

Diaghilev's *Gesamtkunstwerk* as Represented in the Productions
Le Coq d'Or (1914) and *Renard* (1922)

by

Katherine Rabinovich Delaney
B. MUS., Queen's University, 1998

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

In the School of Music

© Katherine Rabinovich Delaney, 2004
University of Victoria

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without the permission of the author.

Supervisor: Dr. Gordana Lavarevich

ABSTRACT

The Ballet Russes Company, under the direction of impresario Sergei Diaghilev, experimented with various ways of staging opera and ballet in an attempt to create a “total work of art” or a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. This was first achieved by Diaghilev’s company with the staging of Rimsky-Korsakov’s *Le Coq d’Or*, performed at the Théâtre National de l’Opéra in Paris, May 21, 1914. Diaghilev transformed Rimsky’s opera into an opera-ballet, in which the opera singers sang from risers on each side of the stage while the action of the opera was performed by dancers. He employed the studio artist Natalia Goncharova as set and costume designer, and Michel Fokine as choreographer. In it, music, dance and art were fully integrated into a single united presentation, comparable to Wagner’s idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

This paper examines the concept of the “total work of art” as presented in *The Ballet Russes* production of *Le Coq d’Or*, and *Renard*. The successful integration of the art, and dance into drama will be examined in relation to Wagner’s concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, in order to determine the origin and motivation behind Diaghilev’s staging of drama. Through a brief explanation of some of the psychological and dramatic principles of the music, and how they are interpreted through the choreography of the dancing and the set and costume designs, it will be argued that the added movement and artistic designs to this opera, brought into greater relief the drama of the text, thereby successfully creating a *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page		i
Abstract		ii
Table of Contents		iii
List of Table		iv
List of Figures		v
Dedication		vi
Introduction		1
Chapter 1	Diaghilev's Life and Theories as the Basis for the <i>Ballets Russes</i>	12
Chapter 2	Diaghilev's Total Work of Art	28
Chapter 3	<i>Ballets Russes'</i> Production of <i>Le Coq d'Or</i>	42
Chapter 4	<i>Ballets Russes'</i> Production of <i>Renard</i>	62
Chapter 5	Conclusion	90
Appendices		95
Figures		108
Bibliography		116

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1	Chart of Text Source for <i>Renard</i>	67
Table 2	Afanasiev's <i>Cat, Cock and the Fox</i> comparison	68
Appendix A	Diaghilev's Five Russian concerts of 1907	95
Appendix B	Plot Summary – <i>Le Coq d'Or</i>	96
Appendix C	Details of the <i>Ballets Russes' Le Coq d'Or</i> Production	97
Appendix D	<i>Renard</i> - Text	98

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1	Natalia Goncharova – <i>The Lilies</i> (1913)	108
Figure 2	Natalia Goncharova – Sketch for Act I of <i>Le Coq d'Or</i> (1914)	108
Figure 3	19 th Century <i>Lubok</i> Prints	109
Figure 4	Natalia Goncharova – Backdrop for Act I of <i>Le Coq d'Or</i> (1914)	110
Figure 5	Natalia Goncharova – Backdrop for Act III, <i>Le Coq d'Or</i> (1914)	111
Figure 6	Natalia Goncharova – Peasant Costumes for <i>Le Coq d'Or</i> (1914)	112
Figure 7	Ivan Bilidin – Backdrop for <i>Le Coq d'Or</i> (1909)	113
Figure 8	Mikhail Larionov – <i>Winter</i> (1912 – 13)	114
Figure 9	Mikhail Larionov – Set Design for <i>Renard</i> (1921)	114
Figure 10	Mikhail Larionov – Set Design for <i>Renard</i> (1921)	115

DEDICATION

I would like to acknowledge the support and commitment of my supervisor Dr. Gordana Lazarevich, who fought for me to finish this thesis even into her retirement and who has continued to challenge me with her insight.

Thanks also go to my mother, Helen Varkovetsky, for providing insight into Russian culture, and to Dr. Brenda Ravenscroft and Dr. Susan Lewis Hammond for their intermittent pep talks.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my beloved father and friend, Mark Varkovetsky, and to my husband Aaron without whom I would have given up long ago.

Introduction

To the European public, Russia was a distant and mysterious locale, little seen or heard from until the beginning of the twentieth century. Largely responsible for bringing Russian music, art, and literature to Europe was the impresario Serge Pavlovich Diaghilev (1872-1929). Through the *Ballets Russes* (1909-1929), a Russian ballet company that he established in Paris, Diaghilev brought to the European public some of Russia's best composers, artists, dancers, and choreographers. Consequently, the *Ballets Russes* became one of the most successful artistic endeavours of the century, leaving an extensive repertory of ballets and operas for posterity.

The *Ballets Russes* Company was a success largely due to his ability to recognize and rally young talent. He not only introduced the composers Sergei Prokofiev (1891-1953) and Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), but also the choreographers Leonide Massine (1895-1979), Mikhail Fokine (1880-1942), and Vaslav Nijinsky (1890-1950), who went on to design ballets in England and America, and many Russian painters, including Leon Bakst (1866-1925), Alexandre Benois (1870-1960), Natalia Goncharova (1881-1962) and Mikhail Larionov (1881-1964). Diaghilev's cultivation of these talented individuals stemmed from his desire to implement his artistic philosophy: the close integration of all the elements involved in stage production, including set design, choreography, and music.

This paper will examine the concept of the "total work of art" as presented in the *Ballets Russes* productions *Le Coq d'Or* (1914) and *Renard* (1922). These works will be examined in relation to Richard Wagner's concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, in order to determine the origin and motivation behind Diaghilev's staging of drama. It will be argued that Diaghilev experimented with various ways of staging opera and ballet in an attempt to create a "total work of art" based on Wagner's idea of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Diaghilev's total

work of art, as seen in the productions *Le Coq d'Or* and *Renard*, will be examined through a brief explanation of some of the psychological and dramatic principles of the music, and how they are interpreted through the choreography of the dancing and the set and costume designs.

Musicologist Richard Taruskin disputes the idea that Diaghilev's work referenced Wagner's theories on artistic synthesis. In fact, Taruskin argues that by using dancers to interpret the drama and relegating the singers to mere members of the orchestra Diaghilev was actually dismantling the *Gesamtkunstwerk* ideal. I will argue that, far from dismantling Wagner's theory, through the addition of, and emphasis on, dance and the artistic design of *Le Coq d'Or* and *Renard*, Diaghilev actually brought into greater clarity the drama of the text, thereby building upon Wagner's idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. In particular, through Diaghilev's distribution of action between two simultaneous media, the productions constituted a total work of art; dance and artistic design had to work together to create a recognizable finished product. The way in which the drama was interpreted through dance made Diaghilev's productions successful in integrating all of the component arts. The idea of incorporating dance into an operatic setting through the division of labour between singers and dancers, contributed to Diaghilev's idea of the "total work of art." As such this technique was used in approximately seven of his productions.

Diaghilev's invention of the "singer-in-the-pit idea" (as coined in Stephen Weinstock's dissertation on Stravinsky's *Les Noces*), first began with *Le Coq d'Or* in 1914, in which the dancers on stage convey the action, while the singers are relegated to a subsidiary role, as voices projected from risers at the side of the stage. This direction was applied to many of Diaghilev's subsequent productions, including *Renard*. Diaghilev's first achievement of a *Gesamtkunstwerk* was his staging of Rimsky-Korsakov's opera *Le Coq d'Or*, performed at

the Théâtre National de l'Opéra in Paris, May 21, 1914. Diaghilev transformed Rimsky's opera into an opera-ballet in which the opera singers sang from risers on each side of the stage while the action of the opera was performed by dancers against a backdrop of artwork. He employed the studio artist Natalia Goncharova as set and costume designer, and Michel Fokine as choreographer. The productions in the years following *Le Coq d'Or* included three compositions by Stravinsky: *Le Rossignol* (1914), *Renard* (1922), *Les Noces* (1923). In *Renard*, the second of Diaghilev's works for the stage that will be examined in this study, the singers were relegated to the orchestra pit, while the dancers performed the drama on stage. Based on several fairy-tales by Afanasiev, *Renard* was one of Stravinsky's landmark works in that he wrote not only the music but the libretto as well. Mikhail Larionov, Goncharova's partner, designed the sets and costumes, and Bronislava Nijinska functioned as choreographer as well as dancer in the leading role of the fox, Renard. In *Renard*, music, dance, and art were fully integrated into a single united presentation, comparable to Wagner's idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

In spite of the volumes of existing research on the *Ballets Russes*, this thesis is unique in that it attempts a detailed examination of two of Diaghilev's productions from a holistic point of view, and argues that Diaghilev consciously attempted to integrate dance into his stage productions as a means of achieving Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

Throughout history, there have been scholars who have made various arguments, both in favour of and against integrating the component arts. Richard Wagner discussed the concept of a fully integrated work of art at length, and eventually called the concept a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, a theory which first appeared in his publication *Artwork of the Future* (1849). Although there is no literal translation of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, its meaning has been explained by

Wagner to represent the synthesis of the arts. Barry Millington summarizes Wagner's theory of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* as follows:

...the basic three elements of the original Greek drama are dance, music, poetry. In isolation, their potential is unfulfilled, however working in conjunction in a unified artwork each can attain its full maturity. Similarly, the art of architecture, sculpture, and painting will regain their classical and authentic stature only as constituents in the artwork of the future. New work would be brought into being not by a single creative artist but by a fellowship of artists.¹

Wagner believed that the three elements of the original Greek drama – poetry, music, and dance – could be integrated into a single art form through the collaboration of a collective of artists.

Although several authors mention possible Wagnerian influences in Diaghilev's settings and Diaghilev's attempt to create a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, this concept has never been explored in detail, nor has the way in which Diaghilev's total artwork succeeds. In his article "Diaghilev's Ballets Russes: The First Phase" (1996), Schouvaloff draws the parallel between Wagner and Diaghilev's synthesis of the arts; however, this concept is left unexplored in his article. Steven Weinstock's dissertation on *Les Noces* (1982) attempts to trace the origins of Diaghilev's "singer in the pit" concept, but again his research into this area is restricted to only a minor chapter. John Bowlit makes a connection between the *World of Art* group, a group of artists and philosophers of which Diaghilev was a part, and Wagner, by examining the extent to which the group believed in and imitated Wagner's theory of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Elena Bridgman's article "*Mir Iskusstva: Origins of the Ballets Russes*" is important as it attempts to directly link Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* productions with the philosophies advocated by the *World of Art* group. In so doing, she refers to Diaghilev's

¹ Barry Millington. *Wagner* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), 41.

attempt to create a *Gesamtkunstwerk* through his productions using Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* as an example², but does not elaborate as to how this was accomplished. Another interesting reference to Diaghilev's *Gesamtkunstwerk* is found in Constant Lambert's *Music Ho!* (1985), a book that has entered the canon on modernism for its insight into the musical philosophies of the early twentieth century. Lambert, having composed several ballets for the *Ballets Russes*, had personal knowledge of Diaghilev's creative process. Though he cites Diaghilev's productions as having Wagnerian origins, Lambert's book concentrates on the various trends of the twentieth century and is not meant to focus solely or at any length on Diaghilev. With this cross-section of scholarly writing all making mention of and arguing a variety of views on Diaghilev's productions, an in-depth examination of Diaghilev's aims and motives merits a full investigation.

Le Coq d'Or and *Renard* have rarely been discussed in detail. To my knowledge, *Le Coq d'Or* has never been examined in its entirety. There have been several articles and only one monograph published on Rimsky-Korsakov's opera *Le Coq d'Or*, which provides the musical basis for Diaghilev's opera-ballet. The earliest scholarly writings published in North America on this opera were two articles by Montagu-Nathan in 1954, "King Dodon's Love Song" in *The Monthly Musical Record*, and "The Origin of *The Golden Cockerel*" in *The Music Review* which discussed for the first time specific aspects of Rimsky's musical language. Gerald Abraham contributed several articles about this opera in the early 1970s, including "Satire and Symbolism in *The Golden Cockerel*", which first appeared in *Music & Letters* (1971) and was again reprinted in Abraham's collection of essays, *Essays on Russian and Eastern*

² Elena Bridgman. "Mir Iskusstva: Origins of the Ballets Russes." Nancy Van Norman Baer, ed. *The Art of Enchantment: Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, 1909-1929* (San Francisco: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Universe Book, 1988), 42.

European Music (1985). Since then, very little new research has been presented on this opera. There has been only one monograph on this opera published by Peter Cook: *The Golden Cockerel: A Realisation in Music* (1985). Other than these articles and a few scattered references and reviews of Diaghilev's *Le Coq d'Or* production, there has been little in the way of detailed study.

The second production I have chosen, *Renard*, is perhaps one of Stravinsky's most interesting yet overlooked works for the stage. As with *Le Coq d'Or* there have been very few studies of this work. Leslie Byron Dunner wrote on *Renard* as a conductor's study for her dissertation of 1982, tracing in a cursory manner its musical structure. Taruskin has published one study of *Renard*, contained in his monograph *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through 'Mavra.'* Vol. II (1996). He also touches on *Renard* in *Stravinsky Retrospectives* (1987). Although many other books on Stravinsky make mention of *Renard*, there has been little in the last ten years in the way of a comprehensive study, which addresses all aspects of the stage production; the above-mentioned studies concentrate almost exclusively on Stravinsky's music and text.

When discussing *Renard*, it is important to contextualize Stravinsky's role in the making of this production and his relationship with Diaghilev, since both had imposing personalities that influenced the outcome of the work. For the exploration of Stravinsky's creation of *Renard*, we are fortunate to have a number of Stravinsky's writings. His *Autobiography* (1975) and the numerous volumes he published with Robert Craft in the early 1980s document his compositional process. However, many of Stravinsky's writings are charged with conflicting statements, mainly with regard to his compositional approach. Regardless, his writings are an important insight into his composition process, which first needs to be understood in order to accurately discuss his music.

In addition to his own writings, there is a large body of credible research on Stravinsky, but less so on *Renard*. One of the most important early scholarly writings on Stravinsky comes from the prolific Russian musicological scholar Boris Asafyev titled *A Book About Stravinsky* (1929), which was only translated and made available in North America in the early 1980s. Asafyev systematically addresses each of Stravinsky's compositions with a contextual knowledge of Stravinsky's Russian period in particular that had never been explored in such detail. His analysis of *Renard* is crucial to this study as it examines many of the Russian cultural influences on this music. Richard Taruskin has also contributed several important articles expounding various aspects of Stravinsky's music. The most relevant for this study is "Stravinsky's Rejoicing Discovery," which gives a valid explanation for the stylistic change that came with his Russian period, and traces Stravinsky's access to and assimilation of folksongs and rural culture. Taruskin's chapter, "A Pair of Minstrel Shows: Minstrels Russian and Turanian," published as part of his monograph *Stravinsky and the Russian Tradition* (1996), begins where Asafyev left off. New research presented on *Renard* in this chapter convincingly disputes many previous assumptions about this work, particularly that of the connection made with the *skomorokhi*, the professional travelling minstrels of Russia. Another important monograph is Jonathan Cross's *The Stravinsky Legacy* (1998), which adds to the new research available on Stravinsky's music. Finally, the opening to researchers in 1986 of the Stravinsky Archives housed at the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel, resulted in Stephen Walsh's *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring* (1999), containing never-before-published biographical details. Although there is an extensive body of work on Stravinsky's music, and even *Renard* to an extent, there is still little said about *Renard* as a production.

As this thesis attempts to describe how Diaghilev's *Gesamtkunstwerk* operated in practice through the two works I have selected, all aspects of the stage productions will be

examined: the choreography, music, costumes, sets, and stage designs. There have been many scholarly works published in the last twenty to thirty years that document various aspects of the creative process that went into each production of *The Ballets Russes*. Robert Hansen's dissertation, *Scenic and Costume Design for The Ballets Russes* (1985), was a significant milestone in this area, providing the first study of the art works for all of the ballet productions. However, Hansen's dissertation is limited in that the sheer volume of art works that he discusses does not allow for the possibility of an in-depth study. Recent art scholars Nancy Van Norman Baer, John Bowlt, and Lynn Garafola have done extensive studies on the company's staging and art. John Bowlt's dissertation published in 1982 was the first of a series of important publications in the 1980s that chronicle the contributions of the *World of Art* group. Specifically Bowlt discusses the philosophy behind the *World of Art* group, to which Diaghilev had dedicated a quarterly publication titled *Mir Iskusstva (The World of Art)*. Nancy Van Norman Baer followed up Bowlt's research with a compilation of essays, *The Art of Enchantment: Diaghilev's Ballets Russes* (1988), which contains important research regarding the connection between the *World of Art* group and the *Ballets Russes*. It also reproduces in colour many of the costumes and designs of the *Ballets Russes* that have probably rarely been seen in North America. In addition to these comprehensive studies, there are many biographies available on Diaghilev, and many cursory studies of the *Ballets Russes*, which chronicle the ballets and other productions Diaghilev commissioned. Some sources date back to the days of *The Ballets Russes's* existence, written by people from Diaghilev's own circle of friends, such as the famed book written by Boris Kochno, *Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes* (1970), which gives a first-hand account of the Ballet's productions.

In spite of all of the research to date, there are large quantities of important primary sources that remain inaccessible. To this day, Diaghilev's letters and other correspondence

have never been fully catalogued or translated from the original Russian, nor has there been any attempt to chronicle and publish a complete collection of Diaghilev's programs and program notes for all twenty years of the company's existence. Furthermore, the *World of Art* periodical, Diaghilev's vehicle for expounding his artistic beliefs, has never been translated from its original language, has yet to be compiled into monograph form, and is rarely found outside Russia. What is interesting about Bowlt's research is that he has translated into English parts of *The World of Art* magazine, which have been published in part as an article in Lynn Garafola's *The Ballets Russes and Its World*. Even in the original Russian, a full compendium of the issues of this magazine is not commonly available in North America. Since the theories of the *World of Art* group profoundly influenced Diaghilev's future endeavours with the *Ballets Russes*, the lack of access to their magazine, which clearly outlined all of their influences and beliefs, is a significant handicap for Diaghilev research.

Some information about Diaghilev's writings and his role in the *World of Art* group can be gleaned from the available Diaghilev biographies to date. Most important is Richard Buckle's milestone publication, *Diaghilev* (1979), which was the first extensive scholarly look at Diaghilev's life published in the English language. Through Boris Kochno, the journalist who was a close friend of Diaghilev's, Buckle was given access to Diaghilev's unpublished memoirs and letters, which give this biography unprecedented detail and insight into Diaghilev's undertakings. However, the book is still largely concerned with chronologically documenting events in Diaghilev's life rather than understanding and analysing his creative process. During the 1990s, Richard Taruskin's research delved deeply into Diaghilev's musical background to try to discern the quality of musical knowledge Diaghilev may have impressed upon the composers he commissioned for his productions.

The most difficult aspect of Diaghilev's ballets to piece together is perhaps the choreography since there has been no means of standard notation developed for choreography, and historically it has been transmitted largely by rote. Any documentation of choreography that does exist is scarce and is an anomaly. What we know of choreography to date is published in the form of technical treatises on ballet and other dance forms, occasionally supplemented with sketches. We also have descriptive accounts of choreography through a variety of sources. For example, Michel Fokine refers to many of his choreographic techniques in his memoirs, first published in 1964. Fokine, unlike many choreographers, also made representational sketches of some of his choreographic movements. Through such references, we have been able to determine how many of Fokine's choreographic works, including Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*, may have appeared. A few of Fokine's choreographic sketches for the *Rite of Spring* have also been found. In 1992 a highly acclaimed series of Diaghilev ballets was staged by the Paris Opera House, the home of the original *Ballets Russes*, as a commemoration of Diaghilev. The choreographies for *Les Noces*, *Petrouchka*, *Le spectre de la rose* by Carl Maria von Weber, and *L'Après-midi d'un faune* by Claude Debussy were recreated based on comporary documentation, and now this series of four Diaghilev ballets is available on video. However, it is difficult to know how accurate these recreations are. For example, some ballets, such as the recreation of *Le Coq d'Or* the *Ballets Russes of Monte Carlo* in 1937, had to have entirely new choreography created due to lack of documentation. Fokine was also choreographer for the *Ballets Russes of Monte Carlo's* remounting of *Le Coq d'Or*. However, the choreography had to be created anew since Fokine could not remember his own steps.

As it is our tendency to compartmentalize each of the various arts – music, dance, drama, and visual arts – most scholarly works concentrate on either the set and costume

designs, choreography, or music of *The Ballets Russes* in isolation. It is my hope that this examination will contribute to the body of scholarly work outlined here, and will bring to light an alternative way of examining *Ballets Russes* productions perhaps as Diaghilev intended: as total works of art.

Chapter 1 – Diaghilev’s Life and Theories as the Basis for the *Ballets Russes*

Diaghilev’s theories on art and music developed during his university years (1890-1896) in St. Petersburg, Russia, where he met Leon Bakst and Alexander Benois, both of whom were extremely influential in the formation of Diaghilev’s ideas. Prior to attending university as a law student, Diaghilev had resided with his family in the small provincial town of Perm. From an early age he was exposed to an extensive amount of music. His stepmother, Elena Valerianovna, was a highly cultivated woman; she brought all forms of musical production to their home, which became known as the “Athens of Perm.”¹ Weekly Thursday concerts were held at the Diaghilev home in which the entire family participated since everyone played at least one instrument. Diaghilev started piano lessons at a young age and showed a natural interest in, and aptitude for music.

When he came to St. Petersburg, his cousin Dima Filosofov took him into his circle of friends, which consisted of Bakst, Benois, and Valetchka Nouvel. This group of five formed a type of academy. As in the academies of the eighteenth century, they met regularly to discuss art, music, philosophy, and the direction of culture in Russia. At first, Filosofov’s friends thought Diaghilev was quite provincial, but he learned and adapted himself quickly to the rich environment of critical thinking. Although his musical knowledge surpassed theirs, Diaghilev had much to learn from Bakst and Benois about art. Diaghilev admits in his memoirs that he considered Benois his mentor and a formative influence in his knowledge and thinking on art.²

¹ Israel, Nesteev. “Diaghilev’s Musical Education.” *The Ballets Russes and Its World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 26.

² *Ibid.*, 26.

During his university years, in 1890 and again in 1892, Diaghilev and Filosofov travelled across Europe visiting major cultural centres: Warsaw, Vienna, Trieste, Venice, Padua, Verona, Milan, Geneva, Frankfurt, and Berlin, just to name a few. In every city they tried to see as many musical productions and visit as many museums and historical monuments as they could, including a trip to Bayreuth for Wagner's *Ring* cycle.

During these trips, Diaghilev became acquainted with many famous personalities. In 1890, he first met Leo Tolstoy by boldly appearing at his home uninvited. He documented their conversation in his unpublished memoirs. After this meeting, Diaghilev and Tolstoy began a close correspondence, which attests to the remarkable first impression he must have made on Tolstoy. Diaghilev made several other trips during these years, and while abroad interacted with several prominent composers, including Verdi and Brahms. He visited Brahms at his summer house in Ischl, Austria, in 1893.

Diaghilev's thirst for knowledge attracted him to some of the century's greatest writers, thinkers, musicians, and composers. In 1893 while visiting Paris on his own, Diaghilev initiated a friendship with French composer Emmanuel Chabrier, who later in his career proved a valuable acquaintance. Diaghilev attended a dress rehearsal for Chabrier's opera *Gwendoline* at his invitation, and found himself in the company of Emile Zola, the composer Alfred Bruneau, Victor Hugo, Massenet, Vincent d'Indy, the conductor Charles Lamoureux and Alexandre Dumas. Diaghilev believed that his friendship with Chabrier would lead to his gaining a greater understanding of and admittance into the world of Parisian art and music. This was a time of self-exploration for Diaghilev: he was gathering and absorbing as much information about art, music and culture as he could, perhaps instinctively knowing that one day he would use it to great ends. Over a decade later when Diaghilev returned to Paris to produce four lucrative concerts of Russian music for the

audiences of Western Europe, his connections with the Parisian avant-garde proved to be a deciding factor in his success.

In 1894, Diaghilev turned to music seriously by trying his hand at composition. Several biographies mention Diaghilev's study of music theory and composition with Rimsky-Korsakov, Anatol Liadov, and Nikolai Sokolov. According to scholar Israel Nesteev, Diaghilev also mentions taking theory lessons with Massenet, Saint-Saens and Chabrier.³ It seems however that Diaghilev's university studies and his active social life kept him from studying composition full-time.

His first compositions were chamber works and songs: a Sonata for Cello and Piano, vocal settings for some poetry by Baudelaire, and a series of Romances.⁴ Eventually, Diaghilev showed several of his works to Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, in particular a violin sonata, a song entitled "King David," and the first part of a cello sonata.⁵ Rimsky's boswell, Vasily Vasilyevich Yastrebtsev, wrote of Rimsky's account of this encounter:

Nikolai Andreyevich [Rimsky-Korsakov] gave an account of a curious visit he had had from some young man named Diaghilev, who fancies himself a great composer but, nevertheless, would like to study theory with Nikolai Andreyevich. His compositions proved to be absurd, and Nikolai Andreyevich told him so bluntly, whereupon he became offended and, on leaving, declared arrogantly that nevertheless he believes in himself and his gifts; that he will never forget this day and that some day Rimsky-Korsakov's opinion will occupy a shameful place in his (Rimsky-Korsakov's) biography and make him regret his rash words, but then it will be too late...⁶

³ Joan Acocella. "Diaghilev's *Complicated Questions*." *The Ballets Russes and Its World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 73.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 73.

⁶ Vasilij V. Yastrebtsev. Florence Jonas, trans. & ed. *Reminiscences of Rimsky-Korsakov* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 90. Reprint of Vasilij V. Yastrebtsev. *Nikolai Andreevich Rimskii-Korsakov : ocherk ego zhizni i deiatel'nosti : polnyi spisok sochinenii*. V Moskviie : Sobstvennost' izdatelia P. IURgensona, 1908.

Perhaps Diaghilev would not have taken such offence at Rimsky's comments had he known that Rimsky had had the same opinion of d'Indy's and Stravinsky's music when they had first met. Diaghilev eventually stopped composing, perhaps realizing it was not his strongest talent. Benois comments in his memoirs that "Diaghilev's music combined elements of Mussorgsky with reminders of Tchaikovsky."⁷ It is intriguing that so radical an impresario would have such a conservative approach to composition. Diaghilev and Rimsky nevertheless continued a rather formal acquaintance; Diaghilev held Rimsky in great respect, often turning to him for musical advice during his early productions, and even managed to convince Rimsky to conduct some of his initial Russian concerts in Paris in 1907.

After completing his law degree in September 1896, Diaghilev applied to study at the St. Petersburg Conservatory as a vocal student with Cologni, but it is unclear if he ever attended. He also began to concentrate on music criticism, a field to which his music training greatly contributed. This eventually led in 1898 to the establishment of Diaghilev's own magazine, after his graduation from St. Petersburg University. Diaghilev founded and edited *Mir Iskusstva (World of Art)*⁸, which was used as a vehicle for disseminating the knowledge of his circle as to the state of art around the world, and bringing that knowledge to Russia. In Diaghilev's opinion and the opinion of his friends, Russia was falling behind in the arts. Russia was then deeply entrenched in realism, the ideals of which gave rise to the literary works of Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky and the music of Mussorgsky. Diaghilev found Russia's

⁷ Joan Acocella. Op. Cit., 73.

⁸ As mentioned in the Introductory Chapter, the first two issues of *Mir iskusstva* containing the *World of Art* group manifesto are rarely available in North America and have yet to be fully translated into English. Joan Acocella's article published in Lynn Garafola's anthology *The Ballet Russes and Its World*, provides the first glimpse at some of Diaghilev's manifesto in the English language. Consequently, a large portion of this discussion will be based on secondary sources.

attachment to realism disconcerting, given that the rest of Europe was already fully enthralled with symbolism and various forms of abstraction. He intended, through *Mir iskusstva*, to educate Russia's artistic community in the symbolist aesthetic. Benois, Bakst, Nouvel, and Filosofov often published articles in Diaghilev's magazine and, in doing so, became known as the *World of Art* group. It was through the two years of *Mir iskusstva's* existence that Diaghilev became known to the whole of Russia.

The first two issues of *Mir iskusstva* immediately outlined the philosophy of the "*World of Art*" group in a four-part manifesto entitled "Complicated Questions."⁹ These four parts were titled, "Our Supposed Decline," "The Eternal Conflict," "The Search for Beauty," and "Principles of Art Criticism." The main purpose of the manifesto was to introduce the educated Russian public to the subjective style of art, Symbolism, which had already gripped the rest of Europe, but which had barely crept into the consciousness of a Russian intelligentsia dominated by Realism. According to Benois, these theories, although written by Diaghilev with some help from Filosofov, reflected the views of the entire "*World of Art*" Group. These essays advocated not only the group's views on art, but also Diaghilev's goals for the "*World of Art*" Group – the integration of the arts – which later Diaghilev was able to manifest through the productions of the *Ballet Russes*.

During the 1860s, Russia saw the emergence of a nationalist movement. Realism became the chosen vehicle for art, and thus art was expected to be Russian in subject matter. There were two dominant schools of art: the conservative Academy of Fine-Art, and the radical Society for Travelling Exhibitions, also known as the Wanderers.¹⁰ The Wanderers

⁹ Joan Acocella. Op. Cit., 72.

¹⁰ Elena Bridgman. Op. Cit., 28.

started as a group speaking against the formal constraints of art as prescribed by the Academy. The Wanderers' display of social realism in their art became so representational that, as Diaghilev put it, "the peasants virtually climb out of the picture frames."¹¹ Art and music aimed to depict society accurately, and to relate to the masses. Although Realism helped form Russia's national identity, it was also (as expressed through the Wanderers initial dislike for the academy) a direct backlash against the universities and institutions established by Catherine the Great to educate the isolated Russian populace with the teachings of the Western world. Despite the efforts of Catherine the Great, Russia remained isolated from the rest of Europe, and Russia's art had little alternative other than to follow the development of Realism. By the 1890s, "both academic art and social realism became so interchangeable that they were exhibited together, and certain members of the Wanderers had been accepted into the Academy."¹²

Russia was still deeply entrenched in Realism while other forms of art were flourishing in Western Europe. As Acocella points out, the debate in Europe between Realism and Symbolism had been ongoing for more than thirty years before Diaghilev first brought the debate to Russia.¹³ The *World of Art* group was first formed as a response to the intense social realism of the Wanderers, which had begun to monopolize art as the Russian 'nationalist' school.¹⁴ Diaghilev's *Complicated Questions* distilled the Realism versus Symbolism debate into two concise points. First, he argued that art must be free. Art should only serve

¹¹ Sergei Diaghilev, "Art Criticism" in "Art Chronicles", *Mir iskusstva*, 3 (1900), 148. As footnoted in Elena Bridgman. "Mir iskusstva": Origins of the Ballets Russes." *The Art of Enchantment: Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, 1909 – 1929* (New York: Universe Books, 1988), 28.

¹² Ibid., 28.

¹³ Joan Acocella. Op. Cit., 72.

¹⁴ Elena Bridgman. Op. Cit., 29.

itself, and artists should be free from the obligation of embracing a social or political mandate. In other words, an artist should not be required to adopt a nationalist agenda or a particular style. To emphasize his point that art and politics are completely separate domains, Diaghilev stated that “the only possible nationalism is the unconscious nationalism of the blood.”¹⁵

His second point (influenced by Nietzsche whom he quotes in his defence) is that the value of a work lies in the extent to which it reveals the artist’s own personality and the degree of sympathy or congruity between that personality and that of the beholder.¹⁶ In other words, the power of the art lies in subjectivity. Realism by definition undermines subjectivity since Realism addresses nature, or ‘real life’, while in Symbolist art the subject of art becomes ‘inner life’.

In Diaghilev’s second chapter of *Complicated Questions*, “The Eternal Conflict,” he attempts to tackle the question of the purpose of art, initiating a debate on the concept of free art versus the utilitarian modes of art in Realism. In chapter three, “The Search for Beauty,” he discusses subject matter, and states the argument for both sides: in Realism art must portray reality, while in Symbolism art portrays inner life, perhaps the dream world. Diaghilev finds both descriptions inadequate, arguing that both of these definitions of subject matter restrict the free play of the artistic personality.

Due to Diaghilev’s advocacy of free art, the *World of Art* group was often mistaken for advocating ‘art for art’s sake,’ and as a result were considered by some to be ‘decadent’ in their approach to art. Diaghilev believed that “art cannot be without ideas any more than it

¹⁵ Joan Acocella. *Op. Cit.*, 73.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 73.

can be without form or without colour, but no one of these elements can be deliberately introduced into it without destroying the harmony of its parts.”¹⁷ Diaghilev preferred all-encompassing non-narrative genres that appealed more to emotion than to thought.¹⁸ Acocella argues that Diaghilev tried to position himself between Realism and Symbolism as a means of countering the accusations of decadence made against the *World of Art* group by other artistic circles, and devotes his final chapter “Principles of Art Criticism” towards this end.¹⁹

It may have been strategic of Diaghilev to restrain his enthusiasm regarding Symbolist movement because the two most prominent patrons of the *World of Art* group, Savva Mamontov and Princess Maria Klavdieva Tenisheva, both had close ties with Realism.²⁰ Mamontov and Tenisheva were also proponents of the neo-nationalist movement, which emerged during the 1870s, and regarded folklore and peasant crafts as the best representatives of native culture and therefore nationalism.²¹ Neo-nationalist artists drew their inspiration from Russian fairytales and legends; their art often emulated traditional peasant styles using simple forms, decorated and strikingly colourful.²² Since Neo-nationalist art lived mostly in the realm of the imaginary, a natural coalition formed between this group and the *World of Art* group, thus enabling Mamontov and Tenisheva to patronize Diaghilev’s

¹⁷ Sergei Diaghilev. “Our Imaginary Decadence,” *Mir iskusstva*, 1 (1898), 15.

¹⁸ Elena Bridgman. Op. Cit., 29.

¹⁹ Joan Acocella. Op. Cit., 74.

²⁰ Ibid., 75.

²¹ Elena Bridgman. Op. Cit., 29.

²² Ibid., 29.

magazine, which consequently reserved a portion of the magazine for the works of Neo-nationalist painters.

Another common bond of the Symbolists and the Neo-Nationalists was their belief in the equality of all arts. Like Art Nouveau, which had succeeded in narrowing the barrier between 'decorative art' and 'fine art', the Neo-nationalists and the *World of Art* group believed that regardless of what the work was – whether oil painting, ceramic vessel, or ornamental book cover, it should all be judged according to the degree of artistic individuality expressed.²³

The *World of Art* group favoured a new art and through its manifesto, advocated for Symbolist art as the opposite aesthetic of social realism. As part of this rebellion against realism launched by the *World of Art*, Diaghilev organized a series of art exhibitions to display examples of the *World of Art* aesthetic to the Russian public. Diaghilev's disdain for the Realism movement extended even to the format of Realist exhibitions themselves in which works of art were displayed together regardless of merit, style, or period. Diaghilev considered this to be chaotic and akin to eating soup, entrée, and dessert all at the same time.²⁴ By contrast, the *World of Art* exhibitions were meticulous in their presentation. Thought was given to the shape and colour of the frames, and the paintings were elegantly displayed amongst plants and flowers giving the exhibitions a festive air.²⁵ This attention to detail, organization and preoccupation with visual display, became a hallmark of Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* productions.

²³ 'Notes' in "Chronicles", in *Mir iskusstva*, 7 (1902), 42.

²⁴ Sergei, Diaghilev. *Exhibitions*, 104.

²⁵ John Bowlit, *The Silver Age: Russian Art of the Early Twentieth-Century and the 'World of Art' Group* (Newtonville, Me, 1979), 170 – 171.

Meanwhile, Russian music and Russian composers were gradually acquiring popularity with the European populace. Early supporters of this include Franz Liszt during his days at Weimar. Using the ducal orchestra at his disposal, Liszt played Russian works that as a result became known to the surrounding populace, including the visiting Vincent d'Indy. Berlioz visited Russia in 1847, and returned to Paris with twenty-seven scores including Glinka's *Sadko* and Rimsky's *Maid of Pskov*, *Oprichnik* by Tchaikovsky, Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov*, and other music by Cui and Serov.

There was also a series of expositions held in Paris during the years 1855, 1867, 1878, 1889, 1893 and 1900, which became arenas for the presentation of new music from other countries. Russians visiting Paris for the Universal Exposition of 1889 added approximately one hundred scores to the conservatoire in Paris, and another fifty scores were added after the Exposition of 1893.²⁶ During the 1878 Exposition, Anton Rubenstein, the director of the St. Petersburg Conservatory at the time, conducted a series of four concerts that included pieces by Glinka, Tchaikovsky, Dargomizhsky, Serov, and Mussorgsky. As a supplement to the concert, Cui wrote a series of explanatory articles about the music presented that was published in the *Revue et Gazette Musicale* between May 12, 1878 and October 5, 1880.²⁷ In 1880, Louis Bourgault-Ducoudray, a teacher at the Paris Conservatoire first introduced his students to the music of Rimsky-Korsakov as part of a class. This led to an entire course on Russian music in 1903. Just one-year prior in 1902, the French minister of Public Instruction and Fine Arts sent an emissary to Russia to conduct a study of theatres, concerts, schools and church music in Russia, which was afterwards published in the *Revue de Paris*. It included

²⁶ References to the scores collected by the Conservatoire in Paris are compiled from Elaine Brody's *Musical Kaleidoscope: Russians in Paris 1889-1914* (New York: George Braziller, 1987).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 117.

interesting analyses of several Russian compositions starting with those of Glinka.²⁸ In general, Russia and France seem to have enjoyed an intimate relationship during this time as the flow of Russian music into France was reciprocated with reports from Kiev that suggested that French music was acquiring a larger audience every day.

In this environment of Franco-Russian cordiality it would seem natural that Diaghilev should take up his vision of ushering Russian talent into Europe through Paris. Following his Symbolist exhibitions, Diaghilev was determined to show the rest of Europe the treasures of Russian art and music. He went to Paris in 1904, approximately ten years after his initial visit. Once there, he began making plans for an exhibition of the modern Russian painting and sculpture of such artists as Anisfeld, Bakst, Benois, Roerich, Serov, Korovin, and Larionov, to take place at the *Paris Salon d'Automne* in 1906.²⁹ The success of the exhibition led to subsequent showings in Berlin and Venice.

The excitement that was generated in Paris over the display of Russian talent prompted Diaghilev to begin making plans for Paris's first fully Russian concert, which would employ exclusively Russian singers, composers, musicians and conductors. Diaghilev planned four concerts, one of which would showcase Fedor Chaliapin, considered the paragon of living Russian singers, for the first time in Paris, and the renowned Russian soprano Felia Litvinne.

Gabriel Astruc was Diaghilev's agent and mediator for the *Opéra du Paris* where Diaghilev intended to stage his concerts. In March 1907, when Diaghilev was back in St. Petersburg for a short time, he sent a letter to Astruc stating that the concerts would

²⁸ Ibid., 107.

²⁹ Richard Buckle. *Diaghilev* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson Ltd., 1979), 90.

definitely take place.³⁰ Diaghilev secured financial support from the Russian amateur musician Gilse van der Pals.³¹ To assist him with arranging some of the music for the concerts, Diaghilev contacted Rimsky-Korsakov. In their initial conversation, which took place in April of 1907, Diaghilev informed Rimsky that he was planning to stage his *Sadko* and Mussorgsky's *Boris Godunov* as part of his Paris concerts. He suggested that several cuts be made since he felt the operas were too long for a French audience. Diaghilev proposed to cut the third scene of *Sadko* to leave the character Lubava in Russia and eliminate the remainder of her role from the last scene. Rimsky, however, would only allow the cuts that were sanctioned for the Maryinsky Theatre production and would not allow any changes to the final scene, or the elimination of Lubava. As a result, it became too laborious an undertaking, and Diaghilev abandoned the notion of staging *Sadko*, and *Boris Godunov* in their complete form. Nevertheless, he did manage to incorporate Pimen's cell scene from *Boris Godunov* into one of his concerts.

Diaghilev needed to stay on good terms with Rimsky. He was eager to accommodate him since he hoped to convince Rimsky to go to Paris to conduct a few of his concerts. Since Rimsky was already known to Parisian audiences, Diaghilev hoped he would draw a full audience out to the concerts. According to Buckle, Rimsky disliked the French public and so it took a significant effort on Diaghilev's part to persuade Rimsky.

Diaghilev rallied Russian talent around him and his four concerts evolved into five. These concerts took place between May 19, 1907, and May 30, 1907, to sold-out audiences.

³⁰ Ibid., 92.

³¹ Ibid., 96.

Some of the featured music included Act I from Borodin's *Prince Igor* (with Chaliapin and Litvinne singing), Act V of Mussorgsky's *Khovanshchina*, and Scriabin's Second Symphony.³²

Following the overwhelming success of the performances, Diaghilev remained in Paris with the intention of staging another series of concerts the following year. Slowly, this event was evolving in Diaghilev's mind into a fixed yearly concert season. The next set of concerts took place in May of 1909 and was dominated by ballet numbers instead of operas, and so Diaghilev's company was born with the name *Ballets Russes*.

All of the aesthetic likes and dislikes of the *World of Art* group filtered through Diaghilev and into the *Ballets Russes* productions. For example, Diaghilev's dislike of large, cluttered exhibitions corresponded with his dislike of traditional, grand ballets, which he saw as "ponderous and tasteless, and lacking unity."³³ The majority of *Ballets Russes* productions tended to be one-act ballets³⁴ in contrast to classical ballets, which in Diaghilev's view consisted of nothing more than "tricks, window-dressing, posing, false paints, and glitter."³⁵ Diaghilev's desire to display not only artworks, but all forms of art in the proper environment, prompted him to overhaul the *Théâtre du Châtelet* in order to make it an appropriate venue for the *Ballets Russes'* first season in Paris.³⁶

Symbolism also played a role in Diaghilev's productions, the most obvious influence being the members of the *World of Art* group who were often asked to participate as stage

³² For full list of concert contents, please see Appendix A.

³³ Elena Bridgman. Op. Cit., 33.

³⁴ Out of the 87 Ballets Russes productions, 55 were created as single act/scene ballets and operas.

³⁵ Elena Bridgman quotes this in her article "Mir iskusstva": Origins of the Ballets Russes." *The Art of Enchantment: Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, 1909 – 1929* (New York: Universe Books, 1988), from Diaghilev's *Exhibitions*, 104 and *Art Criticism*, 146.

³⁶ Elena Bridgman. Op. Cit., 33.

and costume designers. Bakst and Benois were commissioned almost exclusively by Diaghilev for the costume and set designs of his productions until 1914. Benois's involvement was so extensive that he collaborated with Stravinsky on the libretto for *Petrouchka* (1911). Bakst wrote the librettos for *Narcisse* (1911) and *Thamar* (1912) in addition to creating their costume and set designs.

The most prominent Symbolist influence on Diaghilev's artistic vision was the idea of the total work of art, or the *Gesamtkunstwerk* as articulated by Richard Wagner. Like the Symbolists, the *World of Art* group "worshipped Wagner, not only for his genius as a composer but also for his concept of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, namely, a theatrical performance in which all the constituent parts – music, singing, scenery – were integrated into a perfect unity."³⁷ According to Bridgman, the "symbolist theory of *correspondances*, which maintained that musical tones found analogues in colours, while colours and colour combinations, like music, were capable of inducing psychological states was closely aligned with Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk*."³⁸ As Bridgman asserts, "Diaghilev's early ballets were symbolist experimentations, in which the constituent part – movements, costumes, décor, and music – worked *en ensemble* to induce specific emotional states."³⁹ All of Diaghilev's early ballets were attempts at creating a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, combining art, dance, drama, and music, to create a unified psychological state and emotional effect, as we will see with *Le Coq d'Or* and *Renard*.

Diaghilev's preoccupation with theatrical productions began to manifest itself in the final years of *Mir iskusstva's* publication, as he devoted greater amounts of space to theatrical reviews, many of which were of Wagner's operas. The *World of Art* group diligently followed

³⁷ Ibid., 34.

³⁸ Ibid., 34.

³⁹ Ibid., 39.

and reviewed performances of Wagner's operas in both Europe and Russia. Almost all reviews of the Maryinsky Theatre's productions of Wagner's operas were negative. Although there is little mention of how these productions may have been improved, Benois suggests in a later review of a performance of Wagner's *Die Walküre* that Wagner should never be staged literally, but that the effects should be stylized, for example rendered in a poetic code.⁴⁰

Many of the last issues of *Mir iskusstva* also discuss aspects of ballet in Russia. The *World of Art* group began to see Russian ballet as a stagnant art form. Specifically, they criticized the Maryinsky Theatre productions, complaining of their poor ballet scores and unimaginative choreography. In general, the *World of Art* group believed the Maryinsky ballets to be the antithesis of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*.⁴¹ In several reviews found in *The Magic Mirror*, Benois asserts that there is an absence of a unified idea in the Maryinsky Theatre ballets.⁴² Benois believed that a *Gesamtkunstwerk* could be achieved through ballet:

The ballet is one of the most consistent and complete expressions of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, the idea for which our circle was ready to give its soul... Everything followed from the common desire of several painters and musicians to see the fulfillment of the theatrical dream which haunted them...⁴³

For Benois the *Gesamtkunstwerk* was the ultimate achievement, the “theatrical dream” to which the *World of Art* group was committed, and it could be achieved through the use of ballet. Ironically, Wagner himself was not a proponent of ballet, which he did not consider to be serious theatre, and consequently did not think it proper material for a

⁴⁰ Alexandre Benois. “A Performance of *Die Valküre*” in “Art Chronicles,” *Mir iskusstva* 4 (1900), 240.

⁴¹ Elena Bridgman. Op. Cit., 34.

⁴² George Jean Nathan. *The Magic Mirror: Selected Writings on the Theatre* (New York: Knopf, 1960), 2 – 4.

⁴³ Alexandre Benois. Mary Britnieva, trans. *Reminiscences of the Russian Ballet* (London: Putnam, 1941), 370 – 371.

Gesamtkunstwerk.⁴⁴ In spite of this, the *World of Art* group's preoccupation with ballet and the *Gesamtkunstwerk* as exemplified through ballet, is found in many of Diaghilev's productions. Diaghilev adopted the concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* as his own. In the *Ballets Russes* productions this concept manifests itself as an entirely unique creation, which first emerged through the intellectual debates found among the pages of *Mir iskusstva*, and is perhaps independent of anything Wagner might have imagined.

⁴⁴ Elena Bridgman. Op. Cit., 34.

Chapter 2 – Diaghilev’s Total Work of Art

The concept of a fully integrated work of art is not a new one. Among those who previously discussed the unification of the arts, either in theory or in practice, are Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781), Novalis (1772-1801), Johann Ludwig Tieck (1773-1854), Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling (1775-1854), Ezra Pound (1885-1972), and Richard Wagner (1813-1883).¹

Within the body of literature that discusses the integration of the arts, one of the most recent and comprehensive studies is Daniel Albright’s *Untwisting the Serpent: Modernism in Music, Literature, and Other Arts* (2000). Albright provides a historical examination of various attempts at reconciling the component arts into one coherent form. Albright discusses this process in terms of dissonance and consonance, arguing that when music is dissonant in nature, the relationship between music and painting or poetry become consonant, and vice versa.² Albright cites Horace and Lessing as being the founding figures of the arguments for and against the combined arts. Horace argued in favour of the combined arts in *Ars Poetica* while Lessing argued against the cross-pollination of the arts in *Laokoon* (1766), advocating that the visual arts and the verbal arts were governed by different rules with painting, sculpture, and architecture being spatially governed, while poetry and music are temporally governed.³ If we assume this division to be true, it would be unlikely that painting and poetry could be combined, since the cross-pollination of the spatial and temporal spheres would be difficult, if not impossible. Lessing did however categorize specific devices which work to

¹ Barry Millington. Op. Cit., 42.

² Daniel Albright. *Untwisting the Serpent: Modernism in Music, Literature, and Other Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 29.

³ Ibid., 9.

combine heterogeneous art forms. Lessing referred to one such device as the *gestus*, a physical movement that is said to take on the meaning of speech.⁴ Ezra Pound also discussed such devices, coining the term *ideogram*, which he defined as a picture that can take on the responsibility of writing.⁵

Albright names Irving Babbitt (1865 – 1933) as the successor to Lessing with his publication in 1910 of *The New Laokoon*, in which he provides further arguments against the unification of the arts. Contrarily, the art historian Clement Greenberg wrote *Towards a New Laocoon* (1940) in which he resists the idea of the division of the various art forms from one another.⁶ In this way, Albright traces the history of arguments for and against the combined arts, and brings forth examples of works which either succeed or fail in this endeavour.

Richard Wagner advocated for the integration of the arts. His theory of how this may be accomplished first appeared in his *Artwork of the Future* (1849), and later again in *Opera and Drama* (1851). In *Artwork of the Future*, Wagner begins a lengthy and exhaustive argument for the collective arts. The three main components that Wagner mentions as constituting the collective are Dance, Tone, and Poetry.

For the purpose of this argument, the terms Dance, Tone, and Poetry will be used in accordance with Ellis's English translation of Wagner's prose. However, these three components are poorly translated into English, since there is really no English equivalent for what Wagner is trying to articulate. By *Dance* Wagner is more closely referring to gesture and movement. By *Tone* he implies any sound, whether organized or not. Wagner refers

⁴ Ibid., 6.

⁵ Ibid., 6.

⁶ Ibid., 10.

specifically to *Music* as something that is composed, and therefore organized, whereas *Tone* includes music, but also may include non-organized sound.

Speaking of *Dance*, Wagner says the following:

The most realistic of all arts is that of Dance...It therefore includes within itself the conditions for the enunciation of all remaining arts: the singing and speaking man must necessarily be a bodily man; through his outer form, through the posture of his limbs, the inner, singing and speaking man comes forth to view. The arts of Tone and Poetry become first understandable in that of Dance, the Mimetic art, by the entire art-receptive man, i.e. by him who not only hears but sees.⁷

By referring to Dance as the most essential element within the total work of art, Wagner implies that a *Gesamtkunstwerk* can only be achieved through something that contains gesture, and is therefore visual: "Without addressing the eye, all art remains unsatisfying, and thus itself unsatisfied, unfree."⁸ According to Wagner, it was through visual means that the integrated artwork could be achieved. There can be no doubt that to Wagner the genre of the opera, which included visual, poetic, and musical components, was a proper vehicle for achieving the total artwork:

The *opera*, as the seeming point of reunion of all the three related arts, has become the meeting-place of these sisters' most self-seeking efforts...Thus Opera becomes the mutual compact of the egoism of the three related arts.⁹

For Wagner, traditional opera does not in itself constitute a total artwork, but it is the vehicle through which a total work of art can be achieved. Moreover, the integration of *Dance*, *Tone*, and *Poetry*, according to Wagner, must be attained by each individual performer. As Wagner

⁷ Richard Wagner. William Ashton Ellis, trans. *The Art-Work of the Future and Other Works*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1993, 31.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁹ Edward Burlingame, ed. *Art, Life and Theories of Richard Wagner* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1875), 56.

puts forth in the previous quote, singing, speaking, and gesturing is contained within one individual. As one person performs using all three components, so must another be hearing as well as seeing in order to perceive the total artwork.¹⁰ This becomes a crucial point in our discussion of Diaghilev's application of Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk* theory.

A further component of Wagner's theory is the argument for a fellowship of artists. Wagner believed that the total artwork could only be achieved through a collaboration of artists:

The artwork of the future is an associate work, and only an associate demand can call it forth. This demand, which we have hitherto merely treated theoretically, is a necessary *fellowship of every artist*, and the union of every artist, according of the exigencies of time and place, and for *one definite aim*, is that which forms this fellowship.¹¹

Wagner insisted that the collective union of artists was the most effective way to bring about a united dramatic form. Each artist is required to contribute his/her art form to the whole.

Wagner's theory of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* has not been given adequate scholarly credit according to Daniel Albright:

Recent critics have been wary of speaking of vertical phenomena in the comparative arts, and for good reason. We don't want to appeal to pop-Wagnerian mystical fusions of the arts; we want to be exact and lucid. But I believe that it is possible to be rigorous in the treatment of the hypothetical entities that exist in fringe regions of the aesthetic experience, where time touches space, and music acquires semantic weight.¹²

What is striking about Albright's comment is the general disregard for Wagner's theory of unification, which may come from the lack of success Wagner had in executing his many theories of music, and degree to which his theories changed.

¹⁰ Ibid., 31.

¹¹ Ibid., 81.

¹² Daniel Albright. Op. Cit., 5 – 6.

Although Wagner endeavoured to create a *Gesamtkunstwerk* and advanced its ideals, there is little evidence to suggest that he was successful in integrating the visual, dramatic, and musical elements, despite the construction of his own theatre at Bayreuth, which gave him full license and total control over all aspects of his operatic works. Wagner admitted that his theory was grounded purely in the abstract. Approximately ten years after writing his theory of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* he wrote:

... it would have seemed impossible to me to again wander through the labyrinth of theoretical speculation in purely abstract fashion: and I can recognize, from the dislike that now keeps me from even reading over again my theoretical writings, the fact that at the time I wrote those works, I was in a thoroughly abnormal state, such as may be experienced once in the life of an artist, but cannot well be repeated...I can then hope, proceeding from the description of a subjective mood, to place before you the concrete contents of artistic theories which it would now be impossible for me to repeat in a purely abstract form – while this latter would also be a hindrance to the object of communication.¹³

In this letter, Wagner has difficulty referring back to his theoretical writings. Wagner describes his “abnormal” state of mind as being a point in his artistic development where his artistic immobilization required him to formulate a theory of how to progress to a new level of stage production.

Despite a lack of critical success, Wagner took concrete steps toward the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. He began by using artists to paint backdrops for his operas. Unfortunately, Wagner’s connections to the artistic world as well as his finances were limited, and he did not have Diaghilev’s flair for persuasion and rhetoric in attracting a multitude of artists for his productions. In the years following his death however, when Wagnerism began to reach the rest of Europe, using visual artists as set and costume designers became an accepted

¹³ Edward Burlingame. Op. Cit., 132 – 133.

practice, particularly in Russia where artistic excellence as part of stage production became an expectation on the part of the audience.

Wagner also believed that operas, particularly his own, are not static forms immobilized in a time and place, but are adaptable and organic and thus should be integrated into the time-period in which the opera is being performed. This amendable approach to stage design became Diaghilev's trademark. Although there is little evidence to prove that Diaghilev's staging of modernist productions was directly based on Wagner's theory, it is significant that Diaghilev should chose to produce operas and ballets set in his present time, while the rest of Russia and Europe came to a standstill in the nineteenth century in terms of set-design.

Diaghilev's possession of Wagner's writings was highly unusual in Russia. Rosamund Bartlett's study of Wagner's influence in Russia identifies Diaghilev's publication of excerpts from Lichtenberger's study as the first time that an article about Wagner, as part of a particular artistic credo, appeared in Russia in a non-musical journal.¹⁴

Diaghilev was well-travelled and spent considerable time outside Russia. Thus, it is not surprising that he should have acquired a copy of Wagner's writings. Diaghilev brought Wagner's writings back to Russia and made them an integral part to the "*World of Art*" group's manifesto. Furthermore, since Diaghilev used this manifesto as the primary basis for his approach to the *Ballets Russes* productions, it is likely that Diaghilev was attempting to put Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk* theory into practice.

Veneration of Wagner had gripped the entire *World of Art* group. As Diaghilev wrote in 1899:

¹⁴ Rosamund Bartlett. *Wagner and Russia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 67.

I say and I repeat that we were nurtured on Giotto, Shakespeare and Bach. These are the greatest g-ds of our artistic mythology. But it is true that we have not feared to place beside them Puvis, Dostoevsky and Wagner.¹⁵

Wagner's initiation into the canon of artists to be worshipped, was confirmed when Diaghilev published excerpts in translation from H. Lichtenberger's book *Richard Wagner: Poète et Penseur* in the 7/8 issue of *Mir Iskusstva* (1898). As Bowlt asserts:

The primary reason why Diaghilev, Benois and their colleagues shared a passion for Wagner was because, for them, he had been the first artist in modern times to attempt to integrate the disparate art forms – into that grand *Gesamtkunstwerk* of which they all dreamed.¹⁶

The *World of Art* group's avid promotion of Wagner's theories of art was largely responsible for starting Russian Wagnerism, which eventually led to the acceptance of Wagner's operas into the canon of operas performed in theatres across Russia at the beginning of the twentieth-century. It was no coincidence that Benois' professional debut as a stage designer was for the Maryinsky première of Wagner's *Götterdämmerung* in 1903. Diaghilev also promoted Wagner to the artists he commissioned.

Several artists who were commissioned by Diaghilev went on to write memoirs that document Diaghilev's creative process, as it was understood by those involved. One such person, who spoke of Diaghilev's *Gesamtkunstwerk* at some length, was Constant Lambert (1905-1951). A minor composer of the time, Lambert studied the scores of Stravinsky, and Liszt. His compositional style was largely influenced by both neo-classicism and romanticism. During the 1920s, Lambert led a bohemian lifestyle in Paris, in the company of Charles Ricketts, C.H. Shannon and the collector Edmund Davis, and it was in that

¹⁵ Bowlt sites this from Sergei Diaghilev. "Osnovy khudozhestvennoi otsenki", op. cit., 57. John Bowlt. *The Silver Age: Russian Art of the Early Twentieth Century and the "World of Art" Group*. (Newtonville: Oriental Research Partners, 1982), 192.

¹⁶ Ibid., 192.

company that he was introduced to Diaghilev. Shortly after their initial introduction, Diaghilev commissioned Lambert for the ballet *Romeo & Juliet*, after Shakespeare's play. It was first performed in Monte Carlo, May 4, 1926, with subsequent performances in Paris and London. During the preparations for the production, Diaghilev began making changes to the choreography, and replaced Christopher Wood's stage designs with those of surrealists Max Ernst and Joan Miro. As a result, Lambert threatened to withdraw his composition, but was forcibly prevented from doing so.¹⁷ Throughout the process of this production, Lambert worked closely with Diaghilev. In his canonical modernist work, *Music Ho!* (1935), Lambert writes of Diaghilev:

By realizing that his [Diaghilev's] earlier preoccupation with a sense of style and congruity was in essence Wagnerian he was able to incite with a revolutionary glamour the scrapbook mentality which in his later years he exploited with so marked a success.¹⁸

Lambert indicates that Diaghilev was aware of his own propensity for using Wagner's aesthetic. Diaghilev's use of Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk* resulted in a melting pot of individual elements, which often involved any combination of dance, mime, acrobatics, poetry, music, and art: what Lambert referred to as the 'scrapbook mentality.' This fusion ultimately marked the *Ballets Russes* as a company of innovation.

Lambert also proposes that Diaghilev was the first to achieve a successful *Gesamtkunstwerk*:

Congruity between the various elements in a stage presentation is an essentially Wagnerian ideal, though as an ideal it lasted well into a period which, from the musical point of view, was anti-

¹⁷ Barry Millington: "Gesamtkunstwerk", *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 11, April, 2004), <http://www.grovemusic.com>

¹⁸ Constant Lambert. *Music Ho! A Study of Music in Decline*. (London: Hogarth Press, 1985), 76.

Wagnerian...Wagner's ideal of stage setting did not in fact reach full fruition until the early days of the Diaghilev ballet.¹⁹

Lambert refers to the music of the early twentieth-century, as being anti-Wagnerian in that the fine balance that Wagner wished to achieve between music and drama – for Wagner this constituted the integration of textual meanings into the music – became a passing concern. In accordance with the historian Barrington, who asserts that Wagner's theory is feasible only in the abstract, Lambert believed the *Gesamtkunstwerk* was achievable, but did not feel that Wagner had succeeded with his opera dramas. He identifies Diaghilev's early productions as being the first occasions on which the component arts were unified in a twentieth-century understanding using substantive elements such as choreography and artistic design, as opposed to the abstract musical elements of Wagner's prose.

Many other authorities have made mention of Wagner's influence on Diaghilev. For example, Schoulavoff states that:

In 1850-1 Richard Wagner had stated in *The Work of Art of the Future*: 'The supreme work of art is the drama. Given that it can be perfect, it can, however, only exist when all the arts contained in it reach the highest perfection.' This is the idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* or synthesis of all the arts. Wagner had invented the music drama, but with Diaghilev, surprisingly, it was through ballet that he achieved his *Gesamtkunstwerk*.²⁰

According to Schoulavoff, Benois first introduced Diaghilev to ballet when he took him to a performance of his *Pavillon d'Armide* at the Maryinsky Theatre in 1907.²¹ Although Diaghilev was more predisposed to opera, as his first Paris performances of 1907 attest, he saw a

¹⁹ Constant Lambert, 76.

²⁰ Alexander Schoulavoff. "Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes*: The First Phase" *Diaghilev, Creator of the Ballets Russes: Art, Music, Dance*, Ann Kodicek, ed. (Barbican Art Gallery: London, 1996), 87.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 87.

greater potential in ballet for achieving a complete work of art.²² In one of his letters dated 1928 he writes as follows:

From opera to ballet is but a step. At that time, there were more than 400 ballet dancers on the roster of the Imperial Theatres. They all had a remarkably good training, and they danced the traditional classical ballets.... I could not help observing, however, that among the younger members of the St. Petersburg ballet, a sort of reaction to the classical tradition, which Petipa so jealously preserved, was beginning to make itself felt. From that moment, I began wondering whether it would be possible to create a number of short new ballets, which besides being of artistic value, would link the three main factors, music, decorative design, and choreography far more closely than ever before.²³

Diaghilev initially incorporated ballet into a total work of art as a reaction to the conventions of classical ballet. Short ballets which moved away from the classical Russian ballet tradition of grand three-act ballets, were more adaptable to his Symbolist manifesto.

Although historically dancing has been incorporated into stage productions, the specific division of labour that Diaghilev instituted by ascribing both a dancer and a singer to each character, has rarely been seen. In his 1982 dissertation, Stephen Weinstock described this unique way of assembling the component arts as the “singer-in-the-pit” model. The singer-in-the-pit concept in its most common form involved dancing that mirrored the action of the libretto on stage, while the singing took place off stage, either in the orchestra pit, making the voice a part of the orchestra. In the case of *Le Coq d'Or*, singers were placed to the side of the stage. Diaghilev used the “singer-in-the-pit” staging at least seven times in productions that often met with great success, perhaps for this very reason. The first time Diaghilev applied the singer-in-the-pit staging in a full-length production was for *Le Coq*

²² Ibid., 87.

²³ Serge Lifar. *Serge Diaghilev: His Life, His Work, His Legend* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), 176 – 7.

d'Or. Other productions that use this technique identified by Weinstock include *Polovtsian Dances from Prince Igor*, in which a dance piece was extracted from the original opera to which singing was added; two Ravel ballet-operas, *Daphne and Chloe* and *Narcisse*, in which the voices were part of the instrumentation; *The Nightingale*, in which the role of the nightingale was doubled by a singer; *Renard*, in which the characters on stage are doubled by voices in the orchestra; and *Persephone*.²⁴

Weinstock cites only two historical examples prior to Diaghilev's ballets which used a similar technique. The first are the pantomimes of ancient Rome. In the third century B.C.E., the Roman actor Livius Andronicus,

...being compelled by the audience frequently to repeat the same part, and thus becoming hoarse, asked permission for a boy to sing to the flute, whilst he acted what was sung, which he did with the greater animation, as he was not hindered by using his voice.²⁵

The other precedent Weinstock discovers is the *L'Amfiparnaso* (1594), the "commedia harmonica" of Orazio Vecchi:²⁶

This madrigal comedy, the genre which was obscured by the birth of opera in the following years, was a setting of commedia dell'arte script for a five-part madrigal chorus. The characters' lines weave in and cut off the choral texture as in Stravinsky's *Les Noces*.²⁷

In 1926, Alfredo Casella also points to the *L'Amfiparnaso* as being the influence for Stravinsky's use of singer-in-the-pit idea. The scholarship of Cecil Adkins, in opposition to

²⁴ Stephen Jay Weinstock. *Independence Verses Interdependence In Stravinsky's Theatrical Collaborations: The Evolution of the Original Production of "The Wedding"* (Berkeley: University of California, PhD. Dissertation, 1982), 56 – 60.

²⁵ This quote taken from Livy's *History of Rome* (VIII, 2), appeared in the *London Observer*, as part of a debate regarding the originality of Diaghilev's singer-in-the-pit concept. This quote then reappears in Nesta MacDonald. *Diaghilev Observed* (New York: Dance Horizons, 1975), 116 –117.

²⁶ Stephen Jay Weinstock. Op. Cit., 54 – 55.

²⁷ Ibid., 54 – 55.

Casella and Weinstock suggests that *L'Amfiparnaso* never reached the stage: no example of its staging would have been available for Stravinsky's research into his own work.²⁸

Besides looking to Wagner as the originator of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*, even if only in theory, there was a general movement toward the integration of the arts during Diaghilev's time. As Barrington asserts,

Wagner's concept was concordant with the prevailing radical philosophical outlook of the 1840s: the reuniting of constituent parts in the *Gesamtkunstwerk* mirrored the socialist aim of restoring integrity to a fragmented, divided society. This utopian element, taken with the practical constraints of producing operas, perhaps explains why the theoretical model was not realized in detail in Wagner's music dramas.²⁹

It is likely that Diaghilev viewed Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk* as a novel concept of reuniting all constituent parts of theatre production, and as a means of uniting the various constituents of artistic society.

The dream of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* and Diaghilev's quest for a union of the arts was not easily attainable. Perhaps John Deathridge and Carl Dahlhaus put it best:

If producers take the concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* seriously – if, that is, they do not to some degree ignore the postulate that the musical, the verbal and the scenic elements must constantly be intermingled – they are confronted with almost insoluble problems arising from the fact that Wagner's visual, scenic conceptions often lagged far behind the modernity of his musical ideas (while nevertheless leaving their traces in the music), and that dramatic ground plans of genius were often filled in with unspeakable verbal details (which Wagner nevertheless 'composed out').³⁰

²⁸ This information is taken from several sources listed as follows: Stephen Jay Weinstock. Op. Cit., 55; Alfredo Casella, "Stravinsky's *Noces Villageoises*" *Arts*, February 1926, 74; Cecil Adkins, *L'Amfiparnaso* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 9.

²⁹ Barry Millington: "Gesamtkunstwerk", *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 11, April, 2004), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

³⁰ John Deathridge and Carl Dahlhaus. *The New Grove Wagner* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), 73 – 74.

It is a simple matter to discuss in theoretical terms how the disparate arts – painting, dance, music, drama, which move toward different goals and technical achievements at different times in history – might be integrated. As John Deathridge and Carl Dahlhaus also point out,

The inherent weakness of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* is the need for ‘simultaneity of the unsimultaneous’ (the concept is a precarious one, weakened by the disproportions between the ‘component arts’).³¹

For Benois and Diaghilev, choreography became one of the feasible ways of integrating a variety of components into one unified stage production. As Benois states in his *Footnotes to the Ballet*,

Ballet is a particular and separate form of theatre spectacle in which all the varied elements must blend into a whole to constitute what Wagner called a *Gesamtkunstwerk*.³²

The fact that both Benois and Diaghilev saw ballet as a suitable medium for creating a total work of art shows their fundamental lack of understanding of Wagner’s articulated vision of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Wagner deplored ballet and dance in general and failed to see it as a legitimate art form. Consequently, it never entered into his equation of the total work of art. When Wagner spoke of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*, he was referring to the Greek concept of aligning movement, poetry and music.

Perhaps the strongest point that Diaghilev took from Wagner’s theory of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* was that of the artist collective. It was common during Diaghilev’s lifetime, as it is now, to use a group of artists to create a theatrical work. For instance, the composer is usually not the same person as the librettist, the stage designer is not usually the composer, and so forth. However, there are exceptions to this: Wagner himself, as a means of imposing

³¹ Ibid., 73 – 74.

³² Alexander Benois. *Footnotes to the Ballet*, ed. Doris Caroline, trans. S. F. Simon (London: Peter Davis Ltd., 1936), 178.

control over his art-form, wrote his own librettos. We shall see with *Renard* that Stravinsky did the same and for Diaghilev's production of *Chout* (1921), Larionov was both the choreographer and the set designer. John Bowlt confirms in his research Diaghilev's move towards the direction of collective individuality.³³ He also points out that Benois and Diaghilev admired Wagner for the way in which he combined musical and visual forces to produce an expressive and emotive whole and set himself apart from the light Italian and French operas of his forebears.³⁴

Diaghilev was highly selective of the artists that he chose for his productions, and only those he saw as exceptional in their respective disciplines were invited to participate. The productions *Le Coq d'Or* and *Renard*, which use the singer-in-the-pit concept, and a highly exceptional artistic collective, constitute Diaghilev's unique brand of the total artwork. Through the exploration of these works, Diaghilev's interpretation of Wagner's theory will be explained.

³³ John Bowlt. Op. Cit., 73.

³⁴ Ibid., 77.

Chapter 3 – *Ballets Russes'* Production of *Le Coq d'Or*

Diaghilev's staging of *Le Coq d'Or* opera in 1914 as an opera-ballet is an example of his concept of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Based on Alexander Pushkin's fairytale *Zolotoi Petushok* (1834), Rimsky-Korsakov's last operatic composition is a satire of royalty portraying a lazy, gluttonous King and his kingdom as seen through the eyes of a eunuch Astrologer. The librettist, Vladimir Ivanovich Bel'sky, had collaborated on three earlier operas, *Sadko*, *Tsar Saltan*, and *The Invisible City of Kitezh*.

It is not by chance that Rimsky chose to use Pushkin's political satire, *Zolotoi Petushok*, as his last opera. Rimsky was not fond of the authorities and had been having squabbles with censors over many of his works. In 1905, after the aborted Russian revolution, Rimsky was removed as Director from the Conservatoire in Moscow, accused of having sided with his students in a political demonstration, which had resulted in the temporary closure of the Conservatoire by authorities. This embittered Rimsky: his removal and the closing of the Conservatoire were shocks he never entirely overcame. Rimsky began composing his opera in the following year of 1906, possibly in response to this last encounter with the Russian authorities.

By September 1907, the opera was nearly complete. Sergey Zimin, the impresario of the Solodovnikov Theatre in Moscow, agreed to produce *Zolotoi Petushok*. The work passed censors and was already under production when the Moscow authorities, hearing something of the text of the opera, decided to investigate. After reviewing the libretto, the authorities agreed to permit it, only on the stipulation that forty-five lines of the libretto be eliminated.¹ Rimsky refused, stating, "So the *Cockere!* won't come out in Russia. For I don't intend to

¹ Unfortunately, after extensive research I was unable to discern which forty-five lines of the libretto were to be eliminated or in what way specifically they were found to be offensive.

change anything. Perhaps it will do for Paris.”² In fact, Rimsky and Bel’sky went so far as to prepare a French translation of the libretto, anticipating a possible Paris performance. Later, authorities consented to leaving the opera intact, provided that the ranks of the two leading male characters, King Dodon and the Voevoda Polkan, be reduced.³ Unfortunately, due to these prolonged negotiations with the censors, Rimsky never saw his final opera performed. The first performance of the opera took place at the Solodovnikov Theatre in 1909, one year after Rimsky’s death. In the end, it is unclear if any of the censors’ proposed changes were enforced.

Diaghilev’s production using the French title, *Le Coq d’Or*, was staged in 1914, five years after the opera’s premier in Russia. The setting of Rimsky’s *Zolotoi Petushok* was an ambitious endeavour for Diaghilev, marking the first time this controversial opera would be heard outside of Russia. Michel Fokine had originally wanted to create a ballet using *Zolotoi Petushok* suite arranged by Alexander Glazunov and Maximilian Steinberg for Anna Pavlova’s company. However, Pavlova rejected the idea, stating that “It would be inadvisable to present in Central Europe a work containing ridicule of and satire on royalty.”⁴ When Fokine suggested the same idea to Diaghilev, he decided to set the opera in its entirety instead.

The opera was staged so that the singers sang from risers alongside the stage so as to allow dancers to perform the drama. It is not entirely clear how Diaghilev arrived at this

² Gerald Abraham. *Rimsky-Korsakov: A Short Biography* (London: Duckworth, 1945), 124-25.

³ M. Montagu-Nathan. “The Origin of *Le Coq d’Or*” (*The Music Review*, 15 (1954). Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd.), 35. Voevoda is Russian for the General of the Army.

⁴ Anatole Chujoy. *Fokine: Memoirs of a Ballet Master* (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1982), 476.

arrangement; both Benois and Fokine claim in their respective memoirs to be the originators of the staging.⁵

In order to understand Diaghilev's interpretation of *Le Coq d'Or*, one must also examine the nationalist and political undertones of the opera. Rimsky's adaptation of Pushkin's fairytale was controversial in that both the music and the libretto associate the downfall of the fairytale kingdom with Russia. In the libretto, for instance, Bel'sky describes the setting of King Dodon's hall as follows:

The hall is richly ornamented with Russian carving, gilded and painted, by which it is clearly evident that green, blue, and yellow are the favourite colours of King Dodon's people.⁶

Bel'sky excludes the colour red from his description, the colour most associated with and thought to represent Russia. It appears that Bel'sky's exclusion of red was quite deliberate. At the same time, Bel'sky describes the hall as "richly ornamented with Russian carving." One can only presume that the deliberate exclusion of the colour red is a form of irony on Bel'sky's part. By naming blue and yellow, the other two primary colours, and the secondary colour green, which they produce, the absence of red is quite noticeable when thought of in conjunction with Russian carvings. Consequently, Bel'sky draws more attention to this colour through its absence rather than its presence.

Bel'sky's libretto also emphasizes satirical elements of Pushkin's story. In Bel'sky's version, the character of the Astrologer is set in the high vocal range of *tenore altino*, which

⁵ Charles Buckle concludes that it was in fact Fokine who suggested putting the singers into the orchestra pit. However due to the lack of space, they were then moved to the risers. Taruskin claims that it was Benois who first suggested using dancers for the drama and removing the singers off stage. However when examining primary sources, such as Benois' letters and Fokine's autobiography this remains unclear, as both make the same claim; that is, that both suggested this staging to Diaghilev.

⁶ Taken from Bel'sky's prologue in the libretto. N. Rimsky-Korsakov. *Le Coq d'Or*. New York: Fred Rullman, Inc., 1918, 5.

suggests that a eunuch is telling the story. This figure of the castrated eunuch would have been despised in Russia at the time for its allusions to homosexuality.⁷ The idea that this story could be taking place in Russia, an image fostered by Rimsky's use of Russian folk idioms, and that this Russia-like kingdom could be destroyed by a eunuch, would have been extremely offensive to the Russian public. The only significant difference between Pushkin's tale and Bel'sky's libretto is the role of the Astrologer. Bel'sky reinterprets Pushkin's original story by casting the Astrologer as a eunuch and by doing so makes this satire more blatant, which is meant to deliberately increase the discomfort of a Russian audience.

The opera begins and ends with the Astrologer, who has constructed a fantastical, imaginary kingdom that nevertheless strangely resembles Russia. In the libretto, the last two lines of Pushkin's story, "The tale's not true, but there's a hint in it; a lesson to all of you good people," are sung by the Astrologer at the opening of the opera during the Prologue. The Astrologer tells the audience that the tale is not true, and that he has the power to bring to life people that do not exist. At the end of the opera, as the Astrologer foretold, the Queen of Shemakhan and the Astrologer tell the audience that no other characters were real. The opera concludes with this statement.

With this conclusion, it becomes clear that the Astrologer and the Queen of Shemakhan are linked, a connection further emphasized through Rimsky's music. Rimsky incorporates an excessive amount of modal harmony and sequential chromaticism in his music, particularly for the Queen of Shemakhan's leitmotif, which takes on the quality of an "eastern melody." (Example 1)

⁷ Under the rule of Peter the Great, homosexuality was criminalized. This was abolished for a time but reinstated again during Stalin's rein in the 1930s. For a social history of homosexuality in Russia please see Dan Healey's *Homosexual Desire in Revolutionary Russia: The regulation of Sexual and Gender Dissent*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Example 1 – Queen of Shemakhan, Leitmotif
First heard in measure 7 played by the cello.



The Queen’s leitmotif is first heard throughout the Prologue, during which the Astrologer is the only character present on stage. This creates an immediate connection between the Queen and the Astrologer. The Queen is, in fact, the instrument the Astrologer uses to bring about the downfall of the kingdom with her seduction of the elderly King Dodon during Act II. This is re-emphasized by Rimsky’s placement of the Queen’s leitmotif again at the end of the opera when the Astrologer reappears, linking the two characters together.

The Astrologer’s leitmotif, played by xylophone and harp, also uses modal harmonies and, portrays a similar mystical quality of the “other” as heard in the “eastern melody” of the Queen’s theme. (Example 2)

Example 2 – Astrologer, Leitmotif
celeste, m. 38



The *tenore altino* range of the Astrologer adds to the fantastical quality in the music of these two characters. Rimsky’s portrayal of both the Queen of Shemakhan and the Astrologer is more extravagant and unrealistic than the other characters of the opera, separating them from King Dodon’s world.

Rimsky connects King Dodon's kingdom to Russia by incorporating Russian folk idioms into the music, one of which becomes the basis for King Dodon's love song to Queen Shemakhan in Act II (Example 3). The original folk tune on which the King's love song is based comes from a children's song that would have been easily identifiable by all Russians, being, as Richard Taruskin comments, "the equivalent to America's *Pat-a-cake*."⁸ The text of original folk song describes a drunken man who falls down after having too many glasses of vodka:

Example 3 – Chizhik, *chizhik, gde ti bil?* (*Chaffinch, Chaffinch where have you been?*)
Sung by King Dodon, (bass) Act II

The musical score consists of two staves of music in a single system. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody is simple and repetitive. Below the staff are two lines of lyrics: the top line in Russian and the bottom line in English. The second staff is identical to the first. Below it are two more lines of lyrics in Russian and English. The lyrics describe a chaffinch asking where the singer has been, and the singer replying that he has drunk vodka.

Chizh - ik,	Chizh - ik,	gde ti bil?	Na Fon - tan - ke	Vod - ku pil
Chaf - finch,	Chaf - finch,	where've you been?	On Fon - tan - ka	drnk - ing Vodka
Vi - pil - ryum ku	vi - pil - dva,	za - kru - zhl - as	go - lo - va.	
Drank one glass full	then drank two,	then his head be -	gan to spin.	

In the opera, King Dodon sings this folk melody to the words, "Awakening each day, you would try not to forget how to love. But how could you forget, if you were reminded constantly?"⁹ This melody, being of a childish nature, portrays the King as unsophisticated and infantile. Rimsky-Korsakov saw this tune as the climax of the satirical element in his opera, broadly hinting at a commentary on the degree of culture attained by Royalty, which

⁸ Richard Taruskin. "Le Coq d'Or." *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1982), 476.

⁹ N. Rimsky-Korsakov. *Le Coq d'Or* (New York: Fred Rullman, inc., 1918), 21.

often in Rimsky's mind did not stray far from that of the average Russian peasant.¹⁰ The Queen persuades Dodon to dance for her, an activity that was not performed by Russian royalty, especially in public.

The dancing Rimsky prescribed in Act II could have contributed to Diaghilev's impulse to staging this opera as an opera-ballet. Rimsky specified in his notes to the opera that Queen Shemakhan and King Dodon, during Act II, should be dancing while singing, though not to an extent that it would inhibit their breathing. Diaghilev could have used Rimsky's specifications as a point of departure for his production. By using dancers to perform the action of the opera, Diaghilev fulfilled Rimsky's call for dancing during Act II, without having to concern himself with either the singers' dance technique or acting ability.

As Serge Grigoriev writes, Diaghilev thought poorly of singers' acting ability:

Diaghilev and his friends would often bemoan the inability of opera singers, with the exception of a few such as Chaliapin, to act; Benois had more than once remarked how pleasant it would be if the singers could remain hidden and their parts mimed for them by a cast of actors.¹¹

Diaghilev had to use all of his means of persuasion to convince the singers (including Dodoyevskya, Queen Shemakhan in the original Moscow 1909 production), to give up exclusive monopoly of the stage, and let the dancers act on their behalf.¹² The singers, dressed in dull red costumes, were set on risers at either end of the stage, in view of the audience but blending into the background.

The integration of dance in this way freed both the singers and the dancers to interpret the drama without secondary concerns; the singers were absorbed in singing while

¹⁰ M. Montagu-Nathan. "King Dodon's Love-Song" (*The Monthly Musical Record*, October, 1954), 212.

¹¹ S. L. Grigoriev. *The Diaghilev Ballet: 1909-1929* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1953), 94.

¹² For a complete list of singers and dancers, please refer to Appendix C.

the dancers assumed the responsibility of acting. This was an appropriate interpretation of *Le Coq d'Or*, giving it a justly fantastical and surreal impression, evoking the far-away realm imagined in Pushkin's tale.

The success of the integration of movement into the production was left to the appointed choreographer Michel Fokine, who as the principal choreographer for Diaghilev's company from its inception in 1909 until 1912.¹³ When Diaghilev first conceived of starting a Russian ballet company in Paris, bringing Fokine to Paris seemed a natural part of his plan. Fokine was considered a master soloist dancing cavalier roles by the time Diaghilev had seen Fokine dance for the Maryinsky Theatre in St. Petersburg. According to Buckle, as early as 1906 Diaghilev had contemplated bringing the Imperial Ballet to Paris.¹⁴ However, it was not until the summer of 1908 that Fokine received a letter in from Benois confirming that there was a plan in place for Fokine to present a few of his ballets in Paris.¹⁵ Benois had previously collaborated with Fokine in staging a ballet at the Imperial Ballet Theatre; he was the obvious connection between Diaghilev and Fokine.

In addition to Fokine's ability as a dancer, he was a natural addition to Diaghilev's endeavour because of his desire to innovate standard ballet practice. Fokine received his classical ballet training at the Imperial Theatre School where he excelled in his classes. Immediately upon graduation he entered the Maryinsky Theatre Company as a soloist.

¹³ Between 1909 and 1912, Fokine choreographed almost all of Diaghilev's productions with the exception of *Le Festin* (1909), *Giselle* (1910), *Le Lac Des Cygnes* (1911), and *L'Après-midi d'un Faune* (1912).

¹⁴ Richard Buckle. Op. Cit., 119.

¹⁵ Anatole Chujoy. Op. Cit., 138.

Despite his success, however, Fokine found the company's artistic atmosphere stifling.¹⁶ A modernist at heart, he was unhappy with the established ballet conventions that seemed to lack dramatic logic and expressiveness, and which had remained stagnant for decades. Fokine first began contemplating a new kind of ballet in 1904, after a visit to St. Petersburg by the American dancer Isadora Duncan. Her performance had a profound effect on his outlook on dance. Isadora Duncan was famous for her fluid, natural movements, free-flowing costumes, bare feet, and loose hair. Many years later Fokine documented his initial reaction to Duncan in his memoirs:

She reminded us of the beauty of simple movements...she proved that plain, natural movements, a simple step, run, turn, small jump are far better than all the richness of ballet technique, if to this technique must be sacrificed grace, expressiveness and beauty.¹⁷

After 1904, Fokine began to choreograph ballets with the intention of integrating expression and drama into the movements. He reintroduced the use of the arms into ballet technique, which had long been forgotten, and disregarded the use of virtuosic footwork simply for the sake of exhibition. Taking his cue from Duncan, he chose music of the concert hall, and was the first choreographer in the Russian ballet tradition to create one-act ballets. He also dressed his dancers in tunics, providing freer use of the torso.

In 1909, Fokine showcased his ballets in Diaghilev's first season in Paris. This began an incredible five-year period in which, along with the dancers Vaslav Nijinsky and Tamara Karsavina, Fokine produced such revolutionary choreography as *Firebird*, and *Petrouchka*, and the Polovtsian Dances from the opera *Prince Igor*. In 1913, Fokine left the company to

¹⁶ Lynn Garafola. "Rediscovering Michel Fokine: By Challenging Russian Tradition, this Modernist Choreographer Wrestled Ballet into the Twentieth-Century." *Dance Magazine*, Volume 77, Issue 10 (October, 2003), 46.

¹⁷ Anatole Chujoy. Op. Cit., 220.

choreograph several productions abroad, and returned at Diaghilev's request to choreograph *Le Coq d'Or*.

In approaching the choreography for *Le Coq d'Or*, Fokine conducted an extensive study of the score in a concerted effort to recreate Rimsky's masterpiece through movement.

Fokine describes his challenges in setting the opera to ballet:

All the acting was done by the ballet dancers. My problem was to see that each movement of the dancers would correspond with the musical phrases of the singers and the orchestra, and would convey, not only the rhythm and the character of the music, but also the meaning of the text...¹⁸

Fokine carefully examined Rimsky's music and tried to interpret the drama of the text through his choreography. His memoirs make clear his extensive knowledge of Rimsky's musical dialogue. He writes:

In the dances, poses and groups, I tried to convey the style of the Russian *lubok*, and the fantastic Orient, both of which are so ingeniously interwoven in the music of Rimsky-Korsakov. Besides the Russian folk paintings, I found inspiration in carved toys, positions of figures on antique icons, the remains of wall paintings, and Old Russian embroidery. But most of all I listened to the suggestions in the music. From it, I extracted the puppetlike, primitive kingdom of Dodon. From the curled chromatics, the snakelike music of Korsakov's East, I created a fantasy of subdued Oriental contortions. Parallel with the contrapuntal knitting of the orchestra, I wove on the stage the tender quivering and, at times, wavy and gliding grace of the Queen of Shemakhan, with the angular movements of Dodon's peasants and warriors.¹⁹

Fokine's main choreographic premise aimed to set the movement in the style of *ballet d'action* or "ballet with a story." The principal concept of *ballet d'action* is such that the ballet becomes "a dramatically shaped structure, designed to convey a story. There should be a perfect

¹⁸ Ibid., 228-9.

¹⁹ Ibid., 230.

integration of libretto, music, and décor.”²⁰ This is different from conventional ballet: *ballet d'action* does not use dance numbers such as *divertissements*, or *pas de quatre*, the equivalent of operatic aria numbers in which the dramatic action becomes relatively static. There is no excess movement in *ballet d'action*; all the movements have an associated text or meaning. The origins of this form of ballet is attributed to Jean-Georges Noverre (1727-1807) in the eighteenth century, and has been used by choreographers intermittently ever since.

Each of the main characters of *Le Coq d'Or* had a corresponding dancer portraying them through movement. A reviewer for the *London Times* commented on the impression on the audience of the combined dancers and singers:

When the lights go up and we are in King Dodon's court the eyes are almost dazzled by the blaze of colour, and for a moment one is confused by the task of fitting the voice of the singer to the figure gesticulating on the stage. One soon gets used to this process, however, and before very long it becomes instinctive.²¹

Fokine managed to successfully integrate movement into the opera's music by making the dancers' interpretation of the libretto appear natural and poignant. The Queen of Shemakhan appeared graceful, and her eastern movements portrayed the foreign, mystic “other” in Rimsky's music. Semi-classical movements were choreographed by Fokine for the Queen to try to convey her seductive character with sinuous, winding patterns. By contrast, King Dodon's movements were childish, jerky, and unsophisticated analogous to the *Chizbik* folk-tune discussed earlier. The King's movements expressed his inept authority and susceptible emotional state. As well, Fokine mentions his attempt to convey the image of the

²⁰ Horgst Koegler. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Ballet, 2nd Edition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1982), 33.

²¹ *London Times*, June 15, 1914, 10d.

Russian *lubok*,²² a characteristic of the opera that is best observed through Goncharova's sets and costumes for the opera.

The stage designs were one of the highlights of the opera, contributing to the success of the production by providing an appropriate and engaging atmosphere for each scene and character. Initially, Diaghilev had asked Benois to design the sets for *Le Coq d'Or*. However, Benois was engaged with several productions for the Moscow Art Theatre and had to decline the offer, recommending Natalia Goncharova in his place. Fokine, having heard that Goncharova was one of the "Moscow futurists,"²³ was apprehensive about her participation in the project. Mostly to relieve Fokine's apprehension and to confirm Benois's praise of Goncharova, Diaghilev suggested they travel to Moscow to meet with her. In his memoirs, Fokine describes his first impression of Goncharova's art:

In a large dark studio of a gloomy suburban house, we, for some unknown reason, were introduced to her work by candlelight. The entire room was covered with paintings, all facing the walls. One after another, the canvases were turned around for us to see. At first, they frightened me. I did not "believe" in them. There was a portrait: the face was almost a yard in diameter; I think it had only one eye. I started worrying again about the of *Le Coq d'Or*. But gradually I began to acquire a taste for the paintings of this frail, nervous woman. After a while, I began to suspect that her work contained something serious and good. Then I began to appreciate her good taste in colours, and developed an interest in her unusual approach to landscapes. Towards the end of the evening I felt thoroughly convinced that Goncharova would produce something unexpected, beautifully coloured, and exceedingly natural, and at the same time fantastic.²⁴

²² *Lubok* is Russian popular print, a brightly coloured woodcut or engraving produced from the mid-seventeenth century to the late nineteenth century. It is usually created in a naive yet expressive style, and often depicts folktales and amusing stories while also containing elements of political propaganda or social and moral advice. Anthony Parton: "Lubok", *Grove Art Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2/12/03), www.groveart.com.

²³ The Moscow futurists had a reputation for being quite radical. They held demonstrations on "art of the future" often throwing water at the audience as part of their demonstration.

²⁴ Anatole Chujoy. Op. Cit., 227-8.

Goncharova's art made an impression not only on Fokine, but also on the Parisian public.

The critic Serge Volkonsky had this to say about her scene designs:

If the walls of the French Grand Opera had vocal organs, they would have gasped with surprise at the sight of what was being shown there on 21 May 1914. A Russian fairy-tale with boyars, boyar's wives, peasant women, wet-nurses, with motley kerchiefs, traditional head-dresses and children's toys presented itself before the spectators; it did not have the usual operatic form, but assumed the dimensions of a huge children's book in which fabulous events are shown with all the hyperbole that is given to them by a child's imagination. And what imagination was displayed here! Madame Goncharova, our famous "futuristic" painter, had surpassed all that could possibly be built by a child's fantasy.²⁵

Volkonsky refers to Goncharova as "our famous 'Futurist'"; She was one of the few futurist²⁶ painters in Russia at the time. The main principle behind Futurism was the capture of motion. Futurists believed that by capturing motion, an artist would capture the essence of an object. Goncharova and her partner Larionov further refined the concept of futurism by focusing on the rays of light passing through objects. In Rayonism, the artist defines his/her art by portraying the light passing through, and encompassing objects. This light creates a picture, which is eventually transferred to the surface of a canvas, as seen in Goncharova's Rayonist painting from 1913, *The Lilies* (Figure 1).

Between 1911 and 1915, Goncharova was deeply engrossed in this art of her own invention. However, for her designs for Act I, II, and III of *Le Coq d'Or*, Goncharova

²⁵ Militza Pozharskaya and Tatiana Volodina. *The Art of the Ballets Russes: The Russian Seasons in Paris 1908-1929* (London: Aurum Press Limited, 1990), 123.

²⁶ Futurism initially began in Italy and manifested as not only an artistic, but political movement as well in that futurist artists subscribed to specific politics. The Futurist movement in Russia began as a literally movement, which eventually became Cubo-Futurism in art. Besides attempting to capture motion and the machine in their art, the Cubo-Futurists created highly abstract art which was a synthesis of both Cubism and Futurism. Anthony Parton: "Cubo-Futurism", *Grove Art Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2/12/03), www.groveart.com.

departed from her Rayonist aesthetic. For Diaghilev's production, she adopted an unusually realistic aesthetic rather than an abstract one. This anomaly corresponds with Goncharova's theory of stage production. She states that "The combination of costumes and décor should not contradict the meaning of the theatrical vision, and should create, psychologically and visually, an overall theatrical unity."²⁷ Goncharova wanted to convey the atmosphere and psychology of the opera through her designs, the complexity of which required that she depart from her highly abstract aesthetic to create a more explicit scene.

One can see Goncharova's evolution toward what became the final backdrops of the production in her preliminary painted sketch for the curtain (Figure 2). Here, Goncharova is still using abstraction as her main communicative device, but with elements of Russian folk art and realism invading the canvas. Abstract figures are juxtaposed with concrete imprints of floral patterns taken from Russian folk art surrounded by white space, which draws the eye towards these concrete shapes. The shapes of the figures are interspersed with distinct animal shapes resembling that of deer, often outlined in black. The figures give the impression of being dressed in peasant garb, usually placed in conjunction with the many deer or small village houses Goncharova weaves into her painting embedded in an abstract forest of trees. The canvas itself is framed with a folk art pattern, making the picture appear as though it is inside another picture, adding another layer of fiction to the painting. These elements of folk art, from the peasant figures to the simple village houses and floral motif that are interwoven into an abstract painting, become the dominant theme for Goncharova's final backdrops. The contrasting shades of iridescent blue/grey seen here are also transferred to her final backdrops particularly in Act III as the colour for the ominous skyline.

²⁷ Natalia Goncharova. "A Few Words on Theatrical Costume." *Art & Stage in the 20th century: Painters and Sculptors Work for the Theatre* (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society, Ltd., 1968), 59.

Goncharova's paintings for *Le Coq d'Or* are strongly reminiscent of Fauvism, a style in which bold, contrasting colours are the general determining factor of the canvas. As suggested by Bel'sky's elusive description of the stage setting, Goncharova uses red as her principal colour, decorated mostly with yellow and gold shades. Her designs are also reminiscent of Russian *Lubok* prints as shown in Figure 3, from which she drew her inspiration, displaying Russian traditional costumes and conventional Russian folk elements such as floral embroidery. Goncharova's creation of several planes of sight through the dispersement of figures and floral patterns at varying levels is also an effect borrowed from *lubok* prints.

Goncharova successfully integrated her paintings into the opera by moving away from abstraction and making a conscious attempt to visually display specific sequences of the dramatic action. Her backdrop for Act I, shown in Figure 4, depicts the people of Dodon's kingdom. Painting mostly with gold tones, Goncharova tries to convey the wealth and glory of the kingdom described in Bel'sky's libretto as "richly ornamented with Russian carving, gilded and painted, having benches covered with brocade. King Dodon himself is magnificently decorated wearing a golden crown and in royal vestments of yellow."²⁸ Goncharova decorates her canvas with highly ornamental floral designs, again borrowing from traditional *lubok* prints. A large ornate floral tree looming in the middle of the canvas draws the viewer's attention to the canopy of drawn floral curtains below, presumably centring on what appears to be the King's bed, where the king is seen sleeping. The boyars sit on either side of the canopy, described by Bel'sky at the opening of the opera, except that they too have bowed their heads in slumber. Three maidens sit on the ground in front of the

²⁸ Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov. Op. Cit., x.

king, while several villagers appear to be dancing, unaware of the sleeping king. At the left side of the canvas, three peasant women are carrying food to the king.

This scene sets up the satirical character of the opera. The juxtaposition of the activities of the villagers, the sleeping king and boyars, against the grand appearance of the rich and confident land of a conquering ruler leaves the viewer with a sense of the absurd. There is a sense of fantasy and make-believe here; nothing is what it seems. While the day looks bright and cheerful, the sun burns a scorching, unsettling red. The inside of the palace courtyard appears lavish and ornate, while the piers of the rising buildings outside the palace walls are bland, and devoid of colour, marking the only white space Goncharova leaves on the canvas. While light seems to be coming through the windows of the palace walls, this is also deceptive, since the most prominent large window open to the right of the canvas is completely black, again a stark contrast to the rest of the scene.

The canvas itself becomes a fantasy; similar to the folk art frame in Goncharova's previous design, here the canvas is framed by what appears to be a floral embroidered curtain, so that it appears as though the viewer is watching a scene within a scene. The actual stage curtains have been drawn apart, and the viewer is placed into another scene where the curtains have also been drawn.

Goncharova's designs for the remainder of the opera continue with the same fantastical energy. Her design for Act III is particularly vibrant, mostly painted in a thick application of red while the palace is displayed in the background in gold imprinted with a floral pattern (Figure 5). The Queen and King are displayed arriving at the palace in a horse-drawn carriage. On the left side of the palace, the golden cockerel is seen perched above the crowd. The sky is a decomposing grey-green colour, perhaps as a premonition of the future calamity that will befall the kingdom. As with all of her scenes, Goncharova has created a set

that directly reflects Rimsky's music. The sky reflects the tension presented in the opening passages of the music as shown in example 4 below.

Example 4 – Opening of Act III, Strings
Rehearsal number 218²⁹

The musical score consists of four systems of music for strings. The first system shows a piano introduction with chords and sustained notes. The second system features a piano (p) dynamic with sustained chords. The third and fourth systems feature a forte (f) dynamic with rapid sixteenth-note passages in the upper strings and sustained chords in the lower strings.

The trumpets echo the cockerel's cry. The vibrato in the strings creates an atmosphere of dread that is reflected in the sky that Goncharova has painted.

²⁹ Rehearsal number as found in Nikolai Andreevich Rimski-Korsakov, 1844-1908. *Collected Works, Vol. 15: Le Coq d'Or*. Moscow: State Music Publishers, 1948.

A very blended colour effect is created, giving continuity to the painting; there is no visible beginning or ending. The far left and right corners of the work suggest a continuation of the scene; on the left side a staircase is seen rising towards the left, while on the right there is a panel that continues out of sight. In this way, the painting would have blended with the rising isles of singers placed on its parameter.

A child-like feeling exudes from Goncharova's art: the thick brush strokes applied to the figure, the inaccurate use of perspective and dimension on the left staircase which sits on a crooked angle and the carriage carrying the King and Queen rolling unevenly on the ground. The slanted doors and windows of the palace add to the fairy-tale quality of the painting, all part of the world created through the imaginings of the Astrologer. It is vaguely deceptive and illusory, as though seen through the naïve eyes of a child.

In contrast to Bilibin's designs for the original production of *Zolotoi Petushok* in 1909 as seen in Figure 6, Goncharova's designs successfully incorporated the action of the opera into the set. Although Bilibin's designs were elaborately painted and colourful, they were simply a backdrop to the action, displaying Dodon's palace, and closely resembling Bel'sky's description of the palace and throne room in the libretto. Each of Goncharova's designs, however, illustrates a part of the action of the opera. In her design for Act III, as described above, she presents the King and Queen arriving at King Dodon's palace (as it happens) in Act III of the opera. In this way, the painting is more than just decorative filler for a bland stage; it is part of the drama of the production.

With the costume designs for this production, Goncharova unites the action of her set designs with the movement of the dancers. While the singers standing on risers are dressed in uniform dull red costumes, the dancers are vividly akin to the sets. The dancers representing the chorus of peasants in Act I and III are dressed in traditional Russian

costumes of simple cotton fabric embroidered with floral patterns and geometric shapes, again using red as the principal colour with subsidiary yellow, green and blue, bringing the colours and patterns of her backdrops to life. (Figure 7) The cotton fabrics of the peasant dresses convey the simplicity of country life.

In contrast, Goncharova creates a complex and exotic costume for the Queen of Shemakhan as described here:

Pink taffeta robe with attached cape lined in black silk, decorated with fabric appliqué, embroidery, leather, lace, beads, sequins, and metallic tassels. Cream silk blouse and georgette trousers embroidered with flowers in gold thread. Overskirt with decoration in appliqué, silver sequins, pearls, and metallic beads. Crown of buckram and milliner's wire painted gold and decorated with sequins, diamante, glass beads, buttons, and leather.³⁰

The Queen's costume reflects the exoticism of her character, setting her apart from the simple country folk of Dodon's kingdom. Her exotic costume contributes to the action of the opera in which the Queen is made to be the outsider to Dodon's kingdom and Dodon's seducer. The Queen's costume needed to be exotic as well as feminine and seductive so that the audience could be convinced of her role as the usurper in the opera.

In *Le Coq d'Or*, Diaghilev achieved the full integration of dance, music, and art in a total dramatic form. In the middle were Goncharova's brilliant set-designs and the dancers in front performing Fokine's interpretation of the music. The setting of the operatic action through movement, along with Goncharova's colourful designs, contributed to the fantastical atmosphere of the opera, which effectively brought Rimsky's music to life.

The production, by all accounts of the time, was a brilliant success and was performed again in London on June 15, 1914, and the following season in Paris 1915. In

³⁰ Nancy van Norman Baer, ed. *The Art of Enchantment: Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, 1909-1929* (New York: Universe Books, 1989), 158.

1918, the New York Metropolitan Opera commissioned Fokine to choreograph a new version of *Le Coq d'Or*, again with dancers interpreting the music. In 1937, Fokine choreographed a full ballet version of *Le Coq d'Or* for the *Ballet Russes de Monte Carlo*.³¹

Unfortunately, after the Paris 1915 season, Diaghilev's production was not seen in Europe again due to an injunction brought against it by the Rimsky-Korsakov family. Rimsky's wife was grossly offended by Diaghilev staging *Le Coq d'Or* as an opera-ballet and took legal action to prevent its further performance. However, the success of Diaghilev's production left a lasting impression in the operatic world. It is probably due to this production that *Le Coq d'Or* opera became part of the standard repertory of operatic works performed around the world today, the only one of Rimsky's operas to do so. It is also largely known and presented by its French title. In Paris, *Le Coq d'Or* was presented by Diaghilev under its French name while still being sung in the original Russian language, an occurrence that is often reproduced to this day, marking Diaghilev's lasting imprint on this opera.

³¹ *The Ballet Russes of Monte Carlo* was founded by Wasily de Basile after Diaghilev's death in 1929. The company functioned out of Monte Carlo for the next twenty years.

Chapter 4 – *Ballets Russes'* Production of *Renard*

Part of Diaghilev's move into avant-garde productions was connected with his employment of Igor Stravinsky, whom he discovered in 1909 when he attended a performance of Stravinsky's *Scherzo Fantastique*.¹ As Stravinsky states in his autobiography,

The presentation of the *Scherzo Fantastique*...marks a date of importance for the whole of my musical career. It was at this point that I began the close relations with Diaghilev which lasted for twenty years, right to his death...²

Diaghilev was impressed with Stravinsky's orchestration of the work. Consequently, the first commission Diaghilev offered to Stravinsky was the re-orchestration of the opening and closing Chopin waltzes in *Les Sylphides*.³ From there, Diaghilev commissioned Stravinsky's *Firebird*, the first of Stravinsky's full-scale compositions for the *Ballets Russes*. Diaghilev and Stravinsky slowly began forming a co-dependent, intimate artistic relationship, which would prove to be both difficult for and beneficial to these two domineering personalities.

Diaghilev and Stravinsky's relationship was a complex one. Diaghilev saw himself as the person responsible for Stravinsky's quick rise to fame. As historian Charles Joseph states,

Although some music scholars have methodically searched for seeds of greatness in Stravinsky's pre-Diaghilev works, the truth is that Rimsky-Korsakov's young student was hardly headed toward an auspicious career, let alone one that would ultimately redefine the boundaries of music.⁴

It was Diaghilev who brought Stravinsky into the consciousness of the musical community of the day.

¹ Charles Joseph. "Diaghilev and Stravinsky." *The Ballets Russes and Its World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 191.

² Igor Stravinsky. *Igor Stravinsky: An Autobiography* (London: Calder and Boyars, 1975), 24-25.

³ Charles Joseph. Op. Cit., 191.

⁴ Ibid., 192.

Shortly after the presentation of the *Firebird* in 1912, Stravinsky gained artistic independence from the *Ballets Russes* through the offer of several commissions from other companies that gave him enough financial freedom to leave Diaghilev. In his autobiography Stravinsky mentions the jealousy Diaghilev felt at his independence, stating that “He simply would not recognize my right to work apart from him and his undertakings.”⁵ Later Stravinsky stated that while he was in Paris Diaghilev used all of his diplomatic talents to entice him – the lost sheep, so to speak – back into the fold of the Russian Ballet.⁶ This marked the change in Stravinsky’s position from the indebted composer to an independent creative force with whom Diaghilev would have to reckon.

Stravinsky eventually came to believe that the *Ballets Russes* acquired international fame because of his compositions.⁷ Of course, this further complicated his relations with Diaghilev. In turn, Diaghilev, as a means of trying to maintain artistic control over Stravinsky’s commissions, would randomly make cuts to Stravinsky’s musical scores, which Stravinsky took as a personal offence.⁸ The tension between Stravinsky and Diaghilev resulted in a final break when Stravinsky accepted a commission from Ida Rubenstein’s new company for a ballet without informing Diaghilev.⁹ Regardless of their differences, Stravinsky maintains in his autobiography that they remained friends up until Diaghilev’s death in 1929.

⁵ Igor Stravinsky. *Op. Cit.*, 79.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁷ Charles Joseph. *Op. Cit.*, 197.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 197.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 201.

During the 1910s and 1920s, when Stravinsky received the bulk of his commissions from Diaghilev, his role at the *Ballets Russes* was changing. In the early stages of Stravinsky's collaborations with the *Ballets Russes*, he deferred creative control to the choreographer, as in the case of *Firebird* when he followed Fokine's creative requests for the music.¹⁰ However, it did not take long for Stravinsky to start dictating the creative process for his productions after having quickly secured himself a prominent position among the artistic avant-garde of the time. A work which embodies both Stravinsky's independent artistic ideals and Diaghilev's desire for a total work of art is *Renard*, which was staged by Diaghilev's company in 1922 under the musical direction of Ernest Ansermet, with décor by Mikhail Larionov, and choreography by Nijinska.

According to Stravinsky, his composition of *Renard* began sometime between 1913 and 1917. During these years, having found himself surrounded by war and cut off from Russia almost entirely because of the ensuing revolution, Stravinsky took up residence at Morges, Switzerland, and was joined sometime later by Diaghilev who took up residence in neighbouring Ouchy.

In 1915, Diaghilev was preparing for his first trip to the United States with the *Ballets Russes*. Just prior to leaving, however, Diaghilev decided to give a benefit concert in Paris for the Red Cross, and since Stravinsky was to conduct his composition, *Firebird*, in the concert, both Stravinsky and Diaghilev set off together to Paris. After the concert, Stravinsky stayed on in Paris to meet with friends, most notable of whom was Princess Edmond de Polignac, one of Stravinsky's patrons. The Princess wished to commission a small chamber piece that

¹⁰ Ibid, 193.

could be performed in her drawing room as soon as the war was over. As she later remembered it,

My intention at that time was to ask different composers to write short works for me for a small orchestra of about twenty performers. I had the impression that, after Richard Wagner and Richard Strauss, the days of big orchestras were over, and that it would be delightful to return to a small orchestra of well chosen players and instruments.¹¹

Stravinsky suggested *Renard* to the Princess, and since she was very pleased with the idea, he set aside *Les Noces*, which had been his priority, and began working at *Renard* in earnest.¹² Stravinsky had already completed the first draft of his libretto for *Renard* earlier that year, and now began composing the music. Although the Princess had commissioned the work as early as 1915, Diaghilev did not start contemplating its production until 1920, well after the war.

Like many of Stravinsky's compositions of this period, *Renard* is uniquely Russian in subject matter and compositional approach. Stravinsky based his libretto on a compilation of folk tales by Alexandr Afanasiev (1826–71), the Russian folklorist whose collection of folk tales was instrumental in introducing Russian popular tales to world literature.¹³ Stravinsky's libretto captures the satirical element that pervaded Russian realism in the previous era, but was undoubtedly modern in its conception.

Renard is an anomaly in Stravinsky's repertoire: it is the only work for which he wrote the libretto. It is composed for fifteen instrumentalists, including a string ensemble, E-flat

¹¹ Eric Walter White. *Stravinsky: A Critical Survey, 1882 – 1946* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc.), 241.

¹² Igor Stravinsky. Op. Cit., 60-61.

¹³ "Alexandr Nikolai Afanasiev" *The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia*, 6th ed, 2003, Columbia University Press.

clarinet, piccolo, a cimbalom, timpani and percussion, and four singers: two tenors and two basses. It is based largely on Afanasiev's Russian folk-tale *The Cat, the Cock, and the Fox*, with small sections of the libretto derived from other folk-tales by Afanasiev. The four characters of the story, the Fox, the Cock, the Cat, and the Goat, are given human characteristics drawing a parallel between human nature and animal instinct at a particularly dark time in history when war was at the forefront of people's consciousness.

In Stravinsky's libretto, Renard, the main character, is a fox who plots to capture and devour the Cock. At the opening of the piece, the Cock is observed perched above the ground guarding his yard. Renard enters and proceeds to convince the Cock, by offering to be his confessor, to jump down from his perch. When the Cock jumps down, Renard grabs him and is ready to eat him when the Cat and the Goat rescue him. This entire scenario is then repeated. In the end, Renard is torn to pieces by the Cat and the Goat for trying to eat the Cock.

Although the plot line is very simple, the staging of *Renard* is complex. The subtitle of *Renard*, 'A Burlesque with Song,' implies a loose contract with the audience, which can be left to interpretation. Stravinsky was able to manipulate the staging of the production by specifying acrobatics in the staging, and including a *Mortale Saltarello*, which the Cock performs twice, each time signaling the forthcoming abduction by Renard. From the beginning of the story, the audience is aware of what will happen since the chorus sings of Renard's desire to eat the Cock in the opening March. Renard appears dressed as a monk and a human, and tries to convince the Cock to confess his sins. This implies a human awareness; the Cock would have to possess a conscience, a self-awareness in order to know right from wrong. Renard refers to the Cock's hens as wives, implying again a human awareness of the Cock and of himself. The Cock, however, speaks like an animal with only

very basic instincts, those of survival and territory. The Cock does not refer to his hens as wives, but simply property, and therefore an extension of his territory. Since Renard displays a human-like self-awareness, he is able to lure the Cock off his perch. However, Renard is still participating in an animal activity; the eating of the Cock fulfills Renard's instinct for his own survival. The libretto mentions that Renard has not eaten all day, and therefore we can imagine that Renard is becoming desperate. In this way, perhaps, Stravinsky is alluding to the fact that humans can often exhibit animal-like behaviour and their one common trait with animals is a survival instinct. The Cat and the Goat turn up to save the Cock from Renard. Renard asks them if they would like to share the Cock, all the while referring to them as men.

Certainly, Stravinsky's knowledge of how to set the text to folk melodies becomes evident in *Renard*. Taruskin provides the following breakdown of Afanasiev's material in *Renard*:

Table 1 – Chart of Text Source for *Renard*¹⁴

Rehearsal Numbers listed below.	Text Source found in Afanasiev's collection of Folk-tales.	Pages in Stravinsky's Sketchbook.
Opening March	No Text	
1 – 9	Medved i petukh (The Bear and the Cock)	22-29
9 – 20	Lisa ispovednitsa (The Fox Confessor)	19-21
20 – 24	Kot, petukh i lisa (Cat, Cock, and Fox)	15
24 – 27	Lisa ispovednitsa (The Fox Confessor)	17-19
27 – 31	Lisa ispovednitsa (The Fox Confessor)	16-18
31 – 40	Svin'ya I volk (The Sow and the Wolf)	1-3
40 – 41	Kot, petukh i lisa (Cat, Cock, and Fox)	8-10
42 – 50	Kot, petukh i lisa (Cat, Cock, and Fox)	34
50 – 52	Lisa ispovednitsa (The Fox Confessor)	15
53 – 57	Kot, petukh i lisa (Cat, Cock, and Fox)	15

¹⁴ Taken from Richard Taruskin's *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra*. Vol. II. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 1266.

57 – 62	Lisa ispovednitsa (The Fox Confessor)	15
62 – 71	Kot, petukh i lisa (Cat, Cock, and Fox)	1-2, 4-7
72 – 73	Lisa, zayats i petukh (Fox, Hare, and Cock)	11
73 – 79	Muzhik, medved' i lisa (Peasant, Bear, and Fox)	12-13
	Lisa-placheya (The Fox as Mourner)	
81 – 90	Af 542 (pribautka)	
Envoi (Vot vam skazka)	Lisa-povitukha (The Fox Midwife)	13

Although there are degrees to which Stravinsky retained Afanasiev's original text, the majority of text references apply to two specific folk tales, *Cat, Cock, and Fox*, and *The Fox Confessor*.

Stravinsky's original Russian text demonstrates the attention he paid to Afanasiev's story. By integrating key points of Afanasiev's text into his own, Stravinsky retained much of the crudeness of folk tradition. For the Cock's abduction by Renard, Stravinsky extracts the text of Afanasiev's *Cat, Cock and the Fox* almost verbatim, as shown in the text comparison below (Table 2):¹⁵

Table 2 – Afanasiev's *Cat, Cock and the Fox* comparison

Stravinsky's text	Comparison	Afanasiev's text
Ponesla mena lisa	SAME	Ponesla mena lisa
Ponesla petukha	SAME	Ponesla petukha
Po krutiim berejkam po viisokim goram	DIFFERENT ADDED	za temniye lesa
Vi chu zhia zemli	SAME	V dalokiya stranii
V dalokiya stranii	SAME	Vi chu zhia zemli
za tri devyat zemol	SAME	za tri devyat zemol
V tridtsatoye tsarstvo	SAME	V tridtsatoye tsarstvo
V tridesyatoe gosudarstvo	SAME	V tridesyatoe gosudarstvo
Kot da ba ran	SAME	Kot da ba ran
Hochet syest menya lisa!	ADDED	
Kot da ba ran	ADDED	

¹⁵ For an English translation of the text, please refer to Appendix D.

Hochet syest petukha!	ADDED	
Kot da ba ran	ADDED	
Otiimite menya!	SAME	Otiimite menya!

The text shown here is virtually indistinguishable from Afanasiev's text. For the first performance of *Renard*, however, the text needed to be translated into French – the language of the original production. For this important task, Stravinsky called on Ferdinand Ramuz, the Swiss novelist who happened to be living near the Stravinsky residence.

Stravinsky worked closely with Ramuz on the translation of *Renard's* text, and as a result, a close friendship developed between them. Their collaboration resulted in one of Stravinsky's landmark compositions, *Histoire du soldat* (1918).¹⁶

First introduced by Ansermet, Stravinsky and Ramuz met in 1915.¹⁷ At that time, Stravinsky was living at Montreux while Ramuz resided in nearby Treytorrens. Stravinsky approached Ramuz about translating the text of *Renard*. Ramuz describes his work with Stravinsky on the text in his *Souvenirs sur Igor Stravinsky* (1929):

Stravinsky would read me the Russian text verse by verse, taking care each time to count the number of syllables which I noted down on the margin of my sheet of paper and then made the translation – that is to say, Stravinsky translated the text for me word by word... Then came the questions of quantity (longs and shorts), vowels (one note was intended for an O, another for an A, a third for an I); finally, and above all, came the well known and insoluble problem of the tonic accent and its coincidence (or non-coincidence) with the musical accent.¹⁸

¹⁶ Although *Histoire du soldat* was performed prior to *Renard*. It's composition began around 1917, well after Stravinsky had approached Ramuz about *Renard*.

¹⁷ David Bevan. *Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979, 60.

¹⁸ Eric Walter White. *Stravinsky: A Critical Survey, 1882 – 1946* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1997), 63.

Clearly, this emphasizes the amount of input and control Stravinsky wished to have over every aspect of his musical creation. If *Renard* was to be translated, it would be done the way Stravinsky desired and under his supervision, with all the accents and articulations that correspond with his musical composition remaining intact.

Ramuz had to alter a considerable amount of the meaning of Stravinsky's text so as to retain the syntax created by Stravinsky: the stresses of Stravinsky's original Russian text matched with the stresses in his music. Eric Walter White comments that "Stravinsky through his desire to emphasize the cadences and syntax of Russian folklore, which he believed produced a musical effect, created a "synthetic pan-Russian dialect."¹⁹ This new dialect was more concerned with rhythm and syntax than grammatical structure and meaning. As a result, when the Russian text – which already contained grammatical irregularity due to Stravinsky's syntax – was translated, the meaning of the text was further eroded.

Since Stravinsky's Russian text stays so close to Afanasiev's original, we can conclude that the music was composed to accommodate Afanasiev's text so as to accentuate the cadences and syntax presented in the folk-story. That is music conformed to the text rather than vice versa. For Stravinsky, it was not that the text should be a vehicle for the music, but rather the end result should be a melting of syntax between text and music regardless of meaning. The meaning of the text did not concern him; instead he tried to have the music articulate the exact inflections and syntax of the Russian language. As Stravinsky himself stated in a conversation with Robert Craft, "Let librettos and texts be published in translation, let synopses and arguments of plots be distributed in advance, let imaginations

¹⁹ Ibid., 33.

be appealed to, but do not change the sound and the stress of the words that have been composed to precisely certain music at precisely certain places.”²⁰ In an effort to maintain the stress of the words and syntax, the French text became different in meaning from the Russian text.²¹

Stravinsky turned to Russian folklore as his longing for Russia increased during the war years. He became interested in the innate musical quality he discovered in Russian folklore, as he notes in his autobiography:

What fascinated me in this verse was not so much the stories, which were often crude, or the picture and metaphors, always so deliciously unexpected, as the sequence of the words and syllables, and the cadence they create, which produces an effect on one’s sensibilities very closely akin to that of music.²²

Taruskin identifies a neo-nationalist period in which Stravinsky focused on what he believed were the roots of Russian music: Russian folk song.²³

Between 1900 and 1910, the period leading up to Stravinsky’s Russian compositions, folk religion, mythology, and unmediated folklore had become a critical issue for Russian modernist culture.²⁴ It was during this period that Stravinsky was exposed first hand to rural Russia and folk culture. As outlined by Margarita Mazo in her research on Stravinsky’s use of

²⁰ Robert Craft & Igor Stravinsky. *Conversations with Igor Stravinsky* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1959), 35.

²¹ The translation I provide in Appendix D compare’s Ramuz’s French translation to my own translation of Stravinsky’s Russian text verbatim into English. As you can see, the two translations differ greatly.

²² Igor Stravinsky. *Op. Cit.*, 53.

²³ Richard Taruskin. “Stravinsky’s ‘Rejoicing Discovery’ and What It Meant: In Defence of His Notorious Text Setting.” *Stravinsky Retrospectives* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 173.

²⁴ Please refer to Richard Taruskin’s “From Subject to Style: Stravinsky and the Painters,” in Jann Pasler, ed. *Confronting Stravinsky: Man, Musician, and Modernist*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 3-39.

folklore in *Les Noces*, his first memories of folk singing come from as early as 1884, which he spent in the village of Lzy, about a hundred miles south-east of St. Petersburg; he returned there in 1902 to stay with Rimsky-Korsakov.²⁵ He also stayed with the Rimsky-Korsakov family for at least thirteen days in the village of Vechasha in the Pskov province.²⁶ He transcribed songs while at Princess Tenisheva's country estate in the village of Talashkino, near Smolensk in 1911.²⁷ Stravinsky also spent part of his summers at his cottage in Ustilug in the Volyn province of the Ukraine.²⁸ In his autobiography, he also speaks frequently about the summers of 1891 and 1892 spent in the nearby town of Yarmolinty, which left an impression in his memory.²⁹ This is evidence of Stravinsky's long exposure to rural Russia and to the folk songs of Pskov and Smolensk provinces in particular.

Stravinsky's interest in folk melodies led him to investigate published collections of folk music. In a letter sent to his mother, he asks that publications of folk songs be sent to him, specifying adamantly that they be phonographically recorded, indicating his interest in ethnographically reliable sources.³⁰ He also made a special request for publications of folk songs by Evgenia Lineva, who was known to be the first to make phonographic recordings

²⁵ Margarita Mazo. "Stravinsky's 'Les Noces' and Russian Village Wedding Ritual." *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, (1990), 102.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 102.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 102.

²⁸ Robert Craft & Igor Stravinsky. *Expositions and Developments* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1962), 52.

²⁹ See his *Autobiography*; Stravinsky & Craft, *Expositions and Developments*; Stravinsky & Craft, *Dialogues*.

³⁰ Richard Taruskin refers to this letter in "Russian Folk Melodies in 'The Rite of Spring'," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 33 (1980), 507-508.

of folk music in Russia.³¹ Stravinsky wrote a subsequent letter to his mother in February of 1916, informing her that he had volume one of Lineva's transcriptions.³² These are particularly relevant to Stravinsky's study of folk songs in that they provided him with important insight into the structure of folk melodies unavailable in other collections. For one thing, Lineva's collection put to rest the question of the existence of part-singing in Russian peasant songs, an issue that had been discussed in Russian musical circles due to the publication of an earlier collection of Mel'gunov's in 1879.³³ Lineva's collection contained a lengthy discussion on the "specifics of choral texture, voice leading, melody, and rhythm in folk songs, and made important observations on the rhythmical freedom in shifting a logical accent in song word-settings that scholars believe significantly influenced Stravinsky's approach to word-settings in his "Russian" compositions.³⁴

Taruskin notes that Lineva was "the first Russian ethnographer to make explicit observations on the unusual rhythmic and prosodic traits"³⁵ of Russian folk songs. Below is an extract of some of her observations:

From the rhythmic point of view folk song has a property which especially hampers its transcription into fixed notation. This property is the freedom with which accent is displaced in word and verse. The accent in folk song moves from one syllable to another within a word and from one word to another within a verse, according to the demands of the sense of the verse or of the melody, which are closely bound together and mutually influential... As a result of this

³¹ Margarita Mazo, Op. Cit., 104.

³² Richard Taruskin. "Stravinsky's 'Rejoicing Discovery' and What It Meant: In Defence of His Notorious Text Setting." *Stravinsky Retrospectives* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 178.

³³ Margarita Mazo, Op. Cit., 104.

³⁴ Ibid., 104.

³⁵ Richard Taruskin. "Stravinsky's 'Rejoicing Discovery' and What It Meant: In Defence of His Notorious Text Setting." *Stravinsky Retrospectives* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 179.

mobility and mutability of the *logical* accent of folk song, it is often very difficult to reconcile the logical accent with the *metrical* accent of contemporary art music (as marked by bar lines), which strives for mechanical regularity in the counting of time units.

- i) The number of syllables in the respective hemistichs of folk verse is not equal. On the contrary, the inequality of the number of syllables in the hemistichs, each of which has one *chief* accent, is one of the characteristic traits of folk song.
- ii) The accent in the verse of a folk song is not *tonic* (that is, mechanically regular, falling on a certain syllable of the verse), but *logical*, mutable. Therefore, although *in general* any song, even the rhythmically most awkward, can be divided into measures, nonetheless, owing to the changing position of the accent and the insertion of one, two or even three syllables into one strain or another, one will frequently encounter departures from the division one has adopted.³⁶

Taruskin points to a second important source of folk songs that influenced Stravinsky's "Russian" compositions: Ivan Sakharov's *Skazaniia russkogo naroda* (*Legends of the Russian People*, St. Petersburg, 1838), an enormous collection of miscellaneous folk songs that Stravinsky found in his father's library and that largely became the basis for the folk melodies found in *Les Noces*.³⁷ Through the resources available to him, Stravinsky extensively studied the characteristics of folk melodies, which he then incorporated into his compositional style. According to Taruskin, Stravinsky's investigation of ethnographically recorded folksongs permanently altered his compositions.

The West-Russian provinces where Stravinsky had spent so many summers have a distinct regional style, which, according to Margarita Mazo, have some "properties pertinent to Stravinsky's writings, particularly to his 'Russian' compositions."³⁸ Some of the stylistic

³⁶ Evgenia Lineva. *Velikorusskie pesni v narodnoi garmonizatsii*, vol 1 (St. Petersburg, 1904), xvi-xvii. English translation taken from Richard Taruskin's "Stravinsky's 'Rejoicing Discovery' and What It Meant: In Defence of His Notorious Text Setting." *Stravinsky Retrospectives* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 179-180.

³⁷ Eric Walter White. Op. Cit., 33.

³⁸ Margarita Mazo. Op. Cit., 103.

traits of these local traditional melodies include: 1) a relatively small range; 2) formal structures consisting of reiterations of short asymmetric phrases; 3) syllabic text settings; 4) formulaic melodies that can be applied to multiple texts; 5) shifting and playing freely with a syllable's accents in a line or a verse; 6) changing length of metric units; 7) heterophony with sporadic clusters of seconds; 8) and close range of voices in choral singing.³⁹

Renard employs many of these characteristics including a relatively small range, a syllabic text setting, shifting and playing freely with a syllable's accents in a line or a verse, and the changing of lengths of metric units as seen in Example 1 below.

Example 1 – m 131 to m. 136
Tenor 1 singing the Cock's abduction

The musical score consists of two systems. Each system has a vocal line (Tenor 1) and a piano accompaniment. The first system's vocal line has the lyrics: "Po - ne - sla Me - na Li - sa Po - ne - sla Pe - tu - kha Po - kru - tiim be - rej". The piano accompaniment for the first system is in 4/8 time, with a key signature of one flat. The second system's vocal line has the lyrics: "- kam po vii - so - kim go ram vichu zhi - a ze - mli vda - lo - ki - ya stra - nii". The piano accompaniment for the second system is in 4/8 time, with a key signature of one flat. The score shows complex rhythmic patterns and changing time signatures.

However, despite the shifting meter and change in metric units, when examining Stravinsky's music, one finds an uncharacteristic order to the rhythms and structure of the piece. Perhaps

because Stravinsky was trying to avoid having a programmatic meaning in his music, the organizational structures and the staging of *Renard* become of greater importance since they add coherence and meaning.

In this work, Stravinsky creates a symmetry not commonly found in his compositions. *Renard* consists of six scenes, with a march at the beginning and a march at the end. The entire piece can be thought of as two equal halves, each with three scenes and a march. The two halves are designed to be approximately equal in length. The march, which occurs at the beginning of *Renard*, is a transparent ABA form with three equal parts. However, Stravinsky omits the last two parts of the march at the end of the piece probably to compensate for the extended length of the fifth scene, thereby giving the overall work its two-part symmetry.

The abduction of the Cock by Renard is of central importance to the structure of *Renard*. Its central two parts – Renard’s seduction of the Cock, and the Cock’s subsequent abduction – repeat with similar text and musical content. When the Cock is abducted, he begins singing for help. This marks the text that Stravinsky borrows so carefully from Afanasiev’s *The Cat, the Cock and the Fox* outlined in Table 2 above. Here Stravinsky employs the many devices he learned from his studies of the phonographically recorded folksongs he had in his possession. The musical texture changes to homophonic and chordal, and the metric accent of the text begins shifting from measure to measure, the first time it has done so in *Renard* shown as in Example 1 above.

The range of the vocal line, sung by a tenor, remains very narrow, and for one of the only times in the piece, the cimbalom is heard throughout the two abductions of the Cock

³⁹ Ibid., 103.

by Renard. It is the use of the cimbalom, the instrument Stravinsky's substitution for the guzli (a Russian version of the psaltery), which becomes most important here.

Stravinsky wished to find an instrument that would produce a bright sound, and thought of the guzli. However, the guzli was by then a museum instrument and not likely to be found in use. Luckily, sometime in 1915, Ansermet took Stravinsky to a bar in Geneva where he knew of a Hungarian cimbalom player, Aladar Racz. Racz later described the meeting:

Ansermet asked me if I could play a solo; but I answered it was virtually impossible because of the noise. Ansermet then asked the proprietor to call for silence, and I played a Serbian *kolo*, at which Ansermet's companion rushed forward to the cimbalom. He was wearing a monocle, a red tie, a green waistcoat, and a tight jacket. It was Igor Stravinsky. He struggled with his sleeve in order to shoot out his cuff, on which he wanted to note down the music. As a young man, I was rather too sure of myself; and I looked him up and down thinking "You won't be able to take down what I'm playing!" And indeed he soon stopped taking notes.⁴⁰

Stravinsky soon after, with the help of Racz, went to purchase a cimbalom from a Hungarian gypsy. During the exchange,

Stravinsky tried to produce new sounds by striking the strings on the wrong side of the bridge; but the old gypsy stopped him at once, snatching the sticks from his hands and explaining that that was not the way to play the instrument. He was obviously afraid that his customer would not buy it if he were dissatisfied by its sonority; and he naturally couldn't understand that Stravinsky particularly wanted to use it to produce unnatural sounds – something that might possibly imitate the cries of animals.⁴¹

The cimbalom became an important part of Stravinsky's score. The optimal way to use the instrument is the way a harp is played with running arpeggios and scales. Stravinsky uses the

⁴⁰ Eric Walter White. *Op. Cit.*, 242.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 242.

cimbalom in this way, as shown in the example below taken from the beginning of Renard's first seduction of the Cock (Example 2).

Example 2 – Cimbalom, m. 63



The cimbalom repeats this type of arpeggiated pattern approximately every 8 to 14 measures during Renard's seduction. Only when the Cock is singing is the cimbalom heard consistently as in example 1, where the cimbalom is part of the chordal texture of the orchestration. This type of chordal playing does not necessarily use the cimbalom in the way it is meant to be played; it gives the instrument a harsher, less melodic sound, bringing to the forefront the animal madness of the Cock's abduction by Renard.

According to Stravinsky, any meaning derived from his music was entirely accidental since he did not intend for it to be programmatic. In other words, Stravinsky did not compose the music for *Renard* with any meaning in mind. Even the text Stravinsky wrote for *Renard* confuses the meaning of the music. Taruskin argues that by using folk poetry, which by its nature disassociates meaning from sound as all poetry does, Stravinsky was able to create a text that was not concerned with meaning but rather with sound. However, the overall structure of *Renard* is rigidly conceived and as such gives *Renard* a cohesion that the text and the music lack.

The choreography and set designs for *Renard* take on the function of adding meaning to the music. The choreography for *Renard* created by Bronislava Nijinska is perhaps the most important visual element of this production since it was designed to convey much of

the meaning of the text. Nijinska, the sister of Vaslav Nijinsky, began her studies in 1900, one year after her brother, with the Imperial Theatre School in St. Petersburg, Russia. After her graduation with a First Award distinction, Nijinska became an Artist of the Imperial Theatres, dancing in the corps de ballet at the Maryinsky Theatre.

When Diaghilev staged his first Russian ballet season in Paris in 1909, he contracted the best Russian dancers available, which included Nijinska. Her debut with Diaghilev's company during that first season began a long-standing relationship for both her and her brother Vaslav with Diaghilev and the members of his company.

Nijinska continued to dance for the Imperial Theatres up until her brother's dismissal in 1911. Vaslav Nijinsky performed *Giselle* at the Imperial Theatres that year in a costume designed by Benois for Diaghilev's *Giselle* production of the previous year. "The costume lacked the customary trunks that male dancers at the Maryinsky were required to wear over tights"⁴² and so was deemed indecent, causing Nijinsky's dismissal. Nijinska was so outraged by her brother's dismissal that she resigned her position shortly after. In actuality, this incident demonstrates the divergence between Russian traditional ballet and the modern world and the move, by Diaghilev, away from the traditional ballet performed in Russia.

Both Nijinsky and Nijinska came to Paris to join Diaghilev's company and began an exciting journey toward the modernization of ballet. Nijinsky began choreographing controversial movements, expanding on traditional choreography to include gestures that foreshadowed modern forms of dance.⁴³ Nijinska started as a dancer with the *Ballet Russes*,

⁴² Irina Nijinska & Jean Rawlinson, eds. *Bronislava Nijinska: Early Memoirs* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981), 16.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 16.

but eventually began to assist her brother with the choreography for his first ballets, Debussy's *L'Après-midi d'un Faune*, *Jeux*, and Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps* between 1911 and 1913.⁴⁴ During this period, she absorbed Nijinsky's innovations in movement and began to think about making her own contribution to choreography.

Nijinsky and Nijinska's prosperous relationship ended unfortunately in 1914 after Nijinsky's self-started ballet company had a disastrous two-week run in London, which led to its immediate collapse.⁴⁵ As a result, Nijinska decided to return to Russia for what would be a seven-year period where she would master her craft as a dancer and choreographer. Nijinska first relocated to Petrograd (present-day St. Petersburg) where the remainder of her family resided, and began teaching classes for Enrico Cecchetti's students at the Imperial Ballet School. After several dance engagements for the Petrograd Private Opera Theatre and her first choreographic premier at the Narodny Dom Theatre, she relocated to Kiev, where her husband was offered the position of ballet master at the State Opera Theatre. After several teaching engagements at a variety of institutions, including the State Conservatory of Music and the Central State Ballet Studio, and a short stay in Moscow, Nijinska and her husband returned to Kiev in 1919. Nijinska opened her own dance school, which she called *Nijinska's École de Mouvement* to show her desire to expand the traditional form of ballet.

Nijinska conceived of her school as a training ground for a new type of ballet artist.⁴⁶ She incorporated what she had learned from Nijinsky, and taught her students all that had been discovered in the recent period of modernisation. Nijinska developed a unique study programme, which incorporated all aspects of theatre production, not only dance. This

⁴⁴ Ibid., 16.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 17.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 18.

integral approach to dance evolved through the influence of Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* and Nijinsky's innovations as well as his approach to the human body and movement.

During the two years in which Nijinska fostered her school, she produced several abstract choreographic works highlighting her advances in choreography. These ballets, *Twelfth Rhapsody* with music by Liszt and *Marche Funebre* with music by Chopin, were performed by students at the school and aimed at "expressing music in the language of pure movement,"⁴⁷ an approach that Nijinska had explored in the classroom.

Nijinska managed her dance school until 1921 when upon reading in a local paper that her brother Nijinsky had been committed to a mental institution in Vienna decided to take her family and leave the country illegally to see him. Nijinska left her school in the care of one of her senior students, believing she would return soon. However, she spent the remainder of her years working and living abroad and was never to set foot into Russia again.

Shortly after Nijinska arrived in Vienna, she was contacted by Diaghilev requesting that she join his company again in Paris. Nijinska quickly accepted the offer, which eventually led to Diaghilev contracting her as the principal choreographer for the *Ballets Russes* the following year. Initially Nijinska served as principal dancer for Diaghilev and assisted in the mounting of his production of *The Sleeping Princess*.⁴⁸ Nijinska began to choreograph small parts of ballets for Diaghilev and rehearse the dancers. This experience eventually led to Nijinska's fully choreographed work, *Renard*.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 21.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 21.

Nijinska was an admirer of Stravinsky's music and was eager to choreograph a newly composed ballet instead of a remake of a traditional ballet as in the case of *The Sleeping Princess*. She was excited by the prospect of working with Stravinsky on *Renard*. Nijinska's choreography for *Renard*, according to Stravinsky, accurately captured the feeling of the music. He makes the following comments in his autobiography:

Nijinska had admirably seized the spirit of its mountebank buffoonery. She displayed such a wealth of ingenuity, so many fine points, and so much satirical verve that the effect was irresistible.⁴⁹

Stravinsky saw Nijinska as “an excellent dancer endowed with a profoundly artistic nature, and gifted with a real talent for choreographic creation,”⁵⁰ a strange contrast to her brother, whom he believed to be a poor choreographer.

Nijinska and Stravinsky worked closely together on the staging of *Renard*. As was typical of Stravinsky, he had very specific ideas about the overall impression *Renard* should make on the audience. After many long rehearsals, with Stravinsky contributing his insight at every turn, Nijinska created a choreography in which she “juxtaposed movements of animal grace with odd gestures and grotesque postures.”⁵¹ Nijinska's gestures mimicked Stravinsky's music. For example, for the music of the Cock, shown in Example 3 below, Stravinsky wrote a relatively simple tonal melody reflecting the simple naïve thinking of the Cock, with a wide range and melismatic passagework.

⁴⁹ Igor Stravinsky. Op. Cit., 102.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 102.

⁵¹ Irina Nijinska & Jean Rawlinson, eds. Op. Cit., 29.

Example 3 – m. 68 – 72 Tenor 1 singing the part of the Cock

m. 68 - 72 Si jhu na dy by si jhu dom sta ra jhu

pe sny po yu

These characteristics, which represent the simplistic nature of the Cock, also express the buffoonery of Stravinsky's music. The Cock's leap up a sixth interval to the F# and back down the octave in m. 71 with pizzicato strings in the orchestra expresses a kind of animal call: the Cock exercising his voice as a sign of his prowess. By adding gestures and unconventional postures as well as acrobatic movements, Nijinska effectively incorporated the element of buffoonery that pervades Stravinsky's music into the choreography.

This is contrasted by the gestures and music of Renard, which are much more subtle yet complex as shown in Example 4 below.

Example 4 m. 77 – 83, Renard's seduction of the Cock
 Tenor 2 singing the part of Renard

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system (measures 77-80) features a vocal line with lyrics: "Zdra stvuye kra sno ya cha do pe tuch sni di". The piano accompaniment includes a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand and a triplet of eighth notes in the left hand. The second system (measures 81-83) features a vocal line with lyrics: "kra sno ya cha do na zem lu da po kay cya". The piano accompaniment includes a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand and a triplet of eighth notes in the left hand. The key signature has one flat (B-flat major). The tempo is marked "Allegretto".

Here Renard, dressed as a nun, begins his seduction of the Cock. The melody resembles a recitative and as such is meant to emulate human speech. The music has become more complex with metric shifts almost every measure and a modulation at the end of Renard's passage from D flat major tonality to the unrelated tonality of F sharp. Nijinska's choreography for Renard reflects the human associations and rhythmic variety of Stravinsky's music. Nijinska, playing the part of Renard herself in the first production, juxtaposed human walking and gesturing with stylized ballet movements reflecting the human characteristics and complexity of the music.

With the singers relegated to the orchestra pit, the dancers became fully responsible for interpreting the drama and action of the story; they became the interpreters and

communicators of Stravinsky's music, while the singers were now instruments in the orchestra. This allowed Stravinsky to use the four male voices as an ensemble rather than assigning a specific character to each part. Since no one was able to see the singers, it was no longer necessary for a voice to represent anything other than a sound.

Stravinsky deemed Nijinska's choreography for *Renard* a success for having accurately brought his music to life. With the addition of acrobatics and animal-like movements, Nijinska's choreography became the interpreter of Stravinsky's music and text and in so doing became indispensable to the whole of the production, thus creating a *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

For the décor and costumes of *Renard*, Diaghilev commissioned Mikhail Larionov whom he met when he first came to Goncharova's studio in St. Petersburg to examine her work in 1913. At the time, Larionov and Goncharova were leaders of the Russian avant-garde painters, having established the Jack of Diamonds group – a collective of Russian avant-garde painters, which included Alexandra Exter, Ilya Mashkov and Aleksandr Kuprin – and being well known for their experiments in painting and their love of popular graphic art forms.

Larionov and Goncharova left the Jack of Diamonds group in 1912 in a very public display at the group's conference, where they dramatically interrupted the proceedings and announced the formation of Donkey's Tail, named after a "famous artistic scandal in Paris when a picture, painted by tying a brush to a donkey's tail, was exhibited without comment at the Salon des Independants in 1905."⁵² Larionov and Goncharova were unhappy with the non-Russian tendencies of their colleagues in the Jack of Diamonds, and the degree to which they were being influenced by French and German contemporary painting. Larionov and

⁵² Anthony Parton. "Donkey's Tail", *Grove Art Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2/12/03), www.groveart.com.

Goncharova wished to reinvent Russian national feeling and art by turning inwards, to Russian traditions of the past. In particular the *Lubok*⁵³ influenced much of Larionov's work. He collected and researched the *Lubok* tradition extensively, which helped him develop what became the leading movement of the Donkey's Tail group, that of Neo-Primitivism.

Inspired initially by the expressionist movement, Larionov wished to capture the naïve art of peasant and children's drawings and the art of the *Lubok*, with its primary colours, archaic texts and religious iconography. He developed a stylized art that drew on the folklore of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Russia. Eventually, one of the members of the Donkey's Tail, Aleksandr Shevchenko, wrote *Neo-Primitivizm* (1913), which outlined the style of the painting practiced by the group called Neo-Primitivist.

By the time Diaghilev visited Goncharova's studio, Larionov had already completed two manifestos outlining the new non-objective art form and his wife he called Rayonism, and an almanac of works produced by Donkey's Tail.

After the success of Goncharova's set designs for *Le Coq d'Or*, both Larionov and Goncharova began to receive regular commissions from Diaghilev, the first of which for Larionov was the set designs for the ballet *Soleil de nuit*.

Around 1919, after frequent commissions from Diaghilev and positive recognition of their work on the international stage, Goncharova and Larionov settled permanently in Paris to be at the hub of the artistic avant-garde. Larionov enjoyed the financial security offered to him in Paris, as well as the excitement of the artistic and social life.⁵⁴

⁵³ For a detailed explanation of *Lubok* art, please refer the discussion of the previous chapter on Goncharova's set designs.

⁵⁴ Anthony Parton. *Mikhail Larionov and the Russian Avant-garde* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 189.

Larionov's Neo-Primitivism worked well with Diaghilev's Russian-inspired ballets, and when talk began of staging Stravinsky's *Renard*, Larionov seemed to be the logical choice for set and costume designer. The Neo-Primitivist aesthetic, with its visual simplicity, seemed a logical way of depicting an animal's primitive nature. Larionov also connects *Renard* to Asafaniev's original fables by creating visually simplistic animal-like figures and representations that may be found in children's drawings.

In his revealing study *Larionov and the Russian Avant-Garde*, Andrew Parton draws a comparison between Larionov's set designs for *Renard* and his earlier work of 1912 – 1913.⁵⁵ Larionov's curtain design for *Renard* was most likely based on an earlier Neo-Primitivist work entitled *Winter* (1912-13), shown in Figure 8.⁵⁶ In *Winter*, a human figure drawn as a hieroglyph, the sex being indicated by the placement of an earring and the largely proportioned hips and thighs, is standing with arms outstretched about a cluster of houses, which could represent either a village or the world. It is as though the woman is enveloping the world below in winter as the title indicates. The progress of nature is portrayed with barren winter trees. This image provides comfort to the viewer, indicating the progress of the seasons. The influence of Egyptian hieroglyphics is evident in Larionov's Neo-Primitivism in the flat two-dimensional figure and linear symmetrical postures, as well as in the descriptive block-letter text.

In Larionov's curtain design for *Renard*, an almost identical figure is displayed balancing precariously on a wire (Figure 9). This represents the image of the Cock. Curiously, although the Cock is clearly male in the story and in nature, Larionov's Cock appears to be female, as seen in the breasts and protruding hips. The Cock wears a mask

⁵⁵ Ibid., 189.

with what could be a human face emerging from underneath it, and so the human is masquerading as an animal and in turn the animal is imitating the human. The remaining elements of Larionov's *Winter* are present in this curtain painting as well. The right side of the painting displays the same tree with Russian block letters below again representing winter, which is also indicated by the white space at the bottom of the painting. The primitive houses are painted beneath the figure of the Cock; instead of bringing winter to the world as the figure did in *Winter*, here the Cock is standing guard literally over the houses which presumably hold his many wives.

The remaining three figures in the picture are that of the fox – Renard – the Cat and the Goat. They are more clearly depicted as humans dressed in peasant clothes, adorned with animal masks. Renard is raised on a ledge like a makeshift watchtower, slightly higher than the wire on which the Cock is perched. Renard is holding a rope that extends down to the snow-covered ground, and is held by both the Goat and the Cat. Although more primitive in detail, the portrait of the Cock is considerably larger than that of the remaining animals, creating a curious visual juxtaposition. This also brings into question the dynamics between the animals in the story. It is interesting that Larionov chooses to place Renard on a ledge slightly higher than the Cock, although the Cock is larger in size, creating a power struggle between these two figures, which dominates the focus of the painting while the Cat and Goat are almost indistinguishable from one another and left in an inferior position kneeling below. A gun is left abandoned on the ground in front of the Cat, perhaps a sign of violence to come.

In Larionov's second design for *Renard*, shown in Figure 10, the fox is dressed as a nun. Here the interplay between human and animal is striking; the fox is dressed in the habit

⁵⁶ Ibid., 189.

of a nun and holds in its clutches a rosary, with peasant shoes on its feet. All that remains visible of the fox is its animal face peering from beneath a nun's headpiece and a tail protruding from underneath its gown. In Russian society, nuns were thought of as sacred and untouchable.⁵⁷ With Larionov's costume design it appears as though the nun is disguised as a fox instead of a fox disguised as a nun. Considering Stravinsky's text, particularly Renard's moral lecture about promiscuity, it seems oddly appropriate that Renard should be masquerading as a nun.

This design is less in the neo-primitive style, and reveals a greater influence of the *Lubok* prints that were such an inspiration to both Larionov and Goncharova. Here, all of the animals look more human than before, as though a group of peasants are wearing elaborate animal masks. Larionov in fact made several sketches of masks in preparation for his designs, which is a departure from his usual methods.⁵⁸ This is believed to be only the second time Larionov used masks in his work, the first being the use of a comic mask in *Kikimora* (1916).⁵⁹ In his set design the animal masks are intricately painted with great detail. By contrast the remainder of the painting is done in wide painterly strokes emphasizing the general landscape of the scene rather than delineating any specific details. In this way, the viewer is drawn to the animals since they present a more complex picture than the backdrop, and more time is required for the viewer to assess them.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 191.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 191.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 191.

Chapter 5 - Conclusion

Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes* productions left a lasting impression on the world stage for their choreographic innovations, their use of studio artists as set and costume designers, and their musical ingenuity. Not only was Diaghilev's approach to stage production uncommon, he was also largely responsible for bringing Russian music, art, and literature to Europe. It was through the *Ballets Russes* that Diaghilev introduced to the European public some of Russia's best composers, artists, dancers, and choreographers.

Natalia Goncharova and Mikhail Larionov, the studio painters discussed in this study, are notable for the development of their own art movement, Rayonism. In addition to Rayonism, Larionov applied his Neo-Primitivist style to *Renard*, which was staged using the abstract, monochromatic aesthetic that successfully created a 'primitivism,' which properly reflected a layperson's concept of a peasant village. It is ironic that such a stylized production was called 'primitive.' Goncharova, as the designer of *Le Coq d'Or*, brought to Paris the influence of the Russian *Lubok* prints of the nineteenth century. Her designs for this production combine Russian folk art with Fauvist painting technique producing a mixture of fantasy and modernity. Her paintings became part of the whole of the production since they portrayed images from the libretto, an innovation never seen before in set designs. Diaghilev also employed choreographers Mikhail Fokine, Vaslav Nijinsky, and later Cecchetti, all of whom went on to create ballets in England and America, and who became famous around the world for their innovations. Fokine's return to *ballet d'action* for *Le Coq d'Or* marked the beginning of a new modern approach to dance. Similarly, Nijinska's choreography for *Renard*, with the inclusion of acrobatics and animal-like movements, made her choreography unique in its time.

Diaghilev gathered these talented individuals to his company as a means of implementing his artistic philosophy: the close integration of all the elements involved in stage production, including the set design, choreography, and music – in other words the idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* or total work.

Although there have been many scholars throughout history who have articulated some vision, whether positive or negative, of the integration of the component arts, it was Wagner's theoretical writings that attracted the *World of Art* group of which Diaghilev was a founding member. The *World of Art* group was founded as a reaction to the entrenched Realist movement in Russia during the late nineteenth century. The group turned to Symbolism as a viable alternative to Realism and in so doing found that the theoretical writings of Wagner resonated well with their beliefs. In particular, Diaghilev favoured a collaborative approach to stage production as advocated by Wagner. This approach corresponded with the Symbolist philosophy of inclusiveness, and became one of the founding principles behind Diaghilev's ballet company, as did the aim of achieving an integration of the arts.

Richard Wagner advocated the complete integration of all the component arts. He believed that the three elements of the original Greek drama, poetry, and music, could be integrated into a single art form. It is this collective collaboration that Diaghilev implemented through his *Ballets Russes* Company that led to his own brand of a *Gesamtkunstwerk*. With this study, I have attempted to prove that Diaghilev was directly influenced by Wagner's theoretical writings on the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. This connection has been shown through the publication of Wagner's theories in Diaghilev's magazine as well as through the accounts available of those who worked closely with Diaghilev such as Constant Lambert. I have also tried to show how his productions, *Le Coq d'Or* and *Renard*, worked to

create a *Gesamtkunstwerk* by examining the process undertaken by the collective of artists involved in each production, and how each separate art became interwoven into the whole.

Although I have attempted to discuss *Le Coq d'Or* and *Renard* from a holistic viewpoint, the lack of choreographic documentation has been an impediment in my research. Unfortunately, the ephemeral quality of choreography and the lack of proper choreographic notation, has resulted in a large vacuum of historical data in this area. Other than publication of technical treatises on ballet and other dance forms, and reviews or pictures of the time, there is little documentary evidence to indicate what choreography looked like at the time. We do however have some descriptive accounts from a small group of sources. For example, Michel Fokine discusses his choreographic techniques in his memoirs, particularly his approach to the choreography for *Le Coq d'Or*, which has been referred to in this study. However, Nijinska provides only minimal information as to her approach for choreographing *Renard*, and so I have had to rely mainly on reviews, and other secondary information.

Diaghilev's integration of dance into an operatic setting by relegating the voice to the orchestra pit, in other words his invention of the singer-in-the-pit approach to stage works, which was first seen in *Le Coq d'Or*, became a central focus of this study. It is my belief that this technique resulted in a unique *Gesamtkunstwerk*. I believe that his distribution of action between two simultaneous media, in this case poetry and dance, necessitate that the two media work together to create a coherent product thus creating a total work of art. I believe the way in which the drama was interpreted through dance is what made Diaghilev's productions successful in integrating all the component arts. For example, in *Le Coq d'Or* the dancers on stage portray the action, while the singers are relegated to a subsidiary role, as voices singing from risers at the side of the stage. In this way, Diaghilev was able to move

the dramatic action from the music to the dancers on stage, while still keeping the music as part of the total artwork. Diaghilev applied this technique not only to *Le Coq d'Or*, but also to subsequent productions such as Stravinsky's *Nightingale*, *Renard*, and *Les Noces*. In total Diaghilev used his singer-in-the-pit formula in at least nine productions, turning his multimedia idea into a kind of cliché, a ready-made blueprint capable of turning any production into a *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

In his work, Richard Taruskin disputes the idea that Diaghilev's work referenced Wagner's theories on artistic synthesis. In fact, Taruskin argues that by using dancers to interpret the drama and relegating the singers to mere members of the orchestra Diaghilev was actually dismantling the *Gesamtkunstwerk* ideal.⁶⁰ However, I hope I have shown Taruskin's definition of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* to be a narrow one: that of the strict definition of integrating poetry, drama, and movement in a single individual. The removal of the voice off stage allowed dance and the visual arts to play a dramatic role in his productions and in so doing successfully integrated all the arts into the drama. Diaghilev's addition of dance and the artistic design of his productions brought into greater relief the drama of the text, thereby building upon Wagner's idea of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. This idea of incorporating dance into an operatic setting, especially the division of labour between singers and dancers, constituted Diaghilev's idea of the "total work of art", which may ultimately differ from Wagner's theoretical vision of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

Unfortunately, there are limitations to this study, in particular, the inaccessibility of important primary sources. For example, Diaghilev's letters and other correspondence have never been fully catalogued or translated from the original Russian and although some of his

⁶⁰ Taruskin, Richard. "Golden Cockerel, The." *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1992), 476.

correspondence can be found outside Russia, most still remain in archival form in Russia. No attempt has yet been made to publish a complete collection of Diaghilev's programs and program notes for all twenty years of the company's existence. Most importantly, the *World of Art* periodical, in which Diaghilev published all of his artistic theories, has yet to be compiled into monograph form and is hard to find outside Russia. Even in the original Russian, a full compendium of the issues of this magazine is not commonly available in North America. Since the theories of the *World of Art* group profoundly influenced Diaghilev's future endeavours with the *Ballets Russes*, the lack of access to their magazine, which clearly outlined all of their influences and beliefs, is a significant handicap for Diaghilev research. Due to these limitations, the majority of the research for this study has been from secondary sources. I have also been unable to find any statements directly made by Diaghilev regarding his creative process, which perhaps are waiting to be uncovered in his letters or production notes. The issues of Diaghilev's magazine, *Mir Iskusstva*, would have also been useful in this regard, as they directly reflect Diaghilev's views. The cataloguing and publication of Diaghilev's program notes and letters is important primary research that I hope will soon be undertaken, and may lead to further discoveries about Diaghilev's productions.

APPENDIX A

Diaghilev's Five Russian concerts of 1907

May 16, 1907

Christmas Eve, composed and conducted by Rimsky-Korsakov

Second Symphony by Tchaikovsky

Prince Igor, Act I, scenes 1 & 2, by Borodin, Chaliapin and Litvinne singing, Blumenfeld conducting

Ruslan and Ludmilla, Act I, by Glinka, conducted by Nikisch

May 19, 1907

Second Symphony by Taneyev

Suite from *Tsar Saltan* by Rimsky-Korsakov

Kamarinskaya, by Glinka

Two songs from *The Snow Maiden* sung by Zbrueva

Boris Godunov, Pimen's cell scene, song of drunken Varlam and all of Act II sung by Chaliapin, Smirnov

May 23, 1907

Mlada by Rimsky-Korsakov

La Nuit sur le Mont Chauve, by Rimsky-Korsakov

Concerto for Piano and Orchestra, by Scriabin piano played by Joseph Hofmann, conducted by Nikisch

Francesca da Rimini, by Tchaikovsky

"Trepak" and "La Chanson de la Mort" from Song and Dances of Death sung by Chaliapin

May 26, 1907

Au Moyen Age by Glazunov

Second Piano Concerto, composed and performed by Rachmaninoff

Cantata Le Printemps composed and conducted by Rachmaninoff, sung by Chaliapin and Chorus

Symphonic Poem, by Balakirev, conducted by Tamar Chevillard

Khovanshchina, Act V, Sung by Chaliapin, Zbrueva, Smirnov, composed by Mussorgsky

May 30, 1907

Second Symphony, by Scriabin, conducted by Nikisch

Piano Concerto by Liapunov, played by Joseph Hofmann

William Ratcliff, Maria's Romance sung by Tcherkassky, composed by Cui

Sorceress, by Tchaikovsky

Bada Yaga, by Liadov

Poeme Symphonique, composed and conducted by Glazunov

Appendix B

Plot Summary – *Le Coq d'Or**

Music by Rimsky-Korsakov

Libretto by Vladimir Bel'sky

King Dodon	<i>Baritone</i>	Astrologer	<i>Tenor Altino</i>
Voevoda Polkan	<i>Baritone</i>	Queen of Shemakhan	<i>Soprano</i>
Amelfa	<i>Mezzo or Alto</i>	The Golden Cock	<i>Soprano</i>
Prince Guidon	<i>Tenor</i>	Chorus	
Prince Afron	<i>Tenor</i>		

King Dodon, a lazy and gluttonous ruler, is greatly worried by his warlike neighbours. He seeks advice but his various advisers fail to comfort him. Finally the Astrologer brings him a wonderful bird, the Golden Cock, who knows how to foretell events. The bird is placed on a spire in Dodon's capital and from hour to hour sends out from his high perch various messages which either send the crowd scurrying for their weapons, or cause it to scatter and return to its peaceful activities. The bird suddenly sounds a war alarm. Dodon assembles his warriors and they set out on their journey to the enemy's land.

King Dodon's army fares rather badly in an encounter with its foe. In the uncertain light of early morning his warriors retreat into a deep gorge where the ground is piled high with bodies of the dead. Suddenly Dodon and his generals descry a tent. It must be the headquarters of the enemy's chief.

They prepare the onslaught when suddenly there comes out of the tent a beautiful young woman, the Queen of Shemakhan, who sings a bold hymn to the sun in which she dilates complacently upon her own physical beauty. Dodon and his general, Polkan, are at once attracted and listen with pleasure while she tells them that she intends to conquer Dodon's capital. Her task is only too easy. Dodon is ready and willing to give her anything she may desire, even Polkan's head.

Dodon and the strange Queen start for Dodon's capital; he will make her his bride. Their honeymoon is not unmixed bliss; the young Queen compels her old husband to amuse her in ways which are not always as dignified as would beseem Dodon's position.

They quarrel. The Astrologer appears once more on the scene. He reminds the King of his promise to give him anything he wishes in exchange for the marvellous bird. The Queen herself is the price he demands. Dodon, indignant, strikes him with his sceptre and he apparently falls dead. Then the bird flies down from the spire, pecks Dodon on the head and kills him. The Astrologer then resuscitates, informs the audience that the whole story is a fable, and that only he and the Queen are real human beings.

*This plot summary has been extracted from the libretto printed for the New York Metropolitan Opera production in 1918. N. Rimsky-Korsakov. *Le Coq D'Or* (New York: Fred Rullman, Inc., 1918), 2-3.

Appendix C

Details of the *Ballets Russes' Le Coq d'Or* Production

Music: Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov
Libretto: Vladimir Bel'sky, after Alexander Pushkin, revised by Alexandre Benois
Conductor: Pierre Monteux
Chorus Master: Nicolas Palitzine
Stage Direction: Michel Fokine
Sets and Costumes: Natalia Goncharova
Choreography: Michel Fokine
Premiere: 21 May 1914, Theatre National de l'Opera, Paris

Principal Singers:

The Queen of Shemakhan	Aurelia Dobrovolska
Amelfa	Elisabeth Petrenko
The Golden Cockerel	Helene Nikolaeva
King Dodon	Basile Petrov
The Astrologer	Jean Altchevsky
General Polkan	Alexandre Belianin

Principal Dancers:

The Queen of Shemakhan	Tamara Karsavina
Amelfa	Jeziarska
King Dodon	Adolf Bolm
The Astrologer	Mr. Cecchetti
General Polkan	Mr. Kovalski
Guidon	Serge Grigoriev
Afron	Max Frohman

Appendix D

Renard – Text*

French Translation by F. C. Ramuz

English Translation by Katherine Rabinovich and Helen Varkovetsky

French

Marche aux sons de laquelle les acteurs entrent en scene.

Allegro (mm. 1 – 62)

Le Coq s'agite sur son perchoir

Ou ca, ou ca, ou ca, ou ca, ou ca?

Ou est-il? Amenez-le-moi!

Et on lui cass'ra les os,

On lui plant-ra l'couteau.

Et on vous lui cass'ra les os,

On vous lui plant'ra l'couteau.

Ou ca, ou ca, ou ca, ou ca, ou ca?

Ou est-il? Amenez-le-moi!

Et puis plus vit' que ca!

Voila... Voila!

Ou ca, ou ca, ou ca, ou ca, ou ca?

Et le p'tit couteau on l'a...

...le p'tit couteau, on l'a,

Et la corde aussi, on l'a,

Et ici on l'crev'ra,

Et ici on l'pendra.

Ou ca, ou ca, ou ca, ou ca, ou ca?

Et le p'tit cou-couteau, on l'a,

La p'tit' co-corde aussi on l'a,

Et ici on vous l' cre-crev'ra

Et ici on vous l' pen-pendra.

Meno mosso (mm. 63 – 76)

Je suis sur mon bâton,

Je garde la maison.

Je chant' ma chanson.

Arrive Renard en costume de religieuse.

English

March to accompany the entrance of the players.

The Cock is fidgeting on his perch.

Chuck-chuck-chuck-chuck-chuck-Chuck-a-dah. Chuck-a-dah.

Give him to me here!

I'll trample him with my feet,

And chop him with my ax.

I'll trample him with my feet,

And chop him with my ax.

Chuck-chuck-chuck-chuck-chuck-Chuck-a-dah. Chuck-a-dah.

Give him to me here!

Give him to me quickly!

Chuck-chuck-chuck-chuck-chuck-Chuck-a-dah. Chuck-a-dah.

Now the knife is ready.

And now the knife is ready,

And say good-bye to your life,

And I'm going to cut you,

And you'll be hanged.

Chuck-chuck-chuck-chuck-chuck-Chuck-a-dah. Chuck-a-dah.

And the knife is ready waiting,

And the rope is oscillating,

And you'll be grabbed up,

And you'll be hanged up.

I'm sitting on my perch,

I'm guarding my home.

I'm singing a song.

*Enter Renard dressed as a monk.** French text is borrowed from Igor Stravinsky. *Renard*. London: J. & W. Chester, Ltd., 1917.

(mm. 77–85)

Salut, mon cher fils a la toqu' roug'
 Descendez, cher fils, du lieu de votr' séjour,
 Et confesses-vous,
 J'viens du fond des déserts,
 N'ai ni bu, ni mange...

Hello, little redhead cock!
 Come back to earth little redhead,
 For your confession,
 I've walking through valleys and deserts,
 Didn't drink, didn't eat

(mm. 85)

Le Coq, impatienté:

Zut! Mèr' Renard!

The Cock becomes agitated:

Get lost fox!

(mm. 86 – 90)

Renard continuant:

Ai, souffert beaucoup d'miser's;
 J'suis ici,
 Afin d'vous confesser.

I've suffered through a lot
 You, innocent cock,
 Travel just to see you.

Piu mosso (mm. 91 – 99)

Le Coq avec arrogance:

O ma bonn' viell' mèr' Renard,
 Ces mom'ries-lâ, j' n'y crois pas;
 Repass' voir
 Une aut'fois.

The Cock speaks arrogantly:

O my dear, my dear fox!
 I didn't fast,
 Didn't pray,
 Come back another time.

Meno mosso (mm. 100 – 126)

O mon fils très cher,
 Vous êt's assis très haut dans les airs,
 Mais ca n'empêch' pas que tu ert's,
 Prends gard'mon fils.
 Vous avez, vous autr's beaucoup trop de
 femm's;
 Tel en a bien un' dizain',
 Et tel en a dans la vingtaine au moins,
 Ca peut monter avec le temps
 Jusqu'a quadrant!
 Partout où vous vous rencontrez,
 Vous vous battez, rapport a vos femmes,
 Comm' si c'étaient vos maitress's;
 Viens mon fils, jusqu'a moi et confess'-toi.
 Afin d' n' pas mourir
 En etat d'peche.

O my dear Cock!
 You are very high and mighty in that tree,
 Only thinking the worst and cursing,
 You keep wives in great number:
 Who can keep ten wives?
 Some keeps up to twenty.
 This is the modern age!
 Where you meet
 There you fight
 Because of your wives,
 And your girlfriends.
 Come down, my sweet Cock,
 Back to earth and peace of mind,
 Or you'll die for your sins.

(Le coq se prépare à sauter "salto mortale". Il sauté.

Renard saisit le coq et tourne autour de la scène en le tenant sous le bras.

Le coq se débattant désespérément.)

Stringent (mm. 127 – 146)

Ah, mon Dieu! Mon Dieu! Mon Dieu!

Il me tir' par la queue...

Il me tir' par la queue,

Il déchir' mes habits,

Il me lâch'ra plus

Qu'à trent'-six lieues d'ici.

(Trois et trois qui font six,

Et trios fois trois qui font dix, et trios dix et six trent'-six!)

Frèr' bouc frèr' chat,

C' gros glouton me mang'ra,

Frèr' bouc frèr' chat,

Bons amis, écoutez-moi,

Frèr' bouc frèr' chat!

V'nez vit', tiez-moi d' là!

Con brio (mm. 147 – 157)

Apparaissent le chat et le bouc.

Eh! Eh! Ma bonn' viell' mèr' Renard.

C' que tu as dans l' bec

Ne t'a pas coûte cher,

Ne voudrais-tu pas t'en défaire?

On est des bons chrétiens,

On te paiera bien.

Allons! Donn' –nous ça, ou bien on t' fout bas!

(Renard lâche le coq et s'enfuit. Le Coq, le Chat et le Bouc dansent.)

(mm. 158 – 164)

Sempre l'istesso tempo (mm. 165 – 256)

Mèr' Renard, un jour, chez nous,

Mettait tout sens dessus-dessous,

Et, la garce, ell' s'en vantait.

C'est qu'elle avait,

mais c'est qu'elle avait,

mais c'est qu'elle avait,

Pour vous casser les reins,

(The Cock gets ready to jump – salto mortale – He jumps.

The fox grabs the cock and carries him about the stage under his armpit.

The cock struggles.)

The fox is carrying me off.

Carrying off the coq.

To faraway hilltops,

Into strange lands,

And distant countries

For many miles

Into forgotten kingdoms

Amongst faraway rulers

Cat and Sheep

The fox wants to eat me!

Cat and Sheep

Wants to eat the Coq

Cat and Goat

Rescue me!

Enter the Cat and the Goat.

Oh you! Silly fox.

Your food has come cheap;

Won't you share your meat?

Don't you want to part with it?

You are shaking with hunger.

And this food will not satisfy you!

(Renard lets go of the Cock and runs away. The Cat, Goat and Cock dance around.)

The Coq has been naughty

With you little red head

And you gave yourself away.

You were almost gone,

You were almost gone,

You were almost gone,

In the mouth of the lion,

Un bon outil tout prêt.

Voilà m'sieur l' coq qui sort d' chez lui.
Sort d' chez lui.
Ces dam's pouls sont avec lui.
Avec lui.
Ses cher's p'tit's pouls tach'tées.
Tout à coup... tout à coup
Tout à coup (il n'y comptait pas),
Tout à coup (il n'y pensait pas)...
Mèr' Renard est là. Ell' vous l' salue tout bas:

“Gare à toi, beau garçon,
on t'y prend donc!”

“Ne me mang' pas, mèr' Renard.
“Mèr' Renard, pitié pour moi! N'auras-tu pas
assez
Avec mes dam's, mes chèr's p'tit's femm's?”
“Non! C'est ta carcass' qu'il me faut.
J'aurai ta peau, j'aurai tes os!”

Voilà qu' mèr' Renard prend l'coq par les
côt's.
Ell' saut' d'un bond l' mur, elle' saut' l'aug',
L' tir' par la peau du dos,
L'emport' derrier' le bouleau.

(Le Chat et Le Bouc se retirent.)
(mm. 257 – 258)

Ces dam's sont trop loin, Ell's n'entend't
rien.

*(Le Coq remonte sur son perchoir et s'installe
commodement.)*
Meno mosso (mm. 259 – 268)

Je suis sur mon bâton,
Je garde la maison.
Je chant' ma chanson.

*(Arrive Renard. Il laisse tomber son costume de
religieuse.)*
(m. 269)

The fox had gotten your head.

Now we see the Cock out walking.
In his yard, in his yard,
Out walking with his wives.
After him, after him...
Come his wives.
Where did you come from, coq
Where did you come from, redhead
Tail between your legs.
Heed the fox's warning, this time he has
left you whole:
Do not lower your guard.
Here the fox will be waiting for his meal
again.
Do not eat me, oh fox,
Do not eat me, oh fox!

Won't your wives think less of you?
I don't want to bother anyone,
I just want some fowl!

So the sly old Renard came and hooked
him.
Carried him off singing,
Behind the well,
Behind the white birch tree
Co-co-co-co-co-coq
Co-co-co-co-co-coq...

(The Cat and the Goat retire.)

The hens are dreaming and don't hear
anything.

*(The Cock climbs onto his perch again and settles
down comfortably.)*

I'm sitting on my perch,
I'm guarding my home.
I'm singing a song.

*(Renard arrives. He throws off his monk's
disguise.)*

Sempre l'istesso tempo (mm. 270 – 286)

Cocorico, seigneur coq,
Crêt'd'Or, Têt'-bien-coiffée,
Clair-Regard, Barb' frisée,
bel habillé tout en
Velours, beau seigneur coq,
Ouvr' moi.

Non, je n' t'ouvrirai pas.
J' te donn'rai des p'tits pois. Les coqs
n'aiment pas les p'tits pois,
Les coqs aiment seul'ment le grain,
Renard parle, ils n'entend'nt rien.

(falsetto periodically) (mm. 287 – 335)

Petit coq, petit coq,
J'ai un' grand' maison
Tout' plein' de grain, tu en auras tant que tu
voudrais... piqu'! piqu'!

J'ai pas faim.

Cocorico, seigneur coq,
Crêt'd'Or, Têt'-bien-coiffée,
Clair-Regard, Barb' frisée,
Beau seigneur coq, ouv'r'-moi;
J' t'apport' un morceau d' pain.

M'ennuie pas avec ton pain!
Pas si bêt', pas si bêt'!
Je gard' mon bien, gard' ton bien.

Coq de mon Coeur, beau petit coq,
Descends d'ou' tu es perché vers... plus
bas...
Et d'encor' plus bas jusqu' sur... la terre.
Et je t'emporr'rai tout vivant dans...

(Le Coq se prépare à sauter "salto mortale")

Crie: Ne fais pas gras Renard!

Le Coq sauté.

Renard s'empare de lui.

Pour d'autres c'est gras;

Pour nous, c'est maigre!

(Renard tourne autour de la scène en tenant le Coq

Chuck-a-chuck master coq,
With your little redhead,
Looking bold
In your coat of gold
Look out your window
I'll give you a pea.

I won't look out the window.
I don't need your pea.

I eat only grain.
I won't listen to you.

Little coq, little coq,
I have a large harem
In every corner I have grain for you: eat!

What? No, I can't!

Chuck-a-chuck master coq,
With your little redhead,
In your coat of gold
Look out your window
I'll give you some breadcrumbs.

I don't need your breadcrumbs.
I'm not so dumb!
I will not indulge you.

Oh you coq, you little coq,
Come down from your perch

Come down, back to earth,
I will redeem your soul back to heaven!

(The Coq prepares to jump – "salto mortale")

Shouting: Don't be greedy fox!

The Cock jumps.

Renard seizes him very quickly.

Some like it lean, but we like it healthy!

(The fox runs around the stage with the Coq under

sous le bras. Le Coq se débattant désespérément.)
Stringendo (mm. 336 – 353)

Ah, mon Dieu! Mon Dieu! Mon Dieu! Il m'a
pris par les ch'veux,
Il m'a pris par les ch'veux,
Il me tir' par la queue,
Il va m' mettr' tout nu comm' un petit Jesus,
J'suis perdu,
j'suis fichu,
Au s'cours j'en peux plus, ah! Mon Dieu,
Qui l'aurait cru,
qui l'aurait cru?
Frèr' bouc, frèr' chat,
Pourquoi n'et 's vous pas la?
Frèr' bouc frèr' chat,
Bons amis, écoutez-moi,
Frèr' bouc frèr' chat!
C'en est fait d' moi cett' fois!

*(Renard emport Le Coq sur le côté de la scene et
commence à le déplumer.)*
(mm. 354 – 356)

Moderato (mm. 357 – 384)
(Le Coq se lamente.)

Ah, aie, aie, aie!
Mèr' Renard, très charitabl', très venerable,
Viens chez papa, et tu verras, là-bas chez
papa,
Tu verras, comme on te soign' ra, tu verras,
Comm' c'est servi.
C' n'est pas comme ici,
Y a du beurr' sur la table
Seineur, prends sous ta gard' Séraphine, ma
cousin',

Ma bonn' marrain' Cath'rine,

Tous les Saints, André mon parrain,
Adelin' qui fait l'pain,
Et Jean qui travaille au Moulin,
Felicie, Felicie, Sidonie,...donie, do...

his arm. The Coq struggles.)

The fox is carrying me off.
Carrying off the coq.
Along curving shores,
To faraway hilltops,
Into strange lands,
And distant countries
For many miles
Into forgotten kingdoms
Amongst faraway rulers
Cat and Sheep
The fox wants to eat me!
Cat and Sheep
Wants to eat the Coq
Cat and Sheep
Rescue me!

*(Renard carries of the Cock to the side of the stage
and begins to pull out his feathers.)*

(The Cock begs for mercy.)

Oh you fox!
My dearest brother
In my home we have butter

With pancakes
Waiting for you as honored guest
Let me join you
For pirogues with kasha

Pray. Dear God

For Sidor, Makar,
Zachar,
Three Matrena's
And Luke with Peter
For old man-popper,

(Le Coq defaille. Apparaissent Le Chat et Le Bouc. Ils chantent, en s'accompagnant sur la guzla, une aimable chanson a Renard.)

Tiouc, tiouc.
 On chante doux la joli'
 Chanson que voila
 Tiouc, tiouc.
 Ils ne chant'nt pas tant doux qu'ca!
 Tiouc, tiouc.
 Pour l'amour de vous
 On la chant' tout bas,
 On la chante tout doux.
 Tiouc, tiouc,
 On la chante tout doux
 Pour l'amour de vous,
 Tiouc, tiouc.
 Ou est-ell'? est-ell'
 chez ell'? madam' Renard
 Tiouc, tiouc.
 Est-ce qu'on pourrau lui parler?
 Pourrait-on parler a ses d'moisell's
 Tiouc, tiouc.
 On vous chante tout doux
 Pour l'amour de vous.
 Tiouc, tiouc.
 La premier', c'est Mam'sell' Torchon
 La deuxiem', c'est Mam'sell' Cornichon
 Et la quatriem, Mam'sell'
 Fait-le-Poing.

Tiouc, tiouc.
 chante tout doux. Un' jolie chanson pour
 vous.
 Tiouc, tiouc.
 On la chantera jusqu'au bout.
 Tiouc, tiouc.
 Pour l'amour de vous, On la chant' tout bas,
 On la chante tout doux.
 Ou est-ell', Madam' Renard?
 Peut-on la voir?

Old blind woman,
 For Tyusha and Katyusha,
 Grandmother Matresha...
(The Cock is losing hope.)

*(The Cat and Goat reappear
 They play the gusli
 A Lovely song for fox)*

Tren bren, gusli
 Singing strings

Tren, bren...strings
 singing
 Tren, bren... to the lost
 And the others are singing
 And talking

Tren, bren gusli
 Singing strings

Tren, bren,
 is the Fox Bernard Ivanovich at home?

Tren, bren
 In your own golden nest
 With your little children
 Tren, bren gusli,
 Singing strings

Tren, bren...
 The first daughter is the ugly doll
 And the second one not so ugly doll
 And the third one as a pirogue
 And the forth one as a closed
 Little fist
 Tren, bren...gusli,
 Strings are singing

Tren, bren... Strings are singing
 And the others are singing
 Tren, bren gusli sound
 And others are singing and talking:

Is Bernard Ivanovich at home?

(Renard montre le bout de son nez.)

Qu'est-c' que c'est qu' cett' chanson?
Qui est la et que m' veut -on?
On esl les bell's,
les tou's bell's,

Et e' qu'on a sous son manteau.
C'est un grand couteau.
(Les Betes sortent le grand couteau.)

(Renard epouvante.)

Ah! Vous, mes chers yeux,
Mes yeux qui et's deux,
Qu'avez-vous fait, Qu'avez-vous fait, mex
yeux?

On a guigne, guigne, guigne,
Pour qu' les mechant's bet's vien't pas t'
manger.

Ah! Vous mes pieds,
Si legers a courir,
Qu'avez-vous fait, mes pieds,
Chers pieds, pour m' servir?
On a couru tant qu'on a pu.
Et les mechant's bet ne t'ont pas eue.
Et toi, et toi, queue frisee?

A la baie m' suis accrochee.
Helas! M' suis pris' dans la hate.
Et les bet's t'ont attrapee t'ont dechiree.

*(Renard pris de fureur, agite la queue.
Il crie en s'adressant a celle-ci: "Ah, canaille, que
les betes te mettent en morceaux!")*

*Les betes attrapent la queue de Renard, tirent
Renard hors de sa maison, et l'etrangent.
Les deux Tenors et les deux Basses hurlent de toutes
leurs forces.)*

(Le Coq, Le Chat et Le Bouc se mettent a danser.)

(Renard pokes his nose out.)

Poco meno mosso
(mm.448-466)

Who is that singing?
Who is there asking for Foxy?
Go on beasts to your hills
The beasts carrying scythers on their
shoulders
They are thinking about ripping foxy
Ripping Renard up to his shoulders
(Animals are swinging a scythe.)

(Renard is terrified.) (mm.467-503)

Ah! You are my little eyes,
Little eyes
What had you done, my darlings?

We have watched, watched
That those beasts don't eat foxy

Ah! You are my feet, my little feet

What had you done?

We have run away, run away
That those beasts don't rip the fox apart
But you, my tail, why are you
Quietly growning?
I run along the stumps and bushes
so those beasts don't catch the Fox
And hide in the bulrush

(Renard gets really angry and wags his tail.

*Renard shouts at his tail: " Ah!
You are a turncoat, I should let those
beasts eat you!"*

*The animals catch Renard's tail and pull him out
of his house and chock him.)*

*(The two tenors and two basses
wail very loud. Renard dies.)*

Vivo (mm.504-507)

(Cock, Cat and Goat begin dancing.)

Allegro (mm. 508-568)

Mer' Renard, Mer' Renard,
 Pourquoi nous quitter deja?
 C'est que j'ai mon p'tit commerc'
 Qui n'peut pas s'passer de moi.
 Jean-Louis tap' sur sa femm'.
 Ell' tap' sur son mar' las,
 Ils crient, les chiens aboient.
 Leurs enfants sont au bois.
 Ils ont dit a Renard:
 "Eh... Renard, viendras-tu pas?
 T'auras du chocolat"

Renard a dit: "Ca va."
 Sur la plac' du village,
 Les loups battaient les pois;
 Renard se derang' pas.
 Renard est sur le poel':
 "Gar', Renard, les voila!"
 Il a saute par terr',
 Il s'est casse le bras.
 Zoum! Zoum! Zoum!
 Patazoum, patazoum!
 C'est tant mieux
 pour les poul's.
 Et c'est ainsi qu'on dit..

Zoum! Zoum! Zoum!
 Patazoum, patazoum!
 ...que l'histoire finit.
 A present on va aller
 Ous qu'y aura d'quot manger.
 Et ous qu'y aura d'quoi boir.
 On ira ous qu'y aura...
 Des beaux beignets a l'huile d'noix,
 Et puis plein un...
 Tonneau d' bon vin nouveau.
 Seigneur, pardonnex nous!
 Sur sa bete est Jean Badoux,
 Sur l'homme sa-tet,
 Dans sa tet rien du tout.
 Et voila qu'il pleut,
 On a fait un bon feu...
 En l'honneur d'nos messieurs
 Nox messieurs sont arrives,
 Leurs chiens ont fait coucher.

Fox, Foxy!
 Why didn't you live longer?
 I was afraid of the little things
 The little things make no judgements
 The judgement comes with big obstacles
 Those are children
 Children want to fly away
 To fly away
 To Ivan City,
 They're writing a good bye letter,
 They feel pity for the fox

Foxy, fox
 Go to drink
 On that road are wolves
 They grind the peas
 Children say:
 Renard has broken bones now

Sem, sem, sem
 peresem
 Baked on the shovel
 Old Man finished his song,
 Old man sat in his cabbage garden

Sem, sem, sem
 peresem
 He eats three buckets of pancakes,
 Three buckets of pancakes,
 Bunch of buns,
 A few cakes,
 Stew with bread,
 and boiled fruits,
 Pot of soup.
 Good bless
 Danilo on the horse
 Chair on the floor
 On the stove
 are the oven cakes
 Hot as fire
 Baked for noblemen
 Noblemen came
 They came with dogs
 Dogs got hyper

Leurs chiens sont faches,
Renard a empoche.
Et si l'histoir' vous a plu, Payez-moi c' qui
m'est du!

Bit the fox
That is the tale for you!
Give me a can of butter.

Figure Number 1
Natalia Goncharova – *The Lilies* (1913)*

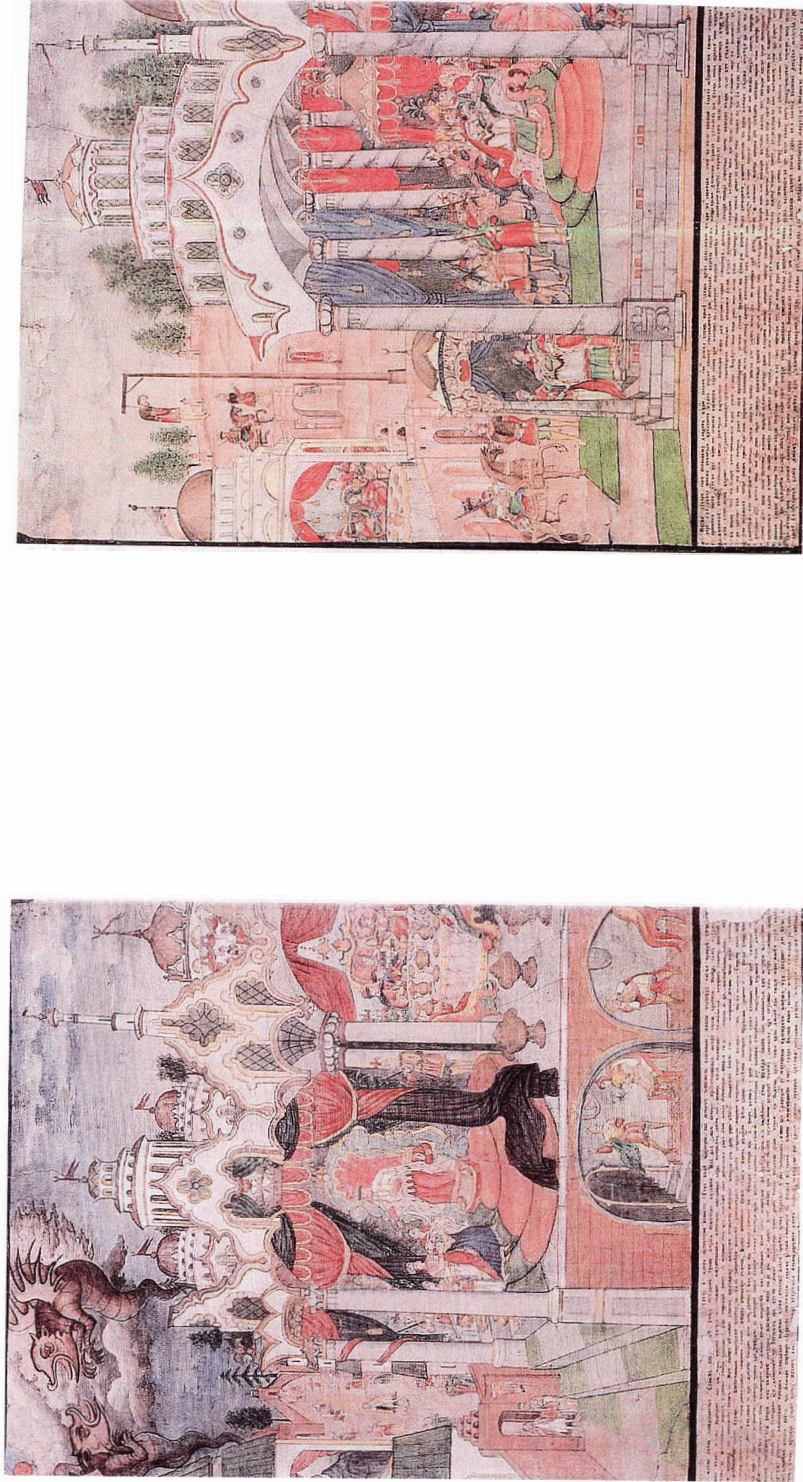


Figure Number 2
Natalia Goncharova – Sketch for Act I of *The Golden Cockerel*
(1914)



* Unless otherwise indicated the figures are borrowed from Garafola, Lynn and Nancy Van Norman Baer's *The Ballet Russe and Its World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Figure 3 – 19th Century Lubok Prints*



* E. P. Ivanov. *Russkii narodnyi lubok. S 90 odno t svetnymi i 13 kerachnymi reprodak t si i ami.* Izogiz, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo izobrazitel'nykh iskusstv, 1937.

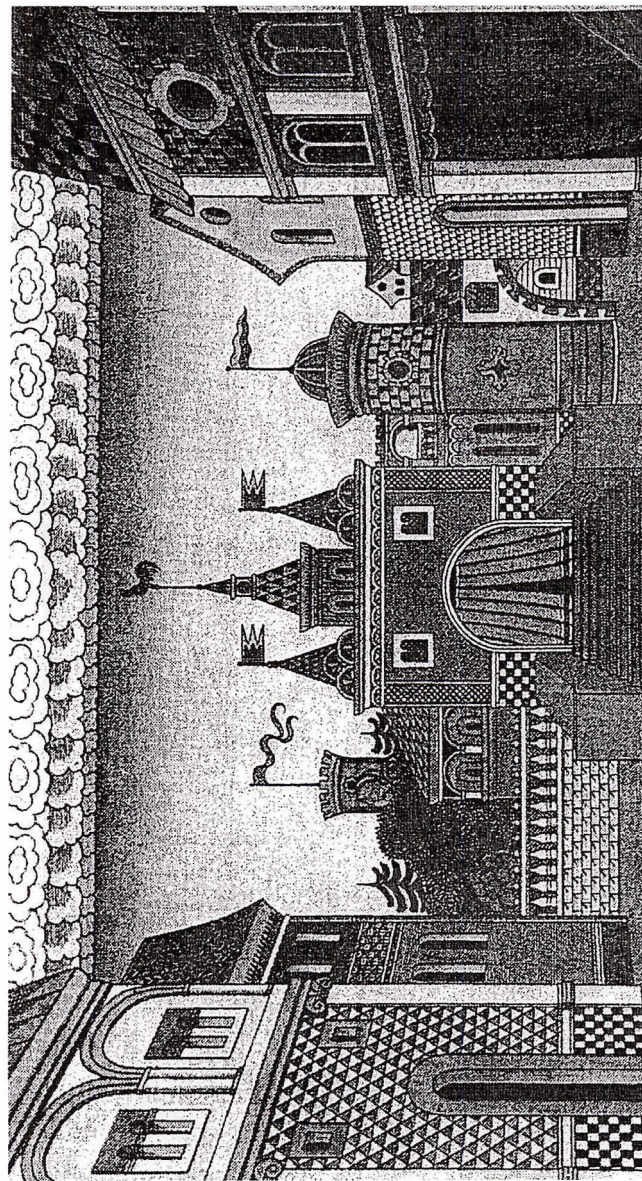
Figure 4
Natalia Goncharova – Backdrop for Act I of *The Golden Cockerel* (1914)



Figure 5
Natalia Goncharova – Backdrop for Act III, *The Golden Cockerel* (1914)



Figure 6
Ivan Bilidin – Backdrop for *The Golden Cockerel*, (1909)*

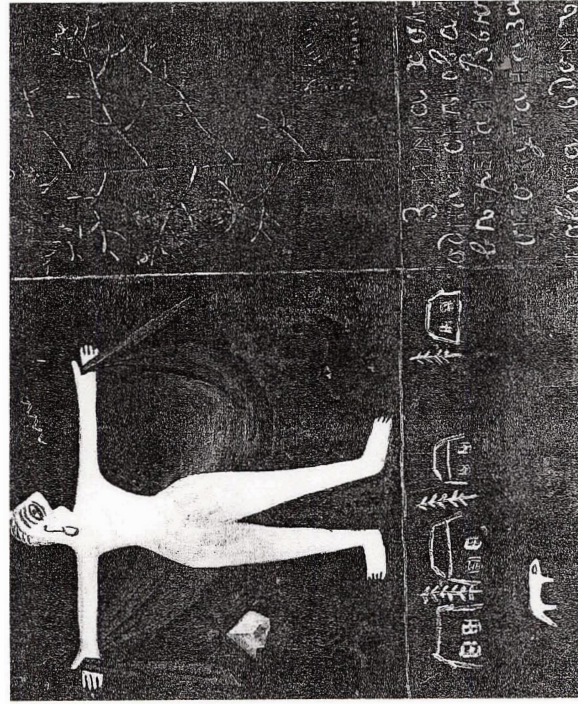


* Richard Taruskin. "Golden Cockerel, The." *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1992), 475.

Figure 7
Natalia Goncharova – Peasant Costumes for *The Golden Cockerel* (1914)

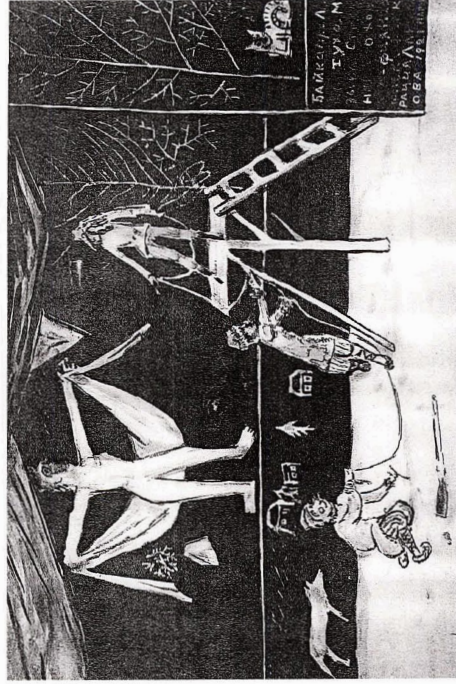


Figure 8
Mikhail Larionov – *Winter* (1912 – 13)*



* Anthony Parton. *Mikhail Larionov and the Russian Avant-garde*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 51.

Figure 9
Mikhail Larionov – Set Design for *Renard* (1921)*



* Alexander Schouvaloff. *The Art of the Ballets Russes: The Serge Lijar Collection of Theatre Designs, Costumes, and Paintings at the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 225.

Figure 10
Mikhail Larionov – Set Design for *Renard* (1921)*



* Anthony Parton, 190.

Bibliography

- Abraham, Gerald. *Essays on Russian and East European Music*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1985.
- _____. *Rimsky-Korsakov: A Short Biography*. London: Duckworth, 1945.
- _____. "Satire and Symbolism in The Golden Cockerel" *Music & Letters*, Volume LII/1 (January 1971), 46-54.
- Acocella, Joan. "Diaghilev's *Complicated Questions*." *The Ballets Russes and Its World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 71-93.
- Afanasiev, Aleksandr Nikolaevich. *Narodnye Russkie Skazki*. Moscow: Izdvo Nauka, 1984-85.
- _____. *Russian Fairy Tales*, 2nd edition. Trans. Norbert Guterman. New York Pantheon Books, 1973.
- Albright, Daniel. *Untwisting the Serpent: Modernism in Music, Literature, and Other Arts*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Arndt, Walter. *Alexander Pushkin: Collected Narrative and Lyrical Poetry*. Ann Arbor: Ardis Publishers, 1984.
- Asafyev, Boris. *A Book About Stravinsky*, trans. Richard F. French. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982.
- Ashton Ellis, William, translator. *Richard Wagner's Prose Works: Vol 1, The Art-Work of the Future*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1972.
- Balanchine, George and Francis Mason. *101 Stories of the Great Ballets*. New York: Doubleday & Company Inc., 1995.
- Bartlett, Rosamund. *Wagner and Russia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Beaumont, Cyril W. *Ballet: Past & Present*. London: Hazell, Watson & Viney Limited, 1946.
- Benois, Alexandre. *Footnotes to the Ballet*, ed. Doris Caroline, trans. S. F. Simon. London: Peter Davis Ltd., 1936.
- Benois, Alexandre. Mary Britnieva, trans. *Reminiscences of the Russian Ballet*. London: Putnam, 1941.
- Bernard, Christine and Charles Spencer. *The World of Serge Diaghilev*. London: Garden City Press, 1974.
- Bevan, David. *Charles-Ferdinand Ramuz*. Boston: Twaine Publishers, 1979.

- Borovsky, Victor. "Private Opera Companies in Russia: Part 3" *Opera*, February 1980. pp 647-652.
- Bowl, John E. *The Silver Age: Russian Art of the Early Twentieth Century and the "World of Art" Group*. Newtonville: Oriental Research Partners, 1982.
- Bowl, John E. "Early Writings of Serge Diaghilev." *The Ballets Russes and Its World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 43-70.
- Brahms, Caryl. *Footnotes to the Ballet: A Book for Balletomanes*. London: Lovat Dickson Ltd., 1936.
- Bridgman, Elena. "Mir Iskusstva: Origins of the Ballets Russes." *The Art of Enchantment: Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, 1909-1929* (New York: Universe Books, 1988), 26-43.
- Brody, Elaine. *Paris: The Musical Kaleidoscope, 1870-1925*. New York: George Braziller, 1987.
- Broeckx, Jan L. *Contemporary Views on Musical Style and Aesthetics*. Antwerp: Metropolis, 1979.
- Buckle, Richard. *Diaghilev*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1979.
- Burgess Green, Martin & John C. Swan. *The Triumph of Pierrot: Commedia Dell'Arte and the Modern Imagination*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993.
- Burlingame, Edward L, ed. & trans. *Art, Life and Theories of Richard Wagner: Selections from his Writings*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1875.
- Butler, Christopher. *Early Modernism: Literature, Music and Painting in Europe, 1900-1916*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.
- Cohen-Stratynner, Barbara Naomi, ed. *Biographical Dictionary of Dance*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1982.
- Coleman, Francis A. "A Talk with Igor Stravinsky" (*Dance Magazine*, April 1945) New York, 14 & 30.
- Craft, Robert. *Dialogues*. London: Faber Music, 1982.
- _____. "Music and Words." *Stravinsky in the Theatre* (New York: Pellegrini & Company, 1949), 85-103.
- _____. *Present Perspectives: Critical Writings*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984.
- _____. *Stravinsky: Glimpses of a Life*. London: Lime Tree, 1992.
- _____, ed. *Stravinsky: Selected Correspondence, Vol. II*. New York: Knopf, 1982.
- Cross, Jonathan. *The Stravinsky Legacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

- Dorati, Antal. "The Golden Cockerel: Political Satire and Fairy Tale" *Opera*, November 1962. pp 713-715.
- Druskin, Mikhail. *Igor Stravinsky: His Life, Works, and Views*. Trans. Martin Cooper. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Dunner, Leslie Byron. *Stravinsky and Dance: A Conductor's Study of "Renard."* Dissertation. Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati, 1982.
- Elliot, David. *New Worlds: Russian Art and Society, 1900-1937*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1986.
- Fokine, Vitale, translator. *Fokine: Memoirs of a Ballet Master*. London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1961.
- Foster, Susan Leigh. *Choreography and Narrative: Ballet's Staging of Story and Desire*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1996.
- Garafola, Lynn. *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- _____. "Rediscovering Michel Fokine: By Challenging Russian Tradition, this Modernist Choreographer Wrestled Ballet into the Twentieth-Century." *Dance Magazine*, Volume 77, Issue 10 (October, 2003), 45-49.
- Garafola, Lynn and Nancy Van Norman Baer, eds. *The Ballet Russe and Its World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Gray, Camilla. *The Russian Experiment in Art: 1863-1922*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1971.
- Griffiths, Paul. *Stravinsky*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1992.
- Grigoriev, S. L. *The Diaghilev Ballet: 1909-1929*. London: Constable and Company Ltd, 1953.
- Hansen, Robert C. *Scenic and Costume Design for the Ballet Russes*. Ann Arbor Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1985.
- Harris, Dale. "Ballets Russes de Serge Diaghilev." *International Encyclopedia of Dance, Vol. 1* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 316-326.
- Haskell, Arnold. *Diaghileff: His Artistic and Private Life*. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1935.
- Heintze, James R. *Igor Stravinsky: An International Bibliography of Theses and Dissertations, 1925-2000*.
- Ivanov, E. P. *Russkii narodnyi lubok. S 90 odno't'svetnymi i 13 krasochnymi reprodukt'si'iami*. Izogiz, Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo izobrazitich'nykh iskusstv, 1937.

- Jaubert, Jeanne. "Some Ideas About Meter in the Fourth Tableau of Stravinsky's *Les Noces*, or Stravinsky, Nijinska and Particle Physics." *Musical Quarterly* (1999), 205-226.
- Jestrovic, Silvija. "Theatricality as Estrangement of Art and Life in the Russian Avant-garde" *SubStance* (Volume 31, Numbers 2 & 3, 2002) Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 42-56.
- Jonas, Florence, ed. Yastrebtsev, V. V. *Reminiscences of Rimsky-Korsakov*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.
- Joseph, Charles E. "Diaghilev and Stravinsky." *The Ballets Russes and Its World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 189-215.
- Karlinsky, Simon. "Igor Stravinsky and Russian Preliterate Theatre." *Confronting Stravinsky* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 1-15.
- Keller, Hans & Milein Cosman. *Stravinsky Seen and Heard*. London: Toccata Press, 1982.
- Kochno, Boris. *Diaghilev and the Ballet Russes*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1970.
- Koegler, Horst. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Ballet, 2nd Edition*. London: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Lambert, Constant. *Music Ho! A Study of Music in Decline*. London: Hogarth Press, 1985.
- Lifar, Serge. *Serge Diaghilev: His Life, His Work, His Legend*. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940.
- Lifar, Serge. *The Three Graces: Anna Pavlova, Tamara Karsavina, Olga Spessivtzeva, the Legends and the Truth*. London: Cassell & Company Ltd., 1959.
- MacDonald, Nesta. *Diaghilev Observed by Critics in England and the United States: 1911-1929*. New York: Dance Horizons, 1975.
- Mazo, Margarita. "Stravinsky's *Les Noces* and Russian Village Wedding Ritual." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (1990), 99-142.
- MacEachern, Sally, ed. *Ballets Russes*. New Jersey: Wellfleet Press, 1989.
- Millington, Barry. *Wagner*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Minna Lederman, ed. *Stravinsky in the Theatre*. New York: Pellegrini & Company, 1949.
- Montagu-Nathan, M. "King Dodon's Love-Song." *The Monthly Musical Record*, October 1954 (London: Augener Ltd.), 210-212.

- _____. "The Origin of *The Golden Cockerel*." *The Music Review*, Volume 15, 1954 (Cambridge: W. Helfer & Sons Ltd.), 33-38.
- Montagu-Nathan, M. *Rimsky-Korsakof*. New York: Duffield and Company, 1917.
- Moore, Lillian. "Stravinsky on Music for Ballet" *The Dancing Times*, February, 1947 (London), 243-44.
- Nathan, George Jean. *The Magic Mirror: Selected Writings on the Theatre*. New York: Knopf, 1960.
- Nijinska, Irina & Jean Rawlinson, eds. *Bronislava Nijinska: Early Memoirs*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981.
- Oliver, Michael. *Igor Stravinsky*. London: Phaidon, 1995.
- Parton, Anthony. "Cubo-Futurism", *Grove Art Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2/12/03), www.groveart.com.
- _____. "Donkey's Tail", *Grove Art Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2/12/03), www.groveart.com
- _____. "Jack of Diamonds", *Grove Art Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2/12/03), www.groveart.com
- _____. "Lubok", *Grove Art Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2/12/03), www.groveart.com
- _____. "Mikhail Larionov", *Grove Art Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2/12/03), www.groveart.com
- _____. "Neo-Primitivism", *Grove Art Online* ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2/12/03), www.groveart.com
- _____. *Mikhail Larionov and the Russian Avant-garde*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- Pasler, Jann. *Confronting Stravinsky: Man, Musician, and Modernist*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Percival, John. *The World of Diaghilev*. New York: Harmony Books, 1971.
- Pitou, Spire, ed. *The Paris Opera: An Encyclopaedia of Operas, Ballets, Composers, and Performers – Growth and Grandeur, 1815-1914, Vol A-L*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.
- Pozharskaya, Militsa and Tatiana Volodina. *The Art of the Ballets Russes: The Russian Seasons in Paris 1908-29*. London: Aurum Press Limited, 1990.

- Proper, W. A. *The Russian Ballet*. New York: Greenberg, 1932.
- Reade, Brian. *Ballet Designs and Illustrations: 1581 – 1940*. London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1967.
- Rimskiĭ -Korsakov, Nikolai Andreevich, 1844-1908. *Collected Works, Vol. 15: Le Coq d'Or*. Moscow: State Music Publishers, 1948.
- _____. *Le Coq d'Or*. Moscow Radio Chorus & Opera-Symphony Orchestra, Alexei Kovlayov, Conductor.
- _____. *My Musical Life*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1923.
- Rydin, V., ed. *Russian Art of the Theatre*. Moscow, 1994.
- Russian Stage and Costume Designs for the Ballet, Opera and Theatre: A Loan Exhibition from the Lobanov-Rostovsky, Oenslager and Riabov Collections*. Circulated by the International Exhibitions Foundation 1967-1969.
- Sadie, Stanley, ed. *The New Grove Russian Masters 2: Rimsky-Korsakov, Scriabin, Rakhmaninov, Prokofiev, Shostakovich*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1986.
- Schouvaloff, Alexander. *The Art of the Ballets Russes: The Serge Lifar Collection of Theatre Designs, Costumes, and Paintings at the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Schouvaloff, Alexander. "Diaghilev's Ballets Russes: The First Phase" *Diaghilev, Creator of the Ballets Russes: Art, Music, Dance*, Ann Kodicek, ed. (Barbican Art Gallery: London, 1996), 87 – 95.
- Schouvaloff, Alexander and Victor Borovsky. *Stravinsky on Stage*. London: Stainer & Bell, 1982.
- Seaman, Gerald R. *Nikolai Andreevich Rimsky-Korsakov: A Guide to Research*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988.
- Sharp, Jane A. "Natalia Goncharova" *Amazons of the Avant-Garde* (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2000), 155-167.
- _____. "The Russian Avant-Garde and Its Audience: Moscow, 1913" *Modernism/Modernity*. Volume 6, Number 3, 1999 (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press), 91-116.
- Spencer, Charles. *The World of Serge Diaghilev*. London: Paul Elek Ltd., 1974.
- Stravinsky, Igor. *Igor Stravinsky: An Autobiography*. London: Calder and Boyars, 1975.

- Stravinsky, Igor & Robert Craft. *Conversations with Igor Stravinsky*. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1959.
- Stravinsky, Igor. *Renard*. London: J. & W. Chester, Ltd., 1917.
- Stravinsky, Igor. *Renard: Conductor's Score*. New York, 1972.
- Taruskin, Richard. "Golden Cockerel, The." *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1992), 474-476.
- _____. "Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolay Andreyevich." *New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1992), 1332-1341.
- _____. *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra*. Vol. II. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- _____. "Stravinsky's 'Rejoicing Discovery' and What It Meant: In Defense of His Notorious Text Setting." *Stravinsky Retrospectives* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 162-199.
- Tuggle, Robert, ed. *Annals of the Metropolitan Opera: The Complete Chronicle of Performers and Artists, Chronology 1883-1985*. Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1989.
- Tupitsyn, Margarita. "Collaborating on the Paradigm of the Future." *Art Journal*, Volume 52, Number 4 (Winter, 1993), 187 – 188.
- Van den Toorn, Pieter C. *The Music of Igor Stravinsky*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.
- Van Norman Baer, Nancy. *The Art of Enchantment: Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, 1909-1929*. New York: Universe Books, 1988.
- _____. *Bronislava Nijinska: A Dancer's Legacy*. San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1986.
- _____. *Theatre in Revolution: Russian Avant-Garde Stage Design 1913-1935*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1991.
- Wagner, Richard. William Ashton Ellis, trans. *The Art-Work of the Future and Other Works*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1993.
- Walsh, Stephen. *Stravinsky: A Creative Spring: Russia and France, 1882-1934*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999.
- _____. *The Music of Stravinsky*. New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall Inc., 1988.

Weinstock, Stephen Jay. *Independence Verses Interdependence in Stravinsky's Theatrical Collaborations: The Evolution of the Original Production of 'The Wedding.'* Berkeley: University of California. Ph.D. Dissertation, 1982.

Weiss, Piero and Richard Taruskin. *Music in the Western World: A History of Documents.* New York: Schirmer Books, 1984.

White, Eric Walter. *Stravinsky: A Critical Survey, 1882 – 1946.* New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1997.

_____. *Stravinsky: The Composer and His Works.* London: Faber Music, 1979.