The Report Committee for Mallory Maria Troyer
Certifies that this is the approved version of the following report:

Life and Art in Paris:
Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps*

APPROVED BY
SUPERVISING COMMITTEE:

Supervisor:

____
Elliott Antokoletz

____
Marianne Wheeldon

Life and Art in Paris:
Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps*

by

Mallory Maria Troyer, B.Music

Report

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Music

The University of Texas at Austin
May 2014

Abstract

Life and Art in Paris:
Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps*

Mallory Maria Troyer, M.Music

The University of Texas at Austin, 2014

Supervisor: Elliott Antokoletz

At the turn of the twentieth century, Paris was an international center for music, art, and fashion. It fostered the creation of a variety of innovative artistic developments and is widely considered to be the birthplace of Modernism. Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps*, the epitome of modernist innovation, could only have happened in this unique cultural climate in the context of the Franco-Russian alliance. Stravinsky's early musical development reached its peak in his early ballets, most notably *Le Sacre du printemps*. This work is a culmination of the multiplicity of cultural activities that include art, scenario, choreography, and music that came together in Paris. In this essay, I will explore the various ways in which the city of Paris in the beginning of the twentieth century influenced Stravinsky's musical voice. My discussion moves from an overview of the city to Stravinsky, exploring the ways in which the Parisian environment shaped his compositional style. To this end, *Le Sacre du printemps* is viewed as a kind of lightning rod, bringing together many of the fundamental artistic developments of the

early twentieth century and reflecting the diverse and modern city in which it was premiered.

Table of Contents

Introduction 1

The History and Cultural Context of Paris 2

Modernist Developments in Visual Art 11

Modernist Developments in Choreography and Dance 24

Modernist Developments in Literature and Scenario 31

Modernist Developments in Music 36

Stravinsky's Move to Paris 47

From Narrative to Abstraction: Stravinsky's Ballets 53

Bibliography 78

Introduction

At the turn of the twentieth century, Paris was an international center for music, art, and fashion. It fostered the creation of a variety of innovative artistic developments and is widely considered to be the birthplace of Modernism. Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps*, the epitome of modernist innovation, could only have happened in this unique cultural climate in the context of the Franco-Russian alliance. Stravinsky's early musical development reached its peak in his early ballets, most notably *Le Sacre du printemps*. This work is a culmination of the multiplicity of cultural activities that include art, scenario, choreography, and music that came together in Paris. In this essay, I will explore the various ways in which the city of Paris in the beginning of the twentieth century influenced Stravinsky's musical voice. My discussion moves from an overview of the city to Stravinsky, exploring the ways in which the Parisian environment shaped his compositional style. To this end, *Le Sacre du printemps* is viewed as a kind of lightning rod, bringing together many of the fundamental artistic developments of the early twentieth century and reflecting the diverse and modern city in which it was premiered.

The History and Cultural Context of Paris

During the period of the Third Republic (1870-1940) Paris was considered a major center of Western culture. Paris has for most of its history played a central role in cultural and artistic innovations. The lure of the city has for centuries drawn artists from a variety of disciplines to its streets, schools, churches, theaters, and cafés. Paris has long remained a city known for renowned artistic schools and societies. Moreover, since the Middle Ages, music has been a central part of the city's cultural, economic, political, and social life. It was in Paris that the first universities fostered musical education, the towering cathedrals inspired polyphonic music and the Notre Dame School made great advances in rhythm. It has been a center for the publication of music, the manufacturing of instruments, the training of the world's top performers, and the site of the first periodical dedicated to music. The city has given much of its money and real estate to performance venues and it has long sponsored musical competitions that have made it a distinct center for musical change and growth.[1]

Throughout history, the involvement of France's ruling powers in the arts has contributed to this strong link between city and music. Even before the inception of France as the ruling power of Europe in the seventeenth century, courts and palaces, many of them in or around Paris, have been major centers of music and culture, employing musicians and commissioning works. Beginning with the Revolution of 1789, the various forms of French government have also been preoccupied with music,

---

[1] For an overview of the city's musical history, see Gordon A. Anderson, et al., "Paris," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd edition, ed. Stanley Sadie (New York: Grove's Dictionaries Inc., 2001).

realizing its multifaceted potential to effect change in the lives of its citizens. Music has been used to educate, to uplift, to bring together differing peoples, and to create a sense of pride in the country's history. The government's preoccupation with music culminated during the Third Republic and resulted in an unprecedented era of musical growth and creativity. Jann Pasler asserts that, even today, the close link between the state and music has resulted in Paris controlling much of the world of music.[2]

The Third Republic was a period of rapid change. France recently faced defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) and was subsequently attempting to rebuild national pride and culture. Paris was politically divided between Monarchists and Republicans. Although the period in general observed steady economic growth, these years were fraught with internal uprisings, scandals, and reforms. The Dreyfus affair (1894-1906), General Boulanger's attempt to overthrow the president (1889) and several attacks on the city by anarchists divided Parisians and made them suspicious of their fellow Frenchmen. It was during this time that music in particular was believed to be morally and politically persuasive.[3] For example, Debussy's opera *Pelléas et Mélisande* (1902) was associated in the minds of the Parisian public with the Dreyfus Affair and the issues of the contemporary feminist movement sweeping through Europe.[4]

---

[2] Jann Pasler, "Paris: VII – After 1870," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd edition, ed. Stanley Sadie (New York: Grove's Dictionaries Inc., 2001), 112.

[3] See Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

[4] For more on the social, moral, and political implications of the opera, see Elliot Antokoletz and Juana Canabal Antokoletz, *Musical Symbolism in the Operas of Debussy and Bartók: Trauma, Gender, and the Unfolding Unconscious* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), and Jann Pasler, "Pelléas and Power: Forces behind the Reception of Debussy's Opera," *19th-Century Music* 10 no. 2 (April 1, 1987): 243-264.

Socially, it was a period of drama, big personalities, and rapidly shifting fashions. Roger Shattuck describes Third Republic Paris as "a stage, a vast theater for herself and all the world…living had become increasingly a special kind of performance presided over by fashion, innovation, and taste."[5] This is fitting, given that stage performances were a central form of entertainment for any *bourgeoisie* Parisian. The stage was thus the site of some of the most innovative artistic creations in the twentieth century.

Because of the post-war economic growth and increasing political stability, the number of cabarets, cafés, theaters, opera houses, and other public venues increased dramatically. The *nouveau riche* of the *bourgeoisie* embraced lavishness in all of its forms. Whereas the audience prior to the Third Republic generally belonged to the same social class, the creation of new venues and subsidized tickets meant that a variety of social classes were now present at any given concert.[6] The Republican government, seeking to educate and unite all French citizens, ensured that there were opportunities for the masses to experience art and music. This often meant that concerts were offered for a significantly reduced ticket cost, or perhaps no cost at all. Additionally, the *nouveau riche* could now purchase a seat next to those that had belonged to the aristocracy for generations. This mixing of classes led to a multiplicity of backgrounds, values, and tastes at any given concert. Composers responded to the increased access to art music by objecting to works that were ubiquitously popular. Debussy was especially against art for

[5] Roger Shattuck, *The Banquet Years; the Origins of the Avant Garde in France, 1885 to World War I: Alfred Jarry, Henri Rousseau, Erik Satie, Guillaume Apollinaire*, rev. ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), 5.
[6] Jann Pasler, "Paris: VII – After 1870," 115.

the masses, claiming that music could only be appreciated by certain individuals.[7] Instead, the new avant-garde movement viewed music as something mysterious and something to be appreciated intellectually. This led to the creation of new works not considered stereotypically beautiful or useful.[8]

The desire for innovative works by composers and artistic snobs was partly responsible for bringing international artists to Paris to premiere new works. Parisian audiences were often accepting of the unfamiliar and were enticed by new art music.[9] Beginning in the 1880s, the French public embraced novelty in many forms. Because of this, composers began to take risks in their compositions.[10] In the following decades, French citizens' hunger for anything novel only increased; any innovative work immediately sparked attention. Out of this atmosphere came a multitude of new ideas, aesthetics, and movements. Symbolism and Impressionism originated in the city, and the novel musical languages of Debussy and Satie served as the forerunners to Modernism. Paris was filled with a "New Spirit" that was creating significant changes in all of the arts.[11]

The diversity of the concert-going audience created a clash of social and political values at any public performance. Cultural events were often used as outlets to articulate

---

[7] Claude Debussy, *Debussy on Music: The Critical Writings of the Great French Composer Claude Debussy*, 1st American ed., ed. Richard Langham Smith (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1977), 141.
[8] Pasler, *Composing the Citizen,* 545.
[9] Ibid., 36.
[10] Ibid., 394.
[11] Shattuck, *The Banquet Years,* 32. The concept of a "New Spirit," which was a term used by Apollinaire to describe the changing motivations and aesthetic preoccupations of modernist artists, is discussed on pp. 32-34.

socio-political frustrations without potential ramification.[12] This, in addition to the daring risks artists were taking, the international diversity of the city, and the general hunger for new work by the public resulted in a number of "scandalous" theatrical premieres.

Parisians loved the uproar that a shocking new work would cause. This in turn spurred artists to be more experimental, knowing that the larger the reaction they elicited, the more successful their work would be. Knowing that they would find some support from at least one of the many factions of Paris' diverse social milieu gave young innovators the courage they needed to completely subvert audience expectations. The premieres of several notable works of the Parisian avant-garde were, indeed, "scandalous." Alfred Jarry's *Ubu Roi* (1896) and Debussy's *Pelléas et Melisande* (1902) are but a few examples of seminal works that reflected the tumultuous political and social climate of the city. Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps* (1913) would eventually serve as the most notorious example of a scandalous premiere. Its first performance received a remarkable amount of attention, both immediately after the event and throughout the twentieth century.

As the nineteenth century was coming to a close, international political tensions increased. In its efforts to regain lost land from the Franco-Prussian War, France turned to Russia to form an *entente* in 1891. This alliance not only offered France security, but also affected political, social, economic, and cultural ties between the two countries. In 1900, France erected the Pont Alexandre III to represent the alliance and honor the

---

[12] For further discussion, see Pasler, "Pelléas and Power."

Russian Czar.[13] Russian diplomats spent leisurely time with the Paris elite. There was an especially significant connection between Grand Duke Vladimir and Countess Greffulhe; the Countess was a rich and influential patron of modern artists. She supported the alliance by programming contemporary Russian composers at her concerts and later financed Serge Diaghilev as he brought the Ballets Russes to the city.[14]

Culturally, the Franco-Russian alliance created a rich exchange of literature, art and music. These exchanges engendered, in turn, goodwill between the two countries. Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov and Alexander Glazunov brought orchestras and choirs from Russia to perform at the Exposition Universelle in 1889.[15] Many French operas received numerous stagings in Russia, and some even received their premieres there.[16] Significant artistic exchange also occurred in ballet. Marius Petipa re-choreographed several of Adolphe Adam's ballets, and Léo Delibe's ballets inspired Russian composers as well as Alexandre Benois, who would eventually come to Paris as a designer for the Ballets Russes.[17] As French and Russian companies staged each other's works, the focus on displaying their respective national musics resulted in a new form of cultural hybridization, which made Modernism an international aesthetic movement.[18] These

---

[13] See Pasler, *Composing the Citizen,* 15-17.

[14] Ibid., 621. On page 627 Pasler describes Greffulhe's society and a specific concert supporting the Franco-Russian alliance at the Trocadéro theater featuring works by Glinka, Chaikovsky, Borodin, and Rimsky-Korsakov.

[15] Ibid., 557.

[16] Ibid., 264.

[17] Ibid., 258-259.

[18] Ibid., 691. Although Pasler discusses this "growing internationalism" as occurring between France and several other European countries, I believe it to be especially applicable to the shared musical experiences of France and Russia because of the Franco-Russian alliance.

exchanges led to international collaboration and ultimately formed a culture – part French and part Russian – which became Modernism in Paris.[19]

All of these factors led especially to the creation of music for the stage, as theatrical entertainment occupied a central place in Parisian culture. Performers of the theater could now become internationally renowned stars. The theater's lighting began to focus specifically on the stage as audience lighting was dimmed for the first time. In essence, "the theater reigned supreme."[20] Singers, composers, designers, patrons, inventors, artists, choreographers, directors, actors, orchestras, ballet companies and choruses all came together in the theater. Many theaters were places to see and be seen and places for society's elite to experience the latest trends in art.

The theater and other sites of collaboration were significant contributors to the birth of Modernism. Composers and artists from around the world saw the city as a space to work and learn from other artists. This led to innovative works in many areas. In his book *The Banquet Years*, Shattuck explores these sites of collaboration in his discussion of the Parisian avant-garde. He asserts that more than at any other time since the Renaissance, artists worked together and drew from each other's art in an "atmosphere of perpetual collaboration."[21] These collaborations resulted from individuals sharing ideas and arriving at similar conclusions while still retaining their individual artistic voices.[22]

---

[19] Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, 668.
[20] Shattuck, *The Banquet Years,* 8.
[21] Ibid., 23.
[22] Ibid., 275.

As Paris moved into the twentieth century, its art and music scene blossomed as the political, ideological, and artistic changes of the last thirty years came together and created a new culture that embraced all things avant-garde. The world looked to Paris, having displayed its cultural prowess with the Eiffel Tower and the Exposition Universelle, to pave the way in the arts. In the decades that would follow, Paris would produce some of the most shocking, innovative, bizarre, and influential works of the twentieth century. Difference was the new norm and change was constant. In avant-garde Paris, there were more artistic movements than any other period in history.[23]

Modernism has become a catchall term of the twentieth century that refers to a variety of artistic movements and has been defined in a variety of ways. The reason behind this multiplicity of definitions is apparent when one looks back to the turn of the century. A surge in nationalism in many countries challenged German musical dominance. Expressionism reacted against realism, turning to the exploration of the inner psyche.[24] Cubism attempted to represent all facets of a three-dimensional object in a two-dimensional painting.[25] Futurism tore down the past in an attempt to create a new future fuelled by the dynamism of contemporary society. These are but a few examples of the multiple ways Modernism was manifested in the twentieth century.

The city of Paris would be the first to witness many of these developments. Because of the city's unique audience, large number of venues, and overall enthusiasm

---

[23] Shattuck, *The Banquet Years*, 4.
[24] See Elliott Antokoletz, *A History of Twentieth-century Music in a Theoretic-analytical Context* (New York; London: Routledge, 2013), Chapter 1.
[25] See Colin Rhodes, *Primitivism and Modern Art*, World of Art (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 124.

for new art, it became the birthplace of Modernism. Diaghilev's Ballets Russes was the nucleus of many of these developments. Symbolism, Impressionism, Futurism, Dadaism, Primitivism, Neonationalism, and Cubism would all appear in Diaghilev's productions between the years 1909-1929. Indeed, it was within the ballet that Modernism was expressed most directly by being presented simultaneously in a variety of art forms.

It was under these circumstances of innovation, collaboration, and international culture that Stravinsky was brought to Paris by Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes. His acculturation into the city coincided with the creation of three ballets, performed by the Ballets Russes and known today as theatrical masterpieces of the twentieth century. In the sections that follow, the various threads of Modernism in visual art, choreography, scenario, and music will be discussed to show the wider cultural context surrounding Stravinsky's ballets. After exploring several of these modernist manifestations in Paris, a brief overview of Stravinsky's acculturation will be given. The impact of these artistic trends on the composer can best be understood by observing the ballets because of the collaborative nature of theatrical productions. Many of the developments previously mentioned are reflected in his *Le Sacre du printemps*, which is viewed as the epitome of his early musical career and one of the greatest innovations of avant-garde Paris.

Modernist Developments in Visual Art

Although Modernism was defined differently in various disciplines, the move to Modernism in visual art most often meant the move away from direct representation towards abstraction. This development has been traced through several movements, beginning with Impressionism, moving through Primitivism and Cubism and eventually to completely abstract works. In the visual art world, these trends toward abstraction are what scholars have generally labeled Modernism.[26] This shift is evident in each of the areas of visual art that resonate in Stravinsky's music – Primitivism, Neonationalism, and Cubism.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, many European artists became disillusioned with urban, modern life and instead sought inspiration from 'primitive' sources, which were thought to be simple, more direct, free from academic convention, and truer to a fundamental human existence.[27] For several French artists, this quest began close to home; the rural countryside of Brittany was Gauguin's first destination to find 'pure' artistic sources.[28] For avant-garde artists, the concept of 'primitive' was far-reaching; women, children, rural peoples, and anyone or anything outside of Western Europe was seen as 'primitive' in some way. Although this view of the other as being backward and uncivilized is problematic on many levels, it is important to note that, in

---

[26] Steve Edwards and Paul Wood, eds., *Art of the Avant-gardes* (New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press in association with the Open University, 2004), 3. Wood goes on to explain that throughout the twentieth century the term Modernism has been problematized and defined in a variety of ways.

[27] For a discussion of the formation of primitivism, see Rhodes, *Primitivism and Modern Art*, 9, and Edwards and Wood, *Art of the Avant-gardes*, 158-159.

[28] Charles Harrison, *Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, in association with the Open University, 1993), 8.

turning their attention to non-Western art, artists were for the first time validating art that was thought by many to have no aesthetic value at all.[29] However, several artists viewed the 'primitive' as something to strive for, since it was seen as pure and would therefore have a positive effect on their art. Although Primitivism is in itself one of the large movements couched under the label Modernism, 'primitive' sources also inspired artists working in many different styles of art, including Impressionism, Cubism, Fauvism, and Neonationalism.

Many Parisian artists drew from 'primitive' sources in significant ways, that is, in both the subject and style of non-Western art. One can easily trace the influence of the Orient in Monet's impressionistic paintings; it is well-known that he collected Japanese drawings, which influenced not only the subjects of his works, but his painting style as well. Gauguin is considered to be the first artist whose ideas about 'primitive' cultures became central to his art. His turn toward 'primitive' sources and style is, interestingly, what led many to deem his work modern. He is now viewed as inspiring Picasso and several other artists' moves to Primitivism. His relocation to the island of Tahiti demonstrates the desire of many artists at that time to remove themselves from the urban, modern world in order to find a purer, more direct way of living. Gauguin's works from his time in Tahiti depict a number of 'primitive' scenes, but most notable is his gradual change of style in painting. His move to Primitivism entailed a kind of visual abstraction[30] in that his subject matter was based on simpler, altered depictions of

---

[29] Edwards and Wood, *Art of the Avant-gardes,* 162.
[30] Harrison, *Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction*, 7.

representational subject matter. This process of abstraction would only become more prominent as other artists produced Primitivist works.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, French culture was especially interested in sub-Saharan Africa; many areas that were previously uncharted were quickly being colonized by several European nations. Because of this fascination with Africa, many artists drew from indigenous sources. Picasso's work is widely discussed in writings on Primitivism. Several of Picasso's early Cubist paintings from this period, including the proto-Cubist *Les Demoiselles D'Avignon* (1907), were strongly influenced by African masks (see Figure 1, page 23). In this painting, the African masks are literally represented by the shapes and angles of the women's faces. Additionally, the geometric quality of the masks influenced the rest of the painting, as the women's bodies and the background are both comprised of angular, geometric lines and shapes.

These masks also influenced a wider circle of artists, including Matisse and Derain, who absorbed this source in different stylistic ways. For example, Matisse and Derain's Fauvist paintings from this time coupled their literal connection to the 'primitive' (the influence of African masks) with a "spontaneous artistic expression" of abstracted landscapes, painted with a distortion of scale and flat, colorful representations of figures.[31] Regardless of the label attached to an artist's work, 'primitive' sources were utilized by many in their various pursuits of greater abstraction in art. For example, Picasso moved from his proto-Cubist style, which displayed strong 'primitive' influences, to more abstract representation in his Cubist period. Thus, the geometric features of

---

[31] Ibid., 49, 53.

'primitive' art were a major stylistic source in the development of Cubism and are reflected in the angular shapes of Picasso's Cubist paintings.[32]

Broadly-defined, the label Cubism refers to the goal of "constructing a pictorial space that has the same effect in painting as the closed form in sculpture."[33] Solid forms are broken up and represented simultaneously at a variety of angles, resulting in a process of fragmentation and therefore abstraction of the subject of the painting. Both Picasso and Braque are considered pioneers of the movement. They worked closely between 1907 and World War I, and so their works from this period contain many stylistic similarities.[34] Although Braque saw Picasso's proto-Cubist *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, his works from this period are generally less provocative, as they are also influenced by the landscapes of Cézanne. Cézanne's paintings already manifested a concern for geometric shapes, in which abstraction is imminent. The term Cubism actually came from the art critic Louis Vauxcelle after seeing one of Braque's landscape paintings, which depicted houses roughly in the shape of cubes. The well-known writer and critic Apollinaire defended the process of abstraction in Cubism, projecting that Cubist works would eventually be "pure painting," that is, art for art's sake, in the same way that music was "pure literature."[35]

Russian Neonationalism was a modernist artistic movement that became prominent in Russia in the beginning of the twentieth century. The goal of the Neonationalist school was to "s[eek] stylistic renewal in the professional assimilation of

---

[32] Rhodes, *Primitivism and Modern Art,* 123.
[33] Ibid., 124.
[34] Edwards and Wood, *Art of the Avant-gardes,* 137. This discussion contains a general overview of the broad stylistic developments of Cubism and the various schools of artists whose works fall within that trend.
[35] Quoted in Ibid., 150.

motifs derived from folk and peasant arts and handicrafts."[36] When this goal is achieved, the art represents Russian folk sources while simultaneously modernizing them through the process of abstraction. Russian Neonationalism can be traced back to the 1870s. Beginning with Vladmir Stasov's publication of a collection of folk art,[37] Russia experienced a renewed interest in its cultural roots. In a similar manner to Gauguin's visits to the French countryside, Russian artists formed several communities that were removed from society and dedicated to the creation of 'primitive' art based on folk sources.[38] This interest in rural, 'primitive' Russia reached its peak between the years of 1907 and 1917 and was mostly centered around the visual arts, although Stravinsky is one notable composer with strong ties to this movement.[39]

Beginning with Diaghilev's *Mir iskusstva* (World of Art) movement in 1898 and followed by productions of the Ballets Russes, this interest in Russian folk culture generated a variety of works with Russian subjects that were free from the conventions of the West. In drawing more from the style of the folk art instead of the subject, artists working in this movement created a new form of Modernism that was simultaneously

---

[36] Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: a Biography of the Works Through Mavra* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 487.

[37] Stasov's collection is titled "Russian Folk Ornament." This collection from 1872 contained a variety of illustrations and was divided into four categories: geometrical figures, flora, fauna, and humans. The significance of this publication was that Stasov saw it as a source for contemporary art. See Richard Taruskin, "From Subject to Style: Stravinsky and the Painters," in *Confronting Stravinsky: Man, Musician, and Modernist*, ed. Jann Pasler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 23.

[38] For further discussion of the early stages of the Neonationalist movement, see the "Neonationalism" section of Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, 502-518.

[39] Simon Karlinsky, "Igor Stravinsky and Russian Preliterate Theater," in *Confronting Stravinsky: Man, Musician, and Modernist,* ed. Jann Pasler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 5. Although Karlinsky discusses this trend broadly, it is evident that the Ballets Russes was a central hub for this interest in Russian folk sources.

'primitive' and avant-garde. Several Russian painters, most notably Mikhail Laryonov and Natalia Goncharova, created many works in this style.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the painting styles of Laryonov and Goncharova shifted from Impressionism to Primitivism. This is perhaps a result of both the Neonationalist trend they were already aware of and their exposure to other primitivist artwork.[40] Around the years 1906-1908, both artists turned to folk subjects in their art, creating primitivist works with "simplified forms," "ornate color," "formal simplification," and "expressive distortion."[41] This shift placed their work within the Neonationalist school. Because of the close cultural ties between France and Russia, French developments in painting influenced their style, and they then began to synthesize aspects of Cubism with their folk subjects around the year 1910.[42]

Despite the shift towards cubism, folk sources remained important to Laryonov and Goncharova; both organized folk art exhibits before leaving Russia in 1914 and continued working with Russian subjects in their designs for the Ballets Russes.[43] Although their work prior to 1914 was not in Paris, these artists were strongly influenced by French artistic developments. Thus their work, in a manner similar to Stravinsky's, fused Russian and French sources to create a new type of Modernism. This idea of "modified primitivism," a blend of French Modernism and Russian models in which the

---

[40] Beate Kemfert and Alla Chilova, eds., *Natalia Goncharova: Between Russian Tradition and European Modernism* (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2009), 11. Both Laryonov and Goncharova attended Sunday afternoon art showings by their friend and art collector, Sergei Shchukin. Works by Cézanne, Picasso, and Gauguin, among others, were displayed.
[41] Rhodes, *Primitivism and Modern Art*, 49.
[42] Ibid., 46.
[43] Kemfert and Chilova, *Natalia Goncharova*, 13.

folk subject is interpreted in abstract forms, is termed neo-primitivism.[44] The primitivistic, yet cubistic, simultaneous representation of a subject from various angles to create abstraction is arguably how Stravinsky treated the folk tunes in *Le Sacre du printemps*. The Russian Neonationalist school has been shown by several scholars to contain deep stylistic connections to Stravinsky's music, particularly this ballet. Taruskin asserts that this Neonationalist influence was perhaps the most important factor in Stravinsky's modernist aesthetic.[45]

In general, the influence of Primitivism, Cubism, and Neonationalism in the works previously discussed resulted in an undoing of the over-refinement of European representational art. Lines became bolder and more angular, colors became more distinct and brighter, and because of this, the paintings appeared to be less refined. The overall move was toward abstraction and self-reflexivity or "art about art." In completely abstracted works, the subject of the art becomes the art itself. This closely links modernist art to music, since music has, more than any other art form, been its own subject.[46]

Many of these visual art developments found their way into the Ballets Russes, which produced works of enormous variety throughout its twenty-year run (1909-1929). While several of the pre-World War I ballets continued the classical ballet tradition of representational backdrops and classical ballet garb (tutus for women and tunics for men), the work of Benois, Bakst, and Roerich brought modernist developments onto the stage. Instead of the usual representational backgrounds, these artists began to create

---

44 Kemfert and Chilova, *Natalia Goncharova*, 13.
45 Taruskin, "From Subject to Style," 17.
46 Shattuck, *The Banquet Years*, 253-254.

simple stage décor, which added color and atmosphere to the production. The idea was to suggest, not represent.[47] Each artist contributed to this development in his own way, and the result was a greater fusion between not only the costumes and scenery, but among all aspects of a ballet production.

Although each artist's approach was individual, Benois, Bakst and Roerich each had ties to Russian Neonationalism through their time at Talashkino (a Neonationalist arts colony in Russia) and their work with Diaghilev's *Mir iskusstva*. In a 1916 interview, Diaghilev explained the stylistic sources of these artists: "I found the most naïve indication of…real art – sometimes grotesque, sometimes very beautiful…In objects of utility (domestic implements in the country districts), in the painting on sleds, in the designs and the colours of peasant dresses, or the carving around a window frame, we found our motives, and on this foundation we built."[48] After their initial work with Diaghilev's journal, Benois, Bakst and Roerich came to Paris to help stage productions that combined a modernist aesthetic with folk sources; these ballets would prove to satisfy the French audience's desire for 'exotic' Russia.[49] The resulting works have been

---

[47] Juliet Bellow, "When Art Danced with Music," in *Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes, 1909-1929: When Art Danced with Music,* ed. Jane Pritchard (London; Washington, D.C.: Victoria and Albert Museum; in association with National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2013), 189.
[48] Quoted in Richard Buckle, *Diaghilev*, 1st American ed. (New York: Atheneum, 1979), 300. This quote is taken from an interview he gave during a tour in America. Although he is referring here to his *Mir iskusstva* movement, this stylistic impetus undoubtedly influenced the Russian works during the first seasons of the Ballets Russes, especially considering that Benois, Bakst, and Roerich were all involved in the *Mir iskusstva* movement before designing ballet productions.
[49] See Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions,* 513.

called *style russe moderne*,[50] a hybridization of East and West and of ancient and modern. Their work shaped the direction of the Ballets Russes in the years before World War I.

Benois is most known for his contribution to the scenario as well as his creation of a set and costumes that reflected the 'otherness' of Russian folk culture in the ballet *Petrushka* (1911). Overall, his work with the Ballets Russes was somewhat conservative, especially when compared to the work of Bakst and Roerich. Several of his sets were for historical, 'academic' ballets (*Le Pavilon d'Armide* (1909), *Le Festin* (1909), *Les Sylphides* (1909), *Giselle* (1910)) and were therefore painted in the traditional *trompe l'oeil* manner.[51] However, his work in *Petrushka* was quite innovative; his interest in and knowledge of the pre-Lenten fairs of nineteenth-century Russia greatly added to the production's 'exotic' scenario and design.

Bakst was certainly the most versatile and best-represented artist of the Ballet Russes before *Le Sacre du printemps*. Throughout his career, Bakst's work influenced trends not only in ballet, but also in fashion and interior design.[52] His work began incorporating brightly colored velvets and silks and bold, "Oriental" accessories.[53] His sensual costumes and 'exotic' sets for several Ballets Russes productions are considered

---

[50] Bellow, "When Art Danced with Music," 188.
[51] This style of painting created the illusion of a scene and conveyed an accurate sense of depth.
[52] For example, Bakst's productions influenced Paul Poiret's designs in both clothing and interior décor. See John Percival, *The World of Diaghilev*, rev. ed. (New York: Harmony Books, 1979), 98-100, and John E. Bowlt, "Léon Bakst, Natalia Goncharova and Pablo Picasso," in *Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes, 1909-1929: When Art Danced with Music,* ed. Jane Pritchard (London; Washington, D.C.: Victoria and Albert Museum; in association with National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2013), 104-105. Bakst's costume work is also discussed in detail by Sarah Woodcock, "Wardrobe," in *Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes, 1909-1929: When Art Danced with Music,* ed. Jane Pritchard (London; Washington, D.C.: Victoria and Albert Museum; in association with National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2013), 129-130. This book contains a large number of color images of sets and costumes, making it an indispensable source for a study of the visual components of the Ballets Russes.
[53] See Bowlt, "Léon Baskt," 126-127.

an integral part of Modernism in Paris. It is obvious from his lengthy career there that Bakst was comfortable creating art for theatrical productions, and his stylistic preoccupations seem to align closely with those of Diaghilev. His design of 'exotic' ballets presented bright, ornate, sumptuous scenery and his costume designs were risqué and daring. He was responsible for a total of twelve productions before the war, including *Cléopâtre* (1909), *Schéhérazade*, *Le Dieu Bleu* (1912), *Daphnis et Chloé* (1912), *L'après-midi d'un faune* (1912) and *Jeux* (1913).

Although many of Bakst's designs reveal his fascination with the Russian Orient and 'exotic' East in general (as with *Schéhérazade*), his work is extremely varied, reflecting a number of different locations and eras. For *Jeux*, he designed chic, monochromatic, functional Parisian sportswear, which was part of the daring new fashion of Parisian women. *Jeux* was, in fact, considered to be the first "contemporary" ballet.[54] Bakst also designed ancient Greek sets and attire (although modernized in several ways) for *Daphnis et Chloé* and *L'après-midi d'un faune*. It was specifically in his 'exotic' works, however, that he was able to best convey his modernist tendencies. His use of unusual color combinations and lush fabrics created a visual spectacle. For example, his design for *Schéhérazade* involved a large green patterned curtain, hanging golden lanterns, orange pillars, a dark blue wall, and red, pink, and yellow cushions of velvet and silk (See Figure 2, page 23). The overall 'exotic' effect was made greater when his work was combined with his lavish costumes in the same color palette and the equally innovative dances choreographed by Fokine. His bold use of color and texture, as seen in

---

[54] Woodcock, "Wardrobe," 144.

his ‘exotic’ works, is what caught Paris by storm and influenced both contemporary design and fashion.[55]

Roerich designed the sets and costumes for the Polovtsian dances from Borodin’s *Prince Igor* (1909) as well as Stravinsky’s *Le Sacre du printemps*. His deep interest in and knowledge of ancient Russia (he was also an archaeologist) greatly aided in his portrayal of folk life. His work adheres closely to the Neonationalist movement; his designs draw heavily from the geometric shapes of contemporary and ancient folk art that he studied in Russia. Despite his reliance upon folk material, Roerich’s sets and costumes were also considered very modern; he broke away from the visual conventions of nineteenth-century ballet. In the sets, Roerich used saturated, primary colors of blue and yellow against a rust-colored frame, ‘primitive,’ rudimentary images of ancient Russia, and a distorted perception of depth, creating an abstraction of a Russian landscape.[56] These techniques were common among many avant-garde artists who sought a modern style. Roerich also exoticized the costumes for his productions by closely mimicking traditional Russian garb. For the dancers in *Prince Igor*, Roerich actually used authentic silk Ikat fabric, made in Uzbekistan and sold in the markets in St. Petersburg. This material, taken directly from Russian folk culture, was laid with a variety of geometric shapes in bright, primary colors set against a dark blue background.[57] The loose, boxy shape of the dresses patterned with bright, geometric designs meshed with Fokine’s free,

---

[55] Bowlt, “Léon Bakst,” 126-127.
[56] Bellow, “When Art Danced with Music,” 189.
[57] Jane Pritchard, “The Transformation of Ballet,” in *Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes, 1909-1929: When Art Danced with Music,* ed. Jane Pritchard (London; Washington, D.C.: Victoria and Albert Museum; in association with National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2013), 59-61, and Woodcock, “Wardrobe,” 143.

energetic choreography and Borodin's 'exotic' music to create a work that represented the Russian Orient to Parisian audiences. The Polovtsian Dances would continue to be one of the most popular productions of the Ballets Russes.

The realization of these artists' designs required collaboration on a number of different levels. Many productions were conceived of by more than one artistic collaborator, artists were receiving feedback and direction from choreographers and composers, and the desires of the designers had to be realized by a team of painters and costume makers. Hair and make-up, too, which encompassed all kinds of design from representational to abstract, were an integral part of the visual effect, and were in fact paramount in Nijinsky's process of embodying his characters.[58] Diaghilev, whose instincts as to what would work best for any production were impeccable, always had a say in the final product. Through the combined efforts of Benois, Bakst, and Roerich, with Diaghilev as an overseer, modernist art moved out of the studio and into the theater, manifesting itself in the multidimensional production of ballet. Along with composers and choreographers, these artists brought ballet into the twentieth century.

[58] Woodcock, "Wardrobe," 147.

Figure 1 – Picasso, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon,* 1907.[59]

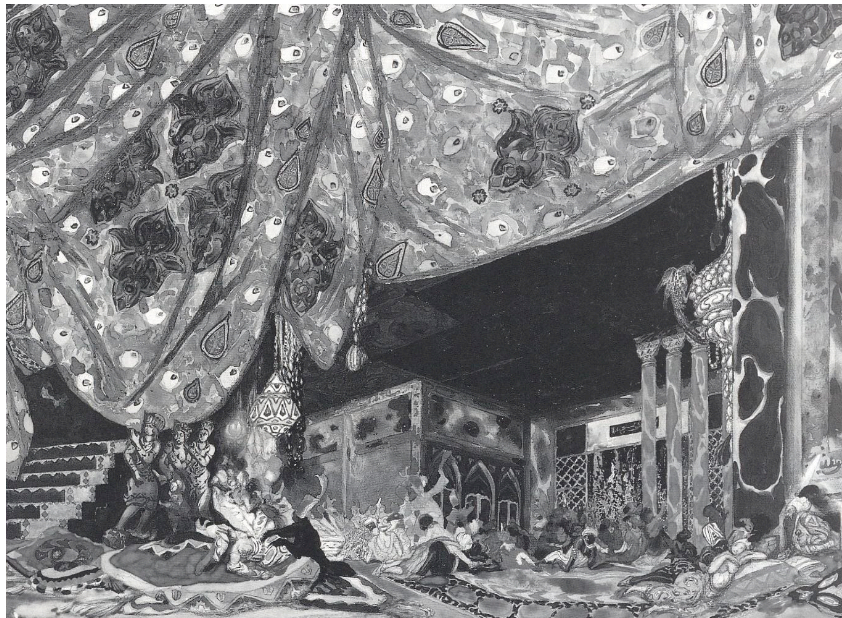

Figure 2 – Bakst, Set design for *Schéhérazade,* 1910.[60]

---

[59] Pablo Picasso, *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon,* 1907, accessed April 25, 2014, The University of Texas at Austin Digital Archives Services, https://dase.laits.utexas.edu.

[60] Léon Bakst, *Schéhérazade* set design, 1910, in Charles Spencer, *Leon Bakst and the Ballets Russes*, rev. ed. (London: Academy Editions, 1995).

Modernist Developments in Choreography and Dance

Before the arrival of the Ballets Russes, dance in France was becoming an outworn, conventional art form. Ballet was often relegated to a small portion of other dramatic works, such as opera.[61] The art form of French ballet was not a primary interest to the general public. Ballet in France also had significant competition; the Russian Imperial Ballet as well as Italian *ballo-grande* were much more popular productions. The standard movements, scenarios, and attire had been well established by great Romantic choreographers, and there was little straying from these norms. Ballet primarily consisted of pretty female dancers and simple music.[62] At the turn of the twentieth century, however, the arrival of two innovators in dance, as well as Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, brought the art of dance back to life.

Isadora Duncan and Loie Fuller are considered pioneers in the development of modern dance. Both were American dancers who found their way to Paris and shared their innovative ideas with the dancers there. Both celebrated free-flowing movement (connected to the Art Nouveau style) that freed up the upper torso, liberating dancers from the upright, rigid postures of classical ballet.[63] Loie Fuller, who was resident in Paris from 1892 onwards, began her career at the Folies Bergère before performing in several productions of her own. She is known today for her large, swirling, colorful silk garments that hung from her limbs and were manipulated with rods. This technique created large, flowing shapes of which her body became a part, resulting in a

---

[61] Pritchard, "The Transformation of Ballet," 49.
[62] Idem.
[63] Ibid., 52.

"supernatural transcendence of self."[64] In addition to dance, Fuller is known for her innovative work in lighting design and stage effects among many other artistic areas she explored throughout her career.

Duncan's work, although quite different from Fuller's, nevertheless was equally modern and influential. She moved to London in 1898 and, after meeting Fuller in 1902, began a brief tour with her and spent the rest of her career performing in various European countries and Russia. In reaching back to the roots of dancing in ancient Hellenist culture, Duncan attempted to find the spontaneous expression of emotion that she believed to be the root of all dance. To accomplish this, she utilized costumes that allowed the body to move freely (often simulating Greek tunics) and danced with bare feet; this freed the dancer's body from its usual restrictive garments. She also encouraged each dancer's individual movement, knowing that what flowed naturally from each individual would be unique.[65] Along with Fuller, Duncan is considered to be one of the most influential dancers of the early twentieth century.

It was within the Ballets Russes that these innovations were made apparent to the larger public. Because the company quickly established itself as one of the most innovative and entertaining enterprises in the city, performances became a place to see and be seen by the upper echelons of society. The innovations in dance, pioneered by Duncan, Fuller, and others, undoubtedly inspired Fokine and Nijinsky, the two

---

[64] Rhonda K. Garelick, *Electric Salome: Loie Fuller's Performance of Modernism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 5. This study also provides a more comprehensive overview of Fuller's career.
[65] For more on Duncan's life and career, see Paul David Magriel, *Isadora Duncan* (New York: H. Holt and company, 1947).

choreographers who made rapid advances in the language of dance during the years 1909-1914. The future of dance would involve turning back to an "imaginary, uncivilized past."[66] The French public acknowledged that the art of dance was currently lifeless, and so they celebrated the 'primitive' connection of self and body displayed by the Ballets Russes and heralded the Russian dancers as the restorers of French ballet.[67] Their new form of movement was the antithesis of the over-refined, out-of-touch classical ballet style. Their new choreographies modernized dance and had a global influence on the way bodies moved.

Fokine was the original choreographer of the Ballets Russes and is responsible for the choreography of the majority of the company's pre-war productions. A few of his most notable works include *Schéhérazade* (1910), the Polovtsian Dances from *Prince Igor, Le Carnaval* (1910), *L'oiseau de feu* (1910), *Petrushka*, and *Daphnis et Chloé*. John Percival has divided Fokine's many works into two overarching styles, the "powerfully exotic" (e.g. *Schéhérazade*) and the "lyrically romantic" (e.g. *Le Carnaval*).[68] Fokine's choreography broke free from nineteenth century conventions of dance in several ways. He no longer arranged his dancers in strict, formal patterns, but allowed them to interact naturally with those around them.[69] Inspired by the work of Isadora Duncan, Fokine also freed dancers from stiff, rigid standing positions, bringing more natural body alignments

---

[66] Juliet Bellow, *Modernism on Stage: The Ballets Russes and the Parisian Avant-garde* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), Bellow, 34.
[67] Ibid., 32.
[68] Percival, *The World of Diaghilev*, 72.
[69] Jane Pritchard "Creating Productions," in *Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes, 1909-1929: When Art Danced with Music,* ed. Jane Pritchard (London; Washington, D.C.: Victoria and Albert Museum; in association with National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2013), 80-81.

to the stage and eliminating exaggerated postures. Movements now conformed to the personality of each character, and *pointe* technique was not for show but was used only for special effects. A photograph of Fokine and Fokina in *Le Carnaval* demonstrates these choreographic reforms (See Figure 3, page 30). The two dancers interact naturally and Fokine in particular is in a posture far removed from classical ballet. His knees are bent at different angles, his head is cocked to one side, and his arms are in ungraceful, awkward positions. All of these shapes work together to portray his clownish character (the characters in *Le Carnaval* derive from the Italian *Commedia dell'arte* tradition).

After his initial breakthroughs in choreography, however, Fokine's work became somewhat standard, and Diaghilev wanted to continue pushing the boundaries of dance by incorporating Dalcroze eurhythmics into his ballets.[70] He began showing clear favoritism towards his star dancer Nijinsky (the two were in an amorous relationship), and so Fokine left the Ballets Russes in 1912 and did not return until the 1914 season. Nijinsky, the young lead dancer, would now take over the role of principal choreographer until his dismissal from the Ballets Russes in 1914.

Nijinsky had since its inception been the Ballets Russes' star male dancer, fulfilling a wide variety of roles and impressing audiences both with his dancing abilities and his portrayal of characters. Beginning in 1912, Diaghilev encouraged Nijinsky to try his hand at choreography, even though he was untrained in this area. While there are many accounts revealing his apparent ineptitudes as a choreographer, Nijinsky's three pre-war works, *L'après-midi d'un faune*, *Jeux*, and *Le Sacre du printemps* presented a

---

[70] Pritchard, "Creating Productions," 73-74.

completely novel conception of movement, earning him the title of "the first modernist ballet choreographer."[71] In all productions, Nijinsky's choreography was markedly different from Fokine's. Whereas Fokine had liberated the body, Nijinsky rebound it, often creating movement that was two-dimensional, awkward, angular, and stiff.[72] Photographs of Nijinsky posing as the faun in *L'après-midi d'un faune* demonstrate this treatment of the body (See Figure 4, page 30). In the photograph, Nijinsky's hands are angled away from his feet in stiff blades, his head is arched back, and his knees are bent at ungraceful angles. All of these features lead to the angular, 'unnatural" poses in *Le Sacre du printemps* (See Figure 5, page 77). Contemporary critics called this use of the body "Cubist," and likened it to Stravinsky's musical Cubism,[73] though figures like Cocteau considered Cubism to be the wrong concept for these idioms.[74] Despite this similarity in his choreography, Nijinsky was notable for creating completely different

---

[71] Stephanie Jordan, "Debussy, the Dance, and the *Faune*," in *Debussy in Performance*, ed. James R. Briscoe (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 129.

[72] Bellow, *Modernism on Stage*, 52. See also Jordan, "Debussy, the Dance, and the *Faune*," 126. In "When Art Danced with Music," Bellow notes that this "flatness" echoes the flatness of Bakst's backdrop as well as the flatness of the stage – there were only a few feet between the edge of the stage and the backdrop, p. 194.

[73] For example, see Maurice Touchard, "Ballets Russes et Français," printed in Truman Campbell Bullard, "The First Performance of Igor Stravinsky's Sacre du Printemps" (PhD diss., Eastman School of Music, 1971) vol. 2, 197-198, cited in Bellow, "When Art Danced with Music," 194. Jordan, in "Debussy, the Dance, and the *Faune*" 130 explains that Nijinsky, Diaghilev, and Bakst themselves described the choreography of *L'après-midi d'un faune* in cubist terms. Jordan notes that "it is easy to see a relation to cubism in the angular approach to the body, the breaking up of its natural planes in order to achieve the two-dimensional effect, and in the constantly fragmenting phrases and asymmetrical regroupings of dancers."

[74] Rollo H. Myers, *Erik Satie*, Contemporary Composers (London: D. Dobson, 1948), 104. Cocteau comments that the label "cubism," which was used by critics to describe the music of *Parade*, gave them certain aesthetic expectations that simply did not line up with Satie's music. This commentary highlights the difficulty in applying the label "cubism" to art forms outside of painting. When applied to music, the term can only refer to block, geometric structures and a sort of temporal simultaneity; while these concepts relate to features of cubism in visual art, the underlying aesthetic goals of the movement do not directly translate from the visual to the aural.

works for each production. He is also known for finding inspiration in unusual places – poses of the dancers in *L'après-midi d'un faune* were inspired by ancient vases housed in the Louvre,[75] and he was apparently inspired by a toy duck when conceiving of the angular choreography for *Le Sacre du printemps*.[76] His unique choreographic style, which "made visible the implications of Modernism for dance and for everyday life," was completely revolutionary and had a lasting impact on modern dance.[77]

[75] Jean-Michel Nectoux, ed., *L'Après-midi D'un Faune: Mallarmé, Debussy, Nijinsky*, Dossiers Du Musée d'Orsay 29 (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1989), 18-22, cited in Pritchard, "Creating Productions," 81.
[76] Edwin Evans, "Ballet Memories," *Radio Times* (23 June 1937): 9, cited in Pritchard, "Creating Productions," 81.
[77] Bellow, "When Art Danced with Music," 194.

Figure 3 – Fokine in *Le Carnaval*.[78]

Figure 4 – Nijinsky in *L'après-midi d'un faune.*[79]

[78] Mikhail Fokine and Vera Fokina, *Le Carnaval,* ca. 1914, in Alston W. Purvis, Peter Rand, and Anna Winestein, eds., *The Ballets Russes and the Art of Design* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2009), 94.
[79] Vaslav Nijinsky, *L'après-midi d'un faune,* 1912, in Richard Buckle, *Nijinsky* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1971), 271.

Modernist Developments in Literature and Scenario

The rise of Modernism in Paris brought about drastic changes not only in art, music, and dance, but in literature as well. Modernist developments were pioneered by the Symbolist movement of the late nineteenth century, which opened the door to ambiguity, absurdity, and abstraction in a broader sphere of literature. The new artistic environment in Paris, that is the development of cafés and cabarets such as the Chat Noir, gave avant-garde artists a place to write, perform, and share ideas with each other. While many of the city's large performing venues continued to produce Romantic theatrical works, a modern movement in literature and dramatic scenario was sweeping the city. One example is Alfred Jarry's *Ubu Roi*. The unconventional story of a Polish dictator, *Ubu Roi* shook Paris in 1896 when its premiere resulted in a riot from the audience. The avant-garde work fused together dreams and the unconscious with reality through its inclusion of nonsensical, bizarre details, making it a precursor to the Surrealist movement and the "theater of the absurd." Life's ugliness, incongruence, and contradictions are celebrated in the play. Jarry also included the use of slang and nonsense words (the word Ubu itself is nonsense), which created a level of abstraction within the text.[80] These features made the play stand out as something entirely new and elicited strong reactions from the public. The work has since been considered a major instigator of Modernism.[81]

---

[80] Keith Beaumont, *Jarry, Ubu Roi*, Critical Guides to French Texts 69 (London; Wolfeboro, NH: Grant & Cutler, 1987), 13.
[81] For a more in-depth discussion of avant-garde literature and the works of Jarry and Apollinaire in particular, see Shattuck, *The Banquet Years*, and Claude Schumacher, *Alfred Jarry and Guillaume Apollinaire*, Macmillan Modern Dramatists (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984).

Guillaume Apollinaire's literary works likewise proved to be shocking, absurd, and unconventional – his work was directly influenced by Jarry as the two knew each other well and frequently met during the early years of the 1900s. Apollinaire's literary works, which are considered to be direct predecessors of the Dada and Surrealist movements,[82] destroy traditional narrative; many of his poems forego punctuation or piece together seemingly random phrases in an abrupt manner, which conveys simultanism, similar to the process of collage in visual art.[83] In fact, it was Apollinaire's goal to apply the techniques of visual art to poetry, as he was himself a great impresario and art critic and was close with many of the leading painters of the avant-garde, including Braque, Matisse, and most notably Picasso, whom he met in 1904.[84] Thus a simultaneity and ambiguity is present in that there is often no narrative flow to a poem, phrases could seemingly be read in any order and words or sounds carry multiple meanings. This technique of abstraction is also connected to Apollinaire's calligram poems, written between 1913 and 1916, which arranged letters or words in the shape of an object.[85] We see this tendency to juxtapose various parts in Cubist art as well as the musical block structures of Stravinsky's ballets, most notably *Le Sacre du printemps*.

Artists creating the scenarios for the new productions of the Ballets Russes would have an even greater impact on Stravinsky's music, since he worked closely with many of them in conceiving of the scenario for his ballets. Diaghilev and his creative team,

---

[82] Jacques Guicharnaud, ed., *Anthology of 20th Century French Theater* (Paris, New York: Paris Book Center, 1967), 38.
[83] Shattuck, *The Banquet Years*, 221, 257, 258.
[84] Apollinaire's essay defending and explaining cubism, titled *Les Peintres Cubistes*, was published in 1913.
[85] For examples of these poems, see Schumacher, *Alfred Jarry,* 133-134.

which included artists such as Benois, Bakst, Roerich, Fokine, Cocteau, Stravinsky, and Nijinsky, collaborated on a number of 'exotic' scenarios for the pre-war seasons of the Ballets Russes. In general, the plots of new ballets moved from the Romantic to the 'exotic' and culminated with the primitivistic in *Le Sacre du printemps*.

Although the scenarios for the Ballets Russes were remarkably diverse,[86] the productions that focused on 'exotic' subjects were the ones deemed most modern by contemporary audiences. For the premiere season in 1909, Diaghilev and his collaborators conceived of two 'exotic' works: the Polovtsian Dances from *Prince Igor* and *Cléopâtre*. From there, the number of new productions only increased as Parisian audiences grew enamored with 'exotic' stories and scenery: for instance, *Schéhérazade, L'oiseau de feu* and *Les Orientales* were premiered in 1910, *Sadko* and *Petrushka*, 1911, *Le Dieu Bleu,* 1912, *Le Sacre du printemps,* 1913. Each of these works also featured Russian or Eastern-inspired costumes, designs, music, and movement, further conveying the 'exotic' qualities present in the work's underlying scenario. The creative teams responsible for these productions were almost entirely Russian. Thus, each of the scenarios had strong ties to Eastern Russia and the artistic endeavors of Diaghilev's *Mir iskusstva* movement.

In choosing folk tales and stories concerning 'exotic' people and places, Diaghilev's team was not only displaying their own, albeit exoticized, version of native Russia, but was creating an entirely new *vogue* in Parisian entertainment. Always

[86] Pritchard notes that the subjects of works included fairy tales, folklore, archaeology, history, and various types of literature. Pritchard, "Creating Productions," 75.

concerned with ticket sales, Diaghilev knew that the more 'exotic,' fantastic, and risqué a story could be, the more public interest it would incite.[87] Although writers have discussed the underlying conceptions of cultural superiority motivating Parisians' love of the cultural 'other,'[88] their desire for 'exotic' works sparked the creation of many fantastic ballets that would utilize Eastern fantasy and folklore in imaginative ways. One of the company's principal dancers, Tamara Karsavina, has summed up the city's infatuation with the 'other:' "Paris was captivated by the barbaric splendor of frenzied movements, the nostalgia of infinite plains, the naïve spontaneity of Russia, the studied ornateness of the East."[89]

In deciding upon scenarios, Diaghilev's collaborators utilized the perceived mystery, fantasy and 'exotic' qualities of the East, especially Russia, but their work manifested itself in a variety of ways. The work of Benois and Bakst mixed contemporary Russian folk culture with fantasy in their creation of otherworldly, fantastic plots. Roerich, on the other hand, used his archaeological training and knowledge of ancient Russian ritual to create a scenario (along with Stravinsky) for *Le Sacre du printemps* that was deeply steeped in ancient folk culture. *Le Dieu Bleu, Cléopâtre, Schéhérazade*, and *Les Orientales* suggested other areas of the East, although the collaborators' extensive knowledge of Russian folk culture, in addition to their exposure

---

[87] In *Stravinsky's Ballets*, Joseph comments that "in aggressively marketing productions under the banner of Russian neonationalism, the machinating Diaghilev had no compunction in drawing on or mixing whatever sources and styles served his purpose." Charles M. Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, Yale Music Masterworks Series (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 29.

[88] See Bellow, *Modernism on Stage*, 49-50, Pasler, *Composing the Citizen,* Chapter 7 "Musical Hybridity and the Challenges of Colonialism," and Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, 28-29.

[89] Tamara Karsavina, *Theatre Street: The Reminiscences of Tamara Karsavina*, rev. ed. (New York: Dutton, 1961), 201.

to other cultures' artistic practices through traveling performances, shaped their design for these works. It was precisely because Diaghilev's company filled the stage with stories, images, and characters of the Orient that they were considered modern. Paris had never before been so enamored with the East, and the development of scenarios that catered to these tastes placed Diaghilev's troupe at the cutting edge of modern theatrical entertainment before World War I.

Modernist Developments in Music

The composition and performance of new music was one of the primary ways in which Modernism was manifested throughout Paris. While many of the city's performance venues continued to produce late-Romantic works, new venues, societies, and schools were concerned with creating music that would speak to the rapidly changing culture of the early twentieth century. This concern was manifested aurally in a variety of ways – several composers turned to music of previous eras in an attempt to re-imagine musical techniques from the past, while others turned towards 'exotic' (Russian, Asian) musical sources in developing new scales and methods of tonal organization. Still others drew inspiration from other areas of art, such as painting and literature, in looking for new ways to structure their compositions. Impressionism, Exoticism, Neonationalism, Futurism, Neoclassicism, and Dadaism are just some of the musical movements that swept through Paris during the first few decades of the twentieth century.

Performance venues in the city were remarkably diverse – as the well-established opera houses and concert halls continued to produce many new works, the rise of cabarets and café-concerts gave lesser-known composers the opportunity to have their works performed. Wealthy patrons of music also made it possible for avant-garde artists to earn a meager living while creating works that were often not immediately accepted by the larger public.[90] Additionally, musical societies and conservatories enriched the performance life of Paris. The overall scene was exceedingly international – the Franco-

---

[90] See Howard Goodall, "Music and the Ballets Russes," in *Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes, 1909-1929: When Art Danced with Music,* ed. Jane Pritchard (London; Washington, D.C.: Victoria and Albert Museum; in association with National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2013), 169-170.

Russian Alliance brought several composers from Russia to Paris and the Exposition Universelle displayed cultures from around the globe (Cambodia, Java, Japan). Music halls featured performing groups from outside France, and German art music was still appreciated by many sects of Parisian society, especially the works of Wagner. Each of these happenings created a diverse atmosphere of multiple musical voices competing for the Parisian public's favor.

Although most of the opera season was dedicated to well-known works of the Romantic era, opera was nevertheless a significant way that international as well as French nationalistic works were presented to the public; it therefore became the goal of many composers to write an opera since they were so frequently performed and so well attended.[91] Indeed, Debussy, Ravel, and Fauré composed operas for the Parisian stage. By 1910, however, ballet began to be the popular and dominant form of theatrical display; composers therefore turned to ballet as the new genre in which their voice would be conveyed to the larger public.[92] This is evident when considering the large number of composers who wrote music for the Ballets Russes, including Stravinsky, Ravel, Hahn, Debussy, Schmitt, Satie, de Falla, Poulenc and Milhaud. Ballet therefore became one of the principal sites of modernistic developments in music.

In addition to the plethora of performances happening in Paris around the turn of the century, several schools were strongly influencing public musical tastes, bringing the

---

[91] Slonimsky's *Music Since 1900* documents important musical events and premieres for each year beginning in 1900. In surveying the first decade of the twentieth century, it is evident that many French as well as foreign composers were writing and premiering operas in Paris. Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music Since 1900*, 5th ed. (New York: Schirmer Books; Toronto: Maxwell Macmillan Canada; New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1994).

[92] See Jordan's discussion in "Debussy, the Dance, and the *Faune*," 121-122.

best performers to the city, and bringing up the next generation of French composers. Overall, there was an increasing preoccupation with the music of the past as not only a teaching device but as compositional inspiration as well. There was also a focus on rigorous scholasticism, as reflected at the newly-established Schola Cantorum. The Schola Cantorum, founded in 1894, was formed with the goal of understanding, appreciating, performing, and using as a compositional tool music of past eras, specifically music of the church. D'Indy, Roussel, Satie, and Roland-Manuel are but a few well-known composers with ties to the school. At the same time, the Paris Conservatoire de Musique, the leading music school in the city, was supporting the latest musical developments by performing works of living composers such as Debussy.[93]

Although the diverging musical trends prior to World War I led to a wide variety of compositional approaches, there were three broad trends that appear to be influential to Stravinsky: Impressionism, Exoticism and Objectivity. Each of these trends can be observed in the works of leading French composers, and they also appear together in the musical language of Stravinsky's ballets. Impressionism, which has already been discussed in relation to painting, was a term borrowed from visual art that refers to music that conveys a vague impression of nature, especially the play of light, through the manipulation of orchestral color and layers of sound.[94] Musical Exoticism utilized non-Western tunes, scales, modes, and instruments to aurally portray or evoke an image of

[93] Roger Nichols, *The Life of Debussy*, Musical Lives (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 131, 134.

[94] It should be noted that Impressionism was originally a pejorative term used by critics to describe the painting styles of Impressionist painters. The term was initially rejected by Debussy, but eventually became mainstream enough (ca. 1930) that it lost its negative connotation and entered into the vocabulary of Modernism.

far-off lands. These techniques were often incorporated into a Western idiom that was familiar to the audience. Listeners therefore heard tinges of 'exotic'-sounding music in works that overall appealed to late-Romantic musical tastes. Objectivity refers to music that is detached, mechanical, and free from serious or deep expression. This tendency, most notably observed in the music of Satie, was a precursor to Neoclassicism, which would become the dominant trend in musical composition after the war.

Although Debussy is the most notable composer of the Impressionist movement, Ravel and Roussel also produced many works in this style. Ravel's *Miroirs, Gaspard de la nuit,* and *Rapsodie espagnole* exemplify the influence of Impressionism upon his compositional idiom. A few of Debussy's most notable works in this style are his opera *Pelléas et Melisande,* his *Préludes* for piano, and his orchestral suite *La Mer*. In these works, Debussy creates musical blocks, planes and layers in a manner akin to the painting techniques of Impressionist painters. Instruments or musical lines are treated as individual entities, resulting in a constant shimmer of warm, varying sound. In "Voiles," from his *Préludes* book 1, Debussy's musical planes are clearly evident as they are first presented independently before being layered in the subsequent phrase (See Example 1, page 45). Additionally, this passage is comprised entirely of notes of the whole tone scale beginning on C. Debussy's extensive use of modal scales and intervallically symmetrical pitch sets, such as the whole-tone and octatonic scales, freed his music from the rules of tonality and allowed him to experiment with alternative ways of establishing a pitch center. Although Debussy's musical style was not always accepted by the larger Parisian public, he nevertheless established himself as an innovator of orchestration and harmony

during the early twentieth century. This meant that his works were discussed, performed, and studied by young composers throughout Europe. Indeed, many of Debussy's musical characteristics can be observed in Stravinsky's ballets.

Debussy's direct influence on Stravinsky is well documented. Stravinsky began hearing and studying Debussy's music while still in Russia and developed a close relationship with the composer upon his arrival in Paris.[95] Debussy's works were regularly featured during "Evenings of Contemporary Music" in St. Petersburg, which were informal concerts put on by Stravinsky and his classmates.[96] These concerts featured music that would not be programmed on the Russian stage and thus exposed these young artists to modern music being written and performed across Europe. When Stravinsky began spending time in Paris, he became close friends with many of the city's leading avant-garde composers, Debussy included. Debussy was supportive of his early works, including *L'oiseau de feu* and *Petrushka*. The close relationship of the two composers is evident from their correspondences of the 1910s.[97] Both composers held

[95] See, for example, Jeremy Noble, "Portrait of Debussy. I: Debussy and Stravinsky," *The Musical Times* 108, no. 1487 (January 1, 1967): 22–25. See also Antokoletz, *A History of Twentieth-century Music,* 74-76. In Vera Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), Debussy's influence on Stravinsky is briefly summarized, p. 61. In "Music and the Ballets Russes," 175-176, Goodall asserts that Stravinsky's style in his ballets stems from the influences of both Rimsky-Korsakov and his interest in Debussy and that both Debussy and Stravinsky developed similar responses to their anti-Wagnerism ideals. For Debussy, this was manifested in harmony, and for Stravinsky, in the "raw power and energy" of Russian folk music.

[96] In Michael Oliver, *Igor Stravinsky*, 20th-century Composers (London: Phaidon, 1995), 29. See also Igor Stravinsky, *Stravinsky: An Autobiography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1936), 18. The evenings featured works by Debussy, Ravel, Franck, and d'Indy, in addition to music by composers of previous eras.

[97] See Stravinsky and Craft, *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents*, 61-66, and Claude Debussy, *Debussy Letters*, ed. François Lesure and Roger Nichols (London: Faber, 1987). See also comments by Stravinsky regarding their relationship in Stravinsky, *An Autobiography,* 37.

similar views on Wagner, and Stravinsky's musical blocks, layers and planes are clearly influenced by Debussy's music.

While Impressionism gave composers new aesthetic goals and means of portraying those goals, their harmonic language was strongly influenced by non-Western, 'exotic' sources.[98] It is important to note that none of these compositional tendencies or influences were mutually exclusive, but rather, could manifest themselves in works simultaneously or at different points within a single work. Exoticism is therefore present in many Impressionistic works. At the end of the nineteenth century, Paris was captivated by non-Western cultures, due to France's colonialist expansion, the influx of immigrants in the city, and the cultural displays present at the Exposition Universelle of 1889 and 1900. 'Exotic' music captured audiences at this time, even though they often perceived it to be a display of primitivism or savagery, therefore promulgating the notion that the French were the most advanced people.

Composers and performers were not exempt from this craze, and drew artistic inspiration from the non-Western sources they were exposed to. While Asian music, specifically Javanese gamelan, was a main source of inspiration for French composers, Exoticism was also present in many Russian works of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as Russian composers educated in the Western classical music tradition incorporated tunes, scales and rhythms of Russian folk music into their works, which were generally written in a late Romantic style. Additionally, some composers

[98] The interest in the 'exotic' eventually led many composers from the West to travel to various non-Western countries to scientifically study foreign music and incorporate it into their works, therefore de-exoticizing it in a certain way.

traveled to foreign lands in an attempt to study and integrate non-Western music into their own idioms. For example, both Roussel and Delage, two composers strongly influenced by Impressionism, traveled to India and subsequently incorporated characteristics of Indian music into their works.[99] Although the interest in the 'exotic' led these composers to travel to foreign lands, their in-depth study of the music moved their own work beyond mere borrowing and into an educated use of non-Western musical styles.

Satie, although deeply involved in the avant-garde artistic circles of the city, was nevertheless forming a compositional style inherently different from the rest of Paris. His compositional developments are now understood as anticipating many of the dominant trends of the twentieth century, most notably Neoclassicism.[100] His earliest compositional efforts of the 1880s and 1890s were influenced by diverse sources such as his frequent performances in cabarets and cafés and his personal affinity for and study of plainchant.[101] By the turn of the twentieth century, Satie had developed a style that was based on objective, detached, mechanical, and static layers of sound. Example 2, page 46 demonstrates this aspect of his music. Additionally, this texture was coupled with a new,

---

[99] See Jann Pasler, "Reinterpreting Indian Music: Roussel and Delage," in *Music-cultures in Contact: Convergences and Collisions,* ed. Margaret J. Kartomi and Stephen Blum (Basel, Switzerland: Gordon and Breach, 1994), 122-157.

[100] Myers, *Erik Satie,* 19. Myers includes quotes from several twentieth century composers (Koechlin, Milhaud, Auric) who testify that Satie's musical developments were ahead of his time.

[101] Wilfrid Mellers, *Studies in Contemporary Music* (London: D. Dobson, 1947), 18. Mellers states that Satie's works from this period contain similarities to chant "because Satie saw in the impersonality, the aloofness, the remoteness from all subjective dramatic stress of [plainchant and organum] qualities which might, with modifications, approximate to his own uniquely lonely mode of utterance. These modifications take the form of the introduction of sophisticated harmonies in apparently inappropriate, primitive contexts, and of a poignant queerness which the sequences of immobile chords, not untraditional in themselves, acquire through being grouped with a 'personal' logic, but without any of the recognized harmonic relationships."

nonfunctional conception of harmony and a unique sense of humor (evident in Example 2's humorous title, "Dried Embryos," and text written in the score). These characteristics defined his musical voice and strongly influenced the next generation of Parisian composers. Known as "Les Six," this younger generation (including Milhaud, Poulenc, Durey, Tailleferre, Honegger, and Auric) heralded Satie as their mentor and leader. Their works, along with several other composers, brought about a new trend in the 1920s: Neoclassicism.

Despite all of this musical activity, the Ballets Russes continued to be the artistic hub of Paris when it came to the commission of new musical compositions. Diaghilev commissioned many of the leading avant-garde composers to write innovative works in a collaborative atmosphere. Debussy, Ravel and Stravinsky were the most notable composers of new music before World War I. Each of the works by these composers is incredibly varied and reveals the diversity of Diaghilev's programming. Debussy's *Jeux* (1913) reflects modern society and depicts the rapid movements of a boy and two girls flitting around a garden as they play a variety of games. This is accomplished through to use of rapidly shifting meters, rhythms, tempi, and timbres,[102] yet the music remains impressionistic in its use of orchestral color. It was considered at its premiere to be shocking, but the 'scandal' of the music was quickly overshadowed by Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps*, which premiered just two weeks later.[103] Ravel's music for *Daphnis et Chloé* is entirely impressionistic, but works in conjunction with the plot, which is

---

[102] See Jann Pasler, "Debussy, 'Jeux': Playing with Time and Form," in *19th-Century Music* 6, no. 1 (July 1, 1982): 61.
[103] Goodall, "Music and the Ballets Russes," 176.

based on a Greek legend, to give the audience both the old, familiar setting of a Greek myth and the new visual and aural components of Impressionism. At the same time, the Ballets Russes was producing ballets set to the music of well-loved Romantic composers such as Chaikovsky, Chopin and Schumann. 'Exotic' Russian works, such as Borodin's *Prince Igor* and Rimsky-Korsakov's *Schéhérazade* started a new craze for the sights and sounds of Eastern Russia. Musically, this resulted in the use of modal scales and melodies and the incorporation or evoking of Russian folk music. This trend of 'Russian exoticism' is evident in Stravinsky's early works, most notably in *L'oiseau de feu*.

Example 1 – Debussy, *Préludes* book 1, 1910, "Voiles," mm. 1-13.[104]

[104] Claude Debussy, *Préludes,* Book 1 (Paris: Durand & Cie., 1910), accessed April 23rd, 2014, International Scores Music Library Project, http://imslp.org/wiki/Pr%C3%A9ludes_%28Book_1%29_%28Debussy,_Claude%29.

Un père de famille prend la parole

pp

p Ils se mettent tous à pleurer
(Citation de la célèbre mazurka de SCHUBERT)

6

Pauvres bêtes!

Example 2 – Satie, *Embryons desséchés*, 1913, II. d'Edirophthalma, excerpt.[105]

[105] Erik Satie, *Embryons desséchés* (Paris: E. Dements, 1913), accessed April 23rd, 2014, International Scores Music Library Project, http://imslp.org/wiki/Embryons_dess%C3%A9ch%C3%A9s_%28Satie,_Erik%29.

Stravinsky's Move to Paris

The Franco-Russian alliance was carried out most directly by the physical travel of citizens between the two countries. Throughout the Third Republic, a number of artists staged works internationally; this created a blending of cultures reflected in both French and Russian art from this period. The alliance specifically resulted in a large number of Russian artists moving to Paris. Here they could experiment with new works since it was known that Parisian audiences would be more receptive. This inviting atmosphere is certainly why Diaghilev traveled to the city after his employment at the Russian Imperial Theater fell through. Diaghilev knew that Paris was eager to experience 'exotic' and new works, and so the initial tours eventually resulted in a permanent move by the young impresario.

Diaghilev's ability to ascertain the latest artistic trends and movements was one of his qualities that made him so successful as an impresario. In fact, in a speech he made in St. Petersburg, 1905, Diaghilev in a sense foretold of the radical artistic changes his future Ballets Russes would instigate.[106] Diaghilev's knowledge of trends, in addition to his skill as an impresario and his astute attention to all aspects of a production, ensured that his company would be successful.

---

[106] During a speech given in 1905 at a banquet celebrating his exhibition of Russian portraiture, Diaghilev said "we are witnessing the greatest historic hour of reckoning, of things coming to an end in the name of a new, unknown culture – one which we will create but which will also sweep us away…I raise my glass…to the new commandments of a new aesthetic." Printed in *Vesy*, no. 4 (1905): 45-46, cited in Geoffrey Marsh, "Serge Diaghilev and the Strange Birth of the Ballets Russes," in *Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes, 1909-1929: When Art Danced with Music,* ed. Jane Pritchard (London; Washington, D.C.: Victoria and Albert Museum; in association with National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2013), 15.

Diaghilev came to Paris when the city hosted his exhibit of Russian portraiture in 1906.[107] Additionally, beginning that same year, Diaghilev was staging various artistic productions in Paris while also spending time in his hometown of St. Petersburg. While he initially staged operas funded in large part by the Russian Imperial Theatre, a cut in his funding by the czar forced him to turn to ballet as it was often less elaborate and therefore less expensive to produce than large operatic productions.[108] The company officially opened in May of 1909. As it turned out, Diaghilev made ballet to be exactly what Parisian audiences wanted to see.

During a return visit to Russia in 1909, Diaghilev attended one of the renowned Siloti Concerts and heard a sampling of works by a heretofore unknown Russian composer that was already foreshadowing a new direction in a modern musical voice. After this chance hearing of the premiere of Stravinsky's *Fireworks* and *Scherzo Fantastique*, Diaghilev became interested in Stravinsky's orchestrational abilities and commissioned him to orchestrate, along with several other composers, two piano pieces of Frédéric Chopin for the Romantic ballet *Les Sylphides*. It should be noted that this chance commission came only after Cherepnin, Lyadov, and Glazunov turned down the offer.[109] Despite this fact, Diaghilev undoubtedly heard something promising in the young composer since he remembered Stravinsky's music and subsequently sought him out to orchestrate works for his company.

---

[107] Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, 28.
[108] Marsh, "Serge Diaghilev," 26.
[109] Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets,* 31.

In contributing to *Les Sylphides*, Stravinsky made the leap from being a Russian composer to an international one; letters from the period reveal that he was excited to present music abroad and concerned with the public's review of the work.[110] This initial commission was a test for the young composer, and it is evident that he passed; it would not be long before Diaghilev was to commission him again. Diaghilev's second commission was not an orchestration but was instead for a new score for a ballet to be performed during the second season of his Ballets Russes.

The first of Stravinsky's three ballets, *L'oiseau de feu* not only brought Stravinsky to Paris for the first time but, after its premiere, kept him there since the public absolutely loved his work. Parisian audiences adored the 'exotic' qualities that were present in all aspects of the ballet, but the most popular component was certainly Stravinsky's music.[111] Although Stravinsky had little say in the work's conception and received direction concerning the score itself as the work progressed,[112] his Russian-inspired melodies couched in a late-Romantic harmonic language wooed Parisian audiences. As a result, Stravinsky "became a major figure in the world of music overnight."[113] This leap to fame would propel Stravinsky into the spotlight of the Ballets Russes, making him the "darling" of Parisian society and allowing him to work with a variety of talented

[110] Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, 30.
[111] Idem.
[112] Ibid., 40.
[113] Oliver, *Igor Stravinsky*, 35.

artists.[114] Paris had instantly accepted him, and this warm reception would keep him returning to the city for many years to come.

Conversely, audiences back home were not as impressed with Stravinsky's first major work. In general, Russian reviews were ambivalent at best.[115] Stravinsky was especially sensitive to the negative feedback from Rimsky-Korsakov's sons, who had been his close friends. In fact, the Korsakov sons continued to disprove of Stravinsky's new works – they believed that his inclusion of Russian popular songs in his next ballet, *Petrushka*, was in bad taste.[116] This animosity from home, combined with the overwhelmingly positive reception he received in Paris, undoubtedly set Stravinsky's sights westward as he continued to advance his compositional career.

More important than the warm reception, however, were the opportunities provided by Stravinsky's travels to Paris. The *L'oiseau de feu* commission allowed him to work with other collaborators and to witness several of the most innovative musical and theatrical performances happening in the city. A quote from Stravinsky elucidates some of the fruitful relationships he formed through these experiences:

> While I was in Paris I had the opportunity of meeting several persons of importance in the world of music, such as Debussy, Ravel, Florent Schmitt, and Manuel de Falla, who were there at that time. I recall that on the first night Debussy came on to the stage and complimented me on my score. That was the beginning of friendly relations which lasted to the end of his life. The approbation, and even admiration, extended to me by the artistic and musical world in general, but more particularly by representatives of the younger

[114] Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, 1.
[115] See Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions,* 641-645.
[116] Oliver, *Igor Stravinsky,* 48.

> generation, greatly strengthened me in regard to the plans which I had in mind for the future -- I am thinking in particular of *Petroushka*.[117]

From this point on, he would make regular visits to the city, especially when he was working on a ballet, and would become immersed in the multiplicity of influences present there. Through his work with the Ballets Russes, Stravinsky came in contact with many other artists who would influence his musical development, including the designers Benois, Bakst, and Roerich and the dancers/choreographers Fokine, Nijinsky, Karsavina, and Pavlova.

Spurred on by the success of *L'oiseau de feu,* Stravinsky began working more closely with Diaghilev's company as he composed music for *Petrushka* and *Le Sacre du printemps.* This time spent in Paris further connected him to several of the most notable artistic innovators of the early twentieth century. Stravinsky continually interacted with other artists outside of the Ballets Russes and experienced their works firsthand.[118] This rich exchange of ideas would shape his musical voice and give him the direction and confidence needed to step boldly into a new musical language with *Le Sacre du printemps.* The work was actually slotted to be premiered during the season of 1912; however, the docket was already full with premieres of Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé* and Debussy's *L'après-midi d'un faune* (which Stravinsky attended),[119] and so *Le Sacre du*

---

[117] Stravinsky*, An Autobiography,* 30-31. See also pp. 46, 50.
[118] One group of French artists (*Les Apaches*) that Stravinsky was involved with frequently met to share ideas and perform their works for each other. This group, which included individuals such as Ravel, Delage, Sordes, Schmitt, Calvocoressi, and Vuillermoz, "fostered Stravinsky's growing curiosity and cosmopolitanism." The group would even offer advice as Stravinsky played for them sketches of his works. See Joseph*, Stravinsky's Ballets*, 77.
[119] Oliver, *Igor Stravinsky,* 55.

printemps would have to wait until 1913. This would prove to be beneficial to Stravinsky – not only did he have more time to develop his score, but he also spent the year absorbing influences from Parisian performances and art showings. These influences would enrich the ways in which he collaborated with others on the ballets and shape his own musical voice.

From Narrative to Abstraction: Stravinsky's Ballets

With the arrival of Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, Paris would witness some of the greatest artists of the twentieth century coming together to create masterpieces. The company connected Stravinsky to several of the most innovative artists of his time and served as the point of departure of his musical career. With the various seminal productions of the Ballets Russes during the years 1909-1913, and especially with the work of Stravinsky, the developments made in ballet would craft a novel relationship between music and dance.

Much credit goes to Diaghilev in bringing about the fruitful collaborations of Stravinsky's early ballets. As an impresario, he brought together innovators from several countries and all artistic spheres to collaborate on stage productions that presented Modernism to the Parisian public. The impresario's ability to connect Stravinsky with specific collaborators depending on the nature of the production resulted in truly innovative conceptions of theatrical correspondence. Whether serving as inspiration or validation of Stravinsky's ideas, collaborators played a large role in giving him the confidence he needed. At a time when Stravinsky was just finding his musical voice, the opportunity to work with artists in different fields opened up his mind to a world of possibility. We see the fruit of these relationships in the ballets themselves, but particularly in *Le Sacre du printemps*, in which Stravinsky challenged contemporary conceptions of rhythm, harmony, and form.[120] Without the invitation of Diaghilev to join

[120] Joseph discusses Stravinsky's growing confidence and authority in the Ballets Russes and Diaghilev's consequent struggle to ensure that both composer and audience remained happy. However, Diaghilev

the company of the Ballets Russes, Stravinsky's musical voice would have undoubtedly been a different one. Additionally, each unique collaboration that Stravinsky was involved in resulted in vastly different works; this demonstrates the significant role Stravinsky's collaborators played in the conception of each ballet.

At the same time, Stravinsky's deep interest in a variety of arts and specifically in works of the theatre, as has been noted by contemporaries such as Benois,[121] credits him with much of the success of his collaborations. *L'oiseau de feu, Petrushka*, and *Le Sacre du printemps* are excellent examples of what can be achieved when ballet is considered to be a truly collaborative endeavor. The resulting ballets demonstrate a fusion of various art forms, similar to Wagner's conception of a "total artwork."[122] This fusion of art forms in turn led to several of the most notable developments of Modernism.

What is unique about Stravinsky's collaborations is that they happened entirely among Russian artists in a French city. Each of the ballets are connected to Russian folklore, yet they undoubtedly would not have come to fruition had these artists stayed in Russia. Relocating to the cosmopolitan city of Paris in which all things modern were celebrated was a necessary step for these collaborations to take place. Paris supplied the venues, audience, meeting places, and connections for these artists to know each other

---

ultimately decided that the scandal the work would most likely produce was worth the risk, since a scandal guaranteed increased publicity for the company. Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, 78.

[121] Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, 36. See also Oliver, *Igor Stravinsky*, 47.

[122] In fact, Diaghilev and his collaborators were inspired by Wagner's *gesamtkunstwerk* concept, as is evident in their discussion of his works in Diaghilev's *Mir iskusstva* journal. See Bellow, "When Art Danced with Music," 188; Bellow, *Modernism on Stage*, 12; and Peter Vergo, *The Music of Painting: Music, Modernism and the Visual Arts from the Romantics to John Cage* (London; New York: Phaidon, 2010), 140-141. Taruskin even asserts that the concept of *gesamtkunstwerk* was "the very principle on which the Ballets Russes were founded." Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, 865.

and help shape each other's work. Each ballet drew both from Russian sources but also from the Modernisms of avant-garde Paris.

Stravinsky's first real commission, *L'oiseau de feu,* was the first collaborative endeavor of his career. Because Stravinsky began composing the music for the production when the work was already well underway, he had considerably less influence in artistic decisions regarding the scenario of the work. By the time he was hired, the idea of *L'oiseau de feu* and several of the visual elements were already decided upon by Diaghilev and Benois. Bakst would also step into this collaboration, creating the costume of the firebird. Both artists had previously been working in the area of Russian folklore, contributing to and editing Diaghilev's *Mir iskusstva* publication.[123] Stravinsky, being entirely new to the Ballets Russes company and in the earliest stages of his professional career, eagerly accepted the commission; he was happy to work with such talented artists who had already established their reputations in the illustrious city.[124] As soon as Stravinsky began composing, he passed the scores on to Fokine, who quickly began dance rehearsals. As the work continued to take shape, Stravinsky attended rehearsals and continued to compose as he experienced Fokine's choreography.[125] The show came together in a mere five months.[126] Although the musical language of *L'oiseau de feu* is

---

[123] Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, 27-28.

[124] Stravinsky later wrote that "it was highly flattering to be chosen from among the musicians of my generation, and to be allowed to collaborate in so important an enterprise side by side with personages who were generally recognized as masters in their own spheres." Stravinsky, *An Autobiography*, 25.

[125] Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, 35. Stravinsky's score was therefore influenced by the work's choreography. Fokine also frequently offered suggestions for Stravinsky's music based on his conception of the choreography, which annoyed the composer but was nevertheless helpful in creating cohesion between the ballet's movement and sound.

[126] See Oliver, *Igor Stravinsky,* 34-35.

still akin to the late Romantic/Impressionistic composers of the nineteenth century (Chaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Debussy), Stravinsky's beginnings in this then-popular musical idiom gave him the footing and connections he needed that would benefit his radical shift in musical language over the next few years.

The plot of *L'oiseau de feu* (premiered June 25, 1910) is based on a number of different Russian fairytales collected by Alexander Afanasiev.[127] The legend of the firebird and the legend of Kashchey the Immortal were separate folk tales that had previously appeared in Russian productions independently.[128] The two characters were for the first time brought together in this work. These legends combined to create a Russian fantasy of a magical firebird that aids Prince Ivan in defeating an evil spirit named Kashchey the Immortal. The costumes, décor, choreography, and music are full of references to "Oriental" Russia and work to directly depict the fairytale. For example, the music aurally depicts the flitting of the firebird, the struggle between Kashchey and Ivan, and the eventual death of Kashchey. The influence of Rimsky-Korsakov is well known and evident in the modal/octatonic scales used to represent the fantastic realm and characters present in the story.[129] The tension between the earthly (diatonic) realms and fantasy (octatonic) realms would continue to manifest themselves in Stravinsky's later ballets and would be fused together in his *Le Sacre du printemps*. Scholars also acknowledge the impressionistic qualities of the music that reveal the direct influence of

---

[127] Pritchard, "Creating Productions," 77.

[128] While these characters often appeared separately in Russian theatrical works, there is no evidence that they confronted each other in any works prior to *L'oiseau de Feu*. For example, Kashchey the Immortal appears in two of Rimsky-Korsakov's works (*Kashchey* and *Mlada*).

[129] See Taruskin, "From Subject to Style," 33-34.

Debussy.[130] Already present in this early work, however, are glimpses of the "nervous and supple rhythms" of Stravinsky's subsequent ballets[131] as well as Stravinsky's quotation of Russian folk tunes (the finale can be traced back to a folk song from one of Rimsky-Korsakov's folk music anthologies).[132] Stravinsky would eventually move from mere quotation of folk music to a complete transformation of folk sources in his *Le Sacre du printemps*. It is also significant to note that Stravinsky's original flash of inspiration regarding the scenario of *Le Sacre du printemps* came shortly after Stravinsky completed *L'oiseau de feu*.

After the enormous success of his first ballet, Stravinsky stepped out of the spotlight by working on a piano concerto that was not commissioned and was therefore based on his own artistic conception. He envisioned the piano as a puppet, pitting its "diabolical flourishes" against the sounds of the accompanying orchestra.[133] This seed of an idea would eventually result in Stravinsky's next ballet, the story of a tragic puppet, *Petrushka*. However, this idea was not yet fully formed and would not have been transformed into a stage work had it not been for the intervention of Diaghilev. When Stravinsky played the initial sketches for him, Diaghilev insisted that this concert piece be turned into a ballet and performed by his company.[134]

---

[130] In "Igor Stravinsky and Russian Preliterate Theater," 5, Karlinsky describes the work in terms of folk tunes couched in Impressionism. He asserts that the tunes were chosen "for their exotic beauty."

[131] Oliver, *Igor Stravinsky,* 37. Joseph notes that the "Infernal Dance" was especially shocking and would later be seen as a foretaste of the "barbaric" qualities in Stravinsky's later music. Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, 38.

[132] Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets,* 45.

[133] Oliver, *Igor Stravinsky*, 42.

[134] Pasler, "Music and Spectacle," 56.

Stravinsky was now in an influential position within the Ballets Russes since his *Firebird* had brought the group much success. Because of this, he was able to voice his opinion regarding whom he wanted to work with, although Diaghilev was ultimately in charge and made the final decisions regarding collaborations taking place. For *Petrushka*, Stravinsky chose (and Diaghilev approved of) Benois to help with the design, since he knew much about Russian puppet theatre and was interested in the traditional Russian fairs of his childhood.[135] These artists, as well as Fokine, together conceived of the mood, scenario, and design of the ballet. Unlike *L'oiseau de feu*, Stravinsky was responsible for the original conception of the work and therefore had much more influence when it came to making artistic decisions, although the work overall was highly collaborative. We can therefore assume that Stravinsky's artistic vision was realized in most of the work's components. *Petrushka* is now heralded as one of the greatest examples of fusion between the arts and a realization of the ideals of Diaghilev's *Mir iskusstva* movement.[136]

Petrushka (premiered June 13, 1911), a work that is again concerned with Russian folk traditions, tells the fantastic tale of a Shrovetide fair (a popular Lenten/Easter celebration in nineteenth-century Russia) and the coming-to-life of three puppets

---

[135] Oliver, *Igor Stravinsky,* 46. See also Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, 51-52 for an overview of the collaboration between Stravinsky and Benois. Bellow in "When Art Danced with Music" p. 190 notes that in *Petrushka*, Benois' design reflected the courtly style of both France and Western Russia in the eighteenth century, and the backdrop was in the French style of illusionism. However, 'exotic' features are present in both the Moor's appearance and the décor of his room. Additionally, Benois' creation of a variety of characters participating in the street fair, each dressed individually and representing a range of social classes accurately conveys a sense of this longstanding folk celebration in Russia and was a fairly new concept regarding costume design. See Woodcock, "Wardrobe," 145.

[136] Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets,* 71-72.

performing on a stage there.[137] The work opens and closes with a large crowd scene, made evident both visually and aurally by the work's collaborators.[138] The first puppet, Petrushka, is a shy, awkward, bashful character – this is exhibited in the music, in his clownish costume, and in his awkward, unnatural movements.[139] The Ballerina, while still a puppet, moves more gracefully and fluently than Petrushka.[140] The sections of music accompanying her dances, as well as her footwork *en pointe*, convey this sense of lightness and grace. The Moor, conversely, is mysterious, masculine and intimidating, and the production reflects this as well. After Petrushka attempts to catch the attention of the Ballerina, she goes away with the Moor. Petrushka eventually catches up with them, and after Petrushka and the Moor struggle, the Moor chases Petrushka down and slays him, killing him quickly. However, during the last scene of the ballet, Petrushka's ghost is seen in the sky; he is still present, lurking over the deserted fair scene and haunting the Magician who was ultimately responsible for his fate. This bold ending, which is subdued and blurs the line between fantasy and reality displays Stravinsky's confidence and assurance in his artistic vision and sets the scene for the innovative musical language of

---

[137] For an overview of Russia's folk traditions and the sources for *Petrushka* as well as *Le Sacre du printemps*, see Karlinsky "Igor Stravinsky and Russian Preliterate Theater," 1-15.

[138] Benois created a colorful, busy backdrop, Fokine choreographed frequent movement of the "crowd" (dancers), and Stravinsky wrote multiple layers of sound in a thick texture. Jann Pasler, "Music and Spectacle in *Petrushka* and The *Rite of Spring*," in *Confronting Stravinsky: Man, Musician, and Modernist*, ed. Jann Pasler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 64. Joseph also notes that "a jumble of [choreographic] styles intrude upon one another, just as Stravinsky's musical layers constantly mingle with and interrupt each other in creating a dizzying mélange of sound." Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, 57. See Vergo, *The Music of Painting*, 141 for a discussion of Stravinsky's influence on Benois' design.

[139] Fokine later claimed that his own reforms in dance were most evident in this ballet. Pritchard, "Creating Productions," 75.

[140] Joseph observes that the movements of the Ballerina are actually parodying the conventions of nineteenth century ballet that Fokine sought to reform. Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, 63.

Le Sacre du printemps.[141] However, while one can point to aspects of Stravinsky's musical language that lead to *Le Sacre du printemps,* the different scenario and collaborators resulted in a ballet that was vastly different in nature from Stravinsky's previous works.

Overall, Stravinsky's music for *Petrushka* bridges a stylistic gap between *L'oiseau de feu* and *Le Sacre du printemps*. First, the work features well-known, almost cliché Russian folk tunes that would have immediately been recognized by any Russian who heard the work.[142] This increased use of genuine folk tunes demonstrates Stravinsky's move from Romanticism to an absorption of folk sources (a characteristic of Neonationalism). While the ballet still has a sense of story or program, there is an increased sense of abstraction and a lessening of direct musical/dramatic correspondence throughout.[143] This is an exemplification of Stravinsky's increasingly modernistic voice and the process of abstraction in works of the Ballets Russes. As will be discussed, this process culminated in Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps*. Stravinsky's innovative use of

---

[141] Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, 69. Joseph also notes that the work's diatonicism and chromaticism come together for the finale; this foreshadows Stravinsky's innovative use of harmony in *Le Sacre du printemps*.
[142] Some critics and Russians viewed the inclusion of these tunes as "gaudy" and "tasteless." Karlinsky, "Igor Stravinsky and Russian Preliterate Theater", 6. See Richard Taruskin, "Russian Folk Melodies in The Rite of Spring," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33, no. 3 (September 1, 1980): 510-511 n. 19 for an overview of research regarding folk tunes in *Petrushka*.
[143] See Pasler, "Music and Spectacle." Pasler asserts that both *Petrushka* and *Le Sacre du printemps* were conceived of as spectacles, or total theatrical works (stemming from Wagner's *gesamtkunstwerk* concept), in which all components of the production were equal, and that this process of fusion of the arts began with *L'oiseau de feu*. Thus Pasler's article highlights the moments of spectacle in *Petrushka* that foreshadow Stravinsky's developments in *Le Sacre du printemps*. Within the discussion Pasler shows that "correspondences [between the individual components of the ballets] helped motivate some of the artists' most radical innovations." 55-56.

the orchestra also displayed his move beyond the tutelage of Rimsky-Korsakov.[144] Additionally, glimpses of driving rhythms, shifting meters, and even polytonality are present in this work; these same musical features would shock the Parisian audience at *Le Sacre du printemps'* premiere two years later.[145]

As was demonstrated, Stravinsky's first two ballets, which were strongly shaped by the collaborative process, foreshadowed the musical breakthroughs of his seminal work *Le Sacre du printemps*. Stravinsky's musical language moved from Impressionism and Russian Exoticism (quotation of folk tunes) to an abstraction and transformation of folk material couched in non-linear blocks of sound. These stylistic developments can be attributed to the composer's "gradual internalization of Russian musical folklore,"[146] a process that is evident when observing the developments in Stravinsky's music in the ballets. Although *Le Sacre du printemps* is known today for its startling and seemingly abrupt re-conceptualization of musical sound, Stravinsky's collaborators, the city of Paris, and his own compositional processes guided him to the bold rhythms, harmonies, and textures of his third ballet.

The success of Stravinsky's first two collaborative endeavors only served to increase his confidence and aid him in asserting his voice in a group full of outspoken

---

[144] In *Igor Stravinsky*, 5, Oliver asserts that *Petrushka* is the work that breaks Stravinsky's music from the Rimsky-Korsakov tradition, noting that "orchestral virtuosity now gives way to a highly original re-thinking of the orchestra."

[145] Shifting meters in "The Moor's Room" scene hint at *Le Sacre du printemps,* Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets,* 65, while in "Petrushka's Cell," two clarinets simultaneously play two different motives in different keys. Oliver, *Igor Stravinsky*, 52. Conflicting key areas, most significantly octatonic and diatonic scales, will for the first time be joined together in *Le Sacre du printemps*.

[146] Karlinsky asserts that this takes place from *L'oiseau de feu* to *Les Noces* in a manner akin to the work of other Russian Neonationalists such as Goncharova, Chagall, Khlebnikov, and Tsvetayeva. In "Igor Stravinsky and Russian Preliterate Theater," 6-7.

artists. Shortly after the premiere of *L'oiseau de feu*, Stravinsky was inspired with the vision of a pagan spring rite. He knew that, if this vision were to come to fruition, he needed to collaborate with someone who had extensive knowledge of ancient Russia. For this, he turned to Roerich, whose knowledge of pre-literate Russia would greatly aid in the formation of *Le Sacre du printemps*.[147] The beginning of their collaboration (Summer of 1911) actually took place without Diaghilev's knowledge. The two worked very closely, deciding upon all aspects of the scenario together. Stravinsky traveled to Talashkino to meet with Roerich who was already working on a project there.[148] While there, the two solidified the scenario and names of dances.[149] Stravinsky and Roerich communicated about the work frequently; as a result, the scenario and visual design are largely guided by Roerich's knowledge of ancient Russia.[150]

After the initial scenario was decided upon, Stravinsky began composing the music between frequent trips throughout Europe he made with Diaghilev's company.[151] When Diaghilev heard about the work at this time, he was upset that they had proceeded without him. However, Diaghilev was shocked by but ultimately supportive of this daring conception; he knew that the bold scenario, costumes, and music would bring the Ballets Russes the publicity he desired. Because the 1912 ballet season was already full with premieres of new works, Stravinsky had ample time to finish the score and orchestration.

---

[147] Roerich's interests aligned with a larger trend in nineteenth century Russia in which anthropology was established as a discipline and the ancient traditions of Russia's prehistory were being studied by both artists and intellectuals. This interest was manifested in Russia's Neonationalist movement late in the century. Karlinsky, "Igor Stravinsky and Russian Preliterate Theater," 7-8.
[148] Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions,* 871.
[149] Pasler, "Music and Spectacle," 58.
[150] See Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets,* 81.
[151] Oliver, *Igor Stravinsky*, 57.

The work was completed at the end of 1912. Nijinsky, the young and daring choreographer who had shocked Paris the year before with his flat, plastic, and yet sexualized choreography of *L'après-midi d'un faune*, joined the collaboration around this time, and dancing rehearsals began that winter.[152] The rehearsals were often long and difficult, and made all the more complicated because they were held in different locations as the group toured through Europe.[153] Nijinsky's new conception of movement upset the dancers who were used to dancing ballet, and his need for perfection left no room for error or interpretation. The rhythms were incredibly difficult to dance to, and so Diaghilev enlisted the help of the Dalcroze instructor Marie Rambert to help with the rhythmic aspects of the dance. Stravinsky joined the group in January and from that point on was heavily involved in the rehearsal process. The last few weeks of rehearsals, of which only five involved the full orchestra, were tense and stressful as Nijinsky was relentless in his demands on the dancers and all performers struggled to realize the difficult music and choreography.[154] However, the work came together just in time for the premiere on May 29th, 1913.[155]

This trio of artists would together form a work that shocked and inspired Paris for years to come. While many (including Stravinsky himself) have attempted to divorce the music from its original conception as a ballet score, *Le Sacre du printemps* loses its full

---

[152] In his autobiography, Stravinsky explains that he did not trust Nijinsky to carry out the choreography properly, so he traveled with the company that winter to oversee many of the rehearsals Nijinsky was holding. Stravinsky, *An Autobiography,* 41.

[153] For a discussion of the ballet's rehearsals, see Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, 91-92.

[154] Ibid., 94.

[155] The ballets performed in the weeks before the premiere included *Jeux, L'oiseau de feu, Le Spectre de la rose,* dances from *Prince Igor*, and *Schéhérazade*.

meaning when reduced to its individual components. Sketches show that from the work's outset, Stravinsky was working with both aural and visual elements, and his initial inspiration was indeed not a musical sound but a vision of a pagan rite.[156] Additionally, the total effect that so impacted Parisian audiences at the work's premiere involved both dance and music.[157] It was the combined effect of Roerich's stark, rugged backdrop and Slavic costumes, Nijinsky's twisted, unnatural movements and Stravinsky's 'violent' and haunting music that together created a work so groundbreaking that it would eventually be considered the instigator of Modernism and remain a pinnacle of twentieth century artistic developments.

The scenario for *Le Sacre du printemps* is based on a single concept of an ancient pagan rite. This rite involves a human sacrifice in order to propitiate the gods and bring about a plentiful spring season. As was previously mentioned, the initial idea of a sacrificial rite was Stravinsky's, but the working out of the scenario in accordance with ancient Russian history and legend was Roerich's contribution.[158] The visual, musical, and ritualistic components revolve around the depiction of something ancient, 'primitive,' abstract, folk-like, and wholly unromantic in every way. These modernistic

---

[156] Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, 84. See also Stravinsky, *An Autobiography*, 31.

[157] There is also evidence that Stravinsky praised Nijinsky's choreography around the time of the work's premiere, although he later criticized Nijinsky's abilities as a choreographer. Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets,* 89-90.

[158] Taruskin, in *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, 864, 880, articulates how this must be so: the fantastic idea of a human sacrifice had to have come from Stravinsky, who was influenced by Romantic theater, since human sacrifice is not found in ancient Russian history or literature. However, the rest of the visual and theatrical details are completely in accordance with ancient Russian traditions, and therefore would have been the work of Roerich. Taruskin also lays out Roerich's experience with Russian ancient history and his artistic endeavors that relate to that experience, pp. 851-854 and 860-861, as well as the ways in which the work's scenario relates to authentic Russian folk sources, pp. 866-870 and 881-891.

characteristics connect the ballet to the Neonationalist movement that was occurring concurrently in the visual arts. Although the movement began in Russia, it is significant to note that almost all Russians of the Neonationalist circle eventually made their careers in the Parisian avant-garde scene.[159] Additionally, Neonationalism was but one manifestation of a general inclination throughout Europe towards rural, natural, folk, and 'primitive' sources as artists and audiences attempted to remove themselves from modern/urban society.[160] Neonationalist influences are apparent in the sparse, simplified, flattened backdrop, the geometric shapes and patterns of the dancers' costumes, the bound, rigid, 'primitive' movements and poses of the dancers,[161] and most notably in the absorption and transformation of folk material in the musical score.[162] Stravinsky's free borrowing of folk material in a manner similar to visual artists resulted in a radical

---

[159] This includes Diaghilev and his circle of Russian artists (including Roerich) in the Ballets Russes, but also the painters Goncharova and Laryonov, who were leaders of the movement. Both came to Paris in 1914 and worked with Stravinsky on subsequent Ballets Russes productions.

[160] Taruskin*, Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions,* 850.

[161] Millicent Hodson's article shows Roerich's Neonationalist influence on Nijinsky's choreography as the former shared with the latter ancient Russian art and design. Some of the art portrayed humans in tight, bound poses similar to those found in *Le Sacre du printemps*. Millicent Hodson, "Nijinsky's Choreographic Method: Visual Sources from Roerich for 'Le Sacre Du Printemps'," *Dance Research Journal* 18, no. 2 (December 1, 1986): 7–15. For more on Nijinsky's choreography in relation to Modernism, see Gabriele Brandstetter, "Ritual as Scene and Discourse: Art and Science Around 1900 as Exemplified by 'Le Sacre Du Printemps'," *The World of Music* 40, no. 1 (January 1, 1998): 37–59.

[162] For more on folk tunes present in the ballet and the complicated story of their discovery, See Taruskin, "Russian Folk Melodies." Both Yuliy Melgunov and Yevgeniya Linyova, composers tied to Neonationalism, in part paved the way for Stravinsky's compositional aesthetics in *Le Sacre du printemps*. It was specifically Stravinsky's discovery of Linyova's field recordings that sparked his interest in using folk music as a stylistic source. He also learned from Linyova that misaccentuation of a folk text, through its rhythmic setting, could lead to abstraction. This became one of Stravinsky's primary ways of modernizing the folk tunes imbedded in his works. Taruskin, "From Subject to Style," 27-28. Linyova published several collections of polyphonic folk songs between the years 1904-1909. In the preface to her collection, she expresses the potential of this music to usher in a rebirth of folk song in relation to the *style* of the compositions of Russian composers. Linyova also wrote about the "emotionless" and "dehumanized" performance of these folk songs. Taruskin states that these are important concepts for both the visual and musical realms of Neonationalism. Taruskin, "From Subject to Style," 31-32.

transformation of the original tune. Tunes were so altered that for many years, the folk sources present in *Le Sacre du printemps* were entirely unknown to listeners and scholars.

The ballet demonstrated that it was possible to shift the focus from subjective stories of individuals to the depiction of a timeless, shared human essence in which the overall effect is "suprapersonal."[163] The resulting lack of emotion, sympathy, and psychology is in itself a part of the move toward abstraction that would ultimately lead to Stravinsky's Neoclassical aesthetics.[164] The integration of dance, music and the work's scenario, all of which contribute to the abstract qualities of the work, is best summarized by Stravinsky in a statement he made just before the ballet's premiere: "[*Le Sacre du printemps*] is a musical choreographic work. It represents pagan Russia and is unified by a single idea: the muster and great surge of the creative power of spring. The piece has no plot."[165]

In calling the ballet a "musical choreographic work," Stravinsky articulated the great equality and fusion of all aspects of the production that has become so notable to audiences and critics. The music, choreography, and design all draw from Russian folklore, abstract their various forms of artistic representation, and relate to each other in a fundamental way.[166] Just as Stravinsky's music is rhythmic, angular, and steeped in Russian folk culture, so too do the dance and visual elements reflect these characteristics. Indeed, Stravinsky called the relationship between the music and dance in *Le Sacre du*

---

[163] Alexander Schouvaloff and Victor Borovsky, *Stravinsky on Stage* (London: Stainer & Bell, 1982), 29.
[164] Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions,* 950.
[165] Printed in *Le Figaro,* May 17th, 1913, translated in Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets*, 83.
[166] For a more in-depth discussion of correspondences between the visual, choreographic, and musical components of the ballet, see Pasler, "Music and Spectacle," 53-81.

printemps a "contrapuntal correspondence" in which the dancers literally danced the musical form.[167] This direct correspondence between the different art forms brought about a completely new conception of ballet as a theatrical production.[168] What follows is a discussion of the various components of the work and the way Stravinsky's music relates to the ballet's scenario, design, and choreography.[169]

The form of *Le Sacre du printemps* is comprised of independent musical blocks juxtaposed without any transitions or overall narrative conception.[170] Each block is completely independent in its sound – movement from one block to the next is therefore sudden and abrupt. Nijinsky's choreography visually highlights the musical form by creating choreographic 'blocks' (of specific formations or movements) that align with the changes in music.[171] Taruskin attributes this 'block' form to the 'primitive' sources of the work, describing the form as being "stripped down to what is most basic – that is, 'elemental'…: extension through repetition, alternation and – above all – sheer inertial accumulation."[172] Each block begins with a simple, straightforward iteration of a folk-inspired tune or motive, but becomes increasingly complex and multifaceted as

---

[167] Schouvaloff and Borovsky, *Stravinsky on Stage*, 21.

[168] See Pasler, "Music and Spectacle," 67.

[169] For more in-depth analyses of the musical score, see Antokoletz, *A History of Twentieth-century Music,* 75-80; Taruskin, "Russian Folk Melodies," 501-543, and *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions,* 891-966; and Pieter C. Van den Toorn, *The Music of Igor Stravinsky,* Composers of the Twentieth Century (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 99-143.

[170] For more on the trends of juxtaposition and simultanism in general, see Shattuck, *The Banquet Years*, 256-269.

[171]Pasler, "Music and Spectacle," 79. In a similar manner, poses and formations of the choreography mimic the visual components of the set. For example, original sketches show that initial group formations mimic the shapes of the large boulders painted on the backdrop. See Pasler, "Music and Spectacle," 73-74.

[172] Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions,* 954. Taruskin notes that these musical blocks are also present in *Petrushka*, which demonstrates Stravinsky's musical development throughout his ballets. However, classical forms still linger in *Petrushka*, while they are almost entirely absent in *Le Sacre du printemps*.

Stravinsky transforms the original melodic structure and adds new layers of sound. Various musical layers sounding at once result in a sort of aural simultaneity, especially evident when various layers contain vastly different rhythms or pitch collections. In these repetitive layers, often comprised of rhythmic ostinati, one can easily see the influences of Debussy and Satie. Additionally, discussion of blocks and layers as well as the process of abstraction and simultaneous representation relates to the aesthetic priorities of the Cubist movement in visual art. While the problems inherent in using this term to describe something aural instead of visual have already been mentioned, the term was frequently used by contemporary critics who heard in modern music the same geometric shapes and layers prevalent in Cubist paintings, and I believe that the term is useful in describing this aspect of the music.[173] In transforming a folk motive into various musical layers, Stravinsky is simultaneously transforming (i.e. abstracting) a Russian influence while simultaneously representing it; this process of simultaneous abstraction and representation is akin to the work of Cubist painters. In doing this, Stravinsky was drawing from both visual and musical influences present in Paris.

As part of the musical blocks of sound, the stanzaic structure of Russian folk music articulates internal repetition, balance and coherence. Four-line musical stanzas, taken directly from Russian folk tunes, are found throughout the entire ballet. Stravinsky continuously adheres to four-line stanzaic structures and occasionally quotes folk tunes directly, but the stanzaic lines often appear as fragments in the process of variation.

---

[173] See notes 73 and 74. Karlinsky also uses the term in his description of Stravinsky's transformation of folk material: "Stravinsky deformed both the Lithuanian and Slavic materials with a sovereign freedom that may be termed cubistic." Karlinsky, "Igor Stravinsky and Russian Preliterate Theater," 6.

Stravinsky also freely changes the mode of the tune and misaccentuates its meter by frequently moving the strong beats away from the regular barline or by changing the meter.[174] Each of these means of creating abstraction transforms the Russian source into something modern. Stravinsky's treatment of stanzas displays his motivic construction as each stanza (which can be generated from single motive) is continuously varied. As shown in Example 3, page 75, an initial melodic statement, which occurs at the very opening of the "Introduction" section, exemplifies Stravinsky's manipulation of a folk tune, all within the standard four-line stanzaic structure. Each line of each stanza is varied in a manner similar to the way it would be performed in a folk setting.[175] This variation process, so essential to authentic folk rendition, results in a continual abstraction of the original tune, which is basic to the aesthetics and procedures of the Neonationalist movement. The difference between Stravinsky's use of folk tunes in this ballet versus his previous works is that he is now composing with a tune and drawing from its essence instead of merely arranging it.[176] Neonationalism and folk sources additionally played a large part in the work's design and choreography. Roerich's sparse, barren, simplified backdrop demonstrates the simplification of depiction in Neonationalist art, while the intricate geometric designs and patterns of the costumes reflect folk arts and crafts (See Figure 5, page 77). Diaghilev himself articulated these changing aesthetics when he noted

---

[174] Taruskin points to Stravinsky's change of meter and mode. Taruskin, Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions, 895. The process of misaccentuation is explained in Antokoletz, *A History of Twentieth Century Music*, 77.
[175] See Antokoletz's discussion of this section of the ballet in *A History of Twentieth Century Music*, 76-78.
[176] See Taruskin, "Russian Folk Melodies," 543.

that new Russian artists were turning for inspiration not to the subject but to the design, that is, to the shapes and patterns of folk art.[177]

The pitch collections of the work also reveal Stravinsky's transformation and fusion of a variety of influences. His use of the octatonic scale was influenced by both his previous teacher Rimsky-Korsakov (who used it to represent 'exotic' or fantastic situations) and Debussy, who used the scale, along with the whole-tone scale, frequently in his Impressionistic works.[178] Additionally, Stravinsky sets many of his motives in various diatonic modes used in Russian folk music. The use of these non-functional pitch collections often renders the harmony of *Le Sacre du printemps* static. What is so notable about this work in particular, however, is the way in which Stravinsky fuses these two collections together, where previous composers (including Stravinsky himself) had merely juxtaposed them. While Stravinsky certainly positions octatonic against diatonic scales in creating aural simultaneity and duality,[179] he also presents interactions between these pitch collections, which transform the melodic framework.

While each of the previously mentioned musical features contributed to the modernistic sound of *Le Sacre du printemps*, it was the unstable, syncopated rhythms and incessantly driving, 'violent' ostinati that initially upset listeners and led to new considerations about the nature of music. Stravinsky's rhythms in this work are, perhaps

---

[177] See page 18 above for the direct quote. Translated in Buckle, *Diaghilev*, 300.
[178] Both the octatonic and whole-tone scales are symmetrical and therefore harmonically static/atmospheric/non-functional.
[179] See, for example, the "Dance of the Earth," in which the juxtaposition of octatonic and diatonic collections creates "polyharmonies." Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions,* 957.

more than anything else, its driving force, and a new means of structural organization.[180] They are also 'primitive,' repetitive, forceful, and unrelenting, a context which moves beyond the aesthetics of Romanticism. The continual ostinati, prevalent in many of the work's musical blocks, can be seen as corresponding to the cyclic rhythms of nature and the power of spring. Stravinsky's changing meters, off-beat entrances, and irregular groupings were inherently modern, while the use of ostinato connected his music to Russian folk sources.[181] Stravinsky layers the changing rhythms of the melody with the incessant ostinato patterns to articulate the various musical layers present in each block, as the different rhythmic layers phase in and out of sync with each other.[182] The emphasis on rhythm and cycles is evident also in the design and choreography of the ballet. Nijinsky's choreography often emphasizes downward motion, visually mirroring the heavy, driving rhythms of the music,[183] and the repetitive designs of the costumes echo the cyclical, seemingly endless rhythms underlying many of the work's musical blocks.

The "Jeu du rapt" (Ritual of Abduction) tableau is made up of several block-like patches (See Example 4, page 76).[184] This tableau exemplifies many of the previously discussed features – melodic/rhythmic layers, ostinati, the simultaneous juxtaposition of several musical ideas, and the process of abstracting a folk tune within a four-line

---

[180] Stravinsky himself wrote the following line in his sketchbook for the ballet: "music exists if there is rhythm, as life exists if there is pulse," cited in Pasler, "Music and Spectacle," 69.
[181] Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions*, 954. Taruskin also acknowledges the Russian sources of Stravinsky's irregular rhythms and meters, as many Russian folk tunes were performed with "irregularly spaced downbeats." Ibid., 959.
[182] Ibid., 961. The "Glorification of the Chosen One" exemplifies this sort of play with rhythm. While one theme consistently repeats throughout the dance, it is broken up by an eighth note ostinato, which lasts anywhere from 2 to 38 notes before the theme reappears. Ibid., 958.
[183] Oliver, *Igor Stravinsky,* 58. See also Pasler, "Music and Spectacle," 70.
[184] My analysis is taken from Antokoletz, *A History of Twentieth Century Music,* 78-80.

stanzaic structure. Most notably, this moment in the work links the octatonic and A Dorian scale. The folk tune, present in the upper winds, is in A Dorian. The A Dorian scale contains two tetrachords, A-B-C-D and E-F#-G-(A). The various planes that accompany the melody are composed of a variety of triadic harmonies which when put together create an incomplete octatonic scale (missing an A). The upper tetrachord of the A Dorian folk tune, when added to the other notes in the accompaniment, creates the full octatonic scale, with the A from the folk tune completing the scale. This modern, symmetrical scale is therefore derived the mode of the folk tune and the two are joined together in a novel way. In this section of the work, Stravinsky is simultaneously presenting a Russian melody while abstracting it in the various harmonic and rhythmic planes that accompany it.

As has been demonstrated, Stravinsky's absorption, fusion and transformation of a multiplicity of stylistic sources, both Russian and French, resulted in a ballet score that completely changed contemporary perceptions of modern music. The multiplicities of Paris are reflected in his ballet, juxtaposed and simultaneously presented in the musical sound.[185] The result was nothing less than a new musical language. Artistic fusion also occurred on a larger level, between the work's movement, costumes, scenery, scenario, and sound. Each of these components corresponded to each other in a tangible and obvious way, while each worked individually to present Russian folk culture in a modern,

---

[185] Taruskin acknowledges this fusion of sources, saying that "For him [Stravinsky] it has been a great fusion, this miraculous union of the 'national' with the 'modern.'" Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions,* 965. I would add that the majority of both Stravinsky's nationalistic and modern influences were the result of his time spent in Paris.

abstract context. The ballet stage became the site of a new type of correspondence between the arts.[186]

A work as innovative as *Le Sacre du printemps*, which pushed the boundaries of music and dance, was bound to spark an intense reaction from contemporary audiences.[187] The ballet's premiere has turned into one of the most fantastic tales of music history, and the events of that evening have been so distorted that historians may never know exactly how individuals responded to such a new work. What is known for sure, however, is that the visual and aural combination of 'primitive,' 'violent,' modernistic art shocked, upset, and excited many in the audience. However, subsequent performances of the work were generally well received, especially when the music was presented as a concert piece.[188] Two contemporary critics even noted that Parisian audiences were in an "intoxicating stupor" when they heard *Le Sacre du printemps* performed in this way. Not long after its premiere, *Le Sacre du printemps* was heralded as one of the most groundbreaking and foundational works of Modernism in the twentieth

---

[186] Several contemporary critics commented on this fusion of the arts in *Le Sacre du printemps*. For example, critic H. Colles saw the work as a "step nearer to a real fusion of music and dancing," H. Colles (unsigned), "The Fusion of Music and Dancing. 'Le Sacre du printemps,'" *The Times* (12 July 1913), cited in Pasler, "Music and Spectacle," 59. Additionally, Jacques Rivière asserted that Russian artists in general are able to think as one. Ibid., 56.

[187] For further discussion on the work's reception, see Joseph, *Stravinsky's Ballets,* 74-76, 92-98; François Lesure, ed., *Igor Stravinsky, Le Sacre Du Printemps: Dossier De Presse,* Press-Books; Anthology of Musical Criticism (Geneva: Minkoff, 1980); Bullard, "The First Performance."

[188] Rudhyar D. Chennevière and Frederick H. Martens, "The Two Trends of Modern Music in Stravinsky's Works" *The Musical Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (April 1, 1919): 169. Another account asserts that an ecstatic audience carried Stravinsky through the streets of Paris after a subsequent performance of the work. Oliver, *Igor Stravinsky,* 60.

century.[189] Had Stravinsky not been inspired by and collaborated in the city of Paris, the ballet may not have been realized.[190] If we consider the music Stravinsky heard, productions he attended, art he viewed, places he visited, and people with whom he established working or personal relationships, the effect of the city is an undeniable force in the formation of Stravinsky's musical aesthetics. As Joseph concisely states, "More than any musician, Stravinsky understood how ballet must transform itself if it was to become a revitalized, coherent art form in the new century…buoyed by the artistic vigor of Paris, his beliefs resonated with the passionate convictions of other young modernists seeking to refashion the thinking of a new generation."[191]

---

[189] Taruskin notes that this inherently Russian work "achieved a cultural universality within the world of postromantic Modernism that ultimately rendered its subject superfluous." Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions,* 950.

[190] Goodall in "Music and the Ballets Russes," 177 notes that Stravinsky's new works were considered shocking and avant-garde precisely because he was working so closely with other artists in the spotlight of the Parisian entertainment scene. Other composers (e.g. Schoenberg) whose music was equally innovative received less attention because they were isolated from the public.

[191] Joseph, Stravinsky's *Ballets,* 74.

Example 3 – Stravinsky, *Le Sacre du printemps,* 1913, “Introduction,” mm. 1-9.[192]

[192] Igor Stravinsky, *Le Sacre du printemps,* (Moscow: Muzyka, 1965, reprint, Mineola: Dover Publications, 1989), accessed April 25, 2014, International Scores Music Library Project, http://imslp.org/wiki/The_Rite_of_Spring_%28Stravinsky,_Igor%29.

Example 4 – Stravinsky, *Le Sacre du printemps*, 1913, "Jeu du rapt," mm 1-5.[193]

[193] Igor Stravinsky, *Le Sacre du printemps,* (Moscow: Muzyka, 1965, reprint, Mineola: Dover Publications, 1989), accessed April 25, 2014, International Scores Music Library Project, http://imslp.org/wiki/The_Rite_of_Spring_%28Stravinsky,_Igor%29.

Figure 5 – Roerich, costumes for *Le Sacre du printemps*.[194]

[194] Nicholas Roerich and Vaslav Nijinsky, *Rite of Spring* stage design, 1913, accessed April 25, 2014, University of Texas at Austin Digital Archives Services, https://dase.laits.utexas.edu.

Bibliography

Anderson, Gordon A., James R. Anthony, David Charlton, Elisabeth Cook, John Eby, Richard Freedman, Guy Gosselin, Daniel Heartz, Jann Pasler, Thomas B. Payne, Paul F. Rice, and John Trevitt. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. Edited by Stanley Sadie. 2nd ed. New York: Grove's Dictionaries Inc., 2001.

Antokoletz, Elliott. *A History of Twentieth-century Music in a Theoretic-analytical Context*. New York; London: Routledge, 2013.

———. *Musical Symbolism in the Operas of Debussy and Bartók: Trauma, Gender, and the Unfolding Unconscious*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Beaumont, Keith. *Jarry, Ubu Roi*. Critical Guides to French Texts 69. London; Wolfeboro, NH: Grant & Cutler, 1987.

Bellow, Juliet. *Modernism on Stage: The Ballets Russes and the Parisian Avant-garde*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2012.

Benois, Alexandre. *Reminiscences of the Russian Ballet*. London: Putnam, 1941.

Brandstetter, Gabriele. "Ritual as Scene and Discourse: Art and Science Around 1900 as Exemplified by 'Le Sacre Du Printemps'." *The World of Music* 40, no. 1 (January 1, 1998): 37–59.

Brody, Elaine. *Paris: The Musical Kaleidoscope, 1870-1925*. New York: G. Braziller, 1987.

Buckle, Richard. *Diaghilev*. 1st American ed. New York: Atheneum, 1979.

———. *Nijinsky*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971.

Bullard, Truman Campbell. "The First Performance of Igor Stravinsky's Sacre Du Printemps." PhD diss., Eastman School of Music, 1971.

Chennevière, Rudhyar D., and Frederick H. Martens. "The Two Trends of Modern Music in Stravinsky's Works." *The Musical Quarterly* 5, no. 2 (April 1, 1919): 169–174.

Debussy, Claude. *Debussy Letters*. Edited by François Lesure and Roger Nichols. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1987.

———. *Debussy on Music: The Critical Writings of the Great French Composer Claude*

Debussy. 1st American ed. Edited by Richard Langham Smith. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1977.

———. *Préludes,* Book 1. Paris: Durand & Cie., 1910. Accessed April 23rd, 2014. International Scores Music Library Project, http://imslp.org/wiki/Pr%C3%A9ludes_%28Book_1%29_%28Debussy,_Claude%29.

Edwards, Steve and Paul Wood, eds. *Art of the Avant-gardes*. New Haven, Conn.; London: Yale University Press in association with the Open University, 2004.

Garafola, Lynn. *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Garelick, Rhonda K. *Electric Salome: Loie Fuller's Performance of Modernism.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Gray, Camilla. *The Great Experiment: Russian Art, 1863-1922*. New York: H. N. Abrams, 1971.

Guicharnaud, Jacques, ed. *Anthology of 20th Century French Theater*. Paris, New York: Paris Book Center, 1967.

Harrison, Charles. *Primitivism, Cubism, Abstraction: The Early Twentieth Century*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, in association with the Open University, 1993.

Henderson, Linda Dalrymple. *The Fourth Dimension and non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983.

Hill, Peter. *Stravinsky: The Rite of Spring*. Cambridge Music Handbooks. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Hodson, Millicent. "Nijinsky's Choreographic Method: Visual Sources from Roerich for 'Le Sacre Du Printemps'." *Dance Research Journal* 18, no. 2 (December 1, 1986): 7–15.

Jordan, Stephanie. "Debussy, the Dance, and the *Faune*." In *Debussy in Performance*. Edited by James R. Briscoe. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

Joseph, Charles M. *Stravinsky Inside Out*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

———. *Stravinsky's Ballets*. Yale Music Masterworks Series. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.

Junyk, Ihor. *Foreign Modernism: Cosmopolitanism, Identity, and Style in Paris*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.

Karsavina, Tamara. *Theatre Street: The Reminiscences of Tamara Karsavina*. Rev. ed. New York: Dutton, 1961.

Kelly, Barbara L., ed. *French Music, Culture, and National Identity, 1870-1939*. Eastman Studies in Music. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2008.

Kemfert, Beate, and Alla Chilova, eds. *Natalia Goncharova: Between Russian Tradition and European Modernism*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2009.

Kurth, Peter. *Isadora: a Sensational Life*. 1st ed. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 2001.

Lesure, François, ed. *Igor Stravinsky, Le Sacre Du Printemps: Dossier De Presse*. Press-books: Anthology of Musical Criticism. Geneva: Minkoff, 1980.

Mackworth, Cecily. *Guillaume Apollinaire and the Cubist Life*. 1st American ed. New York: Horizon Press, 1963.

Magriel, Paul David. *Isadora Duncan*. New York: H. Holt and company, 1947.

McAuliffe, Mary Sperling. *Twilight of the Belle Epoque: the Paris of Picasso, Stravinsky, Proust, Renault, Marie Curie, Gertrude Stein, and their friends through the Great War*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014.

Mellers, Wilfrid. *Studies in Contemporary Music*. London: D. Dobson, 1947.

Myers, Rollo H. *Erik Satie*. Contemporary Composers. London: D. Dobson, 1948.

Nectoux, Jean-Michel, ed. *L'Après-midi D'un Faune: Mallarmé, Debussy, Nijinsky*. Dossiers Du Musée d'Orsay 29. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1989.

Nichols, Roger. *The Life of Debussy*. Musical Lives. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Noble, Jeremy. "Portrait of Debussy. I: Debussy and Stravinsky." *The Musical Times* 108, no. 1487 (January 1, 1967): 22–25.

Oliver, Michael. *Igor Stravinsky*. 20th-century Composers. London: Phaidon, 1995.

Pasler, Jann. *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.

———, ed. *Confronting Stravinsky: Man, Musician, and Modernist*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

———. "Debussy, 'Jeux': Playing with Time and Form." *19th-Century Music* 6, no. 1 (July 1, 1982): 60–75.

———. "'Pelléas' and Power: Forces Behind the Reception of Debussy's Opera." *19th-Century Music* 10, no. 3 (April 1, 1987): 243–264.

———. "Reinterpreting Indian Music: Roussel and Delage." In *Music-cultures in Contact: Convergences and Collisions*. Edited by Margaret J. Kartomi and Stephen Blum. Basel, Switzerland: Gordon and Breach, 1994.

Percival, John. *The World of Diaghilev*. Rev. ed. New York: Harmony Books, 1979.

Pritchard, Jane, ed. *Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes, 1909-1929: When Art Danced with Music*. London; Washington, D.C.: Victoria and Albert Museum; in association with National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2013.

Purvis, Alston W., Peter Rand, and Anna Winestein, eds. *The Ballets Russes and the Art of Design*. New York: Monacelli Press, 2009.

Rhodes, Colin. *Primitivism and Modern Art*. World of Art. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997.

Rubin, William, ed. *"Primitivism" in 20th Century Art: Affinity of the Tribal and the Modern*. New York: Boston: Museum of Modern Art; Distributed by New York Graphic Society Books, 1984.

Satie, Erik. *Embryons desséchés*. Paris: E. Dements, 1913. Accessed April 23rd, 2014. International Scores Music Library Project, http://imslp.org/wiki/Embryons_dess%C3%A9ch%C3%A9s_%28Satie,_Erik%29

Schouvaloff, Alexander, and Victor Borovsky. *Stravinsky on Stage*. London: Stainer & Bell, 1982.

Schumacher, Claude. *Alfred Jarry and Guillaume Apollinaire*. Macmillan Modern Dramatists. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1984.

Shattuck, Roger. *The Banquet Years; the Origins of the Avant Garde in France, 1885 to*

World War I: Alfred Jarry, Henri Rousseau,Erik Satie, Guillaume Apollinaire. Rev. ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1968.

Siohan, Robert. *Stravinsky*. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1970.

Slonimsky, Nicolas. *Music Since 1900*. 5th ed. New York: Schirmer Books; Toronto: Maxwell Macmillan Canada; New York: Maxwell Macmillan International, 1994.

Spencer, Charles. *Leon Bakst and the Ballets Russes*. Rev. ed. London: Academy Editions, 1995.

Stravinsky, Igor. *Le Sacre du printemps*. Moscow: Muzyka, 1965. Reprint, Mineola: Dover Publications, 1989. Accessed April 25, 2014. International Scores Music Library Project, http://imslp.org/wiki/The_Rite_of_Spring_%28Stravinsky,_Igor%29.

———. *Stravinski and the Theatre: a Catalogue of Decor and Costume Designs for Stage Productions of His Works, 1910-1962*. New York: New York Public Library, 1963.

———. *Stravinsky: An Autobiography*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1936.

Stravinsky, Vera, and Robert Craft. *Stravinsky in Pictures and Documents*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978.

Taruskin, Richard. "Russian Folk Melodies in The Rite of Spring." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33, no. 3 (September 1, 1980): 501–43.

———. *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: a Biography of the Works Through Mavra*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

University of Texas at Austin Digital Archive Services. Accessed April 25, 2014. https://dase.laits.utexas.edu.

Van den Toorn, Pieter C. *The Music of Igor Stravinsky*. Composers of the Twentieth Century. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.

Van Norman Baer, Nancy, ed. *The Art of Enchantment: Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, 1909-1929*. San Francisco: New York, NY: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; Universe Books: Distributed by St. Martin's Press, 1988.

Vergo, Peter. *The Music of Painting: Music, Modernism and the Visual Arts from the Romantics to John Cage*. London; New York: Phaidon, 2010.

Walsh, Stephen. *Stravinsky: a Creative Spring*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2000.

White, Eric Walter. *Stravinsky: The Composer and His Works*. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.