satie and Golden Section Analysis', *Music & Letters*, 77/2, May 1996, pp.242-52
- Allen, John: *A History of the Theatre in Europe* (London, Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1983)
- Anon: 'Les Ballets russes', *Le Carnet de la semaine*, 27 May 1917, p.14
- Anon: 'Les Ballets russes', *L'Intransigeant*, 28 May 1917, p.2
- Anon: 'On dit... on dit', *La Vie parisienne*, 2 June 1917, p.483
- Apollinaire, Guillaume:
 'Les Spectacles modernists des Ballets Russes, "Parade" et l'esprit nouveau',
 Excelsior, 11 May 1917, p.5
 Oeuvres poétiques (Paris, Gallimard, 1965)
 Oeuvres en prose complètes, Vol. II (Paris, Gallimard, 1991)
- Arnaud, Claude: *Jean Cocteau*, (Paris, Gallimard, 2003)
- Aschengreen, Erik (trans. Patricia McAndrew and Per Avsum):
 Jean Cocteau and the Dance (Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1986)
- Auric, Georges: 'Les Fortunes diverses de "Parade"', *Le Gaulois*, 18 May 1919, p.3
- Axson, Richard Hayden: *Parade: Cubism as Theater* (New York and London, Garland Publishing, 1979), (printing of D. Phil. Diss., University of Michigan, 1974)
- Bachmann, Marie-Laure: *Dalcroze Today, An Education through and into Music* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991)
- Balzac, Honoré de: *Le Père Goriot* (Paris, Gallimard, 1961)
- Bamford, Kenton: *Distorted Images, British National Identity and Film in the 1920s* (London, Tauris & Co., 1999)
- Baudelaire, Charles:
 Les Fleurs du Mal (Paris, Garnier-Flammarion, 1964)
 Oeuvres complètes, Vol. II (Paris, Gallimard, 1976)
- Beaumont, Cyril: *Complete Book of Ballets*, (London, Putnam, 1937)
- Blasis, Carlo: *Traité élémentaire, théorique et pratique de l'Art de la Danse* (Milan, 1820)

- Blazwick, Iwona and Wilson, Simon (eds.): *Tate Modern The Handbook* (London, Tate Publishing, 2000)
- Braun, Edward (ed.): *Meyerhold on Theatre* (London, Eyre Methuen, 1969)
- Brown, Frederick: *An Impersonation of Angels* (London, Longmans, 1968)
- Buckle, Richard:
In Search of Diaghilev (London, Sidgwick and Jackson, 1955)
Diaghilev (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979)
Nijinsky (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1980)
- Caizergues, Pierre (ed.): *Jean Cocteau et le théâtre* (Montpellier, Université Paul Valéry, 2000)
- Caizergues, Pierre and Décaudin, Michel (eds): *Correspondance Jean Cocteau-Guillaume Apollinaire* (Paris, Jean Michel Place, 2001)
- Caizergues, Pierre and Mas, Josiane (eds.): *Jean Cocteau – Darius Milhaud, Correspondance* (Université Paul Valéry, Montpellier, 1992)
- Carter, Huntly: 'The Theatre in France', *Theatre Arts Magazine*, Vol. IV, 1920, pp.122-8
The New Spirit in the European Theatre (London, Ernest Benn Ltd., 1925)
- Chambers Biographical Dictionary* (Edinburgh, W & R Chambers Ltd., 1974)
- Clair, Jean and Michel, Odile (eds.): *Picasso: The Italian Journey 1917-1924* (New York, Rizzoli, 1998)
- Clark, Barrett H.: *Contemporary French Dramatists* (Cincinnati, Stewart and Kidd, 1916)
- Clough, Rosa: *Futurism: The Story of a Modern Art Movement, A New Appraisal* (Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1969)
- Cocteau, Jean:
David, 4 notebooks, February 1914 (Carlton Lake Collection, Harry Ransom Research Center, University of Texas at Austin)
Parade, notebook, February-March 1917, Rome (Pièce 24, Fonds Kochno, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris)
'Avant "Parade"', *Excelsior*, 18 May 1917, p.5

- 'La Collaboration de *Parade*', *Nord-Sud: Revue littéraire*, nos. 4-5, Juin-Juillet, 1917, pp.29-31
- 'Parade: Ballet Réaliste', *Vanity Fair*, 5, Sept 1917, p.37 and p.106
- 'Parade', *Comoedia*, 21 Dec 1920, p.1
- Les Mariés de la Tour Eiffel, Préface de 1922*, reprinted in *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol VII (Lausanne, Marguerat, 1950), p.11-19
- Preface to *Le Rappel à l'ordre*, reprinted in *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol.IX (Lausanne, Marguerat, 1950), p.12
- Le Secret Professionnel*, reprinted in *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol.IX (Lausanne, Marguerat, 1950), pp.153-204
- La Jeunesse et le scandale* reprinted in *Oeuvres complètes*, Vol IX (Lausanne, Marguerat, 1950), pp.307-45
- La Difficulté d'être* (Monaco, Éditions du Rocher, 1957)
- Le Coq et l'arlequin: Notes autour de la musique* (Paris, Stock Musique, 1979)
- Lettres à sa mère*, Vol. I, 1898-1918, ed. Pierre Caizergues (Paris, Gallimard, 1989)
- Picasso* (Paris, L'École des lettres, 1996), pp.19-50
- Le Potomak* (Paris, Passage du Marais, 2000)
- Cooper, Douglas:
- Picasso Theatre* (London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968)
- The Cubist Epoch* (New York and London, Phaidon, 1971)
- Cotes, Peter and Niklaus, Thelma: *The Little Fellow, The Life and Work of Charles Spencer Chaplin* (London, The Bodley Head, 1952)
- Cottington, David: *Cubism* (London, Tate Gallery Publishing, 1998)
- Courant, Maurice: 'Essai historique sur la musique classique des Chinois', *Encyclopédie de la musique*, (Paris, Lavignac) I, i, 1913, pp.77-241
- Cowling, Elizabeth et all (eds.): *Matisse Picasso, Exhibition Catalogue* (11 May-18 August 2002), (London, Tate Publishing, 2002)
- Craft, Robert (ed.): *Stravinsky, Selected Correspondence*, Vol. I (London, Faber and Faber, 1982)

- Crosland, Margaret: *Jean Cocteau* (London, Peter Nevill, 1955)
- Crosland, Margaret (ed. and trans.): *Cocteau's World: An Anthology of Writings by Jean Cocteau* (London, Peter Owen, 1972)
- Dahlhaus, Carl (trans. Mary Whittall): *Realism in Nineteenth Century Music* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985)
- De Bold, Conrad: *Parade and 'Le Spectacle Intérieur': The Role of Jean Cocteau in an Avant-Garde Ballet* (Emory University, 1982)
- Diaghilev papers, Fonds Kochno, Bibliothèque de l'Opéra, Paris
- Diaghilev, Letters to Picasso, many n.d., Musée Picasso, Paris
- The Dictionary of Art*, Vol. 30 (London, Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1996)
- Drummond, John: *Speaking of Diaghilev* (London, Faber and Faber, 1997)
- Dufour, Philippe: *Le Réalisme* (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1998)
- Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th Edition, (Chicago, Helen Hemingway Benton, 1974)
- Feuillet, Raoul: *Chorégraphie, ou l'Art de décrire la danse par caractères, figures et signes démonstratifs* (Paris, 1700)
- Flaubert, Gustave: *Correspondance*, Vol. II (Paris, Gallimard, 1980)
- Flint, Robert W.: *Marinetti, Selected Writings* (London, Secker & Warburg, 1972)
- Fontana, David: *The Secret Language of Symbols* (London, Pavilion Books Ltd., 1993)
- Fowlie, Wallace (ed. and trans.): *The Journals of Jean Cocteau* (London, Museum Press, 1957)
- Frascina, Francis and Harrison, Charles (eds.): *Modern Art and Modernism: A Critical Anthology* (London, Harper Row in association with the Open University, 1982)
- Fulcher, Jane: *French Cultural Politics and Music From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Garafola, Lynn: *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1989)
- Garafola, Lynn and Van Norman Baer, Nancy (eds.): *The Ballets Russes and Its World* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1999)
- García-Márquez, Vicente: *Massine A Biography* (London, Nick Hern Books, 1996)
- Garnier, Jacques: *Forains d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, un siècle d'histoire des forains*,

- des fêtes et de la vie foraine* (Orléans, Les Presses, 1968)
- G.B.: 'Ballets russes', *La Vie Parisienne*, 2 June 1917, p.492.
- Gibson, Owen: 'Greer attacks life played out on reality TV', *The Guardian*, 29 August, 2005, p.5
- Gide, André: *Journal 1889-1939* (Paris, N.R.F., 1939)
- Gold, Arthur and Fizdale, Robert: *Misia, The Life of Misia Sert* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1980)
- Golding, John: *Cubism: A History and an Analysis* (London, Faber and Faber, 1988)
- Graves, Robert: *The Greek Myths: 1* and *The Greek Myths: 2* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1955)
- Gray, Camilla: *The Russian Experiment in Art 1863-1922*, revised Marian Burleigh-Motley (London, Thames & Hudson 1962, revised 1986)
- Guillemainault, Gilbert: *La France de la Madelon 1914-1918* (Paris, Denoël, 1966)
- Harbec, Jacinthe: 'Parade': *Les influences cubistes sur la composition musicale d'Erik Satie* (MA diss., McGill University, 1987)
- Harrison, Charles and Wood, Paul (eds.): *Art in Theory, 1900-1990* (Oxford, Blackwell, 2000)
- Howat, Roy: *Debussy in Proportion: A Musical Analysis* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983)
- Hugo, Victor: *Préface de Cromwell* (Paris, Librairie Larousse, 1949)
- Jaffe, Hans L.C.: *Picasso* (Thames and Hudson, 1988)
- Karsavina, Tamara: *Theatre Street* (London, William Heinemann Ltd., 1930)
- Katz, E: *Macmillan International Film Encyclopaedia* (London, Macmillan, 1994)
- Kisling, M.: 'Souvenir de Satie', *Revue musicale*, 214, June 1952, pp.107-110.
- Kluver, Billy: *A Day with Picasso* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1997)
- Krauss, Rosalind: *The Picasso Papers* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1998)
- Lajoinie, Vincent: *Erik Satie* (Lausanne, Editions L'Age d'Homme, 1985)
- Levinson, André: 'Le Ballet de Jean Cocteau', *Comoedia*, 10 June 1924, p.5
- Lifar, Serge:
Serge Diaghilev His Life His Work His Legend (London, Putnam, 1940)

- A History of Russian Ballet* (London, Hutchinson, 1954)
- Litvinoff, Valentina: *The Use of Stanislavsky within Modern Dance* (New York, American Dance Guild Inc., 1972)
- Loguine, Tatiana: *Gontcharova et Larionov, cinquante ans à Saint Germain-des-Prés* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1971)
- Lukàcs, Georg: *Studies in European Realism* (London, The Merlin Press, 1972)
- MacDonald, Nesta: *Diaghilev observed by Critics in England and the United States 1911-29* (London, Dance Books Ltd., 1975)
- Magne, Émile: 'Esthétique des villes. L'esthétique de la rue', *Mercure de France*, 15 July 1905, pp.161-81
- Martin, Marianne: 'The Ballet *Parade*: A Dialogue Between Cubism and Futurism', *The Art Quarterly*, new series 1/2, Spring 1978, pp.85-111
- Martino, P: *Le Naturalisme français*, (Paris, Librairie Armand Colin, 1966)
- Massine, Léonide:
 Massine, Letters to Picasso 1917-63, Musée Picasso, Paris
 'On Choreography and a New School of Dancing', *Drama* 1 No. 3, Dec.1919, pp.69-70
My Life in Ballet (London, Macmillan & Co., 1968)
Massine on Choreography, Theory and Exercises in Composition (London, Faber and Faber, 1976)
- McEwan, Ian: *Atonement* (London, Vintage, 2002)
- Mellers, W: 'Erik Satie and the "Problem" of Contemporary Music', *Music and Letters*, 23/3, July 1942, pp.210-27
- Montesquieu, (Charles-Luis de la Brède): *Lettres persanes*, (Paris, Garnier-Flammarion, 1964)
- Moore, Joan: *The Amazing Book of Tarot* (Godalming, Bramley Books, 1998)
- Morand, Paul: *Journal d'un attaché d'ambassade, 1916-17* (Paris, Gallimard, 1996)
- Nicoll, Allardyce: *The World of Harlequin: a Critical Study of the Commedia dell'Arte* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1963)
- Nochlin, Linda: *Realism* (London, Pelican, 1971)
- Orenstein, Arbie: *A Ravel Reader* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1990)

Orledge, Robert:

‘Debussy’s Piano Music: some second thoughts and sources of inspiration’,

Musical Times, 122 no. 1655, 1981, pp.21-7

Satie the Composer (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990)

Satie Remembered (London, Faber and Faber, 1995)

‘Erik Satie’s Ballet *Mercure* (1924): From Mount Etna to Montmartre’,

Journal of the Royal Musical Association, 123, 1998, pp.229-49

Oxenhaendler, Neil: *Scandal and Parade: The Theater of Jean Cocteau* (New

Brunswick, New Jersey, Rutgers University Press, 1957)

The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1981)

Palau I Fabre, Josep:

Picasso, Life and Work of the Early Years 1881-1907 (Oxford, Phaedon, 1981)

Picasso, From the Ballets to Drama (1917-1926) (Cologne, Könemann, 1999)

Penrose, Roland:

Picasso, His Life and Work (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books Ltd., 1971)

Picasso, (London, Phaidon Press Ltd., 1991)

Perloff, Nancy: *Art and the Everyday: The Impact of Parisian Popular Entertainment*

on Satie, Milhaud, Poulenc and Auric (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Michigan, 1986)

Poueigh, Jean: ‘Le Carnet des coulisses’, *Le Carnet de la semaine*, 3 June 1917, p.12

Quittard, Henri: ‘Le Courrier des théâtres’, *Le Figaro*, 20 May 1917, p.3

Read, Herbert:

The Philosophy of Modern Art (London, Faber & Faber, 1969)

Dictionary of Art and Artists (London, Thames and Hudson, 1985 edition)

Régnier, Henri de: ‘Poètes d’aujourd’hui et poésie de demain’ *Mercure de France*,

August 1900, pp.322-50

Richardson, John:

A Life of Picasso, Vol. I: 1886-1906 (London, Pimlico, 1991)

A Life of Picasso, Vol. II: 1907-1917 (London, Jonathan Cape, 1996)

- Richet, Michèle: *Musée Picasso, Catalogue of the Collection*, Vol. II, Drawings, Watercolours, Gouaches, Pastels (London, Thames and Hudson, 1986)
- Rimbaud, Arthur: *Oeuvres* (Paris, Garnier, 1960)
- Roem, Ned: 'Notes on "Parade"', *Opera News*, 45, 28 Feb 1952, 9-11
- Rosen, Charles and Zerner, Henri: *Romanticism and Realism: The Mythology of Nineteenth Century Art* (London, Faber and Faber, 1984)
- Rothschild, Deborah Menaker: *Picasso's "Parade"* (London, Sotheby's Publications, 1991)
- Rouché, Jacques: *L'Art théâtral moderne* (Paris, Edouard Cornély et Cie, 1910)
- Russian Visual Arts Project, Sheffield University, UK:
<http://hri.shef.ac.uk/rva/research.html>
- Satie, Erik:
Parade, sketchbooks, 1917 and 1919, Bibliothèque Nationale, Department of Music
Parade: Piano duet, rehearsal copy, 1917 (Frederick R. Koch Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University)
Parade: Réduction pour Piano à Quatre Mains (Paris, Salabert, 1917)
Parade: Partition d'Orchestre (Paris, Salabert, 1917)
Parade: Réduction pour Piano à Quatre Mains (Paris, Salabert, 1999)
Parade: Partition d'Orchestre (Paris, Salabert, 2000)
- Schehr, Lawrence: *Rendering French Realism* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1997)
- Schumacher, Claude (ed.): *Naturalism and Symbolism in European Theatre 1850-1918* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996)
- Sharman-Burke, Juliet: *Understanding the Tarot* (London, Rider, 1998)
- Shattuck, Roger: *The Banquet Years*, (New York, Vintage Books, 1955)
- Sicard, Claude: <http://www.culture.fr/culture/actualités/celebrations/copeau.htm>
- Smakov, Gennady: *The Great Russian Dancers* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1984)
- Steegmuller, Francis:
Cocteau, A Biography (London, Macmillan, 1970)

- Apollinaire, Poet Among the Painters* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1973)
- Stevens, Denis and Robertson, Alec (eds.): *The Pelican History of Music, Vol. 1, Ancient Forms to Polyphony*, (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books Ltd., 1973)
- Taylor, A.J.P.: *The First World War, An Illustrated History* (London, Penguin Books, 1966)
- Templier, P.-D.: *Erik Satie* (Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1969)
- Tisdall, Caroline and Bozzolla, Angelo: *Futurism* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1977)
- Thomson, David: *Biographical Dictionary of Film* (London, Deutsch, 1994)
- d'Udine, Jean: 'Couleurs, Mouvements et Sons. Les Ballets russes en 1917', *Le Courrier musical*, June 1917, pp.237-41
- Volta, Ornella:
- Erik Satie, Écrits, réunis, établis et annotés par Ornella Volta* (Paris, Editions Champ Libre, 1977)
- Satie Seen through his Letters* (trans. Michael Bullock) (London, New York, Marion Boyars, 1989)
- Satie et la Danse* (Paris, Éditions Plume, 1992)
- Satie/Cocteau: les malentendus d'une entente* (Paris, Le Castor Astral, 1993)
- 'Entre Satie et Picasso: le mystère du rideau rouge', *Le Travail de l'art*, no. 4, été/automne, 1999, pp. 49-60
- Erik Satie Correspondance presque complète* (Paris, Fayard/IMEC, 2000)
- Walder, Dennis (ed.): *The Realist Novel* (London, Routledge in association with the Open University, 1995)
- Watkins, Glenn: *Pyramids at the Louvre* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1994)
- Whiting, Steven Moore: *Satie the Bohemian* (Oxford University Press, 1999)
- Wilson, G.B.L.: *A Dictionary of Ballet* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books Ltd., 1957)
- Windeler, Robert: *Mary Pickford* (London, W H Allan, 1975)
- Wolff, Stéphane: *Un Demi-siècle d'Opéra-Comique, 1900-1950*, (Paris, Éditions André Bonne, 1953)

Zola, Emile: *L'Assommoir* (Paris, Le Livre de poche, 1967)

L'Oeuvre (Paris, Le Livre de poche, 1967)