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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

Faculty of Arts and Humanities
History

TUTUS AND JACKBOOTS

BALLET MUSIC AT THE PARIS OPÉRA UNDER THE GERMAN
OCCUPATION OF FRANCE, 1940-44

by

ABAIGH MCKEE

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
January 2020

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ABSTRACT

FACULTY OF ARTS AND HUMANITIES
HISTORY

THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

TUTUS AND JACKBOOTS:
BALLET MUSIC AT THE PARIS OPÉRA UNDER THE GERMAN OCCUPATION OF FRANCE,
1940-1944

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ABAIGH MCKEE

Though we know that ballet flourished during the German occupation of France (1940-1944), and that the Paris Opéra Ballet entertained both French and German audiences, this is the first in-depth study to discuss the company's new ballets as a body of work and analyse the changing ballet repertoire at the Paris Opéra in its cultural and political context. This thesis shows how the Paris Opéra Ballet thrived during the German occupation both in spite and because of the restrictions placed on it, bringing together three historiographical fields: the history of Nazism and World War II, the interconnected histories of twentieth-century ballet and music, and the history of culture and everyday life during the German occupation of Paris. The new ballets discussed in this thesis were all choreographed by former Ballets Russes dancer Serge Lifar: composer Gabriel Grovlez's *La Princesse au jardin* (1941), Philippe Gaubert's *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle* (1941), Francis Poulenc's *Les Animaux modèles* (1942), Werner Egk's *Joan de Zarissa* (1942), and André Jolivet's *Guignol et Pandore* (1944).

By delving deeper into the audience experience at the Paris Opéra during the occupation, this thesis argues that the Palais Garnier became a social space shared by both French and German audiences. I conclude that the Germans' policy of 'cultural seduction' in Paris created space for the increased presentation of new French ballets. Maintaining the balance between the stipulations from the German authorities, the wishes of the French government in Vichy, and the needs of the audience was a significant challenge for the administration and directors of the Paris Opéra, one that was negotiated through repertoire.

The productions that performers and administrative staff presented channelled a cultural 'Frenchness' that was sufficiently open to sustain quite radically different interpretations on the part of their diverse audiences. To some, the 'occupation ballets' offered a subversive critique of foreign armies on French soil; others may have perceived them as in alignment with the Vichy government's cultural and aesthetic ideological ideals.

Though ballet has been associated with French culture since the seventeenth century, ballet *music* is largely missing from debates concerning twentieth-century music, cultural life in Paris and the National Socialists' attitude towards French culture. This thesis takes research on twentieth-century dance and music in new directions by considering the ballet repertoire presented at the Paris Opéra during the German occupation from interdisciplinary perspectives in order to gain a deeper understanding of how culture was affected by the occupation, and how French composers, artists, choreographers and cultural institutions reacted in the political circumstances. Whereas existing literature tends to address cultural life in Paris more generally, or treats ballet as secondary to the discussion of French opera and the visiting German companies, this thesis combines analytical musical commentary, quantitative analysis and the discussion of a single institution to place the Paris Opéra Ballet at the centre of its description and analysis of occupation cultural life, deepening understanding of cultural life in German-occupied Paris, and offering new, interdisciplinary perspectives on Nazism, the Second World War, and twentieth-century dance and music.

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Ar dheis Dé go raibh a n-anamacha.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AN – Archives Nationales, Paris.

AVL – Archives de la Ville de Lausanne, Lausanne.

BL – British Library, London.

BnF AS – Bibliothèque nationale de France, département des Arts du spectacle (Richelieu).

BnF BMO – Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque-musée de l’Opéra.

FNM – Comité du Front national des musiciens.

KfdK – Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur.

MMM – Médiathèque Musicale Mahler.

NSRL – Nationalsozialistischer Reichsbund für Leibesübungen.

PA – Propaganda-Abteilung Frankreich.

RKK – Reichskulturkammer.

RMK – Reichskmusikammer.

RMVP – Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda.

RSHA – Reichssicherheitshauptamt.

RTLN – Réunion des théâtres lyriques nationaux.

INTRODUCTION | THE ‘BALLET PROBLEM’¹

On 22 June 1940, German and French signatories met in the Compiègne Forest north of Paris to sign an armistice agreement that divided France into different zones of occupation. The following morning, Adolf Hitler visited Paris with a small group of German officials. Their tour of the city’s major sights included the Eiffel Tower, the Trocadéro, Notre Dame and the Palais Garnier, home to the Paris Opéra and Paris Opéra Ballet. A scene from Marcel Ophüls’ ground-breaking documentary, *Le Chagrin et la Pitié* (1969), shows Hitler travelling around the Place de l’Opéra in a car.² Albert Speer, National Socialist Minister of Armaments and War Production, recalled their visit to the Palais Garnier in detail:

The great stairway, famous for its spaciousness, notorious for its excessive ornamentation, the resplendent foyer, the elegant, gilded parterre, were carefully inspected. All the lights glowed as they would on a gala night. Hitler had undertaken to lead the party. A white-haired attendant accompanied our small group through the deserted building. Hitler had actually studied the plans of the Paris Opéra House with great care. Near the proscenium box he found a salon missing, remarked on it, and turned out to be right. The attendant said that this room had been eliminated in the course of renovations many years ago. ‘There, you see how well I know my way about,’ Hitler commented complacently. He seemed fascinated by the Opéra, went into ecstasies about its beauty, his eyes glittering with an excitement that struck me as uncanny.³

¹ In Chapter Two I explain that the extent to which ballet in Germany should be censored became a divisive issue which was labelled, in official correspondence, the ‘ballet problem,’ in a letter from Rainer Schlösser to Section T, Propaganda Ministry, 22 September 1942. See Lilian Karina and Marion Kant, *Hitler’s Dancers: German Modern Dance and the Third Reich* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), p. 296. Appendix Document 90.

² *Le Chagrin et la Pitié: chronique d’une ville française sous l’occupation*, dir. by Marcel Ophüls (Milestone Film & Video, 1969, 2011) [DVD].

³ Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich: Memoirs*, trans. by Richard and Clara Winston (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1970), p. 171. The white-haired attendant was a janitor who went by the nickname Glouglou.

The Führer remarked that he was 'grateful to fate' to have briefly visited Paris, whose 'aura' had 'always preoccupied' him.⁴

The visit to the Palais Garnier punctuated a day otherwise associated, for many French, with defeat, shame and anger. It was the only trip to Paris that Hitler made in his lifetime and, whilst many occupied Eastern European cities were destroyed by the end of the war, Hitler's veneration for French architecture allowed Paris's buildings to survive the occupation largely intact and undamaged. The Führer's excitement and fascination with the Palais Garnier as described by Speer shows that culture, tourism and entertainment occupied key places in the Germans' perception and experience of France as both dominator and tourist.

Despite initial concerns to the contrary, Parisian cultural life thrived and even prospered during the German occupation. Elegant Parisians, German soldiers, Nazi officials and French civilians ascended the same great stairway and crossed the elegant, gilded parterre traversed by Hitler and his companions to enjoy performances given by the Paris Opéra and the Paris Opéra Ballet. For the Parisians who had frequented the Palais Garnier before and during the occupation, the experience was both reassuringly familiar and yet strikingly different. The glitz and glamour had not diminished but the opera- and ballet-going audience had changed. 'When we were at the Opéra,' wrote photojournalist Jean Eparvier, 'the hall was like camouflage in [the Germans'] uniforms.'⁵

In the resplendent foyer of the Paris Opéra, occupier and occupied sat beside one another to share an evening of entertainment. For three francs, a small programme could be purchased which detailed ballet and opera synopses in both French and German. Targeted advertisements for Courvoisier cognac (described in English as 'the brandy of Napoleon'), Elizabeth Arden cosmetics, the Berlitz language school, and cabaret entertainments such as Cabaret Scheherazade (advertised on separate pages as 'le premier cabaret de Paris' and 'Das Pariser Kabaret') reveal the audience demographic: male and female, middle- and upper-class, French and German.⁶ While the German authorities actively censored other cultural genres such as music, literature, film and art, French ballet – the very existence of which had been inextricably linked to French culture for four centuries – thrived in occupied Paris. The Paris

⁴ Arno Breker quoting Adolf Hitler in *Paris, Hitler et Moi* (Paris: Presses de la Cité, 1970), quoted in David Pryce-Jones, *Paris in the Third Reich: A History of the German Occupation 1940-1944* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981), p. 13.

⁵ Jean Eparvier, *A Paris sous la botte des Nazis* (Paris: Éditions Raymond Schall, 1944), p. 14.

⁶ See BnF BMO, Dossier programmes: 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944; and Carton 2238: Programmes, 1942. Paris.

Opéra Ballet enjoyed a growing audience, produced a steady stream of new ballets that celebrated notions of French identity and, because it was not subjected to the same level of censorship as other artforms, had the potential to occupy a politically subversive space. The perception that ballet was light, frivolous, feminine and less serious when compared with other genres – a perception that was held by both the National Socialist authorities and, to an extent, its French and German audience – gave it space for political agency. Broad cultural, social and historical meaning can be found in even the most seemingly frivolous of places.

*

How did the ‘dark years’ impact on the ‘city of light,’ its culture, and its leading dance institution? What can the ballets presented at the Palais Garnier during the German occupation tell us about the people of Paris, their experience of occupation, and, on a wider level, the National Socialists and their attitude towards dance and French culture? Furthermore, how do these conversations speak to historiography relating to twentieth-century music and dance? These research questions address gaps in current scholarship which relate to our understanding of the occupation ballets, the ballet-going audience, and the German authorities’ perception and handling of French ballet. To address these questions, this thesis brings together three normally disparate historiographical fields: the history of culture and everyday life during the German occupation of Paris, the history of Nazism and World War II, and the interconnected histories of twentieth-century ballet and music.

In terms of the first conversation, it places ballet at the centre of discussion about the Paris Opéra and occupation cultural life, a musicological field which has hitherto been dominated by analysis of opera and symphonic music. Ballet became as important as opera in occupied Paris, not least because new ballets were being produced with more frequency, and because we know that the ballet audience comprised a significant number of German soldiers. Centring ballet in discussion of National Socialist culture and cultural life during the German occupation of France complicates the view that opera-going was the principal ‘high culture’ sphere in which cultural diplomacy took place whilst ballet was simple and apolitical. A focus on the everyday workings of the Paris Opéra Ballet also shows how ballet-going played a part in the everyday life of French citizens and German soldiers, how ballet-going contributed towards wartime morale, and how the Paris Opéra functioned as a space for interaction between different groups of people.

Secondly, by delving deeper into the history of audiences as cultural consumers, this thesis speaks to the history of propaganda, culture and leisure in the Third Reich and, more generally, in France during wartime. It argues that ballet- and opera-going were important signifiers of French cultural strength, and that the National Socialists underestimated the extent of ballet's cultural significance, despite attempts to 'Nazify' modern German dance during the 1930s. By discussing the ways in which the occupation ballets may be perceived, this research argues that the Germans failed to dominate and legislate for dance, creating space for French composers and performers to react to the occupiers' presence through ballet.

Finally, this study contributes to wider conversations concerning dance and music during the twentieth century through its content and its methodological approach. In terms of content, the thesis deepens understanding of the history of ballet and ballet music by showing how the Paris Opéra Ballet strengthened its reputation during the 1940s. Methodologically, this study thus challenges the (sometimes unspoken) assumption that ballet and dance are frivolous or otherwise 'less than' other cultural genres – a misapprehension held both during the historical period in question and, often, in contemporary research. Too often, write Jennifer Fisher and Anthony Shay, dance suffers from its 'low positioning in the arts world.'⁷ Ballet suffers from the 'long-standing belief,' writes Marian Smith, that absolute music is more worthy of scholarly attention and interpretation than music attached to words, drama or dance; ballet's 'relative triviality' in comparison to opera has resulted in the neglect of ballet both in the arts world itself and in academia until the last few decades.⁸ Ballet has, until recently, also been overlooked in studies of cultural life and concert-going: 'a streak of distaste for dance [...] has made the prospect of studying ballet and the fortunes and its relationship with opera less than appealing to many music specialists,' writes Smith.⁹

However, the 'trivial' can have wide historical meaning: it was precisely this misconception that gave ballet its potential for political agency in occupied Paris. Understanding the occupation ballets' music, aesthetics and reception as historical objects in a broader narrative allows their political and cultural significance to be evaluated. At the same

⁷ *When Men Dance: Choreographing Masculinities Across Borders* ed. by Jennifer Fisher and Anthony Shay (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2009), p. 5.

⁸ Marian Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. xv; Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, *A History of Opera: The Last 400 Years* (London: Penguin Books, 2015), p. 2-9.

⁹ Smith, *Ballet and Opéra in the Age of Giselle* (2000), p. xv. See also Lawrence Zbikowski, 'Music, Dance, and Meaning in the Early 19th Century,' in *Journal of Musicological Research*, 31 (2012), p. 163; *Musicology and Dance: Historical and Critical Perspectives*, ed. by Davinia Caddy and Maribeth Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 5.

time, examining the historical period through its culture helps us to understand the experiences of people that lived in occupied Paris. This thesis therefore adopts a methodological approach which challenges the scholarly focus on dance, music and history in isolation. This research addresses an emerging literature which aims to contextualise ballet and its music, and proposes that an interdisciplinary understanding further helps to fully understand these ballets as both cultural products of a specific moment in time, and also as political objects that engaged with and influenced their contemporary contexts.¹⁰

Academic scholarship relating to music in occupied France is largely divided between, on the one hand, top-down approaches which focus on Philippe Pétain's conservative Vichy government and the Germans' enactment of policy and bureaucracy and, on the other hand, composer biographies and cultural life studies which concentrate on the moral challenges faced by music-makers and performers living in occupied France. Ballet is largely missing from both of these conversations. The thesis cuts across these frameworks, offering the first in-depth study of the German occupation of France which places ballet at the centre of the discussion.

Scholarly interest in cultural life during the German occupation of France has increased in recent decades thanks to a twofold impetus. The publication of Robert Paxton's *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order* in 1972 ignited a reassessment of all aspects of the French war experience and forced a major change in the historiographical landscape.¹¹ At the same time – during the 1970s and 1980s – there was a wider move towards cultural studies in history more generally.¹² Since the late 1980s historians have explored cultural life during the occupation, asking what it meant to live and work under such conditions.¹³ Philippe Burrin, Julian Jackson and others revised and reassessed loaded terms such as 'collaborator' and

¹⁰ See *Musicology and Dance: Historical and Critical Perspectives* (2020), pp. 6-9.

¹¹ See Robert O. Paxton, *Vichy France: Old Guard and New Order, 1940-1944* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972; 2001); Eberhard Jäckel, *Frankreich in Hitlers Europa: Die deutsche Frankreichpolitik im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1966); Henri Michel, *Vichy, année 40* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1966); Yves Durand, *Vichy 1940-44* (Paris: Bordas, 1972); *Le Chagrin et la pitié* [DVD].

¹² See *The New Cultural History* ed. by Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Miri Rubin, 'What is Cultural History Now?' in *What is History Now?* ed. by David Cannadine (New York: Palgrave, 2002); Melissa Calaresu, Filippo de Vivo and Joan Pau Rubiés et al, *Exploring Cultural History: Essays in Honour of Peter Burke* (London: Routledge, 2017).

¹³ Studies include *Collaboration in France: Politics and Culture during the Nazi Occupation* ed. by Gerhard Hirschfield and Patrick Marsh (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1989); Michèle C. Cone, *Artists Under Vichy: A Case of Prejudice and Persecution* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Serge Added, *Le Théâtre dans les Années Vichy: 1940-1944* (Paris: Ramsay, 1992); Laurence Bertrand Dorléac *L'Art de la Défaite* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1993); Stéphanie Corcy, *La Vie culturelle sous l'Occupation* (Paris: Perrin, 2005). On everyday life in France see Henri Amouroux, *La France et les Français de 1939 à 1945* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1970); David Pryce-Jones, *Paris in the Third Reich: A History of the German Occupation 1940-1944* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981); Yves Durand, *La France pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale 1939-1945* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1989); Jean-Pierre Rioux, *La Vie culturelle sous Vichy* (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 1990). See later literature listed below.

‘resistor,’ and recent scholarship acknowledges that this binary language is no longer useful.¹⁴ Instead, Burrin introduced the term ‘accommodation’ to capture some of the nuance with which ordinary people, institutions and politicians coped with their circumstances. Though he does not address music, musicians and dancers specifically, Burrin’s work discusses the difficult choices faced by French businesses and institutions and the way these institutions in occupied France interacted with Vichy – decisions similar to those faced by individuals at the Paris Opéra, which is the focus of this study.

Over the past few decades, historiography of the German occupation of France has focussed on post-Holocaust memory, war memorialisation, and microhistorical analyses of geographical areas, institutions and social groups.¹⁵ This body of literature discusses the difficult choices made by everyday French civilians. This perspective is an important angle for my study as I discuss the meaning of ballet- and opera-going within the wider context of everyday life and lived experience during the German occupation on a civilian level, and also try to understand why some of the more painful aspects of this period remain unexplored. Historiography in recent years has begun to address the relations between occupiers and occupied, revealing the complicated space shared by German soldiers and French civilians, particularly in the social sphere.¹⁶

¹⁴ See Renée Poznanski, ‘Reflections on Jewish resistance and Jewish resistants in France,’ *Jewish Social Studies*, 2:124 (1995), pp. 124-198; Philippe Burrin, *Living with Defeat: France Under the German Occupation, 1940-1944* trans. by Janet Lloyd (London: Hodder, 1996); Bertram Gordon, *Collaborationism in France during the Second World War* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1980); John F. Sweets, *Choices in Vichy France: the French under Nazi Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Lynne Taylor, *Between Resistance and Collaboration: Popular Protest in Northern France, 1940-1944* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999); Robert Gildea, *Marianne in Chains: In Search of the German Occupation of France, 1940-44* (London: Pan, 2003); Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940-1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Sophie Roberts, ‘A Case for Dissidence in Occupied Paris: The Zazous, youth dissidence and the yellow star campaign in occupied Paris (1942),’ in *French History*, 24:1 (2010), pp. 82-103.

¹⁵ On life and social groups in France see Hanna Diamond, *Women and the Second World War in France, 1939-48: Choices and Constraints* (New York: Routledge, 1999); *La France des années noires* ed. by Jean-Pierre Azéma and François Bédarida (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2000); *Surviving Hitler and Mussolini: Daily Life in Occupied Europe* ed. by Robert Gildea, Olivier Wieviorka and Annette Waring (Oxford: Berg, 2006); Simon Kitson, *The Hunt for Nazi Spies: Fighting Espionage in Vichy France* trans. by Catherine Tihanyi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Meredith Smith, ‘The Civilian Experience in German Occupied France, 1940-1944.’ PhD diss. Connecticut College, 2010; Nicole Dombrowski-Risser, *France under Fire: German Invasion, Civilian Flight and Family Survival during World War II* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Recent studies of geographical areas include Gildea, *Marianne in Chains* (2003); David Drake, *Paris at War, 1939-1944* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015); Ludivine Broch, *Ordinary Workers, Vichy and the Holocaust: French Railwaymen and the Second World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Sandra Ott, *Living with the Enemy: German Occupation, Collaboration and Justice in the Western Pyrenees, 1940-1948* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). On Holocaust memory see Shannon L. Fogg, *Stealing Home: Looting, Restitution, and Reconstructing Jewish Lives in France, 1942-1947* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017);

¹⁶ Talbot Imlay, ‘The German Side of Things: Recent Scholarship on the German Occupation of France, in *French Historical Studies*, 39:1 (2016), pp. 183-216. For recent studies on the interactions between German soldiers and French civilians see Sandra Ott, ‘The Informer, the Lover, and the Gift Giver: Female collaborators in Pau,

An important related concept for this study, and one that has implications for my discussions relating to cultural ‘subversion,’ is the Germans’ attitude towards and goals for culture in occupied France – particularly Paris – and how this relates both to their overarching military objectives, and to their perception of the French people. Burrin, Jackson and others including Karen Fiss argue that the National Socialists’ use of – and relatively relaxed attitude towards – French culture encouraged a sense of normality amongst French intellectuals and civilians, thereby concealing their real military goals.¹⁷ The terms ‘cultural seduction’ and ‘subversion’ appear throughout this thesis so I will outline my definitions of the concepts here.

The National Socialists targeted German and French culture in different ways, though both aspects of this cultural seduction are interlinked.¹⁸ German officials aimed to normalise the presence of German music, literature and art in French society in the hope that it would promote a veneration for German high culture in French intellectual circles. At the same time, they encouraged the continuation of French cultural life at both a high and popular level – this was particularly concentrated in Paris under Otto Abetz, head of the German Embassy. This twofold use of culture had the same end goal which was linked to the National Socialists’ martial objectives: by allowing cultural life in France to continue largely as normal (with certain restrictions, of course, particularly with regard to Jewish artists, composers, musicians and intellectuals), they hoped to normalise the German presence and spread the delusion that the Germans could be trusted. The view was that, by encouraging the French to perceive the German occupation of France as benign – if everyday life was largely unchanged – resistance could be discouraged, cooperation fortified, and the French could be lulled into a false sense of security. Use of culture to ‘seduce’ the French undermines the perception that the German occupation of France was softer than in the Eastern European countries – cultural seduction

1940-1946,’ in *French History*, 22:1 (2008), pp. 94-114; Sandra Ott, ‘Duplicity, Indulgence, and Ambiguity in Franco-German Relations, 1940-1946,’ in *History and Anthropology*, 20:1 (2009), pp. 57-77; Julia S. Torrie, “‘Our rear area probably lived too well’: Tourism and the German Occupation of France, 1940-1944,’ in *Journal of Tourism History*, 3:3, (2011), pp. 309-330; Julia S. Torrie, *German Soldiers and the Occupation of France, 1940-1944* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

¹⁷ See Burrin, *Living with Defeat* (1996); Jackson, *France: The Dark Years* (2003); Karen Fiss, *Grand Illusion: The Third Reich, the Paris Exposition, and the Cultural Seduction of France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Sara Iglesias, “‘L’âme, le cœur, et toute l’aspiration d’un peuple’: La critique musicale française, relais de la politique de collaboration ?” in *La Musique à Paris sous l’Occupation*, ed. by Myriam Chimènes and Yannick Simon (Paris: Fayard, 2013); Rachel Orzech, ‘A Universal Art, an Art for All? The Reception of Richard Wagner in the Parisian Press, 1933-1944’ PhD diss. University of Melbourne and Université de Rouen, 2016, pp. 19-20.

¹⁸ See Burrin, *Living with Defeat* (1996), p. 91-6; Jackson, *France: The Dark Years* (2003), p. 171, p. 199, p. 312. For German propaganda in Paris see Claude Lévy and Dominique Veillon, ‘Propagande et modelage des esprits’ in *Le Régime de Vichy et les Français*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Azéma and François Bédarida (Paris: Fayard, 1992), pp. 198-199; Manuela Schwartz, ‘La Musique, outil majeur de la propagande culturelle des nazis,’ *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed. by Myriam Chimènes, pp. 95-9.

was in fact a strategy of domination because it served the Nazis' martial interests. This interpretative framework complements recent scholarship, particularly by German-language historians, which argues that German military policy was not markedly different in the Western and Eastern theatres of war.¹⁹

A further complicating factor in understanding the National Socialists' objectives for culture in France is that theory and practice were often misaligned. Though they were instructed to promote Germanness and German culture, many Wehrmacht soldiers and high-ranking Nazis were Francophiles. The Germans' outwardly relaxed attitude towards French cultural life suited those stationed in Paris that wished to enjoy the delights of Parisian culture and nightlife, and the soldiers who visited the city on rest and relaxation. A relevant historiography for this thesis, therefore, is the discussion of the occupiers as 'tourists' either visiting or stationed in Paris. Scholarship since the 1980s has shown that soldiers on the ground in France were, sometimes, distanced from Nazi crimes. Recent understanding of the soldier experience by Bertram Gordon and Julia Torrie explores the way we understand the Germans themselves and their experience in Paris.²⁰ They argue that viewing Paris from the tourist point of view affected the Germans' attitude towards the occupied territories and may have influenced cultural diplomacy. This is a significant angle for the thesis because it adds weight to the suggestion that ballet performances contributed to the Germans' perception of French culture. Furthermore, there was not one homogenous German experience in Paris. This study complements research concerning the experience of German officials and soldiers stationed in France by showing how the Paris Opéra contributed towards their everyday experience, and shows the impact of the German presence on French cultural presentations. It complements recent historiographical interest in the everyday interactions between French civilians and the occupiers, taking this research in new directions by presenting the Paris Opéra as a sort of microcosm of Nazi Paris wherein French civilians and German soldiers shared a social and cultural space.

Under National Socialist rule in 1930s Germany, restrictions and censorship had caused a specific set of cultural and aesthetic preferences to emerge. Though vaguely defined,

¹⁹ See Christopher Neumaier, 'The Escalation of German Reprisal Policy in Occupied France, 1941-42,' in *Journal of Contemporary History*, 41:1, (2006), pp. 113-131; Barbara Lambauer, 'Der deutsche Botschafter Otto Abetz und die Judenverfolgung in Frankreich (1940-1942),' in *Vierteljahrshafte für Zeitgeschichte*, 53:2 (2005), pp. 241-73.

²⁰ Bertram Gordon, 'Ist Gott Französisch? Germans, Tourism and Occupied France 1940-1944,' *Modern Contemporary France NS*, 4:3 (1996), pp. 287-98; Bertram Gordon, 'Warfare and Tourism: Paris in World War II,' *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25:3 (1998), pp. 616-38; Neumaier, 'The Escalation of German Reprisal Policy' (2006); Torrie, 'Tourism and the German Occupation of France' (2011); Torrie, *German Soldiers* (2018).

writes Erik Levi, this ‘Nazi aesthetic’ repudiated modernism and the more adventurous styles of the previous decades and promoted a return to safer, more conventional models (including Romanticism and diatonicism). Themes of ‘nationalistic fervour [...] manifested through the glorification of historical events in an earlier epoch’ were also promoted and encouraged.²¹ My thesis interacts with this literature regarding the adherence to and subversion of ‘Nazi aesthetics’ by further exploring the place of culture in occupied France, the German Propaganda-Abteilung’s use of culture for managing French opinion, and the impact of these circumstances on the Paris Opéra and the people associated with it.

But cultural institutions such as the Paris Opéra were not only controlled by the German authorities and the National Socialists’ cultural politics. They were also answerable to Pétain’s Vichy government in the southern zone which promoted aesthetic themes not entirely dissimilar from those encouraged by the National Socialists in Germany. Jane F. Fulcher, Christopher Moore and others have argued that the politicisation of culture and the development of a conservative set of aesthetic preferences in music solidified in France during the late 1930s.²² Themes such as French folklore, the countryside and the peasantry were mobilised to appeal to right-wing factions, creating an aesthetic blueprint for the culture promoted by Pétain’s Vichy government during the German occupation of France.²³ This Vichy aesthetic, which idealised French thematic material, early styles, and the celebration of French culture, made sense within various different nationalist frameworks – and, significantly, was not exclusively nor uniquely right-wing, as this thesis will show. In many ways, therefore, the styles, themes and vision that emerged in Vichy-ite circles was compatible with the view of rural France perpetuated and encouraged by the German occupiers, too.

It is precisely the ideological openness of the elements described above as the ‘Vichy aesthetic’ that allowed the performance of ballets, designed by their producers to carry quite different political meanings, to continue. In pursuing this line of argument, I draw on the work of Jean-Pierre Rioux, who describes the opening of spaces for creative ‘liberty’ in

²¹ Erik Levi, ‘Towards an Aesthetic of Fascist Opera,’ in *Fascism and Theatre: Comparative Studies on the Aesthetics and Politics of Performance in Europe, 1925-1945*, ed. by Günter Berghaus (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1996), pp. 261-2, p. 273.

²² See Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Christopher Lee Moore, ‘Music in France and the Popular Front (1935-1938): Politics, Aesthetics, and Reception,’ PhD diss. McGill University, 2006, Christopher Moore, ‘Socialist Realism and the Music of the French Popular Front,’ *The Journal of Musicology* 25:4 (Fall 2008), pp. 473-502; Sandrine Grandgambe, ‘La Politique musicale du Front Populaire,’ in *Musique et musiciens à Paris dans les années trente*, ed. Danièle Pistone (Paris: Champion, 2000), pp. 21-33; Pascal Ory, *La Belle Illusion* (Paris: Plon, 1994), pp. 291-336.

²³ See Philippe Burrin, ‘The Ideology of the National Revolution’ in *The Development of the Radical Right in France*, ed. by Edward J. Arnold (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), pp. 135-152.

occupied France wherein artists expressed themselves, subtly, in opposition to Vichy's vaguely-defined cultural politics, even within France's national institutions.²⁴ Such research, writes Fulcher, calls for a revision of historical studies that 'presume French passivity.'²⁵

Cultural life in Paris operated within this complicated, subjective, non-binary space where musical performances could be enjoyed by French civilians and German soldiers on a superficial, supposedly apolitical level and yet, to many, culture carried a great political significance. Culture carries great power for producing – even encouraging – alternative interpretations. The presentation of new French ballets at the Paris Opéra during the German occupation might, on the one hand, indicate that the National Socialists' strategy of cultural seduction was successful: the ballets might be seen as having endorsed collaboration because the very fact that they existed fed the perception that Paris was functioning as normal. On the other hand, such cultural productions might imply a celebration of French culture under duress that could be identified – as many did after the war – with 'resistance.' In fact, I argue, the performance of French ballet and French music in Paris speaks to the myriad ways of understanding French identity during this period that encompass both 'collaboration' to 'resistance' as part of a field of complex French cultural identities and inferences. Considering the aesthetic politics at play in occupied Paris, it would be too simple to argue that all thematic material indicating 'Frenchness' implied anti-Germanness or an inherent, overt resistance; quite the opposite, in fact, as many French Fascists were supportive of the German presence in France. At the same time, however, some French composers and artists critical of the German occupation called for the celebration and encouragement of French culture through the performance of French music and the use of French thematic material (such as the French countryside) in their work. French ballet, and the new ballets presented at the Paris Opéra during the German occupation, must be considered within this complicated, pluralist space: thematic choices present in the ballets might simultaneously speak to a 'resistant' narrative *and* a narrative of compliance with the conservative Vichy government, whilst nourishing a spectrum of alternative interpretations. This thesis complements the work of scholars of French cultural life who have explored how artists and intellectuals navigated alternative cultural spaces expressing a range of resistances to the Germans and Vichy.

²⁴ See Henry Rouso, 'Vichy: Politique, idéologie et culture,' in *La Vie culturelle sous Vichy*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Rioux (Brussel: Éditions Complexe, 1990), pp. 28-34.

²⁵ Jane F. Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity: Musical Culture and Creativity in France during Vichy and the German Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 3.

The concept of political subversion helps in this respect, and feeds into my argument in important ways. I use the word ‘subversive’ throughout this thesis to describe cultural ideas, references and allusions that could, by some, be interpreted as politically nuanced but, by others, have no such directly political association. Sophie Roberts argues for the inclusion of the word ‘dissidence’ in occupation scholarship to describe incidents of disruptive protest sparked by those who wished to show their frustration but who were not directly associated with the organised resistance and did not necessarily share their goals.²⁶ My use of the term ‘subversive’ throughout this thesis could be defined in relation to Roberts’ ‘dissidence’: I describe quiet, subtle, non-disruptive cultural nods that, in their contexts, did not overtly state political allegiance but nevertheless called the German presence and/or the Vichy government into question, often through the celebration of French culture. These subversive cultural nods were subtle enough that they may have been understood, or ‘read,’ by some audiences but ignored by others; they could also be read in multiple ways. A further complicating factor, I argue, is that the subversive aspects of the ballets discussed in this thesis were successful precisely because they were ‘hidden’ in a medium that was *a priori* deemed apolitical – primarily by the Germans but also by many French people.

Ballet plays a small role in scholarship concerning music-making and cultural life in Paris during the German occupation. Academic publications dedicated to the study of musical life during the occupation begin with Myriam Chimènes’ 2001 collection of conference papers, *La vie musicale sous Vichy*, from a colloquium on the same theme.²⁷ The collection documents the ways in which various musical cultures were affected by the occupation, the negotiations made by musicians and performers, and the conflicting restrictions placed on musical performance. A subsequent collection, *La Musique à Paris sous l’Occupation*, was published in 2013 which focussed on music-making in occupied Paris.²⁸ These collections primarily assess the ways in which performers and broadcasters dealt with the restrictions placed on musical life, opening the field for future research. Chapter contributions from Mathias Auclair and Sandrine Grandgambe examine the impact of such prohibitions on the Paris Opéra and the Opéra-Comique, united from 1939 as the Réunion des théâtres lyriques

²⁶ Roberts, ‘A Case for Dissidence in Occupied Paris’ (2010), p. 84. For discussion of the term ‘subversion’ see Paul W. Werth, ‘From Resistance to Subversion: Imperial power, indigenous opposition, and their entanglement,’ in *The Resistance Debate in Russian and Soviet History*, ed. by Michael David-Foc, Peter Holquist and Marshall Poe (Bloomington: Slavica, 2003).

²⁷ *La vie musicale sous Vichy* ed. by Myriam Chimènes (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 2001).

²⁸ *La Musique à Paris sous l’Occupation* ed. by Myriam Chimènes and Yannick Simon (Paris: Fayard, 2013).

nationaux (RTLN) under administrator director Jacques Rouché. Leslie Sprout's research into Vichy's commissions scheme argues that, through the financing of new musical works by French composers, the French government actively encouraged the production of new works on Paris's cultural institutions during the war. These publications provide vital contextual information relating to the Paris Opéra during the occupation, though the articles focus on music-making in general and do not specifically address ballet or ballet music.²⁹ As discussed previously, ballet remains largely absent from literature addressing Parisian opera houses in the centuries and decades preceding 1940, even though this literature often disproportionately addresses the Paris Opéra.³⁰ Putting dance at the forefront of this discussion shows how the restrictions in place in occupied France impacted on ballet in a different way to other arts: restrictions on the performance of German works and enforced censorship both affected ballet and also overlooked it altogether. Within this space, dance flourished.

This is not to say that academic scholarship relating to ballet during the occupation does not exist, only that it exists on a small scale. These studies offer a starting point for further exploration both through their content and their methodologies. In 'Making Music in Occupied Paris,' Nigel Simeone traces Poulenc's use of a resistance song in his ballet *Les Animaux modèles*.³¹ Simeone discusses the origins of the musical quote and assesses the likelihood that its resistance message registered with the audience. Simeone also examines the production of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* at the Opéra in 1941, arguing that it initiated a 'germanization' of repertoire at the Paris Opéra which culminated in the production of Werner Egek's *Joan de Zarissa*, the only contemporary German ballet to be performed in occupied France, in 1942. Though Simeone's article is ground-breaking as a discussion of occupation ballet, it addresses only one of the many ballets produced during that period, *Les Animaux modèles*, in detail. *Joan de Zarissa* (or, in the original German, *Joan von Zarissa*) is addressed more fully in Jason P. Hobratchk's 2011 PhD thesis, which provides an excellent in-depth musical analysis and discusses the changes made to the ballet between 1940-43. His study examines *Joan von/de Zarissa* in the wider context of German propaganda, rather than

²⁹ Mathias Auclair, 'Richard Wagner à l'Opéra' in *La Musique à Paris sous l'Occupation*, 2013; Leslie Sprout, 'Les commandes de Vichy, aube d'une ère nouvelle' and Sandrine Grandgambe, 'La Réunion des théâtres lyriques nationaux' in *La vie musicale sous Vichy*, 2001.

³⁰ For discussion of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century French opera see *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914*, ed. by Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); *Meyerbeer and Grand Opéra from the July Monarchy to the Present*, ed. by Mark Everist (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016); Mark Everist, *Opera in Paris from the Empire to the Commune* (London: Routledge, 2018). For discussion of the disproportionate attention paid to the Paris Opéra in academic scholarship see *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer* 2009, pp. 1-3.

³¹ Nigel Simeone, 'Making Music in Occupied Paris' *The Musical Times*, 147:1894 (Spring 2006), pp. 23-50.

from the perspective of ballet and ballet music in Paris, or as part of a larger body of new ballet presentations at the Paris Opéra.³² Hobratschk's thesis research complements my own, though it is situated within a different contextual framework.

Through her contribution to Chimènes' edited collection and her wider work on wartime France, Leslie Sprout offers a detailed survey of musical life during the occupation which builds on Simeone's seminal article.³³ Focussing on the Vichy commissions scheme which resulted in the production or restaging of ballets and operas at the Paris Opéra including André Jolivet's *Guignol et Pandore*, she shows how traditional French themes were present in the work of these wartime composers. Fulcher similarly examines musical culture in France and the relationships between Vichy, the Germans, musical practitioners, performers, composers and administrators.³⁴ She details how administrative policies applied to French music under occupation, dedicating a chapter to the performance of Claude Debussy's opera *Pelléas et Mélisande* at the Paris Opéra. Aside from using *Les Animaux modèles* as a case study, Fulcher pays less attention to ballet. By largely concentrating on *Les Animaux modèles*, neither Fulcher nor Sprout fundamentally challenge the perception that Poulenc's ballet is the only relevant source – or that ballet plays a subordinate role to opera – in the study of occupation cultural life. Nevertheless, these studies provide useful frameworks for the discussion of the performance and reception of these works in their political and historical context. They similarly prove that the discussion and analysis of ballet can be useful and nuanced, and can contribute to historical discussions of cultural life. However, these studies only use ballet as a tangential case study. A study of the changing ballet repertoire at the Paris Opéra, alongside an analysis of the new ballets and their critical and cultural reception has not previously been completed.

Interest in musical, artistic and intellectual life in occupied Paris spans both academic and popular writing.³⁵ Autobiographical and biographical writings concerning dancer and

³² Jason P. Hobratschk, 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa: Music as Politics and Propaganda under National Socialism,' PhD diss. The Florida State University College of Music, 2011.

³³ Publications by Leslie Sprout include *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013); 'Music for a "New Era": Composers and National Identity in France, 1936-1946,' PhD diss. Berkeley, University of California, 2000; and 'Messiaen, Jolivet, and the Soldier – Composers of Wartime France' *The Musical Quarterly*, 87:2 (Summer 2004), pp. 259-304.

³⁴ Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity* (2018).

³⁵ For discussions of popular music and non-musical cultural life (including theatre and literature) include Serge Added, 'Jacques Copeau and 'Popular Theatre' in Vichy France,' in *Fascism and Theatre: Comparative Studies on the Aesthetics and Politics of Performance in Europe, 1925-1945*, ed. by Günter Berghaus (New York: Berghahn Books, 1996); Hervé Le Boterf, *La Vie parisienne sous l'occupation* (Paris: Éditions France Empire, 1997); Edward Boothroyd, 'The Parisian Stage During the Occupation, 1940-1944: A Theatre of Resistance?' PhD diss.

choreographer Serge Lifar – known for his work with the Ballets Russes as well as the Paris Opéra Ballet – vary from apologist to accusatory, and publications produced by the Paris Opéra and the Lifar Society play down the choreographer’s wartime activities.³⁶ Lifar worked as ballet master at the Paris Opéra from 1930-1944 (and again from 1947-1958) but he is a problematic figure in academic study because of his tendency towards mendacity and exaggeration. I therefore largely overlook his autobiographical descriptions of the occupation in favour of less prejudiced accounts.³⁷ Dance historian Mark Franko’s recent research into Lifar’s professional and personal life during the 1930s and 1940s provides the first in-depth account of the choreographer’s movements during the war, discussing Lifar’s writing on French ballet, his choreographic theories, and the ways in which his choreography might be interpreted to align with an aesthetic interpretative framework that Franko describes as ‘Fascist’ (to include both German and Italian politics). Franko concludes, in direct opposition to some French texts, that Lifar, motivated by opportunism and political commitments, was a ‘political actor in the sphere of collaborationism.’³⁸

Popular publications offer interesting and valuable accounts of the occupation period though occasional tendencies to sensationalise or stereotype assumptions about the occupation and the individuals that lived through it suggest that accounts of this period are not, or do not need to be, historically accurate. However, many publications bridge the gap between academic scholarship and popular history very successfully: Alan Riding’s overview of cultural life in occupied Paris makes an important contribution to scholarship with his

University of Birmingham, 2009; *Archives de la vie littéraire sous l’occupation: à travers de désastre*, ed. by Robert Paxton, Olivier Corpet and Claire Paulhan (Paris: Tallandier, 2011); Kelly Jakes, *Strains of Dissent: Popular Music and Everyday Resistance in WWII France, 1940-1945* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2019).

³⁶ For examples see Opéra Nationale de Paris, *Serge Lifar à l’Opéra* (Paris: Éditions de La Martinière, 2006), which has one page about the Nazi Occupation; Jean-Pierre Pastori, *Serge Lifar: la beauté du diable* (Lausanne: Favre, 2009), which was commissioned by the Lifar Society; Albin Michel, Opéra de Paris, BnF, *Le Ballet de l’Opéra: Trois siècles de suprématie depuis Louis XIV* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2013). Autobiographical accounts: Serge Lifar, *Ma Vie: An Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1970); Serge Lifar, *Les Mémoires d’Icare* (Paris: Éditions Sauret, 1993).

³⁷ Biographical accounts include Pastori, *Serge Lifar* (2009); and Florence Poudru, *Serge Lifar: la danse pour patrie* (Paris: Hermann Éditeurs, 2007). Claire Paolacci’s doctoral thesis, ‘L’ère Jacques Rouché à l’Opéra de Paris (1915-1945): Modernité théâtrale, consecration du ballet et de Serge Lifar’ Ph.D. Diss., Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2006, discusses the modernisation of the Opéra under administrator Jacques Rouché, and Lifar’s development of neoclassical style, though she does not discuss music in this context. Mark Franko traces Lifar’s wartime activities in ‘Serge Lifar et la question de la collaboration avec les autorités allemandes sous l’Occupation (1940–1949)’ *Vingtième Siècle: Revue d’histoire* 132 (Oct.– Dec. 2016), p. 28; Mark Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar: Interwar French Ballet and the German Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020); and Mark Franko, ‘French Interwar Dance Theory,’ in *Dance Research* 48:2 (August 2016), pp. 104-110. See also Patrizia Veroli, ‘Serge Lifar as a Dance Historian and the Myth of Russian Dance in “Zarabezhnaia Rossiia” (Russian Abroad) 1930-1940.’ *Dance Research* 32: 2 (Winter 2014), pp. 105-143.

³⁸ Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar* (2020), p. 231.

presentation of interviews with cultural figures – including the dancer Jean Babilée – who have since passed away.³⁹ A further body of literature should be included here: coffee table books and popular histories of ballet at the Paris Opéra. These publications, which often detail either the Paris Opéra's four-hundred-year history or celebrate specific personalities, are useful for reference, and helpful for an understanding of the way the Paris Opéra has curated its post-war memorialisation. This literature is largely interesting for what it tends to omit or gloss over: mention of the German occupation. This literature speaks to both a popular and academic audience fascinated with the cultural capital, and satisfies an interest in the occupation. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to assume that the study of music, ballet and culture cannot constitute rigorous academic study.

The Institut de recherche sur le patrimoine musical en France (IRPMF) held a conference in 2010 to celebrate the creation of *Chronopéra*, a website which lists performances at the Paris Opéra from 1671 to 2009.⁴⁰ Three short papers in this publication refer to the occupation and Claire Paolacci's contribution to this volume tracks the increasing number of ballet performances during the period, though the publication in general covers a large time scale and focusses on opera rather than ballet.⁴¹ Books and publications containing lists of performances have been commissioned by the Paris Opéra, which are useful for reference.⁴² Guy Hervy et al present information about individuals working at the Paris Opéra during the occupation, including those active in the French resistance, using archival material from the cultural archives at the Musée de la Résistance.⁴³ The book focuses on the machinists and members of the Front national and the Front national des musiciens of which conductor

³⁹ Alan Riding, *And the Show Went On: Cultural Life in Nazi-Occupied Paris* (London: Duckworth Overlook, 2011). See also Pryce-Jones, *Paris in the Third Reich* (1981); Patrice Higonnet, *Paris: Capital of the World*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009); Drake, *Paris at War* (2015); Anne Sebba, *Les Parisiennes: How the Women of Paris Lived, Loved and Died in the 1940* (Oxford: Isis, 2017), Frederic Spotts, *The Shameful Peace: How French Artists and Intellectuals Survived the Nazi Occupation* (London: Yale University Press, 2008); and Ronald Rosbottom, *When Paris Went Dark: The City of Light under German Occupation, 1940-1944* (New York: Back Bay Books, 2015).

⁴⁰ *Chronopéra* is run by the l'Institut de Recherche sur le Patrimoine Musical en France (IRMPF), Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the Ministère de la Culture. Available at <http://chronopera.free.fr> [Online].

⁴¹ Claire Paolacci, 'Le renouveau chorégraphique de l'Opéra sous l'ère Jacques Rouché,' *Le Répertoire de l'Opéra de Paris (1671-2009): Analyse et Interprétation* ed. by Michel Noiray and Solveig Serre (Paris: Écoles des Chartes, 2010).

⁴² As well as the Albin Michel (2013) publication mentioned previously which contains a list of performers, ballet masters and ballet premieres in the period 1776-2013, see Stéphane Wolff, *L'Opéra au Palais Garnier, 1875-1961* (Paris: Slatkine, under the direction of the Academie Nationale de Musique, Palais Garnier, 1962) which lists premieres of ballets and operas in this period, alongside creators and originators of new roles. Wolff's work is largely a reference book without analysis of the information.

⁴³ Guy Hervy, Guy Krivopissko, Aurélien Poidevin and Axel Porin, *Quand l'Opéra entre en Résistance... Les personnels de la Réunion des théâtres lyriques nationaux sous Vichy et l'Occupation* (Paris: L'Œil d'Or, 2007).

Roger Désormière was a founder member, betraying a wish to celebrate those involved with the resistance whilst downplaying a historical narrative that could be considered problematic. Though the study concerns the resistance work carried out by the trade unions rather than the Paris Opéra's theatrical presentations, this publication offers a rich behind-the-scenes perspective grounded in primary sources.

Discussion about cultural life in occupied France takes place within a burgeoning historiography of the National Socialist domination of Europe. Discussions relating, in particular, to the Nazis' use of cultural propaganda contributes to the aforementioned shift towards cultural study which has permeated historical enquiry since the 1970s.⁴⁴ Such musicological historiography aims to redress the way we define 'culture,' particularly with regard to notions of 'national' and political culture.⁴⁵ Historiography of the Nazi period therefore incorporates an increasingly nuanced understanding of the way that National Socialist ideology and practice affected people and groups. Studies by Michael Kater, George Mosse, Pamela Potter, Alan Steinweis, Erik Levi and others discuss music-making in Nazi Germany, the National Socialists' use of culture for propaganda, and the ways in which German restrictions affected cultural practitioners and ordinary people.⁴⁶ The idea of a consistent, intentionalist, National Socialist ideology – particularly with regard to music and the arts – has been thoroughly debunked.⁴⁷ There was no one 'Nazi culture,' and not all culture

⁴⁴ On the Nazis and culture, see Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology & Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater and the Visual Arts* (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); George Mosse, *Nazi Culture: Intellectual, Cultural and Social Life in the Third Reich* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003); Joan Cliefelter, *Artists for the Reich: Culture and Race from Weimar to Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Berg, 2005); *The Arts in Nazi Germany: Continuity, Conformity, Change*, ed. by Jonathan Huener and Francis R. Nicosia (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006); David Welch, *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2007); Michael H. Kater, *Culture in Nazi Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019). On Europe under occupation see Mark Mazower, *Hitler's Empire: Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe* (New York: Penguin, 2009); Shelley Baronowski, *Nazi Empire: German Colonialism and Imperialism from Bismarck to Hitler* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁴⁵ See *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, ed. by Jane F. Fulcher (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); *Rethinking Difference in Music Scholarship*, ed. by Olivia Bloechl, Melanie Lowe and Jeffrey Kallberg (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Walter D. Mignolo, *Local Histories/Global Designs: Coloniality, Subaltern Knowledges, and Border Thinking*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017); *Dreams of Germany: Musical Imaginaries from the Concert Hall to the Dance Floor*, ed. by Neil Gregor and Thomas Irvine (New York: Berghahn Books, 2019).

⁴⁶ See Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Peter Lang, 1993); Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (London: Macmillan, 1994); Michael Kater, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and their Music in the Third Reich* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); *Art, Culture and Media in the Third Reich*, ed. by Richard E. Etlin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Pamela M. Potter 'What is "Nazi Music"?' in *The Musical Quarterly*, 88:3 (Autumn 2005), pp. 428-455; Levi, 'Towards an Aesthetic of Fascist Opera' (1996).

⁴⁷ See Potter, 'What is "Nazi Music"?' (2005), p. 436.

produced in the Third Reich adhered to the ideological tenets of National Socialism though, as discussed above, there were moves towards the establishment of a vaguely defined Nazi cultural aesthetic within Germany. An understanding of the way that culture was controlled within Germany builds greater understanding of the way that German ideology and bureaucracy was applied in occupied France, though a largely separate literature discusses the ways in which these cultural restrictions affected French people.⁴⁸ The almost complete omission of dance in these studies shows the extent to which the art form was perceived as significant by the National Socialists.

Recent scholarship has begun to examine dance in Germany during the Third Reich, with a particular focus on Ausdruckstanz: modern German 'expressionist' dance which was adopted and then rejected by the Nazis during the 1930s.⁴⁹ Laure Guilbert's PhD dissertation accounts for dancers who emigrated from Germany during the 1930s and discusses those who stayed and worked for the *Kulturbund*.⁵⁰ She argues that the Nazis did not censor modern dance, so it thrived at a time when modern art, literature and music was forbidden and fewer dancers went into exile compared with writers, artists and composers.⁵¹ Biographical studies of the choreographers working in Germany tend to treat their subjects with more objectivity than, say, some of the aforementioned Lifar biographies.⁵² Marion Kant's study of modern German dance during the Third Reich offers both a biographical and academic overview of dance during the period, with a large supplementary appendix of primary sources relating to the National Socialists' legislation of dance in Germany. Kant and others show that the Nazi administration was at first apathetic towards dance, and later nervous about its potential for resistance; in any case the National Socialists failed to envelop dance successfully within the

⁴⁸ See Hirschfield and Marsh, *Collaboration in France* (1989); Burrin, *Living with Defeat* (1996); *La Vie musicale* 2001; *Les Intellectuels et l'occupation, 1940-1944: Collaborer, partir, résister*, ed. by Albrecht Betz and Stefan Martens (Paris: Éditions Autrement, 2004); Stéphanie Corcy, *La Vie culturelle sous l'Occupation* (Paris: Perrin, 2005); Fiss, *Grand Illusion* (2009); *La Musique à Paris* (2013); Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity* (2018).

⁴⁹ See Dianne S. Howe, *Individuality and Expression: The Aesthetics of the New German Dance 1908-1936* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1996); Alexandra Kolb, *Performing Femininity: Dance and Literature in German Modernism* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009); *Dance and Politics*, ed. by Alexandra Kolb (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010); Isa Partsch-Bergsohn, *Modern Dance in Germany and the United States: Crosscurrents and Influences* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2013); Kate Elswit, *Watching Weimar Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁵⁰ Laure Guilbert, *Danser avec le IIIe Reich: Les Danseurs modernes sous le nazisme* (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 2000).

⁵¹ Laure Guilbert-Deguine, 'Tanz' in *Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration 1933-1945*, ed. by Claus Dieter Krohn et al (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 1998).

⁵² Biographies of Mary Wigman and Rudolf von Laban include Isa Partsch-Bergsohn and Harold Bergsohn, *The Makers of Modern Dance in Germany: Rudolph Laban, Mary Wigman, Kurt Jooss* (Hightstown: Princeton Book Co., 2003); Susan Manning, *Ecstasy and the Demon: Feminism and Nationalism in the Dances of Mary Wigman* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Evelyn Dörr, *Rudolf Laban: The Dancer of the Crystal* (Maryland: Scarecrow, 2008); Karen K. Bradley, *Rudolf Laban* (London: Routledge, 2019).

Reich Culture Chamber.⁵³ These studies have begun to address the gap in scholarship on dance during the Third Reich. Nevertheless, these are dance histories rather than musicological studies and they concentrate almost exclusively on modern dance rather than ballet. Gunhild Oberzaucher-Schüller has begun to redress this narrow focus. Her recent chapter ‘Dramaturgy and Form of the “German Ballet”’ in Alexandra Kolb’s edited collection *Dance and Politics* argues that, in spite of the party’s focus on Ausdruckstanz, German ballet companies presented classical ballet productions throughout the Third Reich. New ballets were created, particularly during the 1930s, including the ‘first full-length German ballet,’ *Der Teufel im Dorf* (The Devil in the Village, 1935) to music by Fran Lhotka.⁵⁴ Though this is a dance history rather than a musicological study, it indicates how academic research into German ballet is opening up.

So far there have been no significant academic studies of ballet or ballet music in Nazi Germany, nor have any studies addressed the way dance progressed and changed across the occupied territories from a transnational perspective; this history is a largely untouched field. This thesis attempts to bridge the gap between discussions of dance and music in Nazi Germany and ballet in occupied France through a comparative approach, showing how inconsistencies in Nazi legislation within Germany were exposed when this same ideology was applied in France.

Finally, this thesis contributes to wider contextual scholarship relating to music, dance and nationalism during the twentieth century. A backdrop to this is the extensive scholarship discussing the perceived threat to French music posed by German romanticism and particularly Richard Wagner and, to a lesser extent, the reciprocal worries about the impact of impressionism on German music during the Belle-Époque and the First World War.⁵⁵

⁵³ See Karina and Kant, *Hitler’s Dancers* (2004); Susan Manning, ‘Modern Dance in the Third Reich: Redux,’ in *The Oxford Handbook of Dance and Politics*, ed. by Rebekah J. Kowal, Gerald Sigmund and Randy Martin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

⁵⁴ Gunhild Oberzaucher-Schüller, ‘Dramaturgy and Form of the ‘German Ballet’: Examination of a National Socialist Genre’ in *Dance and Politics*, ed. by Alexandra Kolb (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2017).

⁵⁵ For examinations of the relationship between French music and politics at the turn of the century and during the early twentieth century see Carlo Caballero, ‘Patriotism or Nationalism? Fauré and the Great War,’ *Journal of the American Musicological Society*. 52:3 (Autumn 1999), pp. 529-625; Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual* (2008); Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Jane F. Fulcher, ‘Debussy as National Icon: From Vehicle of Vichy’s Compromise to French Resistance Classic,’ *The Musical Quarterly*. 94:4 (Winter 2011), pp. 454-480; Rachel Moore, ‘Performing Propaganda: Musical Life and Culture in Paris, 1914-1918’ PhD diss. Royal Holloway, University of London, 2012; Annegret Fauser, *The Politics of Musical Identity: Selected Essays* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015). Concerning Wagner in Paris see Katharine Ellis, ‘Wagnerism and Anti-Wagnerism in the Paris Periodical Press, 1852-1870,’ in *Von Wagner zum Wagnérisme: Musik, Literatur, Kunst, Politik*, ed. by Annegret Fauser and Manuela Schwartz (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 1999); William Gibbons, ‘Music of the Future, Music of the Past:

Through the discussion of wartime French music and the contextual reception of new works which were considered inherently 'French,' this thesis complements the wider twentieth-century musical landscape and addresses recent scholarship by Ilyana Karthas discussing 'Frenchness' in ballet by showing how dance and music symbolically reflected national aggressions and changing social values.⁵⁶ Ballet and classical dance music are largely absent from these conversations though there is a narrow body of musicological scholarship which focusses on ballet music that has enjoyed a life outside of the dance it was composed for (Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* and *Firebird*, for example). The perpetuation of a narrow academic 'canon' is reflected in twentieth-century ballet repertoire: though contemporary companies incorporate new and experimental works into their repertoires, it is the canonical works – Tchaikovsky's 'big three'; *Coppélia*, *Giselle* – that attract the widest contemporary audience.

Chimènes describes the interplay between history and music as a 'no man's land': musicologists too often neglect historical context, while historians fail to consider music (and, by extension, dance) as an 'historical object.'⁵⁷ Though this no man's land has been somewhat crossed in the past two decades, there is still a lack of interplay between the fields. Musicological *dance* history offers a further 'no man's land' which this thesis aims to bridge. Furthermore, though recent scholarship examines the interaction between dance and politics in a more general sense, these studies tend often to concentrate on contemporary dance rather than modern ballet, or focus on a zoomed-in theoretical perspective that ignores wider historical or political contextuality.⁵⁸ Existing interdisciplinary scholarship often overlaps two of the three aspects of my study – music, ballet and history – but rarely discusses all three together.

Tannhäuser and *Alceste* at the Paris Opéra,' in *19th-Century Music*, 33:3 (2010), pp. 232-246; Rachel Orzech, 'A Universal Art, an Art for All?' The Reception of Richard Wagner in the Parisian Press, 1933-1944' PhD diss. University of Melbourne and Université de Rouen, 2016; Jeremy Coleman, *Richard Wagner in Paris: Translation, Identity, Modernity* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2019).

⁵⁶ For discussion of Frenchness in dance, see Mark Franko, *Dance as Text: Ideologies of the Baroque Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Ilyana Karthas, 'The Politics of Gender and the Revival of Ballet in Early Twentieth Century France.' *Journal of Social History*, 45:4 (Summer 2012), pp. 960-989, and Ilyana Karthas, *When Ballet Became French: Modern Ballet and the Cultural Politics of France, 1909-1939* (Montréal: McGill Queen's University Press, 2015).

⁵⁷ *La Vie musicale sous Vichy* (2001), pp. 17-18.

⁵⁸ See Randy Martin, *Critical Moves: Dance Studies in Theory and Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998); *Europe Dancing: Perspectives on Theatre, Dance, and Cultural Identity*, ed. by Andrée Grau and Stephanie Jordan (London: Taylor and Francis, 2002); Dana Mills, *Dance and Politics: Moving Beyond Boundaries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); and *The Oxford Handbook of Dance and Politics* ed. by Rebekah J. Kowal, Gerald Siegmund and Randy Martin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017). For discussion of the relationship between music and dance from a zoomed-in theoretical and choreographic perspective see Stephanie Jordan, *Moving Music: Dialogues with Music in Twentieth-Century Ballet* (London: Dance Books, 2000).

This lack of academic attention feeds into a wider issue suffered by dance scholarship, discussed at the beginning of this introduction: the perception that dance is somehow less intellectual – and therefore less worthy of academic study – than other creative genres. This misapprehension abounds in part from historical practice (until the nineteenth century composing for ballet was seen as less important, creative, exciting and financially lucrative than composing operatic or symphonic music), and partly from historiography; dance scholarship is still a fairly young field.⁵⁹ A barrier to the academic interdisciplinary study of dance history is the source material itself: historical choreography typically does not survive unless a work is unusually successful. This makes the study of these historical ‘objects’ somewhat challenging (though not impossible) as a crucial element is absent.

Studies of twentieth-century dance often concentrate overwhelmingly on Sergei Diaghilev’s Paris-based Russian company, the Ballets Russes. The attention paid to this single company perpetuated – particularly during the twentieth century – a limited, linear view of twentieth-century modernist dance that begins with the Ballets Russes’ 1909 Parisian *season russe* and ends either with the founding of New York City Ballet in 1948, or the Royal Ballet’s reception of the Royal Charter in 1956.⁶⁰ This narrative abounded largely as balletomanes in America and the UK tried to solidify a national ballet, and overlooks the Ballets Russes’ legacy in mainland Europe, Russia, Australia and South America. My thesis thus both perpetuates and challenges the existing historiography: it agrees that the Ballets Russes was a watershed company that changed the cultural landscape, but it argues that the Russian company was one factor in a long history of change in French dance that pre-dates 1909. Furthermore, the Ballets Russes’ influence on ballet innovation manifested significantly in Paris as well as in London and New York after Diaghilev’s death in 1929. The large body of Ballets Russes literature is relevant to this study because it provides a background to Serge Lifar’s

⁵⁹ For discussion of dance as an emerging and untapped field see Smith, *Ballet and Opéra in the Age of Giselle* (2000); Richard Ralph, ‘On the Light Fantastic Toe: Dance Scholarship and Academic Fashion.’ *Dance Chronicle* 18:2 (1995), pp. 249-60; Barbara Sparti and Janet Adshead-Lansdale, ‘Dialogue: Dance History – Current Methodologies,’ *Dance Research* 28:1 (Spring 1996), pp. 3-6; Susan Leigh Foster, *Choreography and Narrative: Ballet’s Staging of Story and Desire* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996); *Acting on the Past: Historical Performance Across the Disciplines*, ed. by Mark Franko and Annette Richards (New Haven: Wesleyan University Press, 2000); Lynn Matluck Brooks, ‘Dance History and Method: A Return to Meaning’ *Dance Research*. 20:1 (Summer 2002), pp. 33-53.

⁶⁰ See Cyril W. Beaumont, *A Short History of Ballet* (London: C. W. Beaumont, 1947); Cyril W. Beaumont, *The Diaghilev Ballet in London: A Personal Record* (Binsted: Noverre Press, 2017); Clement Crisp, *Fifty Years of Ballet Rambert: 1926-1976* (London: Scholar Press, 1976); Lincoln Kirstein, ‘The Nature of American Ballet: Balanchine, Robbins and the Creation of a Style,’ *Times Literary Supplement* (Nov 1959), pp. 97-103; Lincoln Kirstein, *Thirty Years: Lincoln Kirstein’s The New York City Ballet* (New York: Knopf, 1978); Richard Buckle, *George Balanchine, A Ballet Master: A Biography* (New York: Random House, 1988).

choreography, ideology and career before joining the Paris Opéra Ballet in 1930: this literature shows how Lifar was influenced by Diaghilev's notions of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, his collaborative attitude towards the creation of new ballets, and his manipulation of celebrity and star power.

The cultural influence of the Ballets Russes has been explored in various fields of study including dance history, musicology, art and fashion, with the company's legacy often presented as revolutionary and unrivalled.⁶¹ The company's success has been 'lionized,' writes Davinia Caddy, creating a rupture narrative of 'before' and 'after,' oversimplifying the company's innovations in modernist dance, and overemphasising the company's Otherness in Belle-Époque Paris.⁶² Recent research by Caddy, Mary E. Davis and others seeks to revise this assumption and resituate the company within its broader social and cultural contexts, arguing that other choreographers, composers and artists contributed towards the modernisation of dance and culture, and that the Ballets Russes' relationship with and influence on Parisian culture was in fact reciprocal.⁶³ Recent work also foregrounds innovative early twentieth-century choreographers working independently of the Ballets Russes such as American dancers Isadora Duncan and Loïe Fuller, Rolf de Maré's Ballets Suédois (based in Paris), and German modernist dancers Mary Wigman and Rudolf von Laban.⁶⁴

In terms of musicology and dance music, the Ballets Russes 'rupture' narrative has perpetuated the view firstly that twentieth-century musical ballet innovation began and ended with Stravinsky, and secondly that the Ballets Russes' most significant impact was in the musical sphere.⁶⁵ This narrative also disproportionately places emphasis on the music of the

⁶¹ On the Ballets Russes and its influence on art, dance and culture see Garafola, *The Ballets Russes and its World* (1999); Garafola, *Legacies of Twentieth-Century Dance* (2005); Alston W. Purvis, Peter Rand and Anna Winestein, *The Ballets Russes and the Art of Design* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2009); *Ballets Russes: The Art of Costume* ed. by Robert Bell, Christine Dixon and Anne Savage (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2010); Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes* (2010); Davinia Caddy, *The Ballets Russes and Beyond: Music and Dance in Belle-Époque Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

⁶² Caddy, *The Ballets Russes and Beyond* (2016), pp. 13-4.

⁶³ See Caddy, *The Ballets Russes and Beyond* (2016); Mary E. Davis, *Classic Chic: Music, Fashion, and Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Mary E. Davis *Ballets Russes Style: Diaghilev's Dancers and Paris Fashion* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010).

⁶⁴ Ann Cooper Albright, *Traces of Light: Absence and Presence in the Work of Loïe Fuller* (Middleton, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2007); Rhonda Garelick, *Electric Salome: Loie Fuller's Performance of Modernism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Carrie J. Preston, 'The Motor in the Soul: Isadora Duncan and Modernist Performance' in *Modernism/Modernity*, 12:2 (2005), pp. 73-96; Mathias Auclair, *Les Ballets Suédois: Une compagnie d'avant-garde, 1920-1925* (Montreuil: Gourcuff Gradenigo, 2014); Isa Partsch-Bergsohn and Harold Bergsohn, *The Makers of Modern Dance in Germany: Rudolph Laban, Mary Wigman, Kurt Jooss* (New Jersey: Princeton Book Co., 2003); Susan Manning, *Ecstasy and the Demon: Feminism and Nationalism in the Dances of Mary Wigman* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Evelyn Dörr, *Rudolf Laban: The Dancer of the Crystal* (Maryland: Scarecrow, 2008); Karen K. Bradley, *Rudolf Laban* (London: Routledge, 2019).

⁶⁵ Extensive musicological scholarship addresses Stravinsky, but for discussion of his ballets in their cultural context see Peter Hill, *Stravinsky: The Rite of Spring* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Pieter C. Van

early Ballets Russes' 'Russian' phase to the detriment of the company's later work with French modernist composers, not to mention the huge number of successful twentieth-century ballets danced to music by composers not associated with the Russian company. Scholars of cultural modernism including Glenn Watkins and Daniel Albright explore the connections and collaborations between choreographers, composers and artists in Paris in the inter-war years, showing that even aside from the Ballets Russes, dance was a place for modernist experimentation and for the collaboration of influential modernist names such as Erik Satie and Pablo Picasso.⁶⁶ Such studies widen our understanding of the important innovations made in Paris during the inter-war years to include dance companies such as the aforementioned Ballets Suédois, and companies headed by Count Étienne de Beaumont, Ida Rubinstein and Bronislava Nijinska.

It is important to note that such modernist innovations and experimentations were taking place *outside of* the Paris Opéra Ballet. The national institution was not regarded as a forward-thinking modernist company during the early twentieth century despite attempts to enhance its profile. Understanding the ways in which choreographers and French composers working in inter-war Paris contributed towards the growth and development of modernism is important for this thesis not only because it shows that Paris remained the centre for ballet innovation during the 1920s, but because it shows that within this milieu, the Paris Opéra lagged behind: the major innovations in modernist dance exposed the Paris Opéra's conservative offerings.

This thesis takes research on twentieth-century dance and music in new directions by asking three levels of questions. The first concerns the practicalities of everyday life at the Paris Opéra, discussing previously under-researched ballets in their cultural context and examining reviews and programmes to argue that performers and administrative staff balanced a wish to present culturally 'French' productions to a diverse audience whilst balancing the need to stay on the right side of the German authorities. This thesis strives to understand the repertoire – particularly the ballets – presented at the Paris Opéra during the German occupation to learn more about how culture was affected by the occupation and how French composers, artists,

den Toorn and John McGinness, *Stravinsky and the Russian Period: Sound and Legacy of a Musical Idiom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions: A Biography of the Works Through Mavra* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016).

⁶⁶ Glenn Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre: Music, Culture, and Collage from Stravinsky to the Postmodernists* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994); Daniel Albright, *Untwisting the Serpent: Modernism in Music, Literature, and Other Arts* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000); Steven Moore Whiting, *Satie the Bohemian: From Cabaret to Concert Hall* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

choreographers and cultural institutions reacted to the political circumstances. Secondly, going further, this research explores perceptions of ballet, its role during wartime and its usefulness as propaganda to argue that differing perceptions of ballet in France and Germany gave ballet an agency and space to explore themes and ideas that were politically significant. These discussions are part of a wider conversation about the perception and place of ballet and ballet music in twentieth-century Europe, and this is where the third level of analysis comes in. The inclusion of ballet and ballet music in historical research offers alternative, complementary ways of analysing the interplay between culture and politics. Though the aforementioned literature focusses variously on the Paris Opéra's opera revivals, Poulenc's ballet *Les Animaux modèles*, or the Vichy commissions programme, historians and musicologists of occupation cultural life have yet to place the Paris Opéra Ballet at the centre of a holistic study, thus ignoring the cultural and political significance of an entire artistic genre. My research uses an interdisciplinary methodology, placing ballet at the centre of academic historical discussion to contribute to dialogues relating to cultural life during the occupation of France, the history of Nazism, and the history of twentieth-century ballet and music.

To understand ballet and ballet music at the Paris Opéra during the occupation, this thesis uses a broad source base collected from archives including the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Archives Nationales, Préfecture de Police and Médiathèque Musicale Mahler in Paris; the Fonds Lifar at the Archives de la Ville de Lausanne in Switzerland; the Bundesarchiv in Germany; material at the British Library and the Bodleian Library in the UK; and online collections at the New York Public Library, Library of Congress and Deutsches Tanzarchiv. The research uses three broad collections of primary sources. Firstly, microhistorical primary sources such as programmes, diaries, memoirs and reviews build a picture of how the Paris Opéra functioned during the occupation and how it may have been perceived by its audience. The second set of documents – French and German bureaucratic communications, official decrees and economic statistics – reveal the boundaries within which the Paris Opéra carried out its daily business and the restrictions to which it was subjected. These two sets of sources allow us to understand both the top-down restrictions within which the Paris Opéra was operating and the everyday, lived experience of the audience. It is within this framework that the final source base may be considered, and various interpretations discussed: the ballets' musical scores, libretti, photographs and costumes.

Whilst the dominant creative voices such as Lifar and Poulenc have proved relatively easy to trace, there is a substantial set of voices that remain quiet in this study: those who performed the ballets. The nature of the project and the time of writing means that the

number of people still alive who were intimately involved is minimal. A small number of dancer accounts appear in published sources (including Lifar and Jean Babilée) but it might further be assumed that many were prevented from publicly (or even privately) recording their wartime experience thanks to the shame associated with the occupation period. Thus this thesis's conclusions largely speak to what the ballet-going was like as an audience member, how the ballets were interpreted by their wider audience, and how the inner workings of the Palais Garnier were presented (with a particular agenda) through newspapers and post-war memoirs. Lifar's plans to tour the ballets outside Paris did not come to fruition, so it is only possible to understand the new ballets through the writing of those who were based in, or who visited, Paris.

The nature of this interpretative study and the fragmentary source base presents methodological challenges. To what extent can broad conclusions be made about stylistic interpretation and audience understanding? How far can assumptions be made about the wider impact of these ballets when the audience was so diverse, the majority did not record their thoughts, and ballet was often left out of contemporary conversations? Occupation sources are fragmentary by their very nature: published material was censored, and clandestine material was deliberately vague (or destroyed) to avoid potential recriminations. Official bureaucratic material is similarly incomplete. Nonetheless, as Miles Fairburn argues, a wide source base allows for conclusions to be suggested, where 'complete' source material does not exist.⁶⁷ Moore writes further that it is necessary to accept that many social and cultural histories – all historical studies, perhaps? – are based on incomplete evidence. However, arguments may be made by 'working laterally' – using all available sources and establishing 'rules' so that exceptions can be identified.⁶⁸ Fairburn proposes that social history studies may draw conclusions based on the combination of fragmentary evidence when considered in conjunction with the testimony of contemporary experts (in this case, music critics and diary writers), and/or widely-shared beliefs.⁶⁹

This thesis considers a wide variety of sources and works 'laterally' by using both quantitative and qualitative analysis. I consider the impact of – to further employ Fairburn's language – large scale, structural systems (through the examination of the wider Parisian

⁶⁷ Miles Fairburn, *Social History: Problems, Strategies and Methods* (New York: St. Martin's, 1999), pp. 39-84; pp. 177-202.

⁶⁸ Moore, 'Performing Propaganda' (2012), pp. 25-6.

⁶⁹ Fairburn, *Social History* (1999), p. 58.

political and cultural environment) on a minute, localised setting: the Paris Opéra Ballet.⁷⁰ In this thesis I extrapolate conclusions about ballet and classical dance in occupied Paris by focussing on the largest, most prominent and most prolific company. The Paris Opéra Ballet was the most socially visible dance company working in occupied Paris, and the company with which ballet-related National Socialist propaganda initiatives were negotiated. That is not to say that other forms of dance including light entertain

ments were not subject to similar problems and benefits of working under Nazi rule but the conclusions in this thesis relate to the perception of ballet in high culture and, specifically, within the unique space at the Palais Garnier. Though ballets were presented at other opera houses in France during the 1940s, usually as part of opera performances, the Paris Opéra Ballet offers by far the richest source material for the study of classical ballet in occupied France. Smaller venues (including the Opéra-Comique and provincial theatres) may indeed make an important contribution to future study.

Where the ballets themselves are concerned, further methodological challenges arise. How can musical and aesthetic clues help us to infer musical meaning? To what extent can we perceive 'ideology' in aesthetics? What techniques could a composer use to impart subversive meaning to their audience when there is no dialogue? How does the historical musicologist, working nearly eighty years later, attempt to understand how these ballets were 'read' by their contemporary audience? In Chapter Four, I outline the key analytical techniques that I have used to draw hermeneutic conclusions about the ballets, based largely on music, opera and film analysis. When we analyse music we are not talking directly about the experience,' writes Nicholas Cook, 'but an underlying level at which musical sound is perceived as being aesthetically meaningful.'⁷¹ However, it is exactly this question of perception that makes the drawing of objective conclusions through musical and aesthetic analysis methodologically challenging. Recent musicology understands that music theory alone cannot explain why listeners make certain connections and associations, or why music can provoke emotional reactions: music psychologists argue that we should focus instead on what is 'perceivable and functional.'⁷² In other words, music 'analysis' should focus on the aspects of a musical work

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 2.

⁷¹ Nicholas Cook, *Music Analysis and the Listener* (New York: Garland, 1989), pp. 11-12. See also *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. by Danuta Mirka (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 1-47.

⁷² See Stephanie Jordan, 'Choreomusical Conversations: Facing a Double Challenge' *Dance Research Journal*, 43:1 (Summer 2011), pp. 43-64; David Huron, *Sweet Anticipation: Music and the Psychology of Expectation* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2007) and Lawrence M. Zbikowski, *Conceptualising Music: Cognitive Structure, Theory, and Analysis* (Oxford: OUP, 2002); Rose Subotnik, 'Toward a Deconstruction of Structural Listening: A Critique of

that listeners hear, understand and experience in order to interpret, indeed, to ‘create’ meaning. Musical reception theory similarly argues that interpretation is as much about context as it is about the music on the page (and, in these cases, the choreography of a ballet): musical works must be understood in their contexts in order to try and ascribe meaning.⁷³

The musical commentary in Chapters Four and Five of this thesis does not intend to offer a comprehensive analysis of the ballets presented at the Paris Opéra. Instead it discusses the ballets’ key musical ideas and themes and suggests ways in which the performances may have been understood by a contemporary audience. These conclusions are combined with reviews, memoirs and secondary literature to offer a lateral interpretation of the ballets both individually and as a body of work. Culture produced during the occupation offers rich pickings for this sort of analysis and the application of this methodology is not unique to music; similar questions regarding meaning and interpretation have been asked of literary and cinematic occupation cultural products such as Jean-Paul Sartre’s play *Huis Clos* (1944) and Henri-Georges Clouzot’s film *Le Corbeau* (1943).⁷⁴

The research for this thesis began with the collection of a programme for every performance that took place at the Palais Garnier from 1937 to 1947. The collation of these programmes into a database offers quantitative answers to the most basic level of questions relating to ballet and opera performances at the Palais Garnier including how often ballets were performed at the Paris Opéra, which ballets and operas were performed most often, and how the frequency of ballet and opera performance changed during the occupation period. The database also shows how extraneous cultural and political events such as the outbreak of war, the fall of France and the liberation affected the running of the theatre. Extracts from this database are included in Appendices B-E. Further programme information such as advertisements, the inclusion of both French- and German-language synopses, and the change in paper quality and programme price helps us to garner qualitative information about the audience demographic and their opera- and ballet-going experience. Though these sources offer a rich body of analytical material, they only tell us *what* was happening at the Opéra: they

Schoenberg, Adorno, and Stravinsky,’ in *Explorations in Music, the Arts, and Ideas: Essays in Honor of Leonard B. Meyer* ed. by Eugene Narmour and Ruth Solie (New York: Pendragon Press, 1988), p. 88.

⁷³ See Mark Everist, ‘Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses,’ in *Rethinking Music* ed. by Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 378-402; Nicholas Cook, *Music Analysis and the Listener* (New York: Garland, 1989); Leon Botstein, ‘Music in History: The Perils of Method in Reception History’ *The Musical Quarterly*, 89: 1 (Spring, 2006), pp. 1-16.

⁷⁴ Ian Ousby, *Occupation: The Ordeal of France, 1940-1944* (London: Pimlico, 1999), p. 168; Gregory Sims, ‘Henri-Georges Clouzot’s “Le Corbeau” (1943): The Work of Art as Will to Power,’ in *MLN*, 114:4 (1999), pp. 743-79.

cannot reveal *why* these things happened, or indeed the role played by the Paris Opéra and the Paris Opéra Ballet in wider occupation society.

It is of course difficult to get inside the heads of the Palais Garnier audience. Nevertheless, contemporary reviews, diaries and memoirs offer a deeper source base for this analysis. For reasons of scope, this thesis concentrates mainly on premiere evenings rather than general performances of the ballets – which were often not reported in the press – or ballet revivals, which received less press attention. The inclusion of such performances might provide further evidence of how the ballets were received by the public and would be a valuable area for further research. New presentations were reported widely in the press: this source material provides perspectives and contemporary analyses of the new ballets across a range of journals and newspapers. Reviews not only help to bring the performances to life through descriptions and photographs, but also show how the works were received by individuals in the audience and occasionally highlight particular elements of the ballets that were successful (or, more rarely, unsuccessful). It must be remembered that critics were not free to speak their minds, particularly where German presentations were concerned – Serge Added has concluded that, under the Propagandastaffel’s censorship, even the more ‘conscientious’ reviewers had no room for ambiguity or resistance messages in their reportage.⁷⁵ In fact, reviews in the official press overwhelmingly represent those sympathetic to the political right because journalism in occupied France was dominated by collaborationist editors, journalists and critics.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, finding mention of the ballets in the underground press has proved difficult. The ballet reviews featured in this thesis appear almost exclusively in the collaborationist and pro-Fascist newspapers and journals such as *Paris Midi*, *Paris-Soir*, *Petit-Parisien*, *L’Œuvre*, *Panorama*, *Comœdia*, *Les Nouveaux Temps*, *La Gerbe*, and *La Chronique de Paris*. Of course, these reviews must be read with their limitations in mind. French ballet also appeared very occasionally in the German-language press, including in the daily *Pariser Zeitung*, providing a unique insight into the German perspective on French culture and the ballets at the Paris Opéra.

Though my research looks to newspaper reviews to inform my understanding of these ballets as they were received contemporarily, I hasten to add that such reviews cannot be considered representative of the average ballet-goer’s opinion. Reviewers had a specific job in

⁷⁵ ‘La censure et l’autocensure veillaient à étouffer tout ce qui eût pu ressembler à une parole résistante.’ Serge Added, *Le Théâtre à Paris dans les années-Vichy* (1992), p. 290.

⁷⁶ See Boothroyd, ‘The Parisian Stage During the Occupation’ (2009), p. 6.

providing analysis and contextualising a work; their writing does not necessarily tell us what the majority of the audience were thinking. Private diaries complement these official descriptions by offering a freer analysis precisely because they were not intended for a public audience. Diarists were often brutally honest in their writing which makes for entertaining and illustrative reading. Memoirs similarly contribute to this literature, though they must be read with caution as they were written with the benefit of hindsight. Sadly, the overlap between those living in Paris whose diaries and memoirs have been uncovered, and those who attended the Palais Garnier – or, moreover, wrote about doing so – is relatively small. Fascinatingly, however, a significant number of French citizens and German soldiers mention the Paris Opéra and the Opéra district and a smaller number are specific about the performances they attended (though unfortunately ballet is mostly absent from this literature). When considered as a body of material, these mentions provide insight into the audience's perception of the Paris Opéra as an institution, the place it occupied in Parisian cultural life, and the opera- and ballet-going experience. These programmes, memoirs and diaries help to answer this thesis's key research questions: who was the audience and what did they think of the Paris Opéra Ballet? What space did ballet occupy in Parisian cultural life?

Beyond the primary sources relating to everyday life described above, this study must be understood through a wider contextual framework. This research uses German and French bureaucratic documents including internal communications, official decrees and censorship regulations to give contextual support and frame the argument that the Paris Opéra Ballet was affected by the contemporary political situation. This source base is somewhat limited because the German authorities in Paris largely left the administration of the RTLN under Rouché to self-govern. Nevertheless, diaries and letters written by National Socialist officials in the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (RMVP), descriptions of dance in German newspapers, and references to dance and music in documents such as speeches show how ballet was perceived and used to promote a particular set of perspectives within Germany. These sources help to answer my wider research questions relating to the differing function and perception of ballet in French culture and in National Socialist ideology. These sources suggest that the National Socialists overlooked ballet and dance, and contextualise the impact of this on the ballets created and presented by the Paris Opéra in France.

Finally: the ballets themselves. Musical scores, libretti, photographs and critical descriptions of the five new 'occupation ballets' provide a rich source base to answer research questions relating to the works' context. What did these ballets look and sound like? How did the audience interpret the ballet presentations in their cultural context? How far were these

ballets influenced by the German occupation? As with all cultural sources – particularly culture in occupied Paris – these ballets were loaded with contextual meaning that transcends aesthetics and approaches allusion and metaphor.

The choreography and décor were equally important in helping the audience to interpret the ballets. Lifar believed in the symbiotic relationship between music and dance, often using music as the starting point and inspiration for his choreography.⁷⁷ Unfortunately, the choreography for these ballets does not survive and no visual recordings were made. Though photographs and reviewers' descriptions often provide general overviews of the choreography, it is difficult to comment on the choreography in the same level of detail as the music. This problem was also faced by contemporary readers because ballet reviews were, with notable exceptions, often written by music critics who used vague and non-expert language to describe the choreography. This contributed towards a contemporary perception that ballet was a non-expert artistic field and is a somewhat lost opportunity for the historical study of choreography. Nevertheless, premiere reviews were often accompanied by photographs which increased in detail through the period. Photographs of dancers, stage decorations and some costume sketches also survive.

This thesis therefore uses, as far as possible, the many creative elements that comprised the ballets – music, choreography (through reviews and photos), décor and story – as *objects* in the interpretation of these ballets and the interdisciplinary study of cultural life in occupied France. The five case studies discussed in this thesis appeared across the occupation period, premiering in 1941, 1942 and 1944. Considered together, they indicate that notions of French history and identity, or 'Frenchness,' were important themes for French ballet and the Paris Opéra in the period 1940-44. The term 'Frenchness,' its relationship to ballet and its construction throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is discussed in Chapter One; the ways in which this might be interpreted is explored in Chapters Four and Five.

⁷⁷ For Lifar's writing on dance and choreography see Serge Lifar, *Le Manifeste du chorégraphe* (Paris: Imprimerie Coop. Etoile, 1935); Serge Lifar, *La Danse: Les grands courants de la danse académique* (Paris: Éditions Denoël, 1935); Serge Lifar, *Pensées sur la Danse* (Paris: Éditions Cordas, 1946); Serge Lifar, *Traité de Chorégraphie* (Paris: Éditions Bordas, 1952); Serge Lifar, *La Musique par la danse, de Lully à Prokofiev* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1955); Serge Lifar, *La Danse (La danse académique et l'art chorégraphique)* (Paris: Éditions Gonthier, 1965). Secondary sources include Jean Laurent and Julie Sazanova, *Serge Lifar, rénovateur du ballet français* (Paris: Buchet Chastel, 1960); Lynn Garafola, *Legacies of Twentieth-Century Dance* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2005); Florence Poudru, *Serge Lifar: La Danse pour patrie* (Paris: Hermann Éditeurs, 2007); Patrizia Veroli, 'Serge Lifar as a Dance Historian and the Myth of Russian Dance in "Zarabezhnaia Rossiia" (Russian Abroad) 1930-1940.' *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research*. 32:2 (Winter 2014), pp. 105-143; Mark Franko, 'French Interwar Dance Theory,' in *Dance Research* 48:2 (August 2016), pp. 104-110.

This thesis proceeds in a loosely chronological order. Chapter One contextualises the themes that will appear throughout the thesis to show that many of the ideological, financial and practical difficulties faced by decision-makers at the RTLN and the Paris Opéra Ballet during the German occupation either existed before the outbreak of war and/or had a historical precedent. It shows that administrator director Jacques Rouché and choreographer Serge Lifar endeavoured to improve the Paris Opéra Ballet's reputation during the 1920s and 30s following decades of regression; these improvements were largely motivated by the presence of other modernist dance companies in inter-war Paris whose success rendered Parisian ballet outmoded. The chapter also examines Franco-German cultural tensions and discusses the way that French institutions used music during the First World War, setting a precedent for how repertoire would be used in 1940-44. Chapter One shows how war, national tensions, identity and the economy affected the Paris Opéra Ballet in the decades leading up to the occupation, providing a contextual background against which subsequent changes may be discussed.⁷⁸

Chapter Two approaches this research from a different perspective by outlining the National Socialists' ideological and philosophical understanding of dance, gender and the body, and the Germans' use of dance during the 1930s. The term 'propaganda' is usually understood to mean the distribution of information in support of a particular viewpoint, sometimes in a misleading or misrepresentative way. The use of culture such as art, music, literature, film or dance to disseminate this information or reinforce an opinion, or 'cultural propaganda,' is therefore particularly important for this study. I show how, though classical dance existed on a much smaller scale in Germany than in France, expressionist dancers developed a new style of dance, *Ausdruckstanz*, which the Nazis at first adopted enthusiastically for propaganda and latterly disowned. I collate and discuss the small amount of writing and legislation on German dance to show how it was 'Nazified' and bureaucratised. Eventually 'intellectual' dance was completely banned though this description was very loosely defined. This chapter frames my discussion of French ballet by showing two things: firstly that dance was a low priority within the RMVP as it was passed from section to section, and secondly that this confused ideology was exacerbated following the transference of the Nazis' cultural organisation and censorship onto Parisian institutions. In particular, this chapter contextualises my thesis's overall argument that French dance was afforded a space and

⁷⁸ See Carlo Caballero, 'Patriotism or Nationalism? Fauré and the Great War,' *Journal of the American Musicological Society*. 52:3 (Autumn 1999), p. 595.

freedom to create (and, potentially, subvert) that was not enjoyed by other arts simply because Nazi ideology neither understood nor cared for it.

The third chapter places the Paris Opéra Ballet at the centre of a chronological description of the occupation period using programmes, newspapers, photographs, diaries and memoirs to show how ballet was both affected by and contributed to Parisian cultural life. The chapter is divided into three segments, the first of which focusses on the top-down effect of the occupation on the Paris Opéra as an institution and its administrative and creative decision-makers including Rouché and Lifar. The second section examines the programmes and performance frequencies of ballets and operas at the Paris Opéra to show changes in repertoire across the four years of occupation. Because it examines the effect of cultural censorship, this chapter reveals that the Paris Opéra was inadvertently forced to drastically overhaul its repertoire, which resulted in the increased performance of French ballets during the occupation. The final segment of this chapter uses memoirs and diaries to show how the audience perceived and experienced the Paris Opéra, building on recent research into the German soldier experience in Paris. The Palais Garnier occupied an important place in occupied Paris both geographically and symbolically; Chapter Three contributes to an understanding of the everyday experience of cultural life in the French capital.

The remaining two chapters of the thesis use musical commentary to describe and analyse the new ballets presented at the Paris Opéra during the occupation. Chapter Four addresses the four new French ballets: Gabriel Grovlez's *La Princesse au jardin* (1941), Philippe Gaubert's *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* (1941), Francis Poulenc's *Les Animaux modèles* (1942) and André Jolivet's *Guignol et Pandore* (1944), of which only *Les Animaux modèles* has been written about previously in a significant way. At the beginning of the chapter I provide a methodological approach to inferring meaning from ballet music. The ballets are presented as separate case studies. Though I believe that presenting the case studies individually is the most effective way of discussing and understanding the ballets, they may be analysed together because of the similarities in their thematic material. By presenting these ballets as a body of work, we can see both how they may have been received by their audience, and the political implications of their performance in occupied Paris. Together the ballets show that the Paris Opéra at the Palais Garnier actively presented new works that shared themes of French history and culture which is significant given the tense political situation in which these ballets appeared.

Throughout this thesis I describe the ballets as potentially 'subversive,' meaning that they might be interpreted as undermining the German presence by hinting at anti-fascist and

anti-totalitarian themes, or through their more general alignment with resistance aesthetic preferences. I do not define these ballets as ‘resistance ballets’ because, as mentioned previously, I believe that implies a more antagonistic form of political action. The question of how far these ballets were intended as political or subversive is an interesting one, and one I attempt to answer while admitting it is impossible to know for certain. I argue that through the use of French themes, French musical allusion and French imagery, these ballets might be interpreted as having subverted the German presence and the RMVP’s insistence on the prioritisation of German culture in the occupied territories, whilst appealing – at a surface level – to the Vichy government’s conservative aesthetic ideals of traditional France. At the same time, the ballets answered the musical French resistance group Comité du Front national des musiciens’ call for composers to use French themes in their compositions. Members of the audience, I argue, may thus have read the ballets as critical of the German presence, as Vichyiste, or as pro-resistance, depending on what they themselves were looking for. Perceived by some as trivial and light, the ballets’ interpretive power was precisely their potential for nourishing alternative interpretations. A further complicating factor is that, because the new ballets were produced by multiple creators – composer, choreographer, scénarist, décor designer – as well as chosen for performance by a team including Rouché, Lifar and Désormière, the finished works represented multiple opinions and perspectives. So though it was well-known that Lifar moved in collaborationist circles, it is not implausible that other perspectives might be represented through a work that he choreographed.

Chapter Five uses the same interdisciplinary methodology to discuss the only contemporary German ballet to appear at the Paris Opéra during the occupation: Werner Egk’s *Joan de Zarissa*. A French premiere rather than a world premiere – the ballet was first performed in Berlin in 1940 and subsequently toured the Third Reich extensively – it was completely rechoreographed by Serge Lifar, danced by the Paris Opéra Ballet and accompanied by new sets and costumes by French designer Yves Brayer. The presentation of *Joan de Zarissa* at the Palais Garnier in July 1942 was less a grand German showcase than a successful French ballet danced to German music. Furthermore, Egk’s choral style, use of French libretto and French source material can be interpreted, like the ballets in Chapter Four, as pro-French. It was not unusual for foreign compositions, particularly operas, to be assimilated as French through cuts, additions and translations.⁷⁹ However, the presentation of *Joan von/de Zarissa* in

⁷⁹ See Abbate and Parker, *A History of Opera: The Last 400 Years* (2015), pp. 284-9.

occupied Paris neatly summarises the Paris Opéra under German occupation because the work was celebrated as a German success and attended by German dignitaries though it subtly displayed French culture through its choreography, dancers, art and theme. In a way, the interpretation of *Joan de Zarissa* acts – to employ Miles Fairburn’s methodological language – as the ‘crucial case’ in this thesis. By outwardly appearing as a German work it is ‘inherently *biased against* the confirmation of [the thesis] preferred hypothesis’ that the French decision-makers at the Paris Opéra intended to assert ‘Frenchness’ through repertoire choice.⁸⁰ And yet, the ballet can actually be read as a French work: despite the immediately perceived bias, it helps to prove my hypothesis that the Paris Opéra Ballet showed Frenchness through music, theme and source material.

The concluding chapter restates the argument that the company thrived during the German occupation both in spite of the restrictions placed on it and because of them. The repertoire censorship gave the ballet company its chance to perform more frequently whilst the Germans’ relaxed attitude towards dance and the ballet’s increased audience created space for the presentation of new French ballets that both aligned with Vichy aesthetic preferences, and spoke to the musical resistance’s calls for Frenchness in culture. This study combines musical commentary, quantitative analysis and an in-depth study of a single institution to deepen our understanding of cultural life in German-occupied Paris and offer new, interdisciplinary perspectives on Nazism, the Second World War, and twentieth-century French dance and music.

⁸⁰ Fairburn, *Social History* (1999), p. 58.

CHAPTER ONE | ‘WILL THERE BE MUSIC OF WAR?’¹: THE PARIS OPÉRA, FRENCH BALLET, AND FRANCO-GERMAN CULTURAL RELATIONS BEFORE 1939

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 and the German invasion of France in summer 1940 caused financial and moral uncertainty for French institutions and businesses. As Parisians returned to the capital following their temporary flight after the German invasion, cultural institutions such as the Paris Opéra, under the directorship of art patron, connoisseur, journalist and businessman Jacques Rouché, found themselves under pressure to reopen as soon as possible to restore a sense of normality to the city. Morally and aesthetically difficult choices arose. How would life change under the German presence? Was cultural life appropriate, given the circumstances? What role should the Paris Opéra and the Paris Opéra Ballet play in this tense political situation? Though the war and occupation magnified issues regarding national cultural identity, it did not create them. These themes had been pertinent in intellectual and cultural Parisian circles for the century preceding 1940 and, during this time, French ballet had gone through its own journey of devaluation and renewal.

This chapter draws upon two main bodies of literature to place the Paris Opéra Ballet at the centre of the discussion of French musical, political and national identity in the period leading up to 1940. Scholarship by Jane F. Fulcher, Jann Pasler and others assesses the impact of intellectual conversations concerning national identity on cultural life in France during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, particularly with regard to the influence – or perceived influence – of German music, and the role played by French musical institutions during the First World War.² The second body of literature concerns the history of French

¹ ‘Une enquête: Y aurait-il une musique de guerre?’, in *La Revue musicale*, December 1939, pp. 146-52.

² See Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Déirdre Donnellon, ‘French Music Since Berlioz: Issues and Debates’ in *French Music Since Berlioz*, ed. by Richard Langham Smith and Caroline Potter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006); *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914*, ed. by Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University

ballet and the impact of foreign ballet companies such as the Ballets Russes and the Ballets Suédois on early twentieth-century French cultural and musical society.³ In both literatures, at present, the Paris Opéra Ballet and its relationship to French cultural identity is largely tangential. This chapter builds on dance research by scholars such as Ilyana Karthas, Lynn Garafola, Mark Franko and Davinia Caddy, with a particular focus on music.⁴

This chapter's first theme concerns the perception of ballet in French culture. This chronological discussion, which relates to ballet as an art form and the way it was historically perceived within France, shows that ballet had been inextricably linked to French cultural identity for the preceding three centuries – in theory if not always in practice. Establishing this dynamic has implications for the way that dance was managed by the National Socialists both in Germany and in France during the occupation, and for understanding the political space within which ballet operated in occupied Paris. The second theme concerns the way that national perceptions of the role of culture in French society played out in practice during the first half of the twentieth century. How did culture relate to national identity, and what role should culture play during wartime? Before, during and after the First World War, French composers felt threatened by German Romanticism and music became a vehicle through which notions of French identity were debated. Though aesthetic conversation regarding the infiltration of French music by German composers largely focussed on opera and symphonic music rather than ballet, it set a precedent for the politicisation of music, repertoire and nationality in the decades preceding the Second World War. The final segment of this chapter shows how increased funding and technical innovations introduced by artistic director Serge Lifar combined with expanded state support for French culture during the 1930s to solidify the place of French ballet in Parisian society. These interweaving conversations show that, in the decades preceding the German occupation of France, the Paris Opéra, its companies and its presentations actively engaged the French public and were directly affected by extrinsic

of California Press, 2009); Annegret Fauser, *The Politics of Musical Identity: Selected essays* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Rachel Orzech, 'A Universal Art, an Art for All?' The Reception of Richard Wagner in the Parisian Press, 1933-1944' PhD diss. University of Melbourne and Université de Rouen, 2016.

³ *Rethinking the Sylph: New Perspectives on the Romantic Ballet*, ed. by Lynn Garafola (New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1997); Lynn Garafola, *Legacies of Twentieth-Century Dance* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2005); Lynn Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2010); Davinia Caddy, *The Ballets Russes and Beyond: Music and Dance in the Belle-Époque in Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

⁴ Ilyana Karthas, *When Ballet Became French: Modern Ballet and the Cultural Politics of France, 1909-1939* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015); Mark Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar: Interwar French Ballet and the German Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020). See previous footnote for literature by Garafola and Caddy.

political conversations. This chapter acts as a contextual framework for my central thesis argument that the existing connections between ballet, politics and French cultural identity became more pertinent following the outbreak of the Second World War.

CONSTRUCTING FRENCH IDENTITY THROUGH BALLET AND MUSIC: FROM THE SUN KING TO THE SOMME

By the middle of the nineteenth century, ballet performances were being given frequently at opera houses across Europe. Ballet grew artistically and aesthetically distinct from opera as innovations in choreography, technique, costume and lighting modernised court dance into the ballet we enjoy today. This period is often referred to as the ‘golden age’ of romantic ballet.⁵ Though it takes a backseat in singer-dominated literature, ballet was significant amongst – and in many ways indistinguishable from – opera-going culture during this time. Traditionally, ballets were presented either as written-in, component parts (divertissements) of grand opera – or as distinct complementary performances to accompany a short opera and, though short ballets and divertissements were frequently enjoyed by French audiences, ballet was not given without opera in Paris until the twentieth century.⁶ The scandal at the second Parisian performance of Wagner’s *Tannhäuser* in 1861, during which members of the Jockey Club loudly and disruptively complained that they had missed the ballet because it appeared too early in the evening, shows that ballet was significant, appreciated and expected by French audiences during the nineteenth century – if only as a subordinate part of the opera-going experience.⁷

Nevertheless, factors including the fetishization of female dancers, the relegation of male dancers to practical obsolescence, the continued redirection of funding towards opera

⁵ The term ‘golden age’ is used by Ivor Guest in ‘The genesis of *La Sylphide*,’ in *La Sylphide: Paris 1932 and beyond* ed. by Marian Smith (Alton: Dance Books, 2012), p. 7.

⁶ Marian Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of Giselle* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. xi; pp. 20-21.

⁷ Wagner reworked his opera *Tannhäuser* for its Paris premiere at the Paris Opéra, then at the Salle Le Peletier, in 1861. The audience loudly objected to the placing of the ballet divertissement in the first act – it appeared too early in the evening and latecomers from the Jockey Club had missed it. Manuela Schwartz argues this incident increased Wagner’s nationalism. See Manuela Schwartz, *Wagner-Rezeption und französische Oper des Fins de siècle*, Berliner Musik Studien 18 (Sinzig: Studio Verlag Schewe, 1999), pp. 2-7, quoted in Annegret Fauser, ‘*Cette musique sans tradition: Wagner’s Tannhäuser and its French critics*,’ in *The Politics of Musical Identity: Selected essays* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), p. 7.

productions, and the reliance on Italian *étoiles* meant that, following the ‘golden age’ of ballet in the mid-nineteenth century, French ballet fell into a period often referred to as the ‘decline.’⁸ Though this problematic term implies an apathetic decline in the productivity or popularity of ballet productions, continued attempts to keep the Paris Opéra and its ballet and opera companies afloat through centuries of political uncertainty including during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars shows that, at least in theory, the Paris Opéra Ballet was valued as a national institution.⁹ Nevertheless, the Paris Opéra was plagued with practical misfortunes including the tragic death of dancer Emma Livry in 1862 and the depletion of the company’s repertory following two fires which destroyed sets and costumes. Karthas argues further that the perceived ‘decline’ of ballet during the latter part of the nineteenth century was directly caused by the politicisation of the body in wider French society both through the eroticisation of female dancers and the negative perception of male dancers who were associated with effeminacy; a far cry from the seventeenth-century perception of physically fit and aristocratic male dancers such as King Louis XIV.¹⁰

This devaluation of French dance encouraged dancers and choreographers to leave Paris for the Russian Imperial theatres, further developing ballet outside of France. During his long career as ballet master at the Imperial Ballet in St Petersburg from 1871 to 1903, French choreographer Marius Petipa created and revived dozens of full-length classical ballets. Petipa crystallised the hierarchy between the corps de ballet and the ballerina, organised choreographic space and used geometric shapes in his group choreography, and developed mime and character dance.¹¹ Many of Petipa’s ballets appeared at the Paris Opéra during the

⁸ See Ivor Guest, *Le Ballet de l’Opéra de Paris* (Paris: Opéra de Paris, Flammarion, 1976).

⁹ The French ballet was owned by the Royal Household and various private enterprises, each of which endeavoured to retain the Paris Opéra as a symbol of French culture. In 1794 the Opéra moved from the Porte Saint-Martin to the Théâtre National on the Rue de la Loi, which was more conveniently located in the centre of town. Even after the French Revolution the Opéra remained a state institution – receiving a subsidy of 360,000 francs in 1795 – though it was in financial trouble throughout the Directory. Under Napoleon its subsidy increased to 850,000 francs in 1807, though the Opéra was still returning a loss. This problem was eventually solved through taxation on the smaller theatres. The Opéra moved again to the Rue le Peletier in 1821 after King Louis XVIII’s nephew was stabbed following a performance. Following the revolt in 1830 the Opéra became a private enterprise, though it continued to receive partial subsidy throughout the July Monarchy. See F.W.J. Hemmings, *Theatre and State in France, 1760-1905* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 67-9 and pp. 108-9; Ivor Guest, *The Paris Opéra Ballet* (Alton: Dance Books, 2006), p. 44; Steven Huebner, ‘Opera and ballet after the Revolution,’ in *The Cambridge Companion to French Music*, ed. by Steven Trezise (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

¹⁰ Karthas *When Ballet Became French* (2015), p. 12.

¹¹ See Olena Ushchapivska, ‘The Representation of Female Characters in the Music of Russian Ballet,’ *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 48:1 (2017), pp. 57-69; Oleg Petrov, ‘Russian Ballet and Its Place in Russian Artistic Culture of the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: The Age of Petipa,’ trans. by Tim Scholl in *Dance Chronicle*, 15:1 (1992), pp. 40-58; Garafola, *Diaghilev’s Ballets Russes* (2010), p. 11, p. 13.

twentieth century and are still in worldwide repertory today, most notably his close collaborations with Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky – *Swan Lake* (1876), *The Sleeping Beauty* (1889) and *The Nutcracker* (1892).

At the end of the nineteenth century, French culture became increasingly politicised and constructions of national identity affected the wider French cultural sphere. Within this, the French lyric stage, particularly the Paris Opéra, write Mark Everist and Annegret Fauser, ‘could be interpreted, rightly or wrongly, as a metaphor for the state.’¹² Studies by Jane F. Fulcher, Jann Pasler, Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist describe the increased politicisation of music, its importance in the formulation of French identity, and detail the way that French institutions, politicians and composers negotiated tensions between French identity, modernism and traditionalism.¹³ French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1) forms the political backdrop to such debates; the sacrifice of Alsace and Lorraine to the Prussians (united as the German Empire) was significant for musicians because German music was so influential to Western composers. French composers and journalists struggled to reconcile anti-German ideology with their appreciation for the country’s music, and French intellectuals disagreed on the extent to which German musical influence was damaging French style. Did appreciating German music mean that one was politically pro-German? Culture was once again defined using nationalist language. ‘If [...] Germany one day gave Alsace and Lorraine back to us,’ commented *Le Ménestrel* as early as 1880, politicising the performance of operas by the German composer, ‘no doubt our great opera house would make it a duty and a pleasure to perform *Lohengrin* and even the *Ring* in return. Who knows, perhaps we will manage to develop diplomatic relations in this way.’¹⁴ Musicologists’ concerns that ‘Wagnérisme’ was encouraging French composers to adopt a Germanic musical style was a political problem as much as it was a musical one because French musical culture, particularly opera, was understood to have the ability to reflect and shape society’s morals.¹⁵ The Paris Opéra – in its new theatre, the Palais Garnier, which was inaugurated in 1875 – was central to these discussions. Its role, writes Frédérique Patureau, was ‘to visibly project the radiance of France into the world.’¹⁶ Within

¹² *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer* (2009), p. 3.

¹³ See Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual* (2005); Fulcher, *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer* (2009); Pasler, *Composing the Citizen* (2009); Fauser, *The Politics of Musical Identity* (2015).

¹⁴ Quoted in Orzech, ‘A Universal Art’ (2016), p. 12.

¹⁵ See Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), p. 170-8.

¹⁶ Frédérique Patureau, trans. in Mark Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar: Interwar French Ballet and the German Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 3.

this, writes Karthas, the Paris Opéra Ballet remained ‘a symbol of Frenchness, worthy [...] of embodying French grandeur.’¹⁷

Historians such as Carlo Caballero and, more recently, Rachel Moore, argue for nuanced understanding of musical nationalism and French identity.¹⁸ Despite intellectual protest, for example, Wagner’s music was immensely popular in France. This suggests that the opinions of intellectuals working before and during the Great War did not always reflect audience attitudes.¹⁹ Nevertheless, concerns that French opera was gradually being replaced by foreign (German) opera intensified during and after the Dreyfus Affair, a significant political and social event that divided France and raised wider questions about French identity, values and morality.²⁰ The perception that French culture was being ‘invaded’ by German music was a conscious sentiment in contemporary French musical circles, and was a concern that recurred before and during both world wars. Jeremy Coleman’s recent research further suggests that, for the French, Wagner was not the cause of the problem: his music acted as the object through which insecurities regarding German expansion were focussed.²¹

The absence of an established French musical canon exacerbated this cultural identity crisis. This problem was addressed by Third Republic composers and concert programmers partly through the rediscovery and integration of national French dances in dramatic works and concert halls. Pasler, Caballero and Franko show how French composers followed a nineteenth-century European revival of interest in old dance forms, using musical techniques from the Ancien Régime to reinforce and strengthen republican values, ‘articulating a heritage of which contemporary composers were the heirs.’²² Late nineteenth-century composers such as Camille Saint-Saëns, Léo Delibes, Vincent D’Indy and Emmanuel Chabrier – whose works

¹⁷ Karthas, *When Ballet Became French* (2015), p. 10.

¹⁸ Carlo Caballero, ‘Patriotism or Nationalism? Fauré and the Great War,’ *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 52:3 (Autumn 1999), pp. 593-625; Rachel Moore, ‘Performing Propaganda: Musical Life and Culture in Paris, 1914-1918’ PhD diss. Royal Holloway, University of London, 2012.

¹⁹ *Lohengrin* was performed from 1891 (at regional theatres prior to its performance at the Paris Opéra), and in the period 1891-1900 operas by Wagner made up 45% of productions at the Opéra. See Katharine Ellis, ‘How to Make Wagner Normal: *Lohengrin*’s ‘tour de France’ of 1891-92,’ in *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 25:2, pp. 121-137; Orzech, ‘A Universal Art,’ (2016), p. 10. For scholarship relating to French identity during the First World War see Karthas, *When Ballet Became French* (2015), pp. 110-1; Marc Ferro, ‘Cultural Life in France, 1914-18’ in *European Culture in the Great War: The Arts, Entertainment, and Propaganda, 1914-1918*, ed. by Ariel Roshwald and Richard Stites (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

²⁰ See Jane F. Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 23.

²¹ Jeremy Coleman, *Richard Wagner in Paris: Translation, Identity, Modernity* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2019), pp. 3-8.

²² See Carlo Caballero, ‘Pavanes and Passepieds in the Age of the Cancan’ in *Musicology and Dance: Historical and Critical Perspectives* ed. by Davinia Caddy and Maribeth Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 176-7.

populated the Paris Opéra – included ‘quintessentially French’ Baroque-inspired dances in their compositions which both signified an earlier era, and encouraged a ‘deeper engagement’ with the French musical past.²³ Meanwhile, Baroque dance forms such as the sarabande, gavotte, pavane and minuet were also popular with monarchists who were both keen to revive aristocratic traditions and, sometimes, in a financial or influential position to be able to encourage the performance of such music.²⁴ Contemporary French composers including Debussy and Ravel used *musique ancienne* to write new music rooted in French history, often using these established dance styles to experiment with modern rhythm and harmony. In this way, argues Pasler, they juxtaposed modern music with nostalgic French dance styles, showing how music – and, I argue, dance – could help the French to understand and negotiate their inheritance.²⁵

Having experienced an impressive golden age of Romantic ballet innovation in the mid-nineteenth century, French ballet at the Paris Opéra remained largely consigned to the shadow of French grand opera by the beginning of the twentieth century. Ballet was nevertheless still consistently present in Parisian cultural life and, during this same period, the Opéra-Comique established its own corps de ballet.²⁶ Nevertheless, French critics lamented the difficult plots, reliance on mime, and focus on technique (rather than beauty) in French choreography, and only six new ballets were produced at the Paris Opéra between 1900 and 1909, all of which have been lost to history.²⁷ Following its period of ‘decline,’ ballet resurfaced as a prominent topic of discussion in Parisian cultural life when Serge Diaghilev brought Russian ballet to Paris in 1909. French critics openly compared the state of French ballet unfavourably with the new, exciting Russian company, calling for change at the Paris Opéra.²⁸ ‘Who will remake, from top to bottom, our dancers and ballerinas?’ asked critic Camille Mauclair in 1911, ‘Who will deliver us from the ridicule of our own traditional ballet?’²⁹ Critics variously blamed the Paris Opéra management, the dancers themselves, and French society for French ballet’s inferiority. ‘Such a company is not possible in Paris,’ declared Marcel

²³ Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, pp. 377-8. See also Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar* (2020), pp. 22-7.

²⁴ Caballero, ‘Pavanes and Passepieds,’ p. 180.

²⁵ Pasler, *Composing the Citizen*, p. 640.

²⁶ Carlo Caballero, ‘Dance and Lyric Reunited: Fauré’s *Pénélope* and the Changing Role of Ballet in French Opera,’ in *Bild und Bewegung im Musiktheater/Image and Movement in Music Theatre*, ed. by Roman Brotbeck, Laura Moeckli, Anette Schaffer and Stephanie Schroedter (Schliengen, Germany: Argus Editions, 2018), pp. 55-6.

²⁷ Caddy, *The Ballets Russes and Beyond* (2012), p. 29.

²⁸ See *ibid.*, pp. 30-2.

²⁹ Camille Mauclair, ‘L’enseignement de la saison russe,’ *La Revue*, 1 August 1910, pp. 350-60, quoted in Karthas, *When Ballet Became French* (2015), pp. 99-100.

Prévost in *Le Figaro*, lamenting that ballet was an inherently aristocratic art that depended on the court: 'It is not possible in a democratic country.'³⁰ Karthas contextualises this as part of a wider debate about concerns for the national French 'spirit.'³¹ Many critics argued that it was the responsibility of the Paris Opéra management to improve ballet, discontent that the Russians had better preserved the traditionally French art form. Pierre Lalo criticised the Paris Opéra in an article in *Le Temps*: 'Just as we have no school of dance or dance musicians, nor do we have the public, the enthusiasts, the experts in ballet.' Though Lalo was mistaken about the school of dance (the Paris Opéra Ballet School was nearly two hundred years old by 1911, albeit under various nomenclatures), he shrewdly pointed out that part of the problem with the perception of French ballet lay in the fact that there were few qualified French ballet critics. Reviews were usually written by music and art critics who were not specialists in the subject and were unequipped to educate their readers or properly assess the quality of a production.³²

The Ballets Russes' success was tied specifically to their brand of Russianness: this reinforced the company's otherness whilst tapping into French desire for the 'Oriental'.³³ The company also ignited intense debate about ballet and encouraged audiences to consider the Paris Opéra Ballet. A new ballet master, Ivan Clustine, who had trained at the Moscow-based Bolshoi theatre, helped the Paris Opéra Ballet to enjoy a conservative increase in audience size during the 1910s. This engagement was inspired in part, undoubtedly, by the influence of the Ballets Russes though this was strenuously denied, writes Caddy, by the Opéra itself including Clustine.³⁴ Seven new ballets were produced at the Paris Opéra between 1909 and 1914 and, though they were received somewhat mutedly in comparison to the Ballets Russes' productions – only one, Reynaldo Hahn's *La Fête chez Thérèse* (1910), which harks back to the Romantic golden age of 1840s, approaches 'the periphery' of the Paris Opéra's repertory – they signified a new direction for the Paris Opéra Ballet.³⁵

The Ballets Russes' far-reaching influence affected the way ballet was programmed and visualised from a business perspective as well as an aesthetic one. Future Paris Opéra director

³⁰ Marcel Prévost, 'La Danse,' *Le Figaro*, 13 June 1910, p. 1, quoted in Karthas, *When Ballet Became French* (2015), pp. 96-7.

³¹ Karthas, *When Ballet Became French*, (2015), p. 102.

³² Pierre Lalo, 'Un nouveau maître de ballet de l'Opéra,' *Comœdia*, 24 August 1911, p. 2, quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 101-3.

³³ See Marina Frolova-Walker, *Russian Music and Nationalism: From Glinka to Stalin* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 49.

³⁴ Caddy, *The Ballets Russes and Beyond* (2012), p. 34.

³⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 28. The ballets were: *La Fête chez Thérèse*, *España*, *La Roussalka*, *Les Bacchantes*, *Suite de danses*, *Philotis* and *Hansli le bossu*. See Davinia Caddy, 'On Ballet at the Opéra, 1909-14, and *La Fête chez Thérèse*,' in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, (2009), 133:2, 220-269.

Jacques Rouché had been in the audience at Ballets Russes productions from 1909, meeting with Diaghilev, Nijinsky, Fokine, Benois and Bakst in May 1910. Biographer Dominique Garban suggests that his encounters with the early Ballets Russes ‘increased tenfold’ Rouché’s desire to direct a theatre: he saw in the Russian dancers ‘an emotional sensuality long forgotten in French dance.’³⁶ Inspired by the Ballets Russes, Rouché reintroduced ballet to the Théâtre des Arts and the Théâtre du Châtelet in 1910-14.³⁷ Four new ballets, d’Indy’s *Istar*, Schmitt’s *La Tragédie de Salomé*, Dukas’ *La Péri* and Ravel’s *Adélaïde*, were choreographed by Ivan Clustine for Rouché and later transferred to the Paris Opéra repertoire when he took up the directorship in 1914. ‘The effect is striking,’ wrote reviewer Louis Vuillemin, ‘so far, only the Russians had excelled in fulfilling these adorable events where dance and music renovated, eased prejudice, routine, tradition [...] wonderfully.’³⁸ Inspired by Diaghilev’s *Gesamtkunstwerk*, Rouché united French dance with contemporary French music in a dance ideology that motivated him throughout his directorship of the Paris Opéra.

French critics reclaimed a degree of ownership over ballet’s new success as it was universally accepted that Russian classical ballet had its roots in French dance. Mauclair remarked that to see Nijinsky dance was to ‘restore to us some idea of what Vestris meant to our ancestors,’ implying that this Russian ballet could not have existed without its French ancestry.³⁹ This focus on dancers such as Vestris highlights a divisive innovation: the Ballets Russes’ recentring of the male dancer. Karthas argues that the popularity of the Ballets Russes enabled the French public to redress their notions of masculinity in dance as the skilled male Russian dancers, considered ‘other,’ commanded a new respect.⁴⁰ However, this gender subversion pushed the boundaries of French sensibilities by presenting erotic and homoerotic images, and blurring the lines between established codes of male and female dance. Kolb writes that late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century audiences were prejudiced against male dancers both because of their (actual or perceived) association with homosexuality, and

³⁶ Dominique Garban, *Jacques Rouché: L’Homme qui sauva l’Opéra de Paris* (Paris: Somogy éditions d’art, 2007), pp. 100-2. See also Claire Paolacci, ‘L’ère Jacques Rouché à l’Opéra de Paris (1915-1945): Modernité théâtrale, consécration du ballet et de Serge Lifar.’ PhD diss. Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2006.

³⁷ Garban, *Jacques Rouché* (2007), p. 103.

³⁸ Louis Vuillemin, quoted in Michel Brient ‘Jacques Rouché.’ *Revue d’histoire du théâtre*, Paris, July-September 1948.

³⁹ Camille Mauclair, ‘L’enseignement de la saison russe,’ *La Revue*, 1 August 1910, pp. 350-60, quoted in Karthas, *When Ballet Became French* (2015), p. 99. It is unclear whether Mauclair is referring to Gaetan Vestris (1729-1808) or his son Auguste (1760-1842) though both were virtuosic French dancers awarded the title ‘dieu de la danse.’

⁴⁰ Ilyana Karthas, ‘The Politics of Gender and the Revival of Ballet in Early Twentieth Century France,’ *Journal of Social History*, 45:4 (Summer 2012), pp. 961-6.

because of their (gender atypical) expressive onstage physicality.⁴¹ This association contributed towards a shift in ballet audience: rather than the wealthy men that attended ballet (perhaps to choose a mistress from the Foyer de la Danse) during the nineteenth century, Diaghilev's audience attracted homosexual men as well as avant-garde artists, and those attracted to and inspired by the company's innovations in clothing and fashion.⁴² Though it was nonetheless another two decades before French male dancers regularly performed significant roles on the Paris Opéra stage – attitudes toward effeminacy in French dance had not yet changed – discussion about Russian ballet encouraged French audiences and critics to reassess how they valued their own national ballet in a wider sense and helped to encourage a renewed interest in dance at the Paris Opéra.

The ideological cultural debates concerning French identity became practical concerns as the First World War loomed and musical programmers were forced to enact their cultural politics through repertoire choice. Though concerns about German opera and Russian ballet had rocked the Paris Opéra at the beginning of the twentieth century, the institution continued to present new and old French repertoire alongside foreign works. As the First World War drew nearer, officials and intellectuals alike questioned the wider role that music would play during wartime and the dilemma concerning German infiltration into the French cultural sphere – particularly where music by Wagner was concerned – became more than just an ideological concern. German music was officially considered contrary to the war effort and the First World War forced French institutions such as the Paris Opéra to practically realise their cultural politics through repertoire. Furthermore, the performance of French repertoire at the Paris Opéra during the First World War encouraged audiences to recognise and engage with their national identity through culture. The Paris Opéra's handling of wartime repertoire and censorship restrictions has implications for the way the institution aligned music and dance with national identity twenty years later during the Second World War.

Theatres and concert halls temporarily closed as it appeared inappropriate to spend money on theatre when money could be redirected towards the war effort (the Paris Opéra received government subsidies of 800,000 francs per year before the war). However, French

⁴¹ Alexandra Kolb, 'Nijinsky's images of homosexuality: three case studies,' *Journal of European Studies*, 39:2 (2009), pp. 151-2.

⁴² See Emmanuel Cooper, *The Sexual Perspective: Homosexuality and Art in the Last 100 Years in the West* (London: Routledge, 1986), p. 135; Kolb, 'Nijinsky's images of homosexuality' (2009), p. 152. On the Ballets Russes and fashion, see: Mary E. Davis, *Ballets Russes Style: Diaghilev's Dancers and Paris Fashion* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2010).

citizens soon began to yearn for normality and comparisons were drawn with London where theatres had reopened and the continuation of artistic endeavours was viewed as an indicator of the country's strength.⁴³ The Palais Garnier reopened on 9 December 1915, a year later than other theatres including the Opéra-Comique and the Comédie-Française.⁴⁴ As Rachel Moore demonstrates in her recent work on music in Paris during the First World War, repertoire choices during the first years of war mirrored the political sphere, showing that politicians and intellectuals believed music to have an inherently political role to play. Programmes and scripts were censored by the Préfecture de Police to fit with a perceived sense of decency. Battle scenes, military scenes and productions with a German protagonist could be prohibited and, in some circumstances, the music itself was censored. *La Marseillaise* and the Belgian national anthem could only be performed in serious circumstances and could not be ridiculed.⁴⁵

Recent research by Moore and others has significantly redressed the perception that there was little music-making in Paris during the Great War, though the performance of German music remained a controversial issue.⁴⁶ The aforementioned implications of performing German music which had seemed pertinent at the turn of the century became practical considerations for French programmers and performers during the First World War, setting a precedent for the censorship and programming of music during the Second World War. Austro-German composers such as Bach, Mozart and Beethoven were popular in France and constituted a significant proportion of pre-war musical programmes. Though intellectuals agreed that the performance of music by contemporary Austro-German composers was inappropriate during wartime (and such contemporary composers, particularly of the Second Viennese School, had been unpopular with most audiences in pre-war France anyway), they were divided over deceased ones. At first, all German music was dropped from First World War programmes, causing an 'anonymous' conductor to complain that a musical programme

⁴³ Moore, 'Performing Propaganda' (2012), p. 39.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 47. This marked the longest period that Paris's largest theatre had been closed in its 250-year history. Aside from the restricted wartime economy, fuel shortages and blackouts, theatres were further hampered by a *taxe de bienfaisance* that siphoned 15% of ticket sales for wartime charities. Though this tax made it difficult for theatres to make a profit, it placated criticism that wartime entertainment was frivolous and inappropriate.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp. 41-2. Censorship made the production of shows such as *Carmen* and *Fidelio* difficult as scenes involved characters in military uniform.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 115-7; Esteban Buch, "'Les allemands et les boches': La musique allemande à Paris pendant la première guerre mondiale", *Le Mouvement social*, 208 (July-September 2004), pp. 44-69; Marion Schmid, 'À bas Wagner!: The French Press Campaign against Wagner during World War I', *French Music, Culture, and National Identity (1870-1939)*, ed. by Barbara Kelly (Rochester: Rochester University Press, 2008), pp. 77-91.

which did not feature German music was ‘like a meal without meat!’⁴⁷ This shows the role German music had played in pre-war French musical programming and the extent to which German music was considered essential in French cultural life, despite previous political altercations with Germany. As had been the case before the war, Wagner was the primary target for those opposed to the performance of German music. Camille Saint-Saëns called for the ban on performances of Wagner’s music in Paris, arguing in *Germanophile* (1916) that Wagner was a tool for German propaganda and that he was infiltrating the French soul and French music.⁴⁸ Though some critics argued that Saint-Saëns’ concerns were dated, Wagner was not performed in Paris during the First World War.⁴⁹

Jacques Rouché worked to use the Paris Opéra to instil a sense of national pride, writing that his programmes would ‘convince’ audiences that ‘the French tradition is refined today, stronger and richer than ever.’⁵⁰ He programmed new and old French works: in December 1915 the Opéra presented the opéra-ballet *Mademoiselles de Nantes*, a period piece featuring music by Lully and Charpentier. Repertoire by French composers Gossec, Gluck, Le Sueur and Rameau appeared throughout the war.⁵¹ Fulcher argues that the revival of Rameau’s opera *Castor et Pollux* confirmed Rouché’s celebration of French national identity as Rameau was one of France’s most celebrated composers. The Paris Opéra also continued to create new works during the war – there were seventeen new presentations overall in 1915 compared with six in 1901.⁵² Rouché’s programming attempted to bolster the national mood at a time of tense national insecurity through its promotion of French repertoire. This proved that the Paris Opéra could contribute to the war effort and demonstrated its national significance – and the importance of the arts – during wartime, providing a blueprint for the Opéra’s reaction to the German occupation in 1940.

⁴⁷ Anon., ‘Nos échos,’ *L’intransigéant*, 15 December 1914, p. 2, quoted in Moore, ‘Performing Propaganda’ (2012), p. 131. Moore comments that the conductor was likely André Messager, the director of the Société des Concerts.

⁴⁸ Moore, ‘Performing Propaganda,’ (2012), p. 114.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-117. It is sometimes wrongly assumed that his work was banned but this was never an official decree.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Jane F. Fulcher, ‘The Composer as Intellectual: Ideological Inscriptions in French Interwar Neoclassicism,’ in *The Journal of Musicology*, 17:2 (1999), p. 184.

⁵¹ Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual* (2005), p. 19; p. 25.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 24; p. 101.

The First World War affected all aspects of French cultural, political and social life and in the years immediately following the war (and Debussy's death in 1918), French composers, journalists and musicologists continued to look for ways of defining French identity through culture. Barbara L. Kelly argues that French critics looked to the 'halcyon days of the pre-war era' when French music had been pre-eminent. This led to the establishment of Debussy as a 'special case' – he was 'France's foremost composer and prized treasure of the *patrimoine*.'⁵³ Musicological discussion regarding Debussy's influence and legacy reveal the ways that French musicologists and journalists wanted to frame French music for the cultural present. Debussy's achievements 'cast a shadow,' writes Kelly, over French innovation in the interwar years, '(re)defining and potentially fixing what constitutes Frenchness in music.'⁵⁴ The establishment of Debussy's legacy and importance for French music was solidified in the interwar years when musicologists and critics programmed modern composers such as Debussy, Ravel and Fauré – the 'trinity' of French music – alongside music from the Ancien Régime by composers such as Rameau and Couperin, shaping and informing the French canon.⁵⁵ The revival of this music and the establishment of a French musical canon that juxtaposed modern French composers with those from France's celebrated musical past is significant to this thesis not only because it establishes the idea of 'Frenchness' in music, but because this musical Frenchness links musical identity with dance through Baroque dance composers.

The First World War had, writes Karthas, exacerbated anxieties relating to nationality, stability, aesthetics and gender roles, creating 'an atmosphere conducive to artistic expression and experimentation' and inspiring performers and creators in Paris to turn to modernism in the early 1920s.⁵⁶ While the Paris Opéra continued to present classical ballets, the Ballets Russes again turned to modernism, presenting – alongside their classical offerings – new works that experimented with gender and identity through casting, choreography, costume and

⁵³ Barbara L. Kelly, 'Remembering Debussy in Interwar France: Authority, Musicology, and Legacy.' *Music & Letters* 93:3 (2012), pp. 390-1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 391.

⁵⁵ Barbara L. Kelly, 'Common Canon, Conflicting Ideologies: Music Criticism in Performance in Interwar France' in *Music Criticism in France, 1918-1939: Authority, Advocacy, Legacy* ed. by Barbara L. Kelly and Christopher Moore (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018), pp. 122-8, p. 149; Jann Pasler, 'Bleu-horizon Politics and Music for Radio Listeners: *L'Initiation à la musique* (1935),' in *Music Criticism in France* (2018), p. 91, p. 110, p. 119.

⁵⁶ Karthas, *When Ballet Became French* (2015), p. 110-3.

gesture.⁵⁷ Though modernism was also thriving in Germany, Karthas writes that modernists in Paris were determined to foreground homegrown French modernism over imported, foreign art. Sergei Diaghilev realised this and the Ballets Russes collaborated increasingly with French creators working in French modernist styles such as cubism and surrealism whilst also showcasing revivals of classical ballets choreographed by Petipa.⁵⁸ *Parade* (1917), for example – Diaghilev’s ‘exercise in coordinated incongruity’ – united French poet Jean Cocteau and composer Erik Satie with Spanish artist Pablo Picasso and Russian choreographer Léonide Massine.⁵⁹ Their cubist *ballet réaliste* marked a significant move away from the pre-war Russian folklore-inspired ballets and towards French modernism as it drew on French motivic material, choreographing everyday casual gestures to dissonant, percussive sound effects produced by noise-making devices, or *intonatumori*.⁶⁰ With a light and playful score by Francis Poulenc and similarly playful choreography by Bronislava Nijinska, the company’s 1924 ballet, *Les Biches*, satirised 1920s French society and pushed the boundaries of gender and sexuality conventions.⁶¹

This is not to suggest that the Ballets Russes did not continue to play with Russian themes too, or that they were the only innovators embracing modernism in inter-war Paris. Glenn Watkins has shown how popular modernist styles such as jazz, *musique nègre* and Primitivism were influential for French composers, artists and writers involved in the inter-war ballet world such as Poulenc, Cocteau, Darius Milhaud and Paul Guillaume.⁶² Diaghilev’s role as impresario of avant-garde art was emulated by Parisian patrons such as Count Étienne de Beaumont who hosted a ballet series, *Soirées de Paris*, during the 1920s which brought together Satie, Picasso and Massine again to create the ballet *Mercure* (1924). New ballet companies and dancers flocked to Paris to work with French artists to create innovative modernist productions. Former Ballets Russes dancer Ida Rubinstein collaborated with Paris-based modernists including Stravinsky, Ravel, Milhaud, Arthur Honegger and Alexandre Benois in the inter-war years with her company Les Ballets de Madame Ida Rubinstein, and Rolf de Maré’s Ballets Suédois featured a company of dancers from the Stockholm Opera led

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 112. For example, Bronislava Nijinska danced the solo role in a revival of *L’après-midi d’un faune* in 1922, and Anton Dolin danced *en pointe* in *Les fâcheux* (1924).

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 115-6.

⁵⁹ Daniel Albright, *Untwisting the Serpent: Modernism in Music, Literature, and Other Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), p. 185.

⁶⁰ See *ibid.*, pp. 207-11.

⁶¹ Karthas, *When Ballet Became French* (2015), pp. 122-5.

⁶² Glenn Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre: Music, Culture and Collage from Stravinsky to the Postmodernists* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 84-111.

by Swedish choreographer Jean Borlin. The company was inspired by the Ballets Russes – Borlin had worked with Fokine – and together with French composers and artists including Poulenc, Satie, George Auric, Giorgio de Chirico and Francis Picabia the company produced twenty ballets between 1920-1925 including *Les mariés de la Tour Eiffel* (1921) which featured music by five of Les Six, and *Relâche*, a ballet/film collaboration between Satie, Picabia and filmmaker René Clair. Though Borlin and his dancers were sometimes compared unfavourably with their contemporaries, the company's innovations in the avant-garde French scene were notable, as were their collaborations with French modernists.

While French opera houses were thinking about how best to accommodate Wagner whilst defining Frenchness in music, German composers and philosophers were asking similar questions about what it meant to be German.⁶³ Veronika Grodzinski suggests that French modernism and German Jews had become associated with one another as 'alien elements' in Imperial Germany, with French impressionism perceived as a threat to German culture.⁶⁴ Later, during the Weimar years, Von Papen described his wish to protect 'the treasures of German culture' so that it would not be diluted.⁶⁵ The question of Germanness in music and the arts therefore predates the Third Reich but would of course loom large as the twentieth century progressed.

Ballet in Germany took on a distinctly French, historical flavour at precisely the time that ballet in Paris was becoming more modernist – and more French. The craze for modern Russian dance that infiltrated French culture in the 1910s did not hold the same influence in Germany, but there were significant attempts to heighten classical ballet within the German-speaking world. Richard Strauss was the only German composer to create a new ballet for the Ballets Russes.⁶⁶ Though the 1914 work, *Josephslegende*, was unsuccessful when compared with the other early Ballets Russes productions, the collaboration between Strauss, Diaghilev and

⁶³ On Germanness in music see *Music and German National Identity*, ed. by Celia Applegate and Pamela Maxine Potter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Alexander Rehding, 'Wagner, Liszt, Berlioz and the "New German School"' in *Nationalism Versus Cosmopolitanism in German Thought, 1789-1914: Essays on the Emergence of Europe*, ed. by Mary Anne Perkins and Martin Libescher (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006); Celia Applegate, *The Necessity of Music: Variations on a German Theme* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), pp. 297-8; *Dreams of Germany: Musical Imaginaries from the Concert Hall to the Dance Floor*, ed. by Neil Gregor and Thomas Irvine (New York: Berghahn Books, 2019).

⁶⁴ Veronika Grodzinski, 'French Modernism and German Jews: The Making of Modernist Art Collectors and Art collections in Imperial Germany, 1896-1914,' PhD diss. University College, London, 2005, p. 2.

⁶⁵ Anton Kaes, Martin Jay and Edward Dimendberg, *The Weimar Republic Sourcebook* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 380.

⁶⁶ Wayne Heisler Jr., *The Ballet Collaborations of Richard Strauss* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 100. *Josephslegende* premiered at the Paris Opéra in 1914 with choreography by Vaslav Nijinsky. Plans to stage it in Berlin in 1914 were cancelled due to the outbreak of war.

Nijinsky left an ‘unforgettable’ impression on the German composer and inspired Strauss to ‘revive the dance’ in Vienna.⁶⁷ As co-director of the Vienna Opera, Strauss worked on a number of productions with German ballet master and choreographer Heinrich Krölller including the staging of key (largely French) ballet productions including *Alceste*, *Don Juan* and *Carnaval*, taking their creations on tour to German theatres. Thus even within the German-speaking nations, ballet had a uniquely French flavour.

Strauss and Krölller’s collaboration peaked in a one-off premiere performance by the Vienna Opera Ballet, *Ballettsoirée*, in February 1923. Richard Strauss, acting as a ‘Diaghilev-style’ impresario, curated and arranged the music for the four-tableaux ballet to music by Couperin, Ravel, Rameau and Johann Strauss Jr (this French Baroque source material was not new to Strauss – his orchestral suite *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, 1911-17, used Couperin and Lully as inspiration). Recreating the ballet through reviews of the evening, Wayne Heisler Jr. writes that *Ballettsoirée* was an ‘aesthetic and political manifesto’ designed to emphasise Vienna’s cultural history and national identity.⁶⁸ And yet Strauss fulfilled this manifesto in a distinctly French way: he selected music by mostly French composers and the ballet was largely danced through French courtly dance and classical ballet (with some original choreography by Krölller). The work was also given a French title. The Frenchness of the piece was picked up by audience members and reviewers on national terms; it was described in the *Neue Freie Presse* as ‘Parisian *hors d’œuvres* and truffle pies.’⁶⁹

By the end of the *Années folles*, modernism had transformed French ballet into a cutting-edge, experimental artform, elevating its popularity and showing that dance could be the vehicle for musical and artistic innovation.⁷⁰ Moreover, foreign companies such as the Ballets Russes and the Ballets Suédois – both formed outside France but based in Paris with self-styled French names – showed that Paris was still the centre of cultural and dance innovation. By collaborating with French talents and presenting French themes, foreign companies forced critics to focus their attention on the Paris Opéra Ballet. There was a widespread feeling in France that French ballet needed reform⁷¹: foreign companies’ ‘very

⁶⁷ Richard Strauss, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶⁸ See Wayne Heisler Jr, “‘To drive away all cloudy thoughts’: Heinrich Krölller’s and Richard Strauss’s 1923 *Ballettsoirée* and Interwar Viennese Cultural Politics,” *The Musical Quarterly* 88:4 (Winter 2005), p. 597.

⁶⁹ Joseph Reitler, ‘Ballettsoirée im Redoutensaale,’ *Neue Freie Presse*, 18 February 1923, p. 11, quoted in Heisler, *Ballet Collaborations* (2012), p. 598. Though *Ballettsoirée* was only performed once, a suite from the production entered the Vienna ballet repertory and was performed frequently in the 1920s and revived in Munich in 1941.

⁷⁰ Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre* (1994), p. 125.

⁷¹ Manfred Kelkel, *La musique de ballet en France de la Belle Époque aux Années Folles* (Paris: Vrin, 1992), pp. 9-42.

presence,’ writes Karthas, inspired conversation about French ballet and encouraged Parisian critics to ‘claim ballet as inherently French’ – despite the fact that the innovations were taking place separately from the Paris Opéra.⁷²

Jacques Rouché determined to modernise ballet at the Opéra, celebrating dance through a dance showcase, *La Saison Française* (1922-3) and directing funding towards ballet throughout the 1920s and 30s.⁷³ He invited dancers Olga Spessivtseva and Carlotta Zambelli, and choreographers Léo Staats, Michel Fokine and Bronislava Nijinska, to augment the Paris Opéra Ballet’s repertoire. However, in the end it was the work of two Russian émigrés – André Levinson and Serge Lifar – that restored the reputation of French ballet at the Paris Opéra. The French ballet ‘must return to itself to recreate an art of French dance,’ wrote dance critic Levinson in ‘*Pour le ballet français*’ (1923):

Recover the complete and normal expression of the national spirit in its plastic form. Reform a discipline. Know it, restrict. Next create, for France has, in its past, given dance its supreme expression and can now be called upon to launch its renaissance.⁷⁴

It was not a lack of French talent, he argued, that prevented the Paris Opéra from creating great ballet; it was the Paris Opéra itself. Levinson’s writing and public lectures helped to elevate ballet criticism, making a considerable impact by educating the French public to understand and appreciate dance. At the same time, dance was viewed with increasing importance in the academic sphere, often featuring in Henry Prunières’ journal *La Revue musicale*. Rolf de Maré, leader of the Ballets Suédois, founded the *Archives internationales de la danse* in 1931 and began to collect and archive dance ephemera, encouraging the study of dance through exhibitions, conferences and a journal.⁷⁵

Rouché engaged Lifar as artistic director of the Paris Opéra Ballet following Serge Diaghilev’s death and the subsequent dispersal of the Ballets Russes in 1929. Theirs was an era-defining partnership: as artistic director, Lifar revolutionised dance at the Paris Opéra through his modern choreography, the creation of new works, and practical innovations which reformed the public’s attitude towards French ballet while Rouché directed and organised the

⁷² Karthas, *When Ballet Became French* (2015), pp. 125.

⁷³ See Garban, *Jacques Rouché* (2007), pp. 112-4.

⁷⁴ André Levinson, ‘*Pour le ballet français*’ in *Comœdia*, 5 March 1923, p. 3, quoted in Karthas, *When Ballet Became French* (2015), pp. 130-1. See pp. 128-32 for examination of the role of critics such as André Levinson in the Frenchification of ballet during the 1920s.

⁷⁵ Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar* (2020), pp. 50-1.

funds and personnel that allowed him to do so.⁷⁶ Born in Kiev in 1905 and trained by Nijinska, Lifar joined the Ballets Russes in 1923. After rising quickly to the rank of principal dancer two years later, Lifar originated lead roles in ballets including *La Chatte* (1927, music by Henri Sauguet), *Apollon musagète* (1928, music by Stravinsky) and the final Ballets Russes production, *Le Fils prodigue* (1929, music by Prokofiev). These ballets were choreographed by George Balanchine, who first showcased his new simpler choreographic style, neoclassicism, in Stravinsky's French music-inspired *ballet blanc*, *Apollon musagète*.⁷⁷ Lifar's role in *La Chatte*, writes Garafola, established his artistic persona as a 'glamorous deco god' that followed him throughout his career: despite having little choreographic experience and having danced with the Ballets Russes for only six years before the Diaghilev's death in 1929, Lifar's career was marked by a staggering self-confidence and dictatorial attitude towards composers that manifested in his need to be both creative director and lead dancer role in almost every one of his productions.⁷⁸

As Diaghilev's final young prodigy, Lifar was uniquely placed to bring reform and prestige to the Paris Opéra as he had already made an impression in Paris during the Ballets Russes' final seasons. Levinson, writes Franko, was instrumental in securing Lifar's reputation at the Opéra by perpetuating a 'narrative of return' of ballet from Russia to France, despite being sceptical about Lifar's talents initially.⁷⁹ Lifar instigated significant structural and aesthetic changes throughout the 1930s, transforming French ballet at the Paris Opéra from staid, mechanical exercise into academic energetic gesture. His choreography, which developed Balanchine's neoclassicism, was expressive, narrative and modern whilst rooted in technical academicism.⁸⁰ His later 1930s ballets began to fully represent his choreographic theories: *Icare* (1935), danced to 'rhythms' by Arthur Honegger and Joseph-Étienne Szyfer, was an experiment based on Lifar's dance philosophy which he had published in *Le Manifeste du chorégraphe* in the same year.⁸¹ No ballets had been created at the Opéra with a male lead since

⁷⁶ See Karthas, *When Ballet Became French* (2015); Jean Laurent and Julie Sazanova, *Serge Lifar, rénovateur du ballet français* (Paris: Buchet-Chastel, 1960); Lynn Garafola, *Legacies of Twentieth-Century Dance* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2005); Garban, *Jacques Rouché* (2007); Leslie Sprout, 'Music for a "New Era": Composers and National Identity in France, 1936-1946,' PhD diss. Berkeley, University of California, 2000, p. 5.

⁷⁷ Jonathan Cross, 'Stravinsky in Exile,' in *Stravinsky and His World*, ed. by Tamara Levitz (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 13. The term *ballet blanc* refers to ballets where dancers wear all white, in the style of nineteenth century classical French ballets.

⁷⁸ Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes* (1989), p. 139.

⁷⁹ Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar* (2020), p. 55.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 56; pp. 64-5.

⁸¹ Serge Lifar's neoclassical choreography is discussed in Serge Lifar, *Le Manifeste du chorégraphe* (Paris: Hachette, 1935). Lifar argued that dance should be superior to music when developing a ballet and that dance should not

1822 (*Alfred le Grand*) – Lifar created male lead roles throughout the 1930s, all of which he danced himself. He also altered his revivals of classical ballets to increase the male roles. In his revival of *Giselle*, for example, Lifar re-choreographed the role of Albrecht so that it was almost equal in prominence to *Giselle* herself.⁸² Lifar prioritised uniformity and strict training schedules, and introduced rules regarding costume and make-up. He increased the prominence and quality of the corps de ballet and elevated the importance of male dancers in line with the Ballets Russes model. He also abolished the Foyer de la Danse tradition which had fetishized and eroticised female dancers since the end of the nineteenth century. Lifar proved that, just as Levinson had argued, French dance could be great – it just needed reform.⁸³

Lifar supplemented and complemented his work at the Paris Opéra through his dance writing which, while not remembered with great reverence today, aimed to convince the French public of his skill not just as a choreographer but as a dance critic, historian and theorist. Following Levinson's death in 1933, there was a 'dearth of discussion' regarding Lifar's choreography in the French press which, Franko argues, Lifar filled through his own writing as he promoted himself and his creations. Lifar thus turned dance criticism into a cult of personality.⁸⁴ Dance historians question the extent to which Lifar was actually innovative: contemporary critics accused him of being stylistically formulaic and derivative, and Franko argues that Lifar was incapable of continuing Diaghilev's legacy at the Paris Opéra – instead he had to 'wait until the public had forgotten what that legacy entailed.'⁸⁵ Lifar nevertheless created new, successful ballets and revived classical productions – including a new *Le Spectre de la Rose* (based on the Ballets Russes production), the aforementioned new *Giselle*, and dances from *Sleeping Beauty* (titled *Divertissement*). He collaborated with French composers and

be choreographed to pre-composed music, Lifar choreographed *Icare* (based on the Greek myth of Icarus) to his own 'rhythms,' which were then orchestrated for percussion by Honegger. Thus choreography dictated its accompanying music to a greater extent than had ever been tried before. Even in collaborative productions such as those created by Tchaikovsky and Petipa or the Ballets Russes, the composer had had a degree of authority over music; in *Icare*, Lifar not only dictated the rhythms; he did not allow for original creative input from the composer other than orchestration. *Icare* is credited to conductor J. E. Szyfer because Honegger was in a contract that forbade him from working on another project. See also Ilyana Karthas, 'The Politics of Gender and the Revival of Ballet in Early Twentieth Century France,' in *Journal of Social History* 45:4 (Summer 2012), p. 966; Marko Franko, 'Serge Lifar and the Interwar Dance Discourses of Neoclassicism (1930-1939): An examination of neoclassicism as theorized in French ballet during the 1930s.' DANSOX guest seminar, St. Hilda's College, University of Oxford, 2 June 2017.

⁸² Prima ballerina Olga Spessivtseva left the Paris Opéra having watched Lifar create roles for himself at the expense of the female *étoiles*. See Guest, *The Paris Opéra Ballet* (2006), p. 86.

⁸³ Karthas, *When Ballet Became French* (2015), pp. 142.

⁸⁴ Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar* (2020), pp. 60.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 77.

artists to create new French ballets, continuing in the tradition that the Ballets Russes, the Ballets Suédois and others had initiated in the inter-war years, restoring French ballet to French composers and the Paris Opéra.

THE PARIS OPÉRA BALLET ON THE EVE OF WAR

Though Franco-German relations improved during the 1920s, tensions resurfaced following Hitler's appointment as German Chancellor in 1933. This impacted on French perceptions of German music at the outbreak of war and further politicised musical repertoire as some in France began to adopt or reject Nazi ideals both ideologically and musically.⁸⁶ In France, the Popular Front – an alliance of left-wing and centrist, anti-fascist political groups under Léon Blum – won the 1936 election and attempted to implement social reforms and unite French cultural values. Music thus became a place for the contestation of French politics and French identity. In 1936, the Opéra received 6 million francs per year from the state; this doubled in 1937 and almost tripled to 17 million in 1938.⁸⁷ The government also tried to combat unemployment amongst musicians by commissioning new compositions.⁸⁸ Commissions include Milhaud's *Médée*, Marcel Delannoy's *Ginevra*, Germaine Tailleferre's *Cantate du Narcisse* and André Jolivet's *Guignol et Pandore*, all of which received high-profile premieres during the war. In a Popular Front policy that extended into the Vichy regime, composers would be paid 10,000 francs for a new symphonic composition, 20,000 for a ballet or lyric work in one act and 25,000 for an opera in three acts.⁸⁹ Sprout argues that the commissions programme was not concerned so much with the encouragement or presentation of new works as with offering paid work to composers, musicians and publishers. Many of the commissions were performed before and during the occupation and many composers consciously referenced French tradition and heritage through their musical style or lyrics.

⁸⁶ See Jane F. Fulcher, 'Musical Style, Meaning, and Politics in France on the Eve of the Second World War,' *The Journal of Musicology*, 13:4 (Autumn 1995), pp. 435-453; Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual* (2005); Christopher Lee Moore, 'Music in France and the Popular Front (1934-1938): Politics, aesthetics and reception,' PhD diss. Schulich School of Music, 2006; Christopher Moore, 'Socialist Realism and the Music of the French Popular Front,' *The Journal of Musicology* 25:4 (Fall 2008), pp. 473-502.

⁸⁷ Myriam Chimènes, 'Le budget de la musique sous la IIIe République,' in *La Musique du théorique au politique*, ed. by Hugues Dufourt and Joel-Marie Fauquet (Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres, 1991), p. 301.

⁸⁸ Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual* (2005), p. 283.

⁸⁹ Sprout, 'Music for a "New Era"' (2000), p. 35.

Charles Koechlin, honorary president of the Fédération musicale populaire, an arm of the Maison de la Culture, called for French music that was accessible, charming and pleasing to the ear. He argued that new French music should echo the values of the Popular Front by being both high culture and broadly accessible to the working classes.⁹⁰ Composers could continue to explore modernity but should express collective hope without being pretentious; melody should predominate over complicated structures and harmonies. Koechlin singled out French composer groups Les Six and the École d'Arcueil as paradigms of this aesthetic. Formed by Milhaud and Sauguet after Satie in 1923, the group included composers such as Désormière, Henri Cliquet-Pleyel, and Maxime Jacob. Some who identified with the political left, such as Georges Auric, adapted their style accordingly.⁹¹ Not everyone wished to participate wholeheartedly – Poulenc and Sauguet, for example, were less enthused by these political reforms. Fulcher sees Poulenc's use of religious imagery and dissonance in his late-1930s compositions as partly indicative of a conscious move away from the Popular Front's aesthetics.⁹² French folklore which had, until now, been associated with right-wing invocations of 'soil,' became a contested cultural symbol and folklore now featured as a theme in culture by left-wing artists and composers too. Such thematic material could be seen at the Paris Opéra in ballets such as *Les Santons* which – premiered in 1938 to music by French composer Henri Tomasi and choreography by ballet master Albert Aveline – was set in traditional Provence.

The pro-Fascist French press (including *Je suis partout*, *Gringoire*, *La Victoire* and *Candide*), provoked by the Popular Front's cultural reforms, used musical discussion as a place to put forward right-wing ideologies, and by 1938 a conservative aesthetic in French music had crystallised in opposition to the Popular Front's cultural reforms. This press negatively reviewed new works by leftists and Jews, and used composers' political beliefs or ethnicity as evidence of their musical inferiority while composers alienated by the Popular Front's cultural ideology (such as Jolivet, Messiaen and Jean-Yves Daniel-Lesur, known as *La Jeune France*) were praised in articles and featured in concerts sponsored by such publications. The right-wing press also argued that German music performed in France was less threatening to French music than the music of French communists and Jews such as Milhaud.⁹³ This far-right harping

⁹⁰ Moore, 'Socialist Realism and the Music of the French Popular Front,' pp. 475-6. Moore argues that this perspective echoed Socialist Realism in the USSR.

⁹¹ Fulcher, 'Musical Style, Meaning, and Politics in France' (1995), pp. 429-31.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 434-5.

⁹³ In *Je suis partout*, the fascist, antisemitic journalist Lucien Rebatet described works such as Milhaud's *Fantaisie pastorale* and *Les éléments* as incoherent (Milhaud was Jewish), while *Gringoire* condemned Russian composers from the Soviet Union such as Shostakovich and Moszkowski, and criticised Poulenc's music because he was

against the Popular Front and its values carried a set of aesthetic preferences in opposition to the accessible 'high art' for the masses and emphasised lyricism and emotion, focused on a sense of duty and sacrifice, and often used religious references.⁹⁴ In the aftermath of the Popular Front's collapse in 1938, Catholic nationalism and antisemitism was only emboldened, with the consequence that the aesthetic supported by the pro-Fascists – music that was spiritual and lyrical with religious themes – now became mainstream. Fulcher writes that the 'political and musical press in France had by now essentially fused.'⁹⁵ This coded fusion of music and politics became more pertinent as war loomed and, in 1939, *La Revue musicale* published a survey which asked, 'Will there be music of war?' predicting that music would become more 'spiritualistic' in reaction to politics.⁹⁶

Indeed, as Fulcher writes, throughout the 1930s the 'conceptual and aesthetic terrain was being prepared for a return to tradition and an elevation of classicism as the French "national style."⁹⁷ The same could be said for French ballet, writes Franko: Lifar's choreography during the 1930s and 1940s might be interpreted within this aesthetically symbolic terrain as a 'fascist turn' in choreography as he looked to the past to create his version of neoclassicism.⁹⁸ In his dance manifesto, *La Danse*, published first in Russian and then in French during the 1930s, Lifar offered an unbalanced 'history' of ballet and choreography which argued that ballet belonged to the 'Indo-European Aryan race' (*la race indo-européenne, aryenne*).⁹⁹ He later clarified that he believed 'Jewish culture' to be 'incompatible with omni-Aryan culture,' using antisemitic terms to appeal consciously to fascist polemics.¹⁰⁰

Following the Fall of France, this trend towards self-consciously nationalist French aesthetics, which was often shot through with antisemitism and an overt rejection of what were perceived to be the values of the Left, continued. The Vichy government under Marshal

(mistakenly) believed to be Jewish. See Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual* (2005), pp. 245-2; p. 253; pp. 291-5; p. 310. Fulcher, 'Musical Style, Meaning, and Politics in France' (1995), pp. 445-6; Pierre-Marie Dioudonnet, *Je suis partout 1930-44. Les Maurrassiens devant la tentation fasciste* (Paris: La Table Ronde, 1973), pp. 67-9.

⁹⁴ Such musical qualities had been associated with German music, particularly early Romanticism, by turn of the century French composers such as d'Indy and his Schola Cantorum. Fulcher, 'Musical Style, Meaning, and Politics in France' (1995), pp. 441-3; Robert Soucy, "Barrès and French Fascism," *French Historical Studies* 5:1 (Spring 1967), p67-97.

⁹⁵ Fulcher, 'Musical Style, Meaning, and Politics in France' (1995), p. 451.

⁹⁶ 'Une enquête: Y aurait-il une musique de guerre?,' in *La revue musicale*, December 1939, pp. 146-52.

⁹⁷ Jane F. Fulcher, *French Cultural Politics and Music: From the Dreyfus Affair to the First World War* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 6.

⁹⁸ Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar* (2020), p. 6.

⁹⁹ Serge Lifar, *La Danse: Les grand courants de la danse académique* (Paris: Denoël, 1938), p. 93.

¹⁰⁰ 'J'ai démontré que la culture juive était incompatible avec la culture omni-aryenne.' Letter from Lifar to Rouché, Archives de la Ville de Lausanne, see Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar* (2020), p. 209.

Philippe Pétain promoted their *Révolution nationale*, a conservative ideology that pervaded French politics and culture during the Vichy regime, advocating traditional and right-wing values, rejecting modernism, and replacing the Republicans' *Liberté, égalité, fraternité* ideal with a new motto, *Travail, famille, patrie*.¹⁰¹ Vichy's *Révolution nationale* was essentially a cultural revolution, writes Jean-Pierre Azéma: extreme nationalism embodied by an idealised notion of the pastoral.¹⁰² Through this, French people were encouraged – literally and metaphorically – to *Retournez à la terre*, and French artists and composers were encouraged to adopt Vichy's ideas culturally. The French composers discussed in this thesis such as Poulenc, Jolivet and Gaubert were thus creating their ballets during the late 1930s and early 1940s within 'networks of politicized value-tensions and codes,' where musical style had discernible political connotations. What emerged as 'Vichy aesthetics' was in fact perfectly compatible with both Nazi aesthetics, and German strategies of rule in occupied France, as Chapter Three will show.¹⁰³

Despite threats of war, in 1939 the Paris Opéra and the Opéra-Comique at the Salle Favart took on major financial and administrative restructuring which meant that Rouché was largely in control of both major state institutions. United as a single administrative entity from January 1939, the Réunion des théâtres lyriques nationaux (RTLN) was fully funded by the Ministry of National Education. The personnel from both institutions united into a large company that could move between venues depending on the programme.¹⁰⁴ Rouché, presiding over a committee of twelve, was given full financial and directorial responsibility and in 1939 the RTLN received financial support equalling double that of 1938.¹⁰⁵ The French state's eventual financial support for the 'eroded and neglected' institution in 1939 coincided – again – with political concerns about French identity. The Paris Opéra and the revival of French ballet offered the Third Republic an opportunity to demonstrate its commitment to the creation of a 'True France' and the encouragement of specifically French cultural activities.¹⁰⁶ New ballet productions to music by French composers, such as *Elvire* (1937, music by Roland-Manuel), *Les Santons* (1938, Tomasi), *Alexandre le Grand* (1937, Gaubert), and *Le Festin de*

¹⁰¹ See Philippe Burrin, 'The Ideology of the National Revolution' in *The Development of the Radical Right in France*, ed. by Edward J. Arnold (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), pp. 135-152.

¹⁰² Jean-Pierre Azéma, 'Vichy, l'héritage maudit,' in *L'Histoire*, 162 (January 1993), pp. 104-7.

¹⁰³ Fulcher, 'Musical Style, Meaning, and Politics in France' (1995), p. 427.

¹⁰⁴ By the end of the Second World War, however, the Opéra became the dominant institution with the more attractive and innovative productions. Stéphane Wolff, 'The Opéra-Comique of Paris,' *Opera*, March 1961, 12:3, pp. 160-165.

¹⁰⁵ Sprout, 'Music for a "New Era"' (2000), p. 72.

¹⁰⁶ Karthas, *When Ballet Became French* (2015), p. 143.

l'Araignée (1939, Roussel) by both Lifar and ballet master Albert Aveline were immediately popular and remained so throughout the occupation. Rouché gradually transferred dancers from the Opéra-Comique to the Paris Opéra, giving more dance prestige to the Paris Opéra and making it the focus of French ballet.¹⁰⁷ Rouché took administrative and financial charge of the Paris Opéra while Lifar made artistic decisions regarding ballet. Thus the wheels were already in motion for the growth of French ballet, though war and occupation gave it an opportunity to capitalise on national insecurity regarding identity. By restructuring the Paris Opéra Ballet, Lifar rejuvenated the company's reputation during the 1930s and reasserted the historic relationship between ballet, the Paris Opéra and French national identity and culture. In 1939, an article in de Maré's *Archives internationales de la danse* magazine expressed optimism that the Opéra ballet company had improved and finally begun to present new ballets after years of uncertainty.¹⁰⁸ The ballet company had sixty students and around fifty female and male dancers earning between 1900-6500 francs per month depending on their rank.¹⁰⁹

There was still work to be done, but the Paris Opéra ballet was fashionable once again: newspapers and magazines ran articles describing dancers' routines and warm-ups and special features appeared throughout 1939 which marked ten years since Diaghilev's death, Nijinsky's fiftieth birthday and Lifar's tenth anniversary at the Opéra.¹¹⁰ Lifar and Yvette Chauviré joined celebrities Marlene Dietrich and Marthe Eggert in a gala celebration to mark the 150th anniversary of the storming of the Bastille.¹¹¹ This event and the press coverage of the ballet dancers demonstrates the extent to which the Paris Opéra ballet was engrained in Parisian social and cultural life by the end of the 1930s. Georgiana Gourre et al write that by insisting

¹⁰⁷ Claire Paolacci, 'Le répertoire de l'Opéra et de l'Opéra-Comique entre 1915 et 1945: Concurrence ou complémentarité?' in *L'Opéra de Paris, La Comédie-Française et l'Opéra-Comique: Approches comparées (1669-2010)* ed. by Sabine Caouche, Denis Herlin and Solveig Serre (Paris: École des Chartes, 2012), p. 185.

¹⁰⁸ Pierre Michaut, 'La saison de danse théâtrale à Paris' *Archives Internationales de la Danse: Revue trimestrielle*, 3:4, pp. 124-7. AVL. Fonds Lifar. Presse: 1939. Lausanne.

¹⁰⁹ There were two étoiles, four premières, four mimes, 12 grands sujets, 11 petits sujets, 11 coryphées, 13 première quadrilles and ten deuxième quadrilles, plus male equivalents. The petits rats received free daily lessons at a house near the Madeleine with teachers including Albert Aveline. [Anon. 'Les Demoiselles du corps de ballet' *Match*, 2 March 1939. AVL. Fonds Lifar. Presse 1939. Lausanne.] After Spessivtseva left in 1939, the most-billed dancers include Yvette Chauviré, Lycette Darsonval, Suzanne Lorcia and Paulette Dynalix. Lifar performed all of the leading male roles; in his memoirs he recalled that by the end of 1939 his salary was 3,000 francs per month (having fallen from 30,000 per month in 1929). Serge Lifar, *Ma Vie: From Kiev to Kiev* (London: Hutchinson, 1970), p. 118; p. 154.

¹¹⁰ Articles include Jean Manzon, 'Nijinsky' *Match*, 15 June 1939, pp. 1-4; Léandre Vaillat, 'Les Ballets Russes du Diaghilew, *Le Temps*, 5 April 1939; Michel Georges-Michel, 'Diaghilew et les Peintres' and Alexandre Cingria, 'Les Ballets Russes et le Goût Moderne,' *L'Art Vivant*, May 1939, pp. 26-29. AVL. Fonds Lifar. Presse: 1939. Lausanne.

¹¹¹ Anon. 'La Quatorze Juillet in Paris' *The Tatler*, 16 July 1939, pp. 164-5. AVL. Fonds Lifar, Presse: 1939. Lausanne.

on presenting a majority of French *étoiles* that had risen through the ranks of the Académie nationale de musique et de danse, French ballet, was ‘then truly, though not exclusively French [...] for reasons other than its historic traditions.’¹¹² In other words, not only was French ballet linked to French identity through its historic associations, it now – with, ironically, the exception of Lifar – presented almost exclusively French dancers schooled in the French ballet tradition. This continued into the 1940s when the entire company was almost singularly French. Karthas writes that this perpetuated associations between French ballet and Frenchness through the media; French ballerinas including Chauviré, Solange Schwarz, Suzanne Lorcia and Janine Charrat were ‘representatives of Parisian cosmopolitanism’ through the 1930s and 40s.¹¹³ The success of French ballet at the Paris Opéra is evidenced by a significant development: the increase in the number of regular all-ballet evenings during the late 1930s. The wheels of change were already in motion before the outbreak of war in 1939.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS: THE PARIS OPÉRA, FRENCH BALLETT, AND FRANCO-GERMAN CULTURAL RELATIONS BEFORE THE GERMAN OCCUPATION OF FRANCE

Following the declaration of war in September 1939 the Paris Opéra closed. Upcoming engagements with Bruno Walter and Wilhelm Furtwängler were cancelled and 13% of the Opéra’s workforce was mobilised.¹¹⁴ Normal business did not resume at the Palais Garnier until the following autumn. Though the French authorities did not activate an official censorship process, German and Italian repertoire was unofficially boycotted by theatres and opera houses.¹¹⁵ The Palais Garnier reopened its doors on the 21 September 1939 with a drastically reduced repertoire. Nevertheless, Parisian culture helped the city to readjust to wartime life. ‘Everything is moving back towards normality,’ wrote writer and philosopher Simone de Beauvoir in September 1939.¹¹⁶

¹¹² Georgiana Gore, Laurence Louppe, and Wilfride Piollet, ‘France: Effervescence and Tradition in French Dance,’ *Europe Dancing: Perspectives on Theatre Dance and Cultural Identity*, ed. by Andrée Grau and Stephanie Jordan (London: Routledge, 2000), p. 32.

¹¹³ Karthas, *When Ballet Became French* (2015), p. 142.

¹¹⁴ Sandrine Grandgambe, ‘La Réunion des théâtres lyriques nationaux’ in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy* (2001), p. 111.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111.

¹¹⁶ Diary entry 14 September 1939, Simone de Beauvoir, *The Prime of Life* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1962), p. 389.

And yet in the first few months of the war there were only twelve performances of full-length French operas at the Paris Opéra. The decimated repertoire, reduced number of performance evenings and loss of workforce impacted on the Opéra's financial situation and ability to return to normality.¹¹⁷ There were no ballet performances in December 1939 while Lifar visited Australia with Colonel de Basil's Original Ballet Russe, an event that was misconstrued as a propaganda exercise in the French press. Opera performances during this time include *La Damnation de Faust* (Berlioz), *Roméo et Juliette* and *Faust* (both Gounod), *Thaïs* (Massenet) and *Samson et Dalila* (Saint-Saëns). *Thaïs* and *Roméo et Juliette* were quickly inserted to make up for the German and Italian works that could not now be presented; neither had been performed at the Opéra since 1936. The first wartime ballet performance appeared in a mixed programme given on 16 November in a benefit gala for female ambulance drivers in the *Croix-Rouge*: the evening included Roussel's ballet *Le Festin de l'araignée*, Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé*, opera excerpts from Gluck's *Alceste* and musical interludes. From January to June 1940 there were six opera presentations and six ballet evenings, compared with 100 performance evenings during the same six-month period the previous year. De Beauvoir, who attended one of two performances of *Alceste* at the Opéra during November 1939, remarked in her diary that evening dress was no longer obligatory 'even in the orchestra,' and the price of seats had been reduced: 'the original figure on my ticket, 33 francs, had been struck out and "12 francs" stamped there instead.'¹¹⁸ Further attempts to return to normality were hampered when the much-anticipated French premiere of Darius Milhaud's opera *Médée* – in production since the previous year and already delayed – coincided with news of Germany's impending invasion of the Netherlands.¹¹⁹ Milhaud described the French premiere of *Médée* on 8 May 1940 as a 'last gift[...] from the Opéra in Paris, on the eve of the great disaster.'¹²⁰ Though anti-aircraft firing could be heard in the auditorium, the evening was 'as glamorous an occasion as any pre-war gala performance.'¹²¹ It was the largest event for the Paris Opéra during the *drôle de guerre* but it was also symbolic: it was the last time a new work by a Jewish composer would be celebrated in Paris until after the war. Days later, German soldiers walked down the Champs-Élysées and music by Jewish composers in the French capital became prohibited.

¹¹⁷ 'Section Sanitaire Automobile Féminine, S. S. B. M. Croix-Rouge Française,' 16 November 1939. [Programme] BnF BMO, Carton 2238: Programmes 1939. Paris.

¹¹⁸ De Beauvoir, *The Prime of Life* (1962), p. 423.

¹¹⁹ In the meantime, *Médée* had received its world premiere in Belgium in October 1939.

¹²⁰ Darius Milhaud, *Notes Without Music*, trans. by Donald Evans (London: Dennis Dobson, 1952), p. 231.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

The century preceding 1940 saw French culture come under scrutiny. Conversations between intellectuals and cultural aesthetes linked music with politics and forced music programmers to consider the moral implications of their repertoire, particularly as political tensions increased. By the late 1930s, French ballet had begun to regain its reputation following decades of change and devaluation. Moreover, French ballet was historically linked to constructions of French identity through its association with Louis XIV. Comparison with other modernist ballet companies strengthened the perception of French ballet as a unique, important, national art worth preserving. Aesthetic discussion concerning ballet linked dance with French identity through the use of national language. Was France, the country that had 'invented' ballet, no longer the dance capital of the world? Was it too late to fix this problem? Moreover – did anyone care? Financial reinvestment in and artistic commitment to the Paris Opéra Ballet during the 1930s began to reinvigorate French ballet. Meanwhile, as Franco-German cultural tensions heightened and war looked increasingly likely, questions and difficulties that had troubled the Opéra and its audience for a century regarding the role of culture in everyday life came into focus.

In order to understand ballet's role in Paris during the occupation, French ballet must be understood in this historical and political context. Ballet was a uniquely French art that was historically linked to the changing politics of the city and its inhabitants through centuries of change. Though the Paris Opéra Ballet under Serge Lifar actively worked to improve and progress during the 1930s and had begun to regain its international reputation during the 1930s, French ballet's growth during the German occupation was far from inevitable. War became French ballet's big opportunity to capitalise on this historic link with French identity, using its inherent 'Frenchness' as a way to uniquely and subtly assert nationalist sentiments. The outbreak of war and subsequent occupation offered an opportunity to prove various constructions of French political power to both a French and German audience.

The upcoming chapters in this thesis outline the way that the Paris Opéra ballet functioned, grew and created during the occupation, referring back to the themes outlined here: the value of the arts during wartime, the political and aesthetic implications of repertoire, the influence of German music and the perception that ballet was – and still is – an inherently French, symbolic art. The themes in this chapter reappear in Chapters Three and Four as I examine the ways that the Paris Opéra adjusted to life under occupation, striking a balance between accommodating the German presence and promoting French culture. During the German occupation, when everyday activities were imbued with political meaning, French ballet carried inherently political connotations.

In order to fully understand the significance of these political connotations and how French ballet was able to subvert the German presence, it is also necessary to understand the way that the National Socialists themselves perceived ballet, and its function within the Third Reich. The next chapter outlines the National Socialists' categorisation and control of dance within Germany during the 1930s and early 1940s, arguing that dance was perceived by the Nazis as being, at best, insignificant and, at worst, dangerous.

CHAPTER TWO | ‘IST DAS BALLETT DEUTSCH?’¹: GERMAN DANCE, NAZI IDEOLOGY AND CULTURAL POLICY

German culture was subject to increasing restrictions during the 1930s as the National Socialists took control of public life, eliminating those considered ‘degenerate,’ streamlining culture, and creating a Nazi aesthetic that was less experimental and more nationalistic than German culture of the previous decades.² Artists, composers and performers became systematically embroiled in the Third Reich propaganda system in a structure that was not just about ethnic cleansing. It sought to ‘Nazify’ culture, rendering the arts and artists in Germany inseparable from Nazi ideology.³ And yet while modernist, expressionist and avant-garde art and music became increasingly prohibited, modern German dance found favour within the regime.⁴ Its treatment exemplifies the National Socialists’ contradictory and often arbitrary management of culture which was echoed, to a lesser extent, in the party’s treatment of classical ballet. The definition of German dance, its place in German society, and its implications for German identity were problematic on ideological, practical and aesthetic levels. This thesis argues that these uncertainties were inherited by the National Socialists and went unresolved throughout the period, impacting on dance in Germany and, by extension, Nazi officials’ attitude towards – and handling of – culture and ballet in occupied France.

¹ Fritz Böhme, ‘Ist das Ballett deutsch?’ *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 25 April 1933, quoted in Alexandra Kolb, *Performing Femininity: Dance and Literature in German Modernism* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2009), p. 268.

² See Erik Levi, ‘Towards an Aesthetic of Fascist Opera,’ in *Fascism and Theatre: Comparative Studies on the Aesthetics and Politics of Performance in Europe, 1925-1945*, ed. by Günter Berghaus (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1996), pp. 261-2, p. 273.

³ See Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Michael H. Kater, *Culture in Nazi Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019); *The Arts in Nazi Germany: Continuity, Conformity, Change*, ed. by Jonathan Huener and Francis R. Nicosia (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006); George Mosse, *Nazi Culture: Intellectual, Cultural and Social Life in the Third Reich* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966; 2003).

⁴ See Lilian Karina and Marion Kant, *Hitler’s Dancers: German Modern Dance and the Third Reich* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004).

Artistic dance raised ideological problems for the National Socialist Party because its purpose and function in German society was unclear and had little precedent. Jazz and cabaret (and later, swing dance) was banned shortly after Hitler came to power: the satirical, political German *Kabarett* scene was dominated by Jewish composers while jazz was deemed degenerate on the basis of its association with black artists.⁵ Though modern dance and ballet were not associated with ‘degeneracy’ in this way, they were still problematic for the regime with dancers, critics and bureaucrats disagreeing about how dance could serve the Third Reich and how ‘Germanness’ in art, culture and dance should be defined. Because mass physical fitness was interpreted as morally good for the fascist regime, modern group dance could be seen to reinforce a certain kind of Germanness that resonated with the National Socialists’ conception of *Volksgemeinschaft* (people’s community). As Marion Kant argues, however, there was ongoing confusion about what was acceptable in German dance, by whom decisions were made and to whom those decisions should apply.⁶ Complicating the perception and legislation of dance in Nazi Germany was the fact that Hitler – whose personal taste influenced much of the party’s cultural policy – associated dance with sexual perversion and the subversion of German gender roles. By 1942 German theatre dance was, theoretically, almost completely prohibited because it was perceived as modern, degenerate and dangerously intellectual.

This chapter establishes an understanding of the purpose of the arts in National Socialist society and the place of dance within this framework in order to explore how dance both contributed towards Nazi propaganda and also complicated it, providing an ideological basis for the discussion of the way that classical dance was treated in practice during the Third Reich. Such insights also show how the attitudes of German audiences were shaped by wider National Socialist understanding of the value of dance and will contribute to discussion, in the next chapter of this thesis, of the German audience experience in Paris. Underlining these issues was a key question: was dance a sport or an art form? This question went unanswered and it impacted on the way dance was categorised by the Reichskulturkammer (Reich Chamber of Culture, RKK). Dance regulation was fragmented across different administrative departments including music, theatre and gymnastics. German dancers and choreographers received contradictory messages about what purpose their dance should serve: should

⁵ See Karina and Kant, *Hitler’s Dancers* (2004), pp. 33-5; Michael H. Kater, *Different Drummers: Jazz in the Culture of Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 102-4, p. 153; Michael Zwerin, *Swing Under the Nazis: Jazz as a Metaphor for Freedom* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2000), p. 14-5.

⁶ Karina and Kant, *Hitler’s Dancers* (2004), pp. 24-5.

choreography be motivated by artistic aspiration or the reinforcement of Nazi ideology? Could both of these things be achieved simultaneously? German choreographers tried this very approach during the 1930s and were at first endorsed by the party for reinforcing National Socialist ideology and, later, chastised.

In practice, the aesthetics of German dance were censored inconsistently. Historian Laure Guilbert argues that the National Socialists did not censor modern German dance in the same way that they censored the other arts: expressionist art and music was banned during the 1930s, for example, while expressionist German dance was endorsed.⁷ Such inconsistencies demonstrate that the National Socialists' enforcement of censorship was oftentimes motivated practically and militarily rather than aesthetically, particularly in the occupied territories. Bizarrely, therefore, in the same year that dramatic ballet was prohibited in Germany, the French premiere of *Joan de Zarissa* was financed and celebrated by the Germans at the Paris Opéra.

In 'Modern dance in the Third Reich: Redux,' Susan Manning queries why the study of dance during the Third Reich has not been explored to a larger extent, despite the colourful and intriguing personalities who were dancing in Germany at that time.⁸ Though significant studies over the past few decades explore German dance during the Third Reich – notably Manning's own work, research by Guilbert, and Marion Kant's *Hitler's Dancers* – gaps still exist, particularly with regard to the intersection between dance, gender and Nazism, and the impact of the Nazis' perception of dance in their governing of the occupied territories. Even within these discussions, ballet is almost completely overlooked. This chapter addresses this gap by examining dance in Germany during the Third Reich from ideological, practical and aesthetic angles. The chapter aims to contextually understand how the National Socialists perceived dance's contribution to the regime, and why they reversed support for German dance but endorsed its foregrounding at the Paris Opéra. This contextual framework allows for the exploration, in later chapters of the thesis, of the implications of the Nazis' (mis)perception of classical dance for the Paris Opéra Ballet.

This chapter's discussion of 'dance' and 'theatre dance' refers to two largely separate – though both 'high culture' – dance styles that were nonetheless viewed similarly and subject

⁷ Laure Guilbert-Deguine, 'Tanz' in *Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration 1933-1945*, ed. by Claus Dieter Krohn et al (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 1998), p. 1108.

⁸ Susan Manning, 'Modern Dance in the Third Reich: Redux,' in *The Oxford Handbook of Dance and Politics*, ed. by Rebekah J. Kowal, Gerald Siegmund and Randy Martin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

to similar regulations by the National Socialists. German expressionist dance, referred to as *Ausdruckstanz* – also called ‘expressionist dance’ or ‘New German Dance’⁹ – emerged during the early twentieth century in Germany, took hold during the Weimar years and was initially adopted by the National Socialist Party. *Ausdruckstanz* rejected the formalism of traditional classical dance and diverged from ballet in its exploration of free movement through group dance. Because *Ausdruckstanz* was originally defined by its expressionistic displays of inner emotion, it should have been considered degenerate under Nazi cultural policy. However, during the early 1930s, German dance theorists worked to shed the association with expressionism, and redefined this new German dance in opposition to ballet: through *Ausdruckstanz*, they argued, Aryan bodies became instruments for showcasing the German spirit through large-scale group physical exercise.¹⁰

Though German classical ballet had a longer – and separate – history (existing on a much smaller scale in Germany than it did in France), it was subject to the same rules and prejudices as *Ausdruckstanz* under National Socialism. Most ballet companies were attached to opera houses and were smaller and more traditional than French companies.¹¹ German classical ballet continued on a small scale in the Third Reich though Jews were brutally removed.¹² During the late 1930s and early 1940s the creative freedom exercised by ballet in opera houses was gradually restricted and, during 1941, the extent to which it should be censored became a divisive issue. In 1942 this was labelled, in official correspondence, the ‘ballet problem.’¹³

The chapter begins by examining the impact of a perceived cultural ‘Germanness’ – as defined (loosely) by Adolf Hitler, Joseph Goebbels and the National Socialist Party – on the bureaucratisation of music and dance in the Third Reich. This discussion concludes that dance posed an ideological problem because it simultaneously reinforced and subverted

⁹ Though the term ‘*Ausdruckstanz*’ was coined retrospectively after the Second World War, I will use it here to describe Modern German Dance. See David J. Buch and Hana Worthen, ‘Ideology in Movement and a Movement in Ideology: The Deutsche Tanzfestspiele 1934 (9-16 December, Berlin.)’ *Johns Hopkins University Press: Theatre Journal* 59.2 (May 2007), p. 216

¹⁰ Karina and Kant, *Hitler’s Dancers* (2004), p. 96.

¹¹ For an overview of German ballet during the Third Reich see Gunhild Oberzaucher-Schüller, ‘Dramaturgy and Form of the ‘German Ballet’: Examination of a National Socialist Genre’ in *Dance and Politics*, ed. by Alexandra Kolb (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2017).

¹² Laure Guilbert estimates that out of 5,122 dancers recorded on the 1933 census, 132 lost their positions in state-funded theatres following the enacting of anti-Jewish legislation; 61 dancers were employed by the Jewish Kulturbund as late as 1938. Guilbert-Deguine, ‘Tanz’ (1998), pp. 1104-6.

¹³ Letter from Rainer Schlösser to Section T, Propaganda Ministry, 22 September 1942. See Karina and Kant, *Hitler’s Dancers* (2004), p. 296. Appendix Document 90.

National Socialist ideology, particularly in relation to gender politics. The second part of this chapter shows how dance was problematic on a practical level by demonstrating how it was mishandled by the Reichskulturkammer despite German balletomanes' protests for a more comprehensive dance organisation within the National Socialist cultural system. The implications of German officials' – particularly Goebbels' – dislike for modern German dance and ballet on an aesthetic level is discussed in the third segment of the chapter. Goebbels' personal opinion was particularly important during the Third Reich because, as Reichspropagandaleiter, Goebbels was intimately involved with all aspects of German cultural life on a national and local level.¹⁴ His opinion of art and culture formed the way that culture was shaped both in Germany and in the occupied territories.

Finally, the chapter discusses the authorities' handling of dance in Germany after 1936 and the suspicion with which German 'intellectual' dance was regarded during the 1940s. This perception impacted on the Germans' treatment of French ballet in Paris: the policy of cultural seduction, outlined in the introduction to this thesis, allowed French ballet to exist largely unchallenged and uncensored in Paris during the German occupation.¹⁵ As a result, this thesis argues, a space opened up firstly for the Paris Opéra Ballet to continue increasing in popularity during the 1940s, and secondly for the company to produce new ballets which asserted French cultural and historical themes. In fact, French ballet was more visible during the German occupation in part *because* of the German presence, as Chapter Three will show.

GERMANNESS AND GENDER IN NATIONAL SOCIALIST CULTURAL IDEOLOGY: MASCULINITY, FEMINISM AND GERMAN DANCE

National Socialist ideology relating to music and art was vague, and its relationship to dance was even less clear. Dance was problematic for the Nazis because of its internationalism and its historical association with French ballet; the subversion of gender roles (including its

¹⁴ See Randall L. Bytwerk, 'Grassroots Propaganda in the Third Reich: The Reich Ring for National Socialist Propaganda and Public Enlightenment,' *German Studies Review*. 33:1 (February 2010), pp. 93-6.

¹⁵ See description in the introduction to this thesis and also Philippe Burrin, *Living with Defeat: France Under the German Occupation, 1940-1944* trans. by Janet Lloyd (London: Hodder, 1996), p. 91-6; Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940-1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 171, p. 199, p. 312; Karen Fiss, *Grand Illusion: The Third Reich, the Paris Exposition, and the Cultural Seduction of France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

foregrounding of female dancers and choreographers, and the perceived association between ballet and homosexual men); and practical confusion concerning whether its primary function (and therefore its contribution to and categorisation within the regime) related primarily to art or physical health.

‘The arts are for the National Socialist State a public exercise,’ stated an official proclamation in May 1934; ‘they are not only aesthetic but moral in nature.’¹⁶ Culture served an important purpose within National Socialist society: to reflect German values and provide a model for moral guidance. But how could this be reflected in practice? How could dancers reflect German values through their art? Understanding how and why dance did not fit neatly into Hitler and Goebbels’ concepts of ‘Germanness’ helps to identify how dance was handled during the Third Reich and enables the later discussion of the space occupied by dance within French culture and amongst German soldiers.

Scholarship by Alan Steinweis, Pamela Potter and others has debunked the idea of an all-encompassing, totalitarian cultural policy based in ideology; the Nazis were consistent in their inconsistency.¹⁷ They propagated a vague ‘worldview,’ writes Mary Fulbrook, ‘which could scarcely be dignified with the term “ideology.”’¹⁸ Though the arts were deeply connected, in theory, to morality and nationality, the practicalities of this connection were imprecise. Acceptable art and music was often understood through the identification of what it was *not* rather than what it was.¹⁹ ‘We might fare better if we do not look for a consistent and coherent construction of “Nazi ideology,”’ writes Guido Heldt, ‘but instead for bits and pieces [...] rooted in decades of German politics and culture before 1933, fervently believed by some and cynically used by others.’²⁰ Even within the larger, established bureaucratic departments such

¹⁶ RMVP Theatre Law. Quoted in David Welch, *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2007), p. 32.

¹⁷ See Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany* (1993), pp. 138-42; Pamela M. Potter ‘What is “Nazi Music”?’ in *The Musical Quarterly*, 88:3 (Autumn 2005), p. 438. See also Kater, *Culture in Nazi Germany* (2019); *The Arts in Nazi Germany: Continuity, Conformity, Change*, (2006); Mosse, *Nazi Culture: Intellectual, Cultural and Social Life in the Third Reich* (1966; 2003); Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich* (1991); Eric Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Palgrave, 2001); Peter Fritzsche, *Germans Into Nazis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

¹⁸ Mary Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation: A History of Germany 1918-1990* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 51.

¹⁹ Mary-Margaret Goggin, “‘Decent’ vs. “‘Degenerate’ Art: The Nationalist Socialist Case’ *Art Journal* (1991) 50:4, p. 85; Olaf Peters, *Degenerate Art: The Attack on Modern Art in Nazi Germany, 1937* (New York: Neue Galerie, 2014), p. 17; Stephanie Barron, ‘Degenerate Art’: *The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* (New York: Henry N. Abrams Inc. Publishing, 1991), p. 11.

²⁰ Guido Heldt, ‘Hardly Heroes: Composers as a Subject in National Socialist Cinema,’ in *Music and Nazism*, ed. by Michael Kater and Albrecht Riethmüller (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003), p. 116.

as the RMK, however, censorship was disorganised, unclear and often unenforceable. In his research on opera during the Third Reich, Michael Walter argues that no clear policy for the control of music and musicians was ever established.²¹ In 1933 a document entitled 'What German Artists Expect from the New Government' detailed guidelines for German artists. Its edicts described the 'sacred duty of the state' to exhibit and burn 'Bolshevist art'; remove museum directors dealing in 'unGerman' art from office; and rid the country of modernist architecture and sculpture.²² Goebbels lamented that German art had lost its way during the Weimar era, 'paying tribute only to a concept of individual freedom that quickly led into intellectual anarchy.'²³ Cultural resistance and cultural subversion were heavily censored, particularly in music, literature, film and visual arts, and this resulted in a 'Nazi aesthetic' which, writes Erik Levi, was characterised by safer, more conventional cultural products that focussed on nationalist themes, already-established models (such as romanticism), and the deification of nationally significant, often mythical, historical events.²⁴ Confusion and censorship streamlined artistic creation during the Third Reich and ultimately discouraged artists from experimenting.

Hitler and Goebbels' personal writing and speeches help to build a picture of how the arts were expected to serve the regime. In a 1937 speech, Hitler described his wish to substitute 'modern art' for 'German' art: German artists were under pressure to display 'Germanness' through culture, but Germanness was another concept that was defined vaguely.²⁵ 'Like every other art form,' Goebbels wrote, 'music has its origins in the mysterious and deep powers that are rooted in the people.'²⁶ Germanness in culture was further informed by Hitler's personal taste in music and the arts, which was narrow and traditional, largely restricted to opera and some symphonic music by German composers.²⁷ Historians largely reject the notion that Hitler had total control over National Socialist cultural policy; he likely avoided making

²¹ Michael Walter, *Hitler in der Oper: Deutsches Musikleben 1919-1945* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1995), pp. 195-98.

²² The *Deutscher Kunstbericht* (German Art Report) was published by the *Führerrat der Vereinigten Deutschen Kunst* (Führer's Council of United German Art and Cultural Associations). Quotes in Berthold Hinz, *Art in the Third Reich*, trans. by Robert and Beta Kimber (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), pp. 27-8.

²³ Quoted in Peters, *Degenerate Art* (2014), p. 32.

²⁴ Erik Levi, 'Towards an Aesthetic of Fascist Opera' (1996), pp. 261-2, p. 273.

²⁵ From a speech delivered by Adolf Hitler at the opening of the House of German Art in Munich, 18 July 1937, quoted in Mosse *Nazi Culture* (1966), pp. 11-2.

²⁶ Joseph Goebbels, Number 3 from 'Ten Principles of German Music,' 28 May 1938. Reproduced in *The Arts in Nazi Germany* (2006), Appendix G.

²⁷ Sherree Owens Zalampas, *Adolf Hitler: A Psychological Interpretation of His Views on Architecture Art and Music* (Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1990), p. 115.

influential decisions so as to deflect responsibility for resulting controversies.²⁸ Instead, Hitler ‘functioned,’ writes Potter, ‘most effectively as a symbol of central authority and ideological consensus.’²⁹ As such, it would be wrong to assume that he alone enacted or proscribed specific policies, particularly with regard to the arts, though Hitler’s personal views were in many ways influential. He enjoyed Wagner, Mozart, Beethoven and Verdi, and largely disliked opera by French, Russian and Eastern European composers.³⁰ Hitler’s wider thoughts on music and its place in Nazi Germany were vague though he was unmovable on the types of entertainment that he disliked. Modern dance, jazz, expressionist art, music and modern architecture were all described – and variously prohibited – under the umbrella of ‘cultural bolshevism.’³¹ Here again, Germanness was defined by what it was *not*.

Under these definitions, modern German dance might have been classed as degenerate under Nazi policy. In many ways it directly opposed the National Socialists’ wish to promote simple, joyful art.³² Ausdruckstanz was expressive, emotional, creative and feminist; its individualism grew under the modernisation of culture, gender, fashion and visual arts in 1920s Germany.³³ Unlike the modernist dancers and dance companies working in Paris in the 1920s – such as those associated with the Ballets Russes and the Ballets Suédois, discussed in Chapter One – expressionist dancers working in Germany such as Clotilde von Derp, Hertha Feist, and (American dancers) Isadora and Elizabeth Duncan and Loïe Fuller did not root their choreography in the traditions of classical ballet, which they regarded as

²⁸ See Potter, ‘What is “Nazi Music”?’ (2005); Ian Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems and Perspectives of Interpretation*, 3rd ed. (London: Edward Arnold, 1993); Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997); Fulbrook, *The Divided Nation* (1991); Fritzsche, *Germans Into Nazis* (1998).

²⁹ Potter, ‘What is “Nazi Music”?’ (2005), p. 243.

³⁰ Robert Payne, *The Life and Death of Adolf Hitler* (London: Transworld, 1975), p. 66; Heinrich Hoffman, *Hitler Was My Friend: The Memoirs of Hitler’s Photographer* (Barnsley: Frontline Books, 2011), p. 190. For Hitler’s thoughts on music, particularly Wagner, see Paul Lawrence Rose, *Wagner: Race and Revolution* (London: Faber and Faber, 1996), pp. 189-90; G. M. Gilbert, *The Psychology of Dictatorship* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950), p. 48; Zalampas, *Adolf Hitler* (1990), p. 60.

³¹ Joseph Bendersky, *A Concise History of Nazi Germany* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2014), p. 20; *Theatre under the Nazis*, ed. by John London (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

³² Kolb, *Performing Femininity* (2009), p. 269.

³³ See Dianne S. Howe, *Individuality and Expression: The Aesthetics of the New German Dance 1908-1936* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1996); Kate Elswit, *Watching Weimar Dance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Susan Manning, *Ecstasy and the Demon: Feminism and Nationalism in the Dances of Mary Wigman* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); Laure Guilbert, *Danser avec le IIIe Reich: Les Danseurs modernes sous le nazisme* (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 2000); Carole Kew, ‘From Weimar Movement Choir to Nazi Community Dance: The Rise and Fall of Rudolf Laban’s Festkultur,’ *Dance Research*. 17:2 (Winter 1999), pp. 73-96.

restrictive.³⁴ Instead, they modernised dance in a different way through improvisation and expressionism.

German dancers and critics connected modern dance with German nationalism during the 1920s, rhetorically distancing it from 'expressionism' and describing it as a practical realisation of German philosophical ideas. In his 1926 book *Tanzkunst*, journalist Fritz Böhme invoked Nietzsche, Novalis, Freud and Klages in his description of Ausdruckstanz as the fulfilment of the German philosophical linking of the body with the 'spirit,' creating a national German dance form rooted in German philosophy, and legitimising dance through national and intellectual language.³⁵ Through such descriptions, modern German dance initially appealed to the National Socialists' wish to promote artistic Germanness.

Later, these discussions extended to classical ballet: Böhme asked 'Ist das Ballett deutsch?' in a controversial 1933 article which concluded that, because ballet was romantic and foreign, it was 'unsuitable' to the national German spirit.³⁶ In a counter-attack, Hanns Burger used a physical health argument (rather than an aesthetic one) to argue that the nationalist elements of classical ballet were compatible with Germanness: 'In today's national Germany we are not interested in the diseased and the problematic, but today only the healthy is of interest.'³⁷ Such conversations between dance historians, critics and proponents reveal that, in the process of trying to persuade the Nazi authorities (and the general public) that dance was worthwhile, dance history was somewhat rewritten to improve its appeal and justify its inclusion in National Socialist culture. This discourse, which emphasised a political link between health and public good, were not new: the nineteenth-century German *Turnen* and Czech Sokol movements similarly encouraged and mandated group exercise as a necessary part of a healthy citizenry and, during the early twentieth-century, the USSR encouraged exercise for the same reasons.³⁸

³⁴ See Karl Toepfer, *Empire of Ecstasy: Nudity and Movement in German Body Culture, 1910-1935* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Valerio Terraroli, *1920-1945: The Artistic Culture Between the Wars* (Milan: Skira, 2007), p. 86-90; Melissa Ragona, 'Ecstasy, Primitivism, Modernity: Isadora Duncan and Mary Wigman,' in *American Studies*, 35:1 (Spring 1994), pp. 47-62.

³⁵ See Manning, *Ecstasy and the Demon* (2006), p. 20.

³⁶ Fritz Böhme, 'Ist das Ballett deutsch?' *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, 25 April 1933. See Kolb, *Performing Femininity* (2009), p. 268; Michael Huxley, 'European Early Modern Dance' in *Dance History: An Introduction*, ed by Janet Adshead-Lansdale and June Layson (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 158.

³⁷ Fritz Böhme, 'Ist das Ballett deutsch?' (Is the Ballet German?) and Hanns Burger, 'Das Ballett im nationalen Deutschland' (The Ballet in National Germany) quoted in Kolb, *Performing Femininity* (2009), p. 268.

³⁸ See David L. Hoffman, 'Bodies of Knowledge: Physical Culture and the New Soviet Man,' in *Language and Revolution: Making Modern Political Identities*, ed. by Igal Halfin (London: Routledge, 2003); Gertrud Pfister, 'Cultural confrontations: German *Turnen*, Swedish gymnastics and English sport: European diversity in physical activities from a historical perspective,' in *Culture, Sport, Society*, 6 (1), pp. 61-91.

Later in 1933, Rudolf Bode, head of the dance division of the Kampfband für deutsche Kultur (Fighting League for German Culture, KfdK), published an article in *Der Tanz* which outlined the foundations and characteristics of dance and its relationship to the National Socialist regime. Characteristically vague, his article invoked national arguments, claiming that dance was ‘one of the noblest expressions of German culture’ which portrayed a patriotic Germanness if it steered clear of ‘alien’ elements. Like Burger, his article emphasised the links between dance and physical health: ‘the dance has to be evaluated universally as an expression of the healthy forces of the people.’³⁹ Though such attempts to define and justify German dance continued throughout the regime, dance was rarely mentioned specifically by National Socialist officials in personal writing or official proclamations.

Classical ballet was not highly regarded by the National Socialists because it was viewed as formalist and international, associated with French culture and decadence. However, its beauty, style and relatively small scale meant that it was allowed to continue in theatres and opera houses.⁴⁰ Hitler believed that classical dance was nothing more than beautiful spectacle. Referring to nineteenth-century ballet, he described classical dancers as ‘gracious creature[s] gliding weightlessly across the stage with no other purpose than to delight the eye.’⁴¹ Though modern dancer Leni Riefenstahl recalled that Hitler complimented her dance in the film *Der heilige Berg* (The Sacred Mountain, 1926), Hitler in fact viewed Ausdruckstanz with distaste.⁴² Albert Speer recorded that Hitler thought modern dance was a ‘cultural disgrace’ that ‘had nothing to do with dancing.’⁴³ Hitler regarded dance through a homophobic, gendered lens, viewing male dancers with revulsion. He described the waltz as ‘too effeminate for a man to dance,’ and reported discomfort and awkwardness at viewing male dancers in ‘their close-fitting leotards’ – ‘I always have to look away.’⁴⁴ Hitler’s comments reveal the suspicion with which dance was viewed during the Third Reich and demonstrate that this suspicion was linked to concepts of nationality and gender politics both within the National Socialist regime

³⁹ Rudolf Bode, ‘Die geistigen Grundlagen für Tanz im Nationalsozialistischen Staat (The Conceptual Foundations of Dance in the National Socialist State) published in *Der Tanz*, 6/11, 1933, quoted in Kolb, *Performing Femininity* (2009), p. 268; see also Oberzaucher-Schüller, ‘Dramaturgy and form’ (2017), p. 150.

⁴⁰ Kolb, *Performing Femininity* (2009), p. 268.

⁴¹ Percy E. Schramm, *Hitler: The Man and the Military Leader*, trans. by Donald S. Detweiler (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), p. 69.

⁴² Leni Riefenstahl’s account in *The Wonderful Horrible Life of Leni Riefenstahl*, dir. by Ray Müller (Omegafilm GmbH and Nomadfilms S.P.R.I.), 1993. [DVD]

⁴³ Albert Speer, *Spandau: The Secret Diaries* (New York: Ishi Press International, 2010), p. 106.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; Zalampas *Adolf Hitler* (1990), p. 114.

and in wider German society. Though Hitler's homophobic attitude towards male dancers was not atypical in German society, his personal views often translated into social cleansing: Paragraph 175 of the Reich Criminal Code (1935) – which remained in effect until 1969 – forbade homosexuality.⁴⁵

Establishing the National Socialists' perception of dance as a gendered activity is important when considering dance's function in 1930s German society. The sanctions enforced on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles drastically reduced the number of men that could be trained for mobilisation, and physical education had replaced military training for German men in the inter-war years.⁴⁶ Nazi propaganda encouraged Aryans to contribute to German society through the cultivation of strong, physically fit bodies.⁴⁷ Physical education and sport were therefore important in Nazi Germany for the creation of German 'supermen' in case of war. 'Germanness,' or 'Aryanness,' was defined physically and visually as well as racially. In terms of masculinity, however, dancing was treated as suspect in wider German (and European) society, as discussed in Chapter One. 'Because the dance is the art of physical expression, as sport is the domain of strength,' wrote Hans Fischer, 'man has a greater but more exclusive part in sports, so, too, in the area of dance it is the woman.'⁴⁸ Male dancers both reinforced and contradicted the regime: whilst healthy, strong German athletes and dancers embodied National Socialist physical ideals, association with homosexuality made dancing problematic.⁴⁹ Figure 1 shows an image from Martin Gleisner's book *Tanz für alle*, published in 1928. The image demonstrates how group dance, which placed strong, athletic, scantily clad bodies in close proximity to one another, was problematic for those who associated male dancers with homosexuality.

Ausdruckstanz was also problematic because it challenged National Socialist gender politics by empowering women. It was performed largely by female dancers, and successful

⁴⁵ See Mary Johnson and Carol Rittner, 'Circles of Hell: Jewish and Non-Jewish Victims of the Nazis' in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 548 (November 1996), p. 131; Heinz Heger, *The Men with the Pink Triangle: The True Life and Death Story of Homosexuals in the Nazi Death Camps* (Los Angeles: Alyson, 2010); Richard Plant, *The Pink Triangle: The Nazi War Against Homosexuals* (New York: Henry Holt, 2013), p. 13.

⁴⁶ Arnd Krüger, 'Breeding, Rearing and Preparing the Aryan Body: Creating supermen the Nazi way,' *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 16:2 (1999), p. 45-6.

⁴⁷ Terri J. Gordon, 'Fascism and the Female Form: Performance Art in the Third Reich,' *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. 11:1/2 (January-April 2002), p. 165.

⁴⁸ Hans Fischer, *Körperschönheit und Körperkultur. Sport, Gymnastik, Tanz* (Berlin: Deutsche Buchgemeinschaft, 1928), p. 7, quoted in Yvonne Hardt, 'Ausdruckstanz, Workers' Culture, and Masculinity in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s' in *When Men Dance: Choreographing Masculinities Across Borders* ed. by Jennifer Fisher and Anthony Shay (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 260.

⁴⁹ See Hardt, 'Ausdruckstanz' (2009).

female choreographers often stretched the boundaries of traditional femininity. For the National Socialists, intellectualism was considered less valuable than physicality in the creation of a functional *Volk*; choreographers Mary Wigman, Lizzie Maudrik and Gret Palucca were viewed with suspicion because their work was progressive.⁵⁰ There was very little space for intellectual women in the Nazi worldview: ‘in the ideological world of National Socialism [...] the German resurrection is a male event,’ proclaimed Nazi publication *Das ist Nationalsozialismus*.⁵¹ In June 1937, SS Leader Jeckeln specifically described dancing as contrary to the needs of the nation, linking it with gender:

Germany does not need women who can dance beautifully at five o’clock teas, but women who have given proof of their health through accomplishments in the field of sport. ‘The javelin and the springboard are more useful than the lipstick in promoting health.’⁵²

It was acceptable for women to engage in dance and games but only on a domestic level. Such insights show how the attitudes of German audiences and, particularly, high-ranking German officials were shaped both by wider attitudes to dance and by National Socialist value prescriptions. Not only was dance perceived as feminine, it was un-masculine. It was therefore less intellectually valuable than other arts and sports and in direct contradiction with Nazi aesthetic and moral ideals.

The perception, however, of dance as a low ranking, feminine artistic genre meant that it was perceived as less threatening than, say, music or art. This has implications for this thesis’s understanding of the Germans’ decision-making process with regard to French culture, French ballet, and Nazi officials’ use of culture to encourage normality in the occupied Western territories. This understanding also has implications for Chapter Three’s discussion of the German audience in Paris. It is unlikely that the majority of German soldiers would have seen *Ausdruckstanz* performances, or indeed any dance performances in Germany aside from opera

⁵⁰ Hitler outlined his impression of intellectuality in dance following a performance at the Berlin Staatsoper in 1942 in the following transcription: ‘Thank God [Hitler] had inspected the State Opera beforehand – that was danced philosophy; the ballet mistress [Maudrik] was a highly intellectual woman. Even more than her *Ausdrucks* (expressive) art the stuff Palucca did offended him. That was truly awful hopping around with distorted jumps, no aesthetic dance at all.’ The *Ausdruckstanzers*’ innovative approach to choreography meant that they were perceived as being ‘intellectual’: they operated outside the National Socialist ideal of women as wives and mothers, instead occupying creative positions of authority. *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier 1941–1942*, notated by Henry Picker, 25 March 1942, quoted in Jason P. Hobratchk, ‘Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa: Music as Politics and Propaganda under National Socialism,’ PhD diss. The Florida State University College of Music, 2011, p. 180.

⁵¹ Engelbert Huber, *Das ist Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart: Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1933), pp. 121-2.

⁵² From the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, 1 June 1937; the article quotes SS Commander Friedrich Jeckeln. Mosse, *Nazi Culture* (1966), p. 43. The ‘five o’clock teas’ mentioned in the article are an allusion to prohibited swing dancing.

divertissement. Nevertheless, it is likely that they inherited National Socialist assumptions about the value of dance, its association with gender subversion and its perception as a lighter, less intellectual genre.

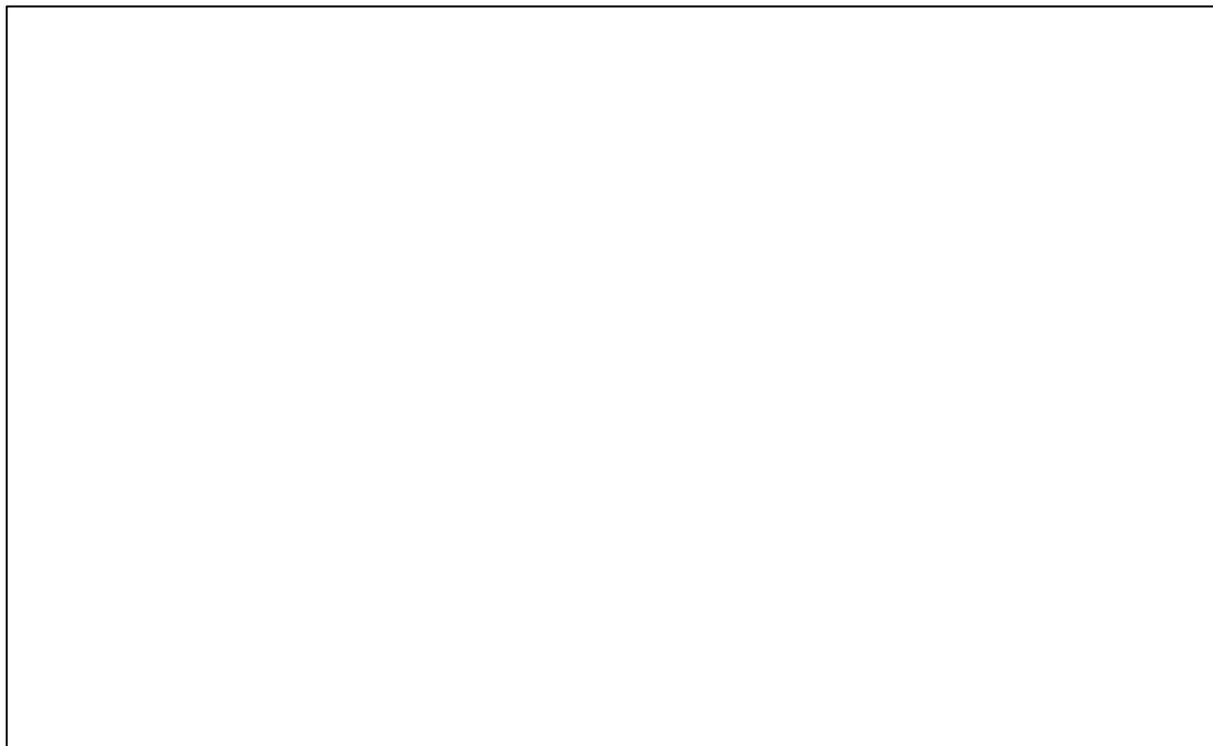


Figure 1: Photograph of Albrecht Knust's movement choir *Götzendienst*, 1928. Pictured in Martin Gleisner's *Tanz für alle* (1928) and reproduced in Hardt, 'Ausdruckstanz' (2009), p. 264.

'WE DO NOT BELONG ANYWHERE'⁵³: GERMAN DANCE IN THE REICHSKULTURKAMMER

Many modern German dancers aligned themselves with the National Socialists for financial and ideological reasons, but they were manipulated by the Reichskulturkammer (RKK, Reich Chamber of Culture) who allowed a level of control over German dance that was inconsistently maintained.⁵⁴ This ideological confusion was reflected in the way dance in Germany was regulated and bureaucratised on a practical level during the Third Reich. Its categorisation – art or sport? – became pertinent as cultural and social life was increasingly controlled and cultural pursuits were systematically bureaucratised. Crucially, the Nazis'

⁵³ Mary Wigman to Hanya Holm, quoted in *Liebe Hanya: Mary Wigman's Letters to Hanya Holm*, ed. by Claudie Gtelman (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2003), p. 49.

⁵⁴ Manning, 'Modern Dance' (2017), p. 398.

categorisation of culture never included a dedicated dance section despite petitions from German dancers, choreographers and theatre programmers. This adds weight to the argument, outlined in the previous section, that dance was viewed by the National Socialist authorities including Joseph Goebbels as too small and ultimately insignificant to need its own dedicated chamber. Though this was frustrating for German dancers, the lack of structure – and therefore lack of dedicated censorship – created a space for dance to operate somewhat outside of the regulations rigorously (if inconsistently) applied to other arts. When the German cultural system was applied in France from summer 1940, therefore, French ballet also had greater freedom than other arts. The Nazis' relatively relaxed attitude towards dance allowed it to occupy a potentially subversive space within occupied Paris.

The Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (RMVP, Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, or Propaganda Ministry) and the RKK were established in 1933 to control particular aspects of public life. The RKK enacted the RMVP's orders and dealt specifically with cultural life through its seven chambers: film, music, fine arts, theatre, literature, the press and radio.⁵⁵ The organisation and separation of the arts and propaganda into chambers demonstrates the Nazis' demarcation of key, worthwhile or important cultural pursuits. Similar subsections were enforced when the Germans invaded France in 1940, though music, fine arts and theatre were grouped into one section by the Propaganda-Abteilung Frankreich.⁵⁶

In Germany, professional membership of the Reichskulturkammer was compulsory and strict rules were enforced. The RKK censored content, Aryanised public life and tried to de-liberalise the arts as well as introduce state benefits for artists. The intricacies of the Nazi Party's cultural propaganda legislation were decided and enacted by Joseph Goebbels: as head of both the RMVP and the RKK, Goebbels reserved the right to veto decisions made by National Socialist officials.⁵⁷ Theatre licenses were controlled by the RMVP under the Theatre Law issued in May 1934. The RMVP and the RKK thereafter had complete control over what could and could not be performed. Goebbels, who clearly believed theatres to have great power (and therefore great potential for exploitation), publicised his ultimate control over theatres and opera houses, declaring that repertoire censorship lay 'singly and alone' with him, though

⁵⁵ In Germany, the seven chambers were: Reichsfilmkammer, Reichsmusikkammer, Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, Reichstheaterkammer, Reichsschrifttumskammer, Reichspressekammer and Reichsrundfunkkammer.

⁵⁶ See Jackson, *France: The Dark Years* (2003), p. 199.

⁵⁷ Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics* (1993), p. 44.

in practice there were many personalities involved in decision making.⁵⁸ Goebbels grew increasingly distrustful of art and artists, and art criticism was banned altogether from November 1936.⁵⁹ German musicologists were employed to research – or create – official evidence to ‘prove’ the Aryan ethnicity of favourite composers. Composers such as Bizet, Beethoven and Mozart were ‘Aryanised’ through the production of new libretti and creation of new family histories.⁶⁰

Music by Soviet composers was banned when the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in July 1941 and music by Polish, British and French composers was banned the following month. Though this was not unusual in a wartime society – there were unofficial restrictions on the performance of German music in the UK and in France during both the First and Second World Wars – the consequences of such prohibitions were ultimately more dangerous in the Third Reich.⁶¹ Jews, socialists and others were systematically blocked from contributing and participating in cultural life; the RKK was eventually a systemised channel for enforcing Nazi ideology through culture and propaganda, viewed as one and the same by the German administration.⁶² Though highly censored and controlled, cultural life was encouraged and financially supported while efforts were made to improve the lives and income of (Aryan) artists.⁶³

Dance in Nazi Germany fell outside of the seven Reichskulturkammer chambers and was not wholly controlled by the RKK. Responsibility was divided between the music chamber, a subsection of the theatre chamber (Deutscher Chorsängerverband und Tänzerbund, German League of Choir Singers and Association of Dancers), and the Kampfbund für

⁵⁸ Joseph Goebbels to Reichsstatthalter, 23 October 1936, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 135.

⁵⁹ Reviewers and critics could describe art but could not critique it or offer an interpretation. ‘The rural family [...] does not ‘judge’ art,’ wrote art historian Kurt Karl Eberlein, ‘but accepts it and lives it... if this art is of the right German kind.’ See Mosse, *Nazi Culture* (1966), p. 137.

⁶⁰ See Michael Meyer, ‘The Nazi Musicologist as Myth Maker in the Third Reich.’ *The Journal of Contemporary History*. 10:4 (October 1975), pp. 649-665; David B. Dennis, *Beethoven in German Politics, 1870-1989* (London: Yale University Press, 1996); Karen Painter, *Symphonic Aspirations. German Music and Politics, 1900-1945* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007); Erik Levi, *Mozart and the Nazis: How the Third Reich Abused a Cultural Icon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010).

⁶¹ See Robert Mackay, ‘Being Beastly to the Germans: Music, Censorship and the BBC in World War II,’ *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 20:4 (2000), pp. 513-4; John Vincent Morris, *Battle for Music: Music and British Wartime Propaganda, 1935-1945*. PhD diss. University of Exeter, 2011, p. 109; Rachel Moore, ‘Performing Propaganda: Musical Life and Culture in Paris, 1914-1918’ PhD diss. Royal Holloway, University of London, 2012.

⁶² Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics* (1993), p. 173.

⁶³ The National Socialists increased government subsidies to the arts from 10 million Reichsmarks in 1934 to 45 million in 1942, and in 1938 there were more than 100,000 entertainment events in Germany with 54 million participants. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-7; Otto Marrenbach, *Fundamente des Sieges: Die Gesamtarbeit der Deutschen Arbeitsfront von 1933 bis 1940* (Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Arbeitsfront, 1940), p. 334-5.

deutsche Kultur (Fighting League for German Culture, KfdK). Meanwhile, the Nationalsozialistischer Reichsbund für Leibesübungen (National Socialist League of the Reich for Physical Exercise, NSRL) consisted of fifteen departments, one of which was dedicated to gymnastics and artistic gymnastics, incorporating some activities that could be classified as dance.⁶⁴ After 1934, dance fell mostly under the jurisdiction of the German League of Choral Singers and Association of Dancers, which was incorporated into the Reich Theatre Chamber's Fachschaft Bühne (Stage Division) in 1935. German dance was a confused, jumbled afterthought: it was unclear whether dance was closer to music, theatre or sport, and dance remained split between chambers throughout the period.

Concerned that the RMVP's administrative categories were unable to properly accommodate dance, Böhme – writer of 'Ist das Ballett deutsch?' – suggested to Goebbels in November 1933 that an eighth chamber be created for 'Movement Art and Dance.' Using nationalist and racial language to help dance appeal to Goebbels, his letter argued that dance should not be absorbed by the gymnastic or art administrations:

The German artistic dance [...] must not be allowed to be neglected as an art form in its own right. If we are to arrive again at healthy, or more precisely to arrive for the first time, at German expressiveness, then a unified leadership is necessary, which can only come from a single personality who knows the virtues and vices of all the partial areas and builds on the basis of a fundamental position guided by racism and an awareness of the essence, function, and cultural mission of dance.⁶⁵

Despite his attempts to bring dance to the attention of the German leadership by stating its propagandistic potential, an eighth chamber was never created, and dance continued to operate between different departments throughout the Third Reich. This created confusion and insecurity as to the place of German dance which, Manning argues, gave dancers no choice but to cooperate with the Reichskulturkammer during the 1930s.⁶⁶ 'Crazy situation,' wrote Mary Wigman to dancer Hanya Holm in 1933:

We have organisational concerns that are difficult to explain. We (modern dance) do not quite belong anywhere. On the one hand rhythmic gymnastics claims us, and on the other, the

⁶⁴ Oberzaucher-Schüller, 'Dramaturgy and form' (2017), p. 149.

⁶⁵ Fritz Böhme to Joseph Goebbels, 8 November 1933. See in Karina and Kant, *Hitler's Dancers* (2004), p. 197. Appendix Document 4.

⁶⁶ Manning, 'Modern Dance' (2017), p. 404.

theatre organisations. It doesn't work to be torn in two parts [...] But there is hope to get official recognition for 'the new German dance.'⁶⁷

As far as education was concerned, German dance was viewed as sport. From 1934, thirteen schools were recognised by the RMVP as qualified to provide 'artistic dance' lessons and examinations. The German dance curriculum Directive 48 provided instruction in classical dance, 'German dance' and folk dance with the intention of training dancers for 'the theatre, new festivals, and the physical education of the German Volk.'⁶⁸ Members of the Culture Ministry continued to debate how and if dance warranted National Socialist support.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the new curriculum elevated Ausdruckstanz to an equal footing with classical ballet and folk dance.

Otto von Keudell – advisor to Goebbels and leading proponent of Ausdruckstanz as National Socialist propaganda – worked closely with choreographer Rudolf von Laban, director of the Deutsche Tanzbühne (German Dance Stage) to try to formally integrate dance within the RMVP and provide justification for the promotion of dance across the Third Reich.⁷⁰ 'German artistic dance will die,' wrote Keudell, 'if the Ministry of Propaganda does not intervene at the last minute.'⁷¹ Keudell's statement was prophetic.

Laban strove to popularise German dance through rhetoric, redefining German dance through his writing and justifying its contribution to the reinforcement of National Socialist ideology. He was influenced by Nietzsche's philosophical writing on dance, collective identity and nationalism.⁷² His *völkisch Bewegungschor* (movement choirs) linked his choreography to Nazi ideology and race politics, becoming formalised as *Gemeinschaftstanz* (community dance) under the RMVP.⁷³ Large-scale choreographed gymnastic exercises were similar to *Thingspiel*, outdoor, immersive interdisciplinary group performances endorsed by the Nazis during the

⁶⁷ Mary Wigman to Hanya Holm, quoted in *Liebe Hanya* (2003), p. 49.

⁶⁸ Prospectus, 'Die Berufs-Ausbildung,' Mary Wigman-Zentralschule, Dresden, 1934. Mary Wigman's dance school was one of the thirteen. Former students offer differing accounts of the extent to which the Wigman School cooperated with part of the Directive 48 policy that educated dance students in Nazi ideology and required students to prove their Aryan identity. See Manning, *Ecstasy and the Demon* (2006), pp. 202-5.

⁶⁹ Manning, 'Modern Dance' (2017), p. 405.

⁷⁰ Patricia Vertinsky, 'Schooling the Dance: From Dance under the Swastika to Movement Education in the British School,' *Journal of Sport History* 31:3 (2004), p. 277.

⁷¹ Keudell to Goebbels, 12 July 1934, quoted in Buch and Worthen, 'Ideology in Movement,' 2007, p. 220.

⁷² As outlined in *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik* (*The Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music*, 1872). Nietzsche identified a distinction between the Apollonian (ordered physical world) and Dionysian (metaphysical inner reality) characters, arguing that German culture would enjoy a renaissance based on the latter concept. See Kew, 'From Weimar Movement Choir' (1999), pp. 75-6.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 78.

early 1930s.⁷⁴ Laban separated German dance from French ballet both ideologically and practically, combining his choreographic viewpoint with Nietzschean and Nazi principles to create a dance form rooted in German philosophy. Though Laban later tried to distance himself from the Third Reich (leaving for England in 1937), both his mythmaking and the linking of dance with race in fact pre-dates 1933. As early as 1930 he described his group movement pieces as the ‘new folk dance movement of the white race,’ free from the ‘invasion of foreign racial movements.’⁷⁵ Laban’s movement choirs emphasised athleticism and strength, thus masculinising dance and rhetorically aligning it further with National Socialism.⁷⁶

The inaugural *Deutsche Tanzfestspiele* (German Dance Festival) took place in Berlin in 1934 and was followed by a second festival the following year. Many of the dances showcased at the festival were stylistically Italian or French and were danced to music by non-German composers. In his introduction to the festival programme, Laban justified the inclusion of non-German dance music, defining ‘German art’ by the nationality of the performer:

German Dance is diverse in its forms. However, this variety reveals a fundamental united strength that springs from our essence. When we also present dances that appear to be rooted in foreign folk rhythms from the multi-coloured orient or other styles, it will always remain German art performed by German dancers. We Germans are often described as coarse and without grace, and yet the freshness of the German temperament and the depth of the German soul often have conquered the world, not only through music and poetry but also through the art of dance.⁷⁷

In 1935, Laban extended his definition of German dance in a letter to the *Tanzbühne*:

There are certainly mutually borrowed elements from dances of neighbouring peoples [...] but they have penetrated so deeply into the flesh and blood of the German people that they can confidently be termed German dances. [...] It can only be briefly remarked that racial characteristics stamp themselves in the movements, especially in the rhythm, in the posture of the body, and in the use of the body parts [...] In conclusion it can be said that today waltzes

⁷⁴ See Erika Fischer-Lichte, *Theatre, Sacrifice, Ritual: Exploring Forms of Political Theatre* (London: Routledge, 2005); Susan Allene Manning and Melissa Benson, ‘Interrupted Continuities: Modern Dance in Germany,’ *MIT Press: The Drama Review* 30:2 (Summer 1986), p. 39; Manning, *Ecstasy and the Demon* (2006), p. 133; Schulte Sasse quoted in Terri Gordon, ‘Fascism and the Female Form’ (2002), p. 173.

⁷⁵ From a paper given by Laban at the 1930 Dance Congress: ‘Der Laientanz in Kultureller und Pädagogischer Bedeutung’ in Hedwig Müller and Patricia Stöckemann, *Jeder Mensch ist ein Tänzer!: Ausdruckstanz in Deutschland zwischen 1900 und 1945* (Giessen: Anabas-Verlag, 1993), pp. 96-9.

⁷⁶ See Hardt, ‘Ausdruckstanz’ (2009), pp. 263-5.

⁷⁷ Reproduced in Buch and Worthen, ‘Ideology in Movement’ (2007), pp. 222-3.

and running dances from the area of so-called social dancing can be certainly accepted as German dances, insofar as they are performed in the German way and to music that corresponds to the sensibilities of the German *Volk*.⁷⁸

His writing sought to justify 'German dance' on a racial level, employing the language of National Socialist race politics and echoing the aforementioned musicologists that similarly sought to Aryanise composers and repertoire. Laban's statements are significant and in some ways form a mirror with Serge Lifar's framing of French ballet during this same time period: as discussed in Chapter One, Lifar also used fascist language to 'Aryanise' ballet during the 1930s, describing the history of dance through antisemitic discourse and suggesting a need to politicise dance in order to justify its importance.⁷⁹ Laban's statement that dance 'becomes German' when danced by German dancers is also significant in the French context because, as I argue in Chapter Five of this thesis, the German ballet *Joan de Zarissa* 'became French' (or lost its Germanness) when it was danced by a French ballet company.

Though its roots in German philosophy predate the Third Reich and Hitler's nationalist identity politics, the Nazis adopted *Ausdruckstanz* during the 1930s not because they found it aesthetically pleasing, but because its principles aligned with ideology relating to the body and group exercise. As such, though *Ausdruckstanz* became Nazified during the 1930s as German dancers incorporated National Socialist ideals into their choreography, it also became increasingly problematic as it grew in popularity and the expressionist, modern elements became unavoidable. Choreographers Mary Wigman and Rudolf von Laban became associated with Nazi propaganda, adjusting their styles in ways that have been interpreted by dance historians as *Gleichschaltung* – bringing culture into line with National Socialist ideology.⁸⁰ 'Rather than dance *representing* Nazi ideology – strength, power, unity' argues Carson Strathausen, 'the dance *became* ideology.'⁸¹ Manning argues that the National Socialists

⁷⁸ Letter from Rudolf von Laban to the Deutsche Tanzbühne, 11 February 1935. See Karina and Kant, *Hitler's Dancers* (2004), p. 217. Appendix Document 14.

⁷⁹ See Mark Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar: Interwar French Ballet and the German Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 209; Serge Lifar, *La Danse: Les grand courants de la danse académique* (Paris: Denoël, 1938), p. 93.

⁸⁰ There are many other dancers that could be named here, including Valeska Gert, Gret Palucca, Anita Berber and Harald Kreutzberg, but for brevity I have chosen to focus on the dancers most allied with the Nazi regime. See Manning, *Ecstasy and the Demon* (2006), p. 3; Hardt 'Ausdruckstanz' (2009), p. 260; Janet Wolff, 'Reinstating Corporeality: Feminism and Body Politics' in *Meaning in Motion: New Cultural Studies of Dance*, ed. by Jane Desmond (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2006), p. 84; Katja Erdmann-Rajski, *Gret Palucca: Tanz und Zeitföhrung in Deutschland im 20. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2000), p. 249.

⁸¹ Carson Strathausen, 'Nazi Aesthetics,' *Renaissance and Modern Studies* 42:1 (2009), p. 6. Dance historians disagree as to the extent to which this Nazification was either ideologically motivated as Kant argues, or, as

had a significant role to play in remaking modern German dance in their own image.⁸² Such discussion of German dancers' and choreographers' contributions to the Third Reich complements wider academic conversation concerning civilian complicity in the National Socialist regime. It must be noted, as Neil Gregor argues, that it was not always necessary for 'cultural actors' to be ideologically committed to the National Socialist regime in order to benefit from it.⁸³

The struggle to define, justify and 'Nazify' German dance in the Third Reich seemed as though it was going to be rewarded in 1936 when German dancers were invited to participate in the opening ceremony of the Berlin Olympic Games. The large-scale Ausdruckstanz performance pieces were a turning point for new German dance, though not in the way that was expected, and this was the last time Wigman and Laban were given large-scale opportunities in Germany. Rehearsals for the opening ceremony convinced Goebbels that Ausdruckstanz did not represent National Socialist ideology in a way he could approve of and as a result, modern German dance no longer enjoyed endorsement after 1936. Goebbels, who had supported Laban's career and previously recorded in his diary that Laban 'does his job well,' wrote:

Dance rehearsal, freely based on Nietzsche, a bad, contrived and affected piece. I forbid much of it. It is all so intellectual. I do not like that. It goes around dressed in our clothes and has nothing whatever to do with us.⁸⁴

Goebbels had long been unsure of dance's ideological and practical worth; the opening ceremony brought these insecurities to the fore.⁸⁵ This excerpt from the Reichsminister's diary

Hedwig Müller maintains, opportunistic. See Marion Kant, 'Practical Imperative: German Dance, Dancers, and Nazi Politics,' in *Dance, Human Rights and Social Justice: Dignity in Motion*, ed. by Naomi Jackson and Toni Shapiro-Phim (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2008); Hedwig Müller, 'Tänzerinnen im Nationalsozialismus,' in *Zwischen Aufbruch und Verfolgung: Künstlerinnen der zwanziger und dreißiger Jahre*, ed. by Denny Hirschbach and Sonia Nowoselsky (Bremen: Zeichen + Spuren Verlag, 1993); Manning, 'Modern Dance' (2017), p. 403.

⁸² See Manning, *Ecstasy and the Demon* (2017), p. 404; Susan Manning 'Modern Dance in the Third Reich: Six Positions and a Coda,' in *Choreographing History*, ed. by Susan Leigh Foster (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

⁸³ Neil Gregor, 'Siegfried von Hausegger, the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra and Civic Musical Culture in the Third Reich,' in *German History*, 36:4 (December 2018), p. 555.

⁸⁴ Quoted in Müller and Stöckemann, *Jeder Mensch* (1993), p. 166.

⁸⁵ Choreographed by Mary Wigman, Gret Palucca, Dorothee Günther and Harald Kreutzberg, *Olympische Jugend* (Olympic Youth) united 10,000 dancers from across Germany and Eastern Europe in various group dances that imitated mythological praise of the Führer. The dancers worshipped Ancient Greek Gods through four sections: 'Struggle' (depicting the horrors of war), 'Reflection' (unification through racial community), 'Joy' (activity, work and progress) and 'Consecration' (Germanic unity). The second piece, *Vom Tauwind und der Neuen Freude* (Of the Spring Wind and the New Joy, choreographed by Laban) was, in the choreographer's description, 'accompanied' by Nietzsche's writing on dance: 'we should consider everyday lost on which we have not danced once.' Laban

is one of the few direct references he made directly to dance. Not only does it suggest that Ausdruckstanz was not to his taste; Goebbels' comments suggest that, significantly, he recognised dance could have meaning even if he personally did not understand or care for it.⁸⁶

Goebbels' reaction to the dress rehearsal did not specifically target Laban. It was applied to all Ausdruckstanzers working in the Third Reich, including Mary Wigman. Despite attempts from Keudell, Laban and others to absorb dance into the National Socialist regime using ideological and racial arguments, German dance fell at a most basic hurdle: Goebbels simply did not like watching it and the Propaganda Minister's support was ultimately imperative for dance to survive.

'NO INTELLECTUAL GAMES, PLEASE!': DANCE IN NAZI GERMANY AFTER 1936

Though Ausdruckstanz had – briefly – served an ideological function during the 1930s, its aesthetic beauty had often been questioned by German officials. 'Dance does not show activity but grace, harmony, buoyancy, colour, no intellectual games, please!' Goebbels wrote in November 1936, months after the Olympic Games debacle: 'I intend to carry out a change of course with our ballet. I believe it will be good for ballet.'⁸⁷ Classical ballet was different – Goebbels enjoyed watching it because he liked female dancers.⁸⁸ Classical ballet became the focus of aesthetic discussion amongst dancers in a situation that Reichsdramaturg Rainer Schlösser, head of the dance division, referred to in 1942 as the 'ballet problem.'⁸⁹

had invited American dancer Martha Graham to take part, but Graham declined the invitation because she disagreed with Nazi ideology and her company included Jewish dancers who would not have been welcome. See Natalie Zervou, 'German Expressionist Dance at the 1936 Berlin Olympics Modifying dance forms and embodying the National Socialist aesthetic' MA diss, University of Surrey, 2009, p. 72, p. 86; Manning, *Ecstasy and the Demon* (2006), p. 195-6; Kew, 'From Weimar Movement Choir' (1999), pp. 80-1; Steven Aschheim, *The Nietzsche Legacy in Germany 1890-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 59.

⁸⁶ Historians disagree as to the real reasons for this turnaround. Kew argues that *Vom Tauwind* opposed Nazi politics because it showed war to be an unheroic death. Dance historians such as Marie Percy also suspect that Goebbels was influenced by RKK minister Rudolf Cunz, who replaced Otto von Keudell earlier that year and preferred classical ballet to Ausdruckstanz.⁸⁶ Though *Olympische Jugend* was performed at the Olympic Games Opening Ceremony as planned, Wigman also fell out of Goebbels' personal favour and no longer received financial support from the Nazi Party after 1936.

⁸⁷ Diary entry 25 November 1936. Joseph Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels: Sämtliche Fragmente*, ed. by Elke Fröhlich, Part 1, Vol. 2 (London: Saur, 1987), p. 736.

⁸⁸ See Karina and Kant, *Hitler's Dancers* (2004), p. 138.

⁸⁹ Letter from Rainer Schlösser to Section T, Propaganda Ministry, 22 September 1942. See *ibid.*, p. 296. Appendix Document 90.

Throughout the 1930s the party became more elusive about its general cultural policy. In his 'Speech on Culture' given at Nuremberg in September 1938, Hitler contradicted his earlier proclamations relating to the power of music and the arts for morality:

It is totally impossible to express a worldview or intellectual matters musically [... It is] impossible to try to interpret or even expand on intellectual insights or political processes musically. For this reason there is neither a musical history of the party nor a musical philosophy.⁹⁰

If it was impossible to express a worldview or intellectual matters musically, then why did the party need to ban music by Jews, communists and anti-Nazis? This excerpt demonstrates that Nazi cultural policy, and the party's inconsistent application of cultural laws, was a smokescreen for decisions which were motivated militarily, racially and practically rather than for cultural reasons. National Socialist dictates were not absolute; they were applied as much by circumstance as by ideological belief. Understanding National Socialist attitudes towards dance further helps to explain why the Germans' treatment of French ballet in Paris was so drastically different to their treatment of German dance. It was militarily suitable to encourage the production and performance of popular cultural pursuits such as ballet to placate the French public and 'seduce' civilians into accepting the German presence as normality.

Though classical ballet continued to appear in German opera houses on a small scale,⁹¹ Goebbels' dislike and distrust applied to ballet as well as modern dance following the 1936 Olympic Games. The *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Tanzes 1937* (*German Dance Yearbook 1937*) specified that dancers, teachers, students and examinations would be under the control of the Theatre Chamber, with all dancers requiring membership of the German Choral Singer and Dance League.⁹² The Nazis also supported the opening of a centralised dance school, the *Deutsche Meister-Stätten für Tanz* (German Master Institute for Dance) and its associated archive and library in Berlin in 1936.⁹³ Other plans such as a Theatre Academy to teach drama, opera and dance, did not come to fruition.

Rudolf Cunz tried to restructure classical ballet according to Nazi ideology, eradicating elements he perceived to be foreign. Seeing as classical ballet was almost entirely French and

⁹⁰ Hitler, 'Speech on Culture' (Kulturrede) Nuremberg Party Congress, 5-12 September 1938, quoted in *The Arts in Nazi Germany* (2006), p. 185-7. Trans. by David Scrase, University of Vermont.

⁹¹ See Oberzaucher-Schüller, 'Dramaturgy and Form' (2017).

⁹² Quoted in Karina and Kant, *Hitler's Dancers* (2004), p. 23.

⁹³ Alexandra Kolb, *Performing Femininity* (2009), p. 267.

Russian he created a false German dance history, banning pointe because he (wrongly) believed it originated as a Russian torture technique.⁹⁴ Theatre director Hanns Niedecken-Gebhardt and choreographer Rudolf Kölling were appointed to develop German dance from 1939 and 1941 respectively, though both were quickly disowned when they failed to provide a dance programme that Goebbels found satisfactory. He referred to classical, 'intellectual' dance that required interpretation as 'the devil' in a 1939 letter to Schlösser: 'Dance must address the senses and not the brain. Otherwise dance is not dance anymore but philosophy. Then I would rather read Schopenhauer than go to the theatre.'⁹⁵ Goebbels was, perhaps, intimidated by dance performances that he did not enjoy, or that he suspected of having alternative interpretations. Though he would not provide a definition for his 'philosophy in dance,' Goebbels became angry if he perceived dance performances to be too intellectual and philosophical. His attitude, write Karina and Kant, created a 'spiritual deficit' in classical dance that mirrors contemporaneous musical conservatism as choreographers were nervous to push boundaries.⁹⁶

Dramatic ballet was further prohibited following Goebbels' 'ban on dance - a prohibition on dramatic ballet' announced in late 1941 following the invasion of the Soviet Union, along with the banning of music by foreign composers.⁹⁷ Dance programmes had to be submitted for approval and anything with a plot was prohibited. Not only were dance companies severely restricted by the laws that forbade the performance of music by foreign composers, but now repertoire had to go through the slow censorship process, presumably to eradicate any dramatic ballets that might be interpreted as subversive. German theatres could offer divertissements and short ballet scenes but were not allowed to portray drama or plot. Ballet was further relegated to beautiful spectacle and nothing more in an attempt, Karina and Kant argue, to 'close off all thought and ultimately to strangle all authentic art.'⁹⁸ Ausdruckstanzers still working in Germany, hoping that the ban on classical dramatic ballet would reignite interest in their expressive dance, were rebutted by the RMVP.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Karina and Kant, *Hitler's Dancers* (2004), p. 138.

⁹⁵ 11 October 1940. Joseph Goebbels, *Die Tagebücher*, Part I, Vol. 4 (1987), p. 360, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 140.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

⁹⁷ Communication Reich Music Control Office, 29 November 1941, Bundesarchiv 50.01/238/1, p. 417; Karina and Kant, *Hitler's Dancers* (2004), p. 141.

⁹⁸ Karina and Kant, *Hitler's Dancers* (2004), p. 141.

⁹⁹ In letter to State Secretary Gutterer, 9 December 1941, Oberregierungsrat Keppler of the Propaganda Ministry wrote 'Once again in the recent past there have been renewed efforts to characterise the so-called modern expressive dance, a form much cultivated by individual dancers and small groups, as the real, authentically 'German' form of art dance in contrast to classical ballet or to stage dance in general. These efforts and views, in

Here again we see a contradiction between National Socialist discourse and its practical application: if, as Laban argued, German dance ‘remain[ed] German’ when danced by German dancers, and if it were impossible to express political ideas culturally or musically – as Hitler stated at Nuremberg in 1938 – then there would be no reason to be threatened by dance. In reality the ban was based on the nationality of the composer rather than the content of the ballet or any sort of plot analysis. In a December 1942 letter to Schlösser, Officer Johannson in the Theatre Section of the RMVP complained about dances presented at the Folk Theatre in Berlin:

Lichtenberg once said about some of his conversation partners, ‘had they been books, we would not have read them.’ Here we might alter that to ‘had they been drama, we would have forbidden them.’ Just as we refuse to allow pianists to play cultural Bolshevik music, be it Berg, Krenek or Hindemith, about whose abilities we have no doubt, so we ought not to allow a dancer these days, just from the titles alone, to present a dance evening of that type. I should like to propose [...] that in future dance recitals require authorisation.¹⁰⁰

The implication here was that the dances at the Folk Theatre, which included titles such as *Cradle Song for a Hanged Man*, had been approved through censorship despite clearly displaying subversive potential; very little was done to prevent dance performances no matter their content. This further suggests that ballet was not subject to as strict rules as other arts; its censorship was inconsistent.

Nevertheless, the ban on dance caused protest in Germany amongst theatre directors.¹⁰¹ In a letter to the Propaganda Ministry, Schlösser defended dramatic classical ballet, arguing that ‘purely technically it is impossible to imagine a season’s programme without dramatic dance’:

I have allowed myself to pose the question whether, while strongly encouraging the divertissement and the dance suite, it might not be prudent to continue silently to tolerate at

which the dying remains of a decaying individualistic dance mode and a specialised aestheticism conceal themselves are to be strongly combated.’ Bundesarchiv 50.01 238/1. See Karina and Kant, *Hitler’s Dancers* (2004), p. 294, Documentary Appendix 87.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from RMPEP, Section Theater, Resp. Officer Johannson to Director T. 7 December 1942. Bundesarchiv 50.01 238/1. Reproduced in Karina and Kant, *Hitler’s Dancers* (2004), pp. 300-1. Documentary Appendix Document 93.

¹⁰¹ For example, Dr Schüler, the General Intendant of the Municipal Theatres in Leipzig, wrote to the Propaganda Ministry arguing that pantomime and plot were essential to ballet, 11 September 1942. Similar letters were sent from the General Intendants of the Municipal Theatres in Essen and Düsseldorf. Bundesarchiv 50.01. See Karina and Kant, *Hitler’s Dancers* (2004), pp. 141-3.

the same time the classical ballets of Gluck, Mozart, Beethoven, Richard Strauss and other important contemporaries because of the balletic and musical delights contained in such works.¹⁰²

Schlösser edited his edict twice in 1942: first so that only dance performances that were ‘intellectually crippled’ would be banned, and later so that dramatic ballet, though not expressly forbidden, would not be encouraged. It was almost unprecedented in the Third Reich that rules were relaxed based on public complaints. This adds weight to the suggestion that, though many Germans cared deeply about dance, the National Socialist authorities cared little; a small amount of protest was enough to reverse the decision.

Ballets danced to music written by German composers such as Gluck’s *Don Juan*, Beethoven’s *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus*¹⁰³ (both originally choreographed by Italian dancer Salvatore Viganò) and Richard Strauss’s *Till Eulenspiegel* (choreographed by Nijinsky) were recommended for performance, though theatres staged no new ballets or full-length works for the rest of the war.¹⁰⁴ It appears that here the nationality of the composer was more important than the nationality of the choreographer for assessing the Germanness of a work and in some cases it is plausible that these ballets were danced to new choreography, though very little information exists relating to these works. Significantly, Werner Egk’s ballet *Joan de Zarissa* never came close to being banned, on the basis that it was described as a ‘divertissement,’ despite the fact that it was highly programmatic, tragic and politically subversive – as Chapter Five will show.¹⁰⁵ The treatment of this ballet demonstrates the Nazis’ inconsistent categorisation of the arts: in the same year that dramatic ballet was banned in Germany, *Joan de Zarissa* received its French premiere to great critical acclaim at the Paris Opéra. Whilst dance in Germany was slowly shut down, dance in France was actively encouraged by the German authorities. This was because it satisfied a wider, militaristic, goal; French ballet contributed towards normalising the German presence in Paris.

The arbitrary but nonetheless brutal attitude towards the arts was typical of National Socialist policy and explains why artists, writers and composers working in Germany were

¹⁰² Letter from Reichdramaturg Rainer Schlösser to Minister Section T, Propaganda Ministry. 22 September 1942. Reproduced in Karina and Kant, *Hitler’s Dancers* (2004), pp. 296-8. Documentary Appendix 90.

¹⁰³ Beethoven’s ballet *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus* (The Creatures of Prometheus), is referred to in other chapters of this thesis by the French translation of its title, *Les Créatures des Prométhée*.

¹⁰⁴ Letter from Reichdramaturg Rainer Schlösser to General Intendant Schüler, 25 September 1942, quoted in Karina and Kant, *Hitler’s Dancers* (2004), p. 143.

¹⁰⁵ Notes from Dr Schlösser and communication Section Theatre to Main Office, 15 September and 1 October 1942, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 143.

nervous of being interpreted as anti-Nazi. In some ways this had the opposite effect on ordinary German people as it increased the appetite and intrigue for experimental, avant-garde art – Chapter Three will discuss how German soldiers stationed in Paris enjoyed French culture precisely because it was so different from the restricted, prohibited, streamlined arts on offer in Germany. That is not to say that, for example, German composers were *not* creating interesting and innovative music – or that all modern music was subject to a blanket ban – but that the increasing rules and brutal punishments curbed the inventiveness so inherent in German music before the Nazi era.¹⁰⁶ Joan Evans’ research into the performance of Stravinsky’s music in Nazi Germany shows that, though modern music faded from view during the Third Reich, by no means did its performance cease altogether from 1933.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the Nazis’ regulation of cultural life forced some artists, creators and theatre programmers to become increasingly covert and creative in the ways they asserted political subversion, an idea that will be further explored in the Parisian context in Chapters Four and Five.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS: GERMAN DANCE, NAZI IDEOLOGY AND CULTURAL POLICY

After the declaration of Total War in 1944, all theatres were closed and theatrical dance in Nazi Germany ceased to exist on a formal level. Classical dance in Germany had been gradually, systemically and deliberately erased over the course of a decade, reduced largely to pretty spectacle whilst in France, German soldiers zealously obtained tickets to ballet performances at the Paris Opéra. Despite attempts from Goebbels and other Nazi officials to control and censor it, dance presented the Nazis with aesthetic and ideological problems which went largely unaddressed throughout the Third Reich. Confusion about what was and was not acceptable in German dance was complicated because officials themselves offered little guidance to dancers and choreographers. Further, the National Socialists’ treatment of dance differs from other creative arts because the value of its very existence – its legitimacy and morality – was questioned by the regime.

¹⁰⁶ See Potter, ‘What is “Nazi Music”?’ (2005); Joan Evans, ‘International with National Emphasis’: The *Internationales Zeitgenössisches Musikfest* in Baden-Baden, 1936-1939,’ in *Music and Nazism*, ed. by Michael Kater and Albrecht Riethmüller (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 2003).

¹⁰⁷ Joan Evans, ‘Stravinsky’s Music in Hitler’s Germany,’ in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 56:3 (2003), pp. 525-594.

This chapter has shown the way that both modern dance and classical ballet created problems for the National Socialists on ideological, practical and aesthetic levels. It has further shown that the implications of these problems caused dance in Germany to exist in a different space to other art forms: dance's artistic worth was questioned, and its value was underestimated. Its potential for imparting an 'intellectual' message was treated with suspicion and ultimately suppressed.

This contextual understanding enables the argument proposed in Chapter Three, that the National Socialists' relationship to dance and its relatively relaxed bureaucratic control thereof enabled French ballet to occupy a cultural space that might be used for subversion. It is in this key attitude that the comparison between French ballet and German dance during the German occupation becomes apparent, adding weight to the assertion that French dance served a different function within the Third Reich when compared with German dance. French ballet was much more widely renowned and was actively promoted by the National Socialist authorities, even whilst German dance was contemporaneously prohibited.

The conclusions in this chapter regarding the place of dance in German society are similarly pertinent for the remaining chapters of this thesis, particularly Chapter Three which will discuss Germans as tourists and ballet-goers in Paris. This contextual framework suggests ways in which the occupiers may have inherited ways of seeing, perceiving and reading dance and ballet performance, contributing to this thesis's examination of the function and perception of French ballet in occupied Paris.

CHAPTER THREE | 'THE BOOTS IMPOSE THEIR RHYTHM'¹: REPERTOIRE AND AUDIENCE AT THE PARIS OPÉRA DURING THE GERMAN OCCUPATION

The German occupation of France was swift. Citizens fled the capital in a mass exodus. 'There was only one idea in my head,' wrote Simone de Beauvoir, 'not to be caught like a rat in occupied Paris.'² The Germans marched into the French capital early on the morning of 14 June 1940 to find it almost derelict. 'Empty,' wrote Paul Léautaud:

That is exactly the word. Shops shut. The odd passerby. The rue du Châteaudon deserted. Same thing around the Opéra, Avenue de l'Opéra, and the streets off it. All buildings have their doors closed [...] as far as the eye could carry, absolutely deserted, all the shops closed. And the silence!³

Jacques Rouché, director of the Paris Opéra and the Opéra-Comique, fled to Cahors with many of the Opéra's administrative staff. Meanwhile, Charles de Gaulle retreated to London where he incited French civilians to resist the German presence. 'Whatever happens,' he declared in a radio broadcast on the 18 June, 'the flame of French resistance must not be extinguished and will not be extinguished.'⁴

Following initial panic, civilians quickly returned to the capital, and theatres, music halls, cinemas and cabarets had reopened in Paris by the end of 1940. Cultural life was thriving

¹ Diary entry 10 February 1941. Jean Guéhenno, *Diary of the Dark Years, 1940-1944*, trans. by David Ball (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), p. 58.

² Diary entry 9 June 1940. Simone de Beauvoir, *Wartime Diary*, ed. by Margaret A. Simons (Urbana; University of Illinois Press, 2009), p. 271.

³ Paul Léautaud, *Journal Littéraire*, quoted in David Pryce-Jones, *Paris in the Third Reich: A History of the German Occupation, 1940-1944* (London: Collins, 1981), p. 9.

⁴ Charles de Gaulle, BBC Radio Broadcast, 18 June 1940. Fondation Charles de Gaulle, 'Manuscrit de l'appel du 18 juin.' Available online <<http://www.charles-de-gaulle.org/lhomme/dossiers-thematiques/refus-de-larmistice-lappel-18-juin/manuscrit-de-lappel-18-juin/>> [Accessed 1 September 2019].

once again.⁵ ‘After the agony of the defeat,’ wrote Yuki Desnos, a kind of euphoria reigned.⁶ Those uncertain that the Paris Opéra Ballet would survive the war following the lack of performances in early 1940 need not have worried. By the end of the year the Paris Opéra’s performance schedule had returned to its pre-war regularity. In fact, the proportion of ballet presentations at the Palais Garnier doubled during the occupation. By 1944, the Paris Opéra Ballet was performing with more frequency and had introduced important, successful new works into its repertoire including the ballets discussed in Chapter Four. The Palais Garnier regularly played to packed houses and enjoyed excellent reviews. Performances were so popular that it was often necessary to book tickets the very day schedules were announced.⁷

Who were these audiences? How did they perceive French ballet at the Paris Opéra? What was the opera- and ballet-going experience like during the German occupation? Though we know tickets for the Palais Garnier’s performances regularly sold out, it is difficult to ascertain, with any degree of certainty, who attended the ballet (and I have been unable to locate subscriber lists for this period). It is even more difficult to understand how the diverse audience perceived the Paris Opéra Ballet. Nevertheless, a diverse source base including newspaper reviews, memoirs, photographs and official documents suggests answers to these questions.

Though newspapers offer an invaluable source for understanding the public mood in occupied Paris, such publications are problematic for historical analysis because they had their own agendas and were subject to numerous restrictions. Both Vichy and the Propaganda-Abteilung censored all publications in their respective zones of (non-)occupation and so the sanctioned press was inherently collaborationist.⁸ Reviews of the occupation ballets appear in censored collaborationist French titles such as *Comœdia*, *Paris Midi*, *Les Nouveaux Temps*, *L’Action Française*, *Candide* and *L’Œuvre*, as well as more staunch pro-Nazi titles such as *Je suis partout* and *La Gerbe*, which, though mostly political, featured regular musical columns. Such reviews offer detailed and insightful observations about ballet productions including descriptions of their plots and creative collaborators. The reviews often feature in-depth

⁵ Patrick Marsh, ‘The Theatre: Compromise or Collaboration?’ in *Collaboration in France: Politics and Culture during the Nazi Occupation, 1940-1944*, ed. by Gerhard Hirschfeld and Patrick Marsh (Oxford, New York and Munich: Berg, 1989), p. 144.

⁶ Quoted in Pryce-Jones, *Paris in the Third Reich* (1981), p. 19.

⁷ Remembered by Paul Simon in *One Enemy Only – The Invader: A Record of French Resistance*, trans. by W. G. Corp (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1942), p. 18. The Palais Garnier’s *Journal de l’Opéra* exists for this period but it does not list nightly takings or ticket prices. See *Journal de l’Opéra* BnF BMO.

⁸ See Sara Iglesias, *Musicologie et Occupation. Science et politique dans la France des « années noires »* (Paris: Éditions de la maison des sciences de l’homme, 2014), pp. 55-8; p. 217; Riding, *And the Show Went On* (2010), pp. 234-5.

musical commentary by critics and composers such as Marcel Delannoy and Arthur Honegger, and cultural commentators including Léandre Vaillat, Serge Moreux and Alexis Michaguine-Skrydloff, many of whom (though not all) were involved in collaborationist organisations such as the Groupe Collaboration. Such reviews were self-censored and avoided obvious political commentary, though composer nationalities were often listed and references to the contemporary situation in France were sometimes alluded to. The clandestine press was more sporadic and had little space for reviews, though – of course – it was also overtly political. The Front national des musiciens' newsheets and its musical publication *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* published short, generalised articles with the aim of helping musicians to resist the Germans and Vichy where possible, often making recommendations for listeners, theatre programmers and composers.

The German-language press carried theatre and music listings for German soldiers in Paris, and the daily *Pariser Zeitung* highlighted cultural events across the German-occupied territories in its 'Tagebuch aus dem Kulturleben' column. The fortnightly *Deutsche Wegleiter für Paris* – a sort of *Time Out* magazine for Germans in Paris – listed events and cultural activities, carrying advertisements for sporting venues, restaurants, barbers and jewellers alongside short stories, useful phone numbers and *Métro* locations. The magazine occasionally reviewed performances by visiting German opera companies and orchestras and, though it sometimes announced new French productions, it tended not to review performances by French companies in detail.

Though newspaper reviews were published under the threat of heavy censorship, they nonetheless offer a valuable – though perhaps one-sided – perspective, if not that of the average audience member.⁹ Reviewers might not have been free to share their uncensored opinion, but their writing sheds light on the ways in which the French public perceived, thought and read about cultural performances. Sara Iglesias argues that music critics in the censored press helped to promote the German policy of cultural seduction:

⁹ For the French press under occupation see Donna Evleth, *The Authorized Press in Vichy and German-Occupied France, 1940-44: A Bibliography* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999); Sara Iglesias, *Musicologie et Occupation. Science et politique dans la France des « années noires »* (Paris: Éditions de la maison des sciences de l'homme, 2014); Sara Iglesias, "L'âme, le cœur, et toute l'aspiration d'un peuple": La critique musicale française, relais de la politique de collaboration ?" in *La Musique à Paris sous l'Occupation*, ed. by Myriam Chimènes and Yannick Simon (Paris: Fayard, 2013); Rachel Orzech, 'A Universal Art, an Art for All? The Reception of Richard Wagner in the Parisian Press, 1933-1944' PhD diss. University of Melbourne and Université de Rouen, 2016. On the problem of using reviews to assess reception see Katharine Ellis, 'Opera Criticism and the Paris Periodical Press' in *Revue belge de Musicologie* 66 (2012), pp. 127-31.

In the framework of German cultural policy, based on the supposedly ‘apolitical’ seduction of both elites and large sectors of the population, music critics play the essential role of courier, establishing patterns of listening and of reception that transform the German cultural discourse into an acceptable and respectable language for the French as a whole.¹⁰

Writers in the collaborationist press thus encouraged the Parisian audiences to engage in cultural seduction themselves. *La Gerbe*, for example, complained that people should not be made to feel bad for going to the theatre to seek escapism.¹¹ Though studying the censored press must be treated with caution, Rachel Orzech further argues, such reviews and critical opinions show French critics’ attempts to negotiate German and French expectations.¹² Such sources are valuable for showing the important role played by musicologists and reviewers in influencing the French public’s understanding of culture in both the French press and, to a limited extent, in the German-language press.

A further primary source base offers an alternative perspective. The Opéra district, the Avenue de l’Opéra and the Paris Opéra appear in diaries and memoirs written by Parisian citizens and German soldiers in Paris during the occupation with relative frequency. The Paris Opéra was a significant part of Parisian cultural life, particularly for the middle and upper classes: as an entertainment venue, a meeting place, or the backdrop for a walk around the city. These personal references reveal an insight into cultural and social life in Paris during the occupation and show how the Paris Opéra featured both on a practical and symbolic level. The Palais Garnier was a paradoxical space: in seeking cultural escapism from the war, people placed themselves in close physical proximity to the ‘enemy.’

This chapter examines the Paris Opéra Ballet during the German occupation using performance schedules, programmes, newspaper reports, photographs, diaries and memoirs to understand the way that ballet changed during the period, and what it may have represented. Beginning with a description of cultural life in occupied Paris, the chapter describes the impact of National Socialist cultural censorship on French music, showing how musicians and composers opposed to the Nazi presence used their art to subvert restrictions where possible. Examination of the changes made to opera and ballet repertoire during the

¹⁰ ‘Dans le cadre de la politique culturelle allemande, basée sur la séduction soi-disant « apolitique » à la fois des élites et des larges couches de la population, les critiques musicaux jouent le rôle essentiel de passeur, établissant des schémas d’écoute et de réception qui transforment le discours culturel allemand en un langage acceptable et respectable pour l’ensemble des Français.’ Iglesias, ‘La critique musicale française’ (2013), p. 220.

¹¹ Quoted in Henri Amouroux, *La Grande histoire des françaises sous l’occupation*, Vols. 1-5 (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1976). Vol. 2, p. 199.

¹² Orzech, ‘A Universal Art’ (2017), p. 21.

occupation reveals that repertoire in fact became more French during the period in question. Further, the ballet company enhanced its cultural and social prestige through increased performance evenings and charity galas. Three occupation-related factors coincided with the gradually increasing interest and respect for French ballet, as outlined in Chapter One, to result in the Paris Opéra Ballet's growth during the German occupation: censorship restrictions (which mostly affected and reduced the performance of German opera), financial restraints (which motivated the production of new French ballets) and a more diverse audience which included Germans.

Establishing the day-to-day running of the theatre as well as its repertoire and performance scheduling shows how the Paris Opéra was affected by the German occupation and allows for discussion about how it contributed to Parisian cultural life. A list of the ballets and operas in the repertoire is detailed in Appendices B and C, and a list of all performances at the Palais Garnier during the occupation is included in Appendix D. This chapter's final section builds a picture of the wartime Paris Opéra audience using photographs, memoirs and diaries, showing how performances at the Palais Garnier brought together a cross-section of occupation society. These sources illuminate the ballet- and opera-going experience during the German occupation and further help us to understand the place of French ballet and opera in occupation life.

Culture made a foundational contribution to National Socialist governance and control, particularly in the occupied territories. The Propaganda-Abteilung in Paris under Otto Abetz used culture and propaganda to subtly reinforce and underline the Germans' domination of French life through cultural seduction.¹³ This strategy of rule allowed the French relative freedom to run their own affairs in order to create an outward appearance of continuity. At the same time, the Vichy government funded and encouraged the performance of French repertoire, particularly that which promoted its ideological aesthetic by representing conservative, nationalist, pastoral themes.¹⁴ Under these circumstances, repertoire choice was loaded with meaning and the Paris Opéra had multiple groups to please both aesthetically and

¹³ See Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940-1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 171, p. 312. For German propaganda in Paris see Claude Lévy and Dominique Veillon, 'Propagande et modelage des esprits' in *Le Régime de Vichy et les Français*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Azéma and François Bédarida (Paris: Fayard, 1992), pp. 198-199; Manuela Schwartz, 'La Musique, outil majeur de la propagande culturelle des nazis,' *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed. by Myriam Chimènes, pp. 95-9; Philippe Burrin, *Living with Defeat: France Under the German Occupation, 1940-1944* trans. by Janet Lloyd (London: Hodder, 1996).

¹⁴ See Leslie Sprout, 'Music for a "New Era": Composers and National Identity in France, 1936-1946,' PhD diss. Berkeley, University of California, 2000, pp. v-vi; pp. 33-35.

politically: the German censors, the Vichy government, its existing French audience, and its new audience of German soldiers and officials.

Gérard Fontaine describes the grandeur of the Palais Garnier's architecture as a *façade mise-en-scène* (façade as stage-set).¹⁵ During the German occupation, the Palais Garnier became a stage on which cultural and social experience was performed; it functioned as a sort of microcosm for occupied Parisian society. Tickets to the Paris Opéra could be purchased for as little as twelve francs while top price seats cost around one hundred francs; for comparison the average wage in Paris was just over twelve francs per hour.¹⁶ The Paris Opéra was a space where French civilians, German soldiers, élite Parisians, collaborators and members of the resistance gathered under one roof. Though their motivations and subjectivities differed, this diverse audience was presented with the same cultural objects to enjoy and interpret. Understanding these audiences alongside the artistic and political aims of composers working in occupied France enables a fuller understanding of the context within which the new ballets presented at the Paris Opéra were received by their audience.

The Paris Opéra Ballet is at the centre of this chapter's description of the occupation. This angle has not been detailed before as existing literature either addresses cultural life in Paris generally, or concentrates on the resident French and visiting German opera companies at the Palais Garnier.¹⁷ Histories of the period treat ballet as tangential to the story of the occupation and yet ballet was significant in its own right. The German audience contributed to keeping the Paris Opéra financially solvent and their interest encouraged the production and presentation of French ballets. Grandgambe posits that the German soldiers in Paris were more interested in French ballet than opera.¹⁸ Not only does this story expand our knowledge of the way individual Germans experienced cultural life in Paris as tourists, it helps us to understand the way their activities and tastes *impacted* on cultural life in Paris. This chapter

¹⁵ Gérard Fontaine, *L'Opéra de Charles Garnier: architecture et décor extérieur* (Paris: Éditions du Patrimoine, 2000), p. 49.

¹⁶ Ticket prices varied. See *Deutsche Wegleiter für Paris*, which lists the price of tickets in Reichsmarks; half the price that tickets were sold to French audiences, AVL. Fonds Lifar. Presse 1940-44. Lausanne; Helen I. Cowan, 'Wage Trends and Wage Policies, 1938-47,' in *Monthly Labor Review*, 65:2 (August 1947), pp. 149-157.

¹⁷ On cultural life in Paris see Frederic Spotts, *The Shameful Peace: How French Artists and Intellectuals Survived the Nazi Occupation* (London: Yale University Press, 2008); Alan Riding, *And the Show Went On: Cultural Life in Nazi-Occupied Paris* (London: Duckworth Overlook, 2011). On French opera and visiting German companies see Jane F. Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity: Musical Culture and Creativity in France during Vichy and the German Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); Leslie Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013); *La vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed. by Myriam Chimènes (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 2001); Stéphanie Corcy, *La Vie culturelle sous l'Occupation* (Paris: Perrin, 2005).

¹⁸ Sandrine Grandgambe, 'La Réunion des théâtres lyriques nationaux' in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy* (2001), p. 119.

therefore seeks to re-evaluate the importance of ballet during the German occupation of France, contributing to literature discussing cultural life during the occupation.

CULTURAL LIFE IN OCCUPIED PARIS: THE PARIS OPÉRA

The Germans set about opening a Parisian branch of Joseph Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry from June 1940. Paris and its neighbouring departments fell under the Kommandant von Gross-Paris: David Pryce-Jones argues that it was a microcosm of the Nazi administration.¹⁹ Under Major Heinz Schmidtke, loyal supporter of Goebbels, the Propaganda-Abteilung largely mirrored the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (RMVP) in Germany.²⁰ It was split into six subsections (Fachgruppen): press, radio, cinema, culture (which encompassed music, theatre, fine arts, music hall and cabaret), literature and propaganda.²¹ The Propaganda-Abteilung used censorship to control information and culture within occupied France with the aim of 'shaping' the French view of Germany and, argues Bertrand Dorléac, increasing French sympathy for National Socialism.²² 'The task of the bureau must be to pursue German propaganda,' wrote chief of the Propaganda-Abteilung's division for cultural affairs, Captain Lucht, in January 1942.²³ Lucht's strategies included inviting German orchestras and opera companies to France. Sprout argues that he aimed to 'overpower' the French with German cultural propaganda, leading the way for future military conquest.²⁴

As head of the German Embassy and ambassador to Vichy France, Otto Abetz oversaw the military and police administrations including the Institut allemand.²⁵ Like Lucht, he

¹⁹ Four Kommandants governed Paris: General Alfred von Vollard-Bockelgurb (June-August 1940), General Ernst von Schaumburg (August 1940-September 1943), General Hans von Boineburg-Lengsfeld (September 1943-July 1944) and General Dietrich von Choltitz (August 1944). Pryce-Jones, *Paris in the Third Reich* (1981), pp. ix-x; p. 35.

²⁰ See Laurence Bertrand Dorléac *Art of the Defeat: France 1940-1944* (California: Getty Research Institute, 2009), p. 45.

²¹ Riding, *And the Show Went On* (2010), p. 52.

²² Dorléac *Art of the Defeat* (2009), p. 46.

²³ Captain Lucht, 'Gruppe Kultur. Paris, den 13 Januar 1942. Aktennotiz für den Herrn Staffelführer. Betrifft: Französische Kulturpropaganda.' AN. AJ40.1001. Archives allemandes de l'Occupation. Propaganda-Staffel Paris. Gruppe Kultur/Theater: rapports d'activité.

²⁴ Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013), p. 15.

²⁵ A trained art teacher and passionate Francophile, Abetz had worked to maintain Franco-German relations during the 1930s forming a cultural group for French and German youths. In 1934 he founded the Comité France-Allemagne (CFA) ostensibly to encouragement rapprochement and mutual appreciation. Though Abetz appreciated French culture he still believed in German cultural superiority and the main purpose of the CFA had been to encourage French appreciation of German culture. See Barbara Lambauer, 'Otto Abetz, inspirateur et catalyseur de la collaboration culturelle,' in *Les Intellectuels et l'Occupation, 1940-1944: Collaborer, partir, résister*,

believed that cultural visibility would complement German military domination. 'Encourage the French to distract themselves and forget about the occupation,' wrote Hitler.²⁶ Abetz was a Francophile and a key proponent of 'cultural seduction,' approaching French culture with a relatively lax attitude.²⁷ 'Through their supposed moderation [and] their enterprise of seduction,' writes Lambauer, men like Abetz 'were much more effective than their more brutal counterparts.'²⁸ This policy was reflected in the Germans' governing of France more generally, which further encouraged a misapprehension of control and mutual respect in order to create a perception that the French had self-governance. The Wehrmacht oversaw teams of French civil servants in a system the SS lawyer and founder of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (Reich Security Main Office, RSHA) Werner Best described as 'supervisory administration.'²⁹ From the German point of view at least, then, culture served a different purpose in occupied France when compared with the aims of cultural policy in National Socialist Germany as discussed in Chapter Two. Rather than provide a model for moral guidance, the purpose of culture in France was to placate the French into submission and forward the Germans' military objectives. French culture also had a unique appeal for German soldiers and officials – particularly when compared with Eastern European culture – both because and in spite of its European cultural dominance: they wished to enjoy French culture whilst stationed in occupied Paris.³⁰ At the same time, music was an effective means of promoting German culture within France as there was no language barrier and German music already enjoyed an excellent reputation. German orchestras and visiting musicians played to packed audiences throughout 1940-44.³¹

State institutions such as the Paris Opéra were obliged to submit their programmes to the Propaganda-Abteilung in advance of performances in order to receive their subsidies. Musical works by Jewish or Soviet composers, music which dealt with Jewish or communist

ed. by Albrecht Betz and Stefan Martens (Paris: Éditions Autrement, 2004), pp. 67-8; Burrin, *France under the Germans* (1996), pp. 53-5.

²⁶ *Adjutantur der Wehrmacht beim Führer*, 31 March 1942, quoted in Karen Fiss, *Grand Illusion: The Third Reich, the Paris Exposition, and the Cultural Seduction of France* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 194-5.

²⁷ Stéphanie Corcy, *La Vie culturelle* (2005), p. 29. For discussion of cultural seduction see Burrin, *France under the Germans* (1996); Jackson, *France: The Dark Years* (2003), 171; Fiss, *Grand Illusion* (2009).

²⁸ Barbara Lambauer, *Otto Abetz et les français, ou l'envers de la Collaboration* (Paris: Fayard, 2001), p. 721.

²⁹ See Mark Mazower, *Hitler's Empire: Nazi Rule in Occupied Europe* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009). Accessed at the BL [no page numbers]. Place 1139.6/1849.

³⁰ See *ibid.*, place 409.7/1849; 1139.6/1849; Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia, 1941-1945: A Study of Occupation Policies* (London: MacMillan, 1957), p. 76; *Hitler's Table Talk, 1941-1944: His Private Conversations*, ed. by Hugh Trevor-Roper (New York: Enigma, 1988), pp. 3-5.

³¹ Burrin, *France under the Germans* (1996), pp. 296-9.

themes, and atonal music and jazz were prohibited.³² As discussed in Chapter Two, German dance functioned somewhat outside of the Reichskulturkammer system. It was problematic for the National Socialists on aesthetic, ideological and practical levels and did not have its own established chamber. As there had been no separate, established, dance ministry existing in Paris pre-1940 either, the governance of dance in occupied France was split between the departments for music and theatre. This lack of administrative coherence resulted in lax regulation and control of dance in France, providing space for ballet to accidentally slip between gaps, going unnoticed whilst perhaps pushing boundaries.

While the Propaganda-Abteilung dealt with enacting official restrictions and censorship, French and German intellectuals, celebrities and politicians socialised at the embassy and attended high-profile lectures and concerts at the Institut allemand hosted by Karl Epting and Karl Heinz Bremer.³³ These concerts, exhibitions and performances further served to normalise the German presence in France and the involvement of French cultural figures and celebrities, in order to encourage Franco-German ingratiation amongst the wider French population. French cultural figures were invited to join the aforementioned Groupe Collaboration, headed by writer Alphonse de Châteaubriant, which had 100,000 members by 1944 and encouraged transnational alliance amongst the French intellectual elites.³⁴

Paris Opéra choreographer Serge Lifar was one such controversial figure. He has been memorialised in Paris Opéra literature for his contributions to French dance alongside few mentions of his connections with German officials and attendance at high-profile events in France and Germany during the war.³⁵ During the occupation, Lifar became a celebrity. Mark Franko's recent monograph offers a detailed account of Lifar's activities during the

³² Though jazz was technically banned, at least 80 jazz concerts took place in Paris during the war, and the absence of American musicians touring France during the Occupation created an opportunity for French jazz. See Sprout, 'Music for a "New Era"', (2000), p. 108.

³³ Dorléac, *Art of the Defeat* (2009), pp. 45-6.

³⁴ Bertram Gordon, *Collaborationism in France during the Second World War* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1980), p. 230-231. There is discrepancy between the number of members of the *Groupe Collaboration*: Alan Riding reports 44,000 members – Riding, *And the Show Went On* (2010), p. 54. See also Kay Chadwick, *Alphonse de Châteaubriant: Catholic Collaborator* (Oxford: Lang, 2002); Richard J. Golsan, *French Writers and the Politics of Complicity: Crises of Democracy in the 1940s and 1990s* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006), pp. 53-76. Fascist journalist Lucien Rebatet described a trip to Vienna in November 1941 with Jacques Rouché in which the group celebrated the bicentenary of Mozart's death and were treated to an array of opera performances including Richard Strauss's *Friedenstag*. See Lucien Rebatet, *Les Mémoires d'un Fasciste* Vol. II. (Paris: Éditions Pauvert, 1976), pp. 40-3.

³⁵ Official literature includes Opéra National de Paris, *Serge Lifar à l'Opéra* (Paris: Éditions de La Martinière, 2006), p. 12-3 which has one paragraph about the Nazi Occupation; Albin Michel, Opéra de Paris, BnF, *Le Ballet de l'Opéra: Trois siècles de suprématie depuis Louis XIV* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2013). Lifar's autobiography offers a colourful account of the German occupation: Serge Lifar, *Ma Vie: An Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1970), pp. 159-310.

occupation, arguing that he collaborated with the German authorities and expressed antisemitism in his writing on dance. Further, Franko interprets Lifar's neoclassical choreography as representative of fascism or proto-fascism because of its inherent conservatism and classical inspirations.³⁶ As discussed in Chapter One, neoclassicism in dance aimed to modernise classical ballet whilst looking to the traditions of the French past.³⁷ While Lifar's choreography was modern in comparison to the ballet being performed on the stage of the Palais Garnier in the preceding years, it was in fact conservative in the context of the modernism with which dance was associated during the inter-war years. Lifar's choreography served both to modernise and improve French dance whilst appealing to the aesthetics of both the National Socialists and Vichy by looking to the past for inspiration.

In his memoir, Lifar recalled travelling to Germany to meet with Adolf Hitler and boasted about the parties and functions hosted by the German authorities in Paris that he attended.³⁸ He framed these activities as necessary sacrifices made for the advancement of French dance in statements which show his propensity for elevating his self-importance, often at the expense of truth.³⁹ However, Jewish dancer Jean Babilée refuted claims that Lifar helped him to survive persecution: 'He says absolutely anything that comes into his head [...] he was a mythomaniac. I admired him enormously as an artist, he was amazing, but he was rather an ordinary human being. He didn't save me at all.'⁴⁰ During the early weeks of occupation, Lifar acted as head of the Paris Opéra, negotiating with the Germans while Rouché remained in the unoccupied zone until late July. When Rouché returned to Paris they shared leadership of the Paris Opéra with Lifar maintaining contact with the Nazis and Rouché liaising with Vichy.⁴¹ Lifar made artistic decisions and worked directly with his creative colleagues while Rouché remained in administrative and bureaucratic control of the RTLN. It appears that they made decisions regarding repertoire together with Rouché making logistical decisions while Lifar held jurisdiction over creative choices.

³⁶ Mark Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar: Interwar French Ballet and the German Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

³⁷ See Glenn Watkins, *Pyramids at the Louvre: Music, Culture, and Collage from Stravinsky to the Postmodernists* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 84-111; Daniel Albright, *Untwisting the Serpent: Modernism in Music, Literature, and Other Arts* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000), pp. 207-11.

³⁸ Lifar, *Ma Vie* (1970), pp. 244-8.

³⁹ For Lifar's occupation activities see Mark Franko, 'Serge Lifar and the Question of Collaboration with the German Authorities under the Occupation of Paris (1940-1949)' *Dance Research* 35:2 (Winter 2017), pp. 218-257; Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar* (2020).

⁴⁰ Quoted in Riding, *And the Show Went On* (2010), p. 161.

⁴¹ See Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar* (2020), pp. 184-201.

Lifar maintained a close friendship with Otto Abetz at the German Embassy, which focussed on placating the French public by cultivating cultural life through cultural seduction. Lifar also courted the German press. In an interview in *Der Deutsche Wegleiter für Paris* in 1941 aimed at a popular readership – Germans looking for entertainment in Paris – Lifar advertised the Paris Opéra Ballet's upcoming productions. The interview provided a behind-the-scenes description of life at the Palais Garnier, and also gave Lifar the opportunity to subtly suggest that German ballet was less successful than French ballet. After commenting somewhat favourably on German ballet and the modernist dancers Mary Wigman, Rudolf von Laban and Harald Kreutzberg, Lifar accused Germans of 'thinking too much instead of dancing' (*zu viel zu denken, anstatt zu tanzen*). At the end of the article, however, Lifar made sure to praise German culture, commenting that it would be possible for ballet to achieve the popularity of the Ballets Russes: 'especially in Germany, with its great dance tradition and its practically inexhaustible number of true artists [...] The way is paved,' he commented, 'for great new developments in the art of dance.'⁴² Such comments pervade Lifar's occupation writing: he flatters German culture whilst asserting the unparalleled uniqueness – as he saw it – of French dance.

Lifar's interactions with the Germans brought material gains. In 1943 he was appointed advisor at the newly established *Groupement corporatif de la danse* based at the Propaganda Staffel, which monitored dance schools and social dancing in France. By that year, Lifar's ingratiating with the German authorities and friendship with Abetz had garnered him a night pass, German identification papers, license to carry a gun and permission to drive his car in Paris. Lifar's salary in 1943 was higher than any other staff member at the Paris Opéra, including Rouché.⁴³

Though Lifar's ingratiating with the German authorities was likely motivated primarily by opportunism, it is plausible that he felt collaboration was necessary for survival as he was both Russian-born (though naturalised French) and a homosexual. In a July 1940 article in the antisemitic collaborationist journal *Au Pilon*, Lifar was accused of having changed his name from 'Rafil' or 'Raphail' and being of Jewish origin. 'He passes for Russian in the same way

⁴² 'Auf meine Frage, ob es möglich sei, die Höhe des russischen Balletts, wie sie vor dem Weltkrieg bestand, wieder zu erreichen, antwortet er mit einem begeisterten "Ja". Besonders in Deutschland mit seiner grossen Tanztradition und seinem schier unerschöpflichen Menschenmaterial an wirklichen Künstlern sei der Weg gebahnt für eine grosse Neuentwicklung der Tanzkunst.' *Der Deutsche Wegleiter für Paris*, 1941 (no specific date), p. 9, p. 60. AVL. Fonds Lifar. Presse 1941. Lausanne.

⁴³ Grandgambe, 'La Réunion' (2001), p. 116.

that Blum passed for French,' mocked the article, suggesting that Lifar ought to remember the 'ancestral ghetto' whence he came. This article also referred to Lifar using the female term 'danseuse,' openly mocking the masculinity of ballet dancers and, probably, making a jibe at Lifar's homosexuality.⁴⁴ Though homosexuality was a highly punishable offence under National Socialism in Germany, many high-profile individuals such as Jean Cocteau, Marcel Jouhandeau and Henry de Montherlant managed to escape scrutiny in France, particularly if they were willing to support both the Germans and the right-wing Vichy state. Kenneth Kraus in fact posits that there may have been a 'flourishing of homosexuality' in occupied Paris, with a homosexual 'demi-monde' occupying positions of authority in government, culture and the police force. He argues that, unlike in Germany, there was little noticeable change in freedoms for homosexuals in Paris between the 1930s and the 1940s.⁴⁵ Lifar did not know this at the beginning of the occupation, however, and so the threat of persecution may have contributed towards his enthusiastic ingratiation with the German authorities from 1940.

For some, attending entertainments was brushed off as harmless apolitical activity, but for others, culture carried a deep political significance and French citizens struggled with the moral implications of normalising Franco-German rapprochement. Burrin writes that French intellectuals and artists were not pressured by the German authorities to continue to create under the German presence; rather they 'had to say no to themselves [...] a situation so abnormally favourable could give one's surroundings an aura of quasi-normality.'⁴⁶ The aforementioned assertion in *La Gerbe* – which was edited by Groupe Collaboration head, Châteaubriant – that attending the theatre should be apolitical was a political statement in itself: the Groupe Collaboration had an agenda in encouraging audiences to return to normal life without questioning the morality of doing so.

The Vichy government in the unoccupied zone had its own objectives for French culture. The government had a balance to strike between collaboration with the Germans and contending with increased suspicion from the public. The Vichy administration of Fine Arts balanced a need, argues Leslie Sprout, to 'defend' French culture against German propaganda

⁴⁴ 'Il s'appelle Rafil, ou si vous préférez Raphaël et il passe pour Russe, tout comme Léon Blum passe pour être Français et Laval auvergnat. [...] Il n'y en a que pour les sauteurs métèques qui semblent avoir oublié le ghetto ancestral où leur destin les ramènera bientôt.' The article describes Lifar as 'danseuse (pardon, c'est danseur que nous voulons dire).' Anon. 'Une Confidence' *Au Pilon*, 18 July 1940, 1. AVL. Fonds Lifar. Presse 1940. Lausanne.

⁴⁵ Kenneth Krauss, *The Drama of Fallen France: Reading La Comédie sans Tickets* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), pp. 11-3.

⁴⁶ Philippe Burrin, *La France à l'heure allemande 1940-1944* (Paris: Seuil, 1995), p. 331.

whilst ‘redefining’ the nation’s cultural heritage.⁴⁷ The administration des Beaux-Arts in Vichy was determined to maintain French identity and patriotism through support for French cultural institutions.⁴⁸ In return, French national institutions such as the Paris Opéra in both the occupied and the non-occupied zones justified their survival and success (and in some cases financial subsidy) by working with Vichy to play a ‘national’ role by responding to Pétain’s *Révolution nationale*, an attempt to promote French identity and cohesiveness through a return to the ideologically and culturally conservative ideals of *Travail, patrie, famille*.⁴⁹ As Julian Jackson identifies, however, Vichy was vague about what this ‘national’ role meant in practice and French institutions and cultural figures negotiated the occupation in different ways.⁵⁰ Jane F. Fulcher argues that institutions such as the Paris Opéra played a significant role in furthering Vichy’s objectives and by 1942 they had become ‘prisms for the projection, and contestation, of a changing vision of France’s cultural past and future.’⁵¹ Culture and the arts were supported by Vichy: as directeur générale (and from 1941, secrétaire générale) des Beaux-Arts, Louis Hauteœur oversaw all French state theatres and commissions of new works. Overall funding for music increased during the occupation from 3 million francs in 1940 to 10 million by 1944, even though the Fine Arts administration’s total budget decreased during this time.⁵²

Like the German RMK, the French administration encouraged composers to promote French culture and was intended as a way of supporting composers financially whilst speedily producing classic national works that would demonstrate Vichy’s cultural aesthetic through the performance of French music at leading French institutions. Hauteœur allocated ‘unprecedented’ funding for the arts and music which resulted in new presentations including Milhaud’s *Médée* (1940), Marcel Delannoy’s *Ginevra* (Opéra-Comique, 1942) and Germaine Tailleferre’s *Cantate du Narcisse* (Marseille, 1942).⁵³ Ballets including Jolivet’s *Guignol et Pandore*

⁴⁷ See Sprout, ‘Music for a “New Era”’ (2000), pp. v-vi; pp. 33-35.

⁴⁸ Manuela Schwartz, ‘La Musique, outil majeur de la propagande culturelle des Nazis,’ trans. by Laetitia Ingraio in *La vie musicale sous Vichy* ed. by Myriam Chimènes (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 2001), p. 99.

⁴⁹ See Philippe Burrin, ‘The Ideology of the National Revolution’ in *The Development of the Radical Right in France*, ed. by Edward J. Arnold (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000).

⁵⁰ Jackson, *France: The Dark Years* (2003), pp. 307-8. Gisèle Sapiro discusses the way that literary institutions justified their survival by emphasising their importance to the nation in *La guerre des écrivains* (Paris: Fayard, 1999), pp. 9-12.

⁵¹ Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, (2018), p. 36.

⁵² Spectacles et musique: Budgets, 1940-3, 1944-6. AN, F21, Beaux-Arts. See also Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013), p. 6. The Third Republic had implemented, from 1938, a commissions programme modelled on the German Reichsmusikkammer (RMK) which was continued by the Vichy government during the German occupation.

⁵³ Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity* (2018), p. 41.

and Sauguet's *Les Mirages* (rehearsed in 1944 but unperformed until 1947) were also commissions. Leslie Sprout reports that the Vichy administration for Beaux-Arts issued sixty-five commissions to French composers between September 1940 and August 1944 though many went unperformed.⁵⁴ Ballets were commissioned from composers such as Henri Busser, Elsa Barraine, René Challan, Louis Mangueneau, Paul Pierné, Pierre Capdeville and Francis Casadesus and, though payments were made for many of these works, the details of their ballets remain unknown. Composers were free to choose their subjects, and not all composers and prospective works were granted a commissions payment by Vichy. Of course, works that appeared in the early years of the occupation were likely started during the Third Republic and thus not created specifically with the Vichy administration's preferred cultural aesthetic in mind, though many were accepted for payment on the basis that they appealed anyway.⁵⁵

In 1941, Minister for National Education Jacques Chevalier introduced a requirement that at least two evenings per year at the Paris Opéra (and three at the Opéra-Comique) should consist of new productions by French composers and librettists.⁵⁶ Ballets and new versions of existing works counted towards this quota but were less costly to produce than new operas. No original operas were premiered at the Paris Opéra during the occupation though there were a small number of high-profile re-workings of existing French presentations at the RTLN including a new version of Debussy's opera *Pelléas et Mélisande* which was presented by the Opéra-Comique in September 1940. Though the restaging had been planned before the occupation, it was a significant event in terms of the promotion of French cultural products because performing Debussy in front of the Germans in the audience represented, to some, a hopeful and defiant gesture.⁵⁷ Meaning could thus be inferred from repertoire choice;

⁵⁴ See Sprout, 'Music for a "New Era"' (2000), pp. 74-81; 380; and Sprout, 'Les commandes de Vichy, aube d'une ère nouvelle'; Alexandra Laederich, 'Les Associations Symphoniques Parisiennes' in *La vie musicale sous Vichy* (2001), pp. 157-8; p. 224; and Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013), p. 6; pp. 376-416. Three opera commissions were premiered during the occupation: Antoine Marriotte's *Nele Doorn* (1940), Paul Le Flem's *Le Rossignol de Saint-Malo* (1942) and Marcel Delannoy's *Ginevra* (1942) were performed at the Opéra-Comique. Two other works were planned but postponed. Other ballet commissions, such as Jeanne Leleu's *Nautéos*, premiered after the occupation, much later than the commissions had been made and paid for. Ballets by Charles Migot and Eugène Bozza were planned for performance at the RTLN during the period but did not come to fruition: the 1943 premiere of Bozza's ballet *Jeu de plage* was cancelled and his second ballet, *Fêtes Romaines*, was performed in concert only. *Jeu de Plage* was scheduled for performance (as '*Soir de Jazz*') at the Opéra-Comique in 1943 but it was not performed until 1945 in Lille – perhaps its title was simply too provocative.

⁵⁵ See Sprout 'Music for a "New Era"' (2000), pp. 376-405. Appendix 1.

⁵⁶ 'Arrêté portant règlement intérieur de la Réunion des théâtres lyriques nationaux. Fait à Vichy, le 8 janvier 1941.' *Réunion des Théâtres lyriques nationaux: Lois, Décrets, Arrêtés*. AN. F21. 5216. Beaux-Arts. Spectacles et Musique, RTLN. See also Sprout, *Musical Legacy*, (2013), p. 7.

⁵⁷ See Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity* (2018), p. 72; Sprout 'Music for a "New Era"' (2000), p. 262; Brigitte Massin quoted in "Mélisande se souvient..." in *Roger Désormière (1898-1963): Actes du Colloque*, ed. by Nicolas Guillot (Paris: Musée de la Résistance nationale, 1999), p. 13.

performing French music, particularly Debussy, under the political circumstances carried a renewed significance.

Only three hundred letters could cross the border per day between the occupied and unoccupied zones, so the Vichy government relied on cultural figureheads and institutional directors such as Rouché to enact policies and make decisions. Though Philippe Gaubert and Henri Busser were heads of the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique respectively, Rouché made all significant decisions relating to finance, administration and diplomacy.⁵⁸ Lifar, Rouché and the new Vichy government agreed that the Paris Opéra should remain open despite the German invasion, arguing that retaining French control of this national cultural institution was imperative. They also reasoned that the RTLN should stay open so that its employees – most of whom quickly returned to Paris following the exodus – did not become unemployed.⁵⁹ Though the Paris Opéra therefore took on an important symbolic role in occupied Paris as an arbiter of French cultural sensibility, such institutions were nevertheless under pressure to present cultural works that would satisfy the tripartite aesthetic and ideological objectives of the Germans, Vichy, and the audience. The discussion of repertoire choice and the interpretation of new presentations must be read with these conflicting influences in mind. Cultural choices were motivated by different groups, had different aims, and were interpreted within differing frames of reference.

Fulcher writes that in this context Rouché was a ‘paradigmatic expert and administrator.’⁶⁰ However, Rouché’s role transcended that of theatre director as he negotiated with the occupiers to strike a balance between obeying censorship restrictions and maintaining what he believed were the best interests of the Paris Opéra and French culture. For example, French companies (including repertory companies) were initially prohibited by the Propagandastaffel from performing German operas. This threatened the Paris Opéra’s repertory, as 25 percent of all opera performances in 1938-39 had been operas by Wagner.⁶¹ However, Rouché negotiated with Captain Lucht at the Propagandastaffel, arguing that the

⁵⁸ See Grandgambe, ‘La Réunion’ (2001), p. 109.

⁵⁹ Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity*, (2018), p. 117; Letters from Jacques Rouché to Louis Hauteœur, dated 15 July 1940 and 17 August 1940. Beaux-Arts, Spectacles et Musique. Opéra; Sprout, ‘Music for a “New Era”’ (2000), p. 111. For Lifar’s recollection of the early months of occupation and his interactions with the Germans, see Lifar, *Ma Vie* (1965), pp. 209-220.

⁶⁰ Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity* (2018), p. 52.

⁶¹ *Lohengrin* had been performed ten times in 1939; *La Valkyrie* sixteen times in 1938-9 and *L’Or du Rhin* eleven times in 1938, a substantial number of times for operas by the same composer. *Tannhäuser* had only been performed once in 1939 and *Siegfried* twice in 1938 so the disappearance of these productions is less significant. None of these works appeared at the Opéra at the end of 1940.

Paris Opéra would face financial ruin if it could not present German works.⁶² It was agreed that only the performance of Wagner operas would be prohibited (the Germans argued that the Paris Opéra did not have strong enough singers to be able to satisfactorily perform Wagnerian opera).⁶³ The negotiation shows Rouché's active use of flattery and praise for German music in order to satisfy his practical and financial considerations. It also shows that Rouché's role transcended that of theatre director and censorship enactor; he had agency when it came to the practical realisation of German ideological restrictions. Further, this example shows the flexibility with which ideology-based censorship restrictions were applied in France: the impracticality of the prohibition of French performance of German operas was recognised. The Germans authorities' strategy of enforcing ideological principles was surpassed by the need to keep peace and preserve an element of French autonomy.

The success with which the Paris Opéra balanced the differing objectives of multiple groups is exemplified through repertoire choices from the beginning of the occupation. On 24 August 1940 the Paris Opéra reopened its doors with a performance of *La Damnation de Faust* that was attended by German military commander Otto von Stülpnagel. Berlioz' opera was a strategic choice because it satisfied Vichy, the audience, and the Germans. Berlioz was French, his opera had been a popular favourite with French audiences in the preceding years, and it was based on German source material (Goethe's *Faust*). Moreover, Berlioz had been 'Nazified': the Germans claimed that his musical style was rooted in German Romanticism.⁶⁴

In contrast, the repertoire presented in the Paris Opéra's first ballet night on 28 August 1940 – *Coppélia*, *Entre deux Rondes* and *Alexandre le Grand* – was French, even though the Paris Opéra Ballet could have chosen to present a German-composed ballet such as *Les Créatures de Prométhée* by Beethoven. This perhaps suggests that ballet evenings were more flexible than opera with regard to repertoire choice and that French ballet repertoire was either scrutinised to a lesser extent than opera, or carried less expectation of incorporating German music as standard. Ballet was accepted to be primarily a French art. Alan Riding reports that one third of the audience at this performance were Germans; Otto Abetz attended alongside von

⁶² Letter from Jacques Rouché to Captain Lucht, 30 August 1940. AN. AJ40.1002. Archives allemandes de l'Occupation. PAF. Propaganda-Staffel Paris. Correspondance avec les directeurs des théâtres. See also Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013), p. 16; Grandgambe, 'La Réunion' (2001), pp. 112-5.

⁶³ In a letter Captain Lucht, 20 August 1940, Rouché argued that 'financial ruin would be assured' if the Opéra could not present German works. AN. AJ40.1002. Archives allemandes de l'Occupation. PAF. Propagandastaffel Paris. Correspondance avec les directeurs des théâtres. Also quoted in Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013), p. 16.

⁶⁴ Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity* (2018), p. 45; p. 73.

Stülpnagel.⁶⁵

CULTURAL RESISTANCE IN NAZI PARIS

Despite the veneer of normality, German reports from the end of 1940 showed that civilian morale was low and French citizens were unreceptive to German propaganda.⁶⁶ Otto Abetz struggled to convince the French that the German presence was a positive one as the food and fuel rations decreased and the weather turned bitterly cold.⁶⁷ By late 1941, 10,000 French people had joined the Forces Françaises Libres (FFL) under General Philippe Leclerc, and in September a report by the Préfecture de Police recorded that more than 75,000 civilians had been detained and 1,000 arrested under suspicion of being communist.⁶⁸

Musicians and composers encouraged one another to undermine the German presence through music, distributing their message through clandestine newsheets such as *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, *Université libre* and *Les Lettres françaises*.⁶⁹ In October 1941, composer Claude Delvincourt described his point of view in *L'Université libre*, published by the intellectual resistance group Groupe Politzer: 'most of our musicians as musicians and as Frenchmen are at least in agreement on one point,' he wrote: 'the formal refusal to subscribe to the principle of collaboration.' His anti-German and anti-Vichy article lamented a loss of freedom in music and called for a 'national revolution' whereby musicians could privately respect the music of Wagner and Mozart, but theatres had a national duty to programme music by French composers including Berlioz, Bizet and Debussy.⁷⁰ It is notable that, here, anti-Vichy Delvincourt used language that echoed Vichy's cultural ideology – *Révolution nationale* – to

⁶⁵ Riding, *And the Show Went On* (2010), p. 57.

⁶⁶ Head of the MBF's administrative staff, Dr Jonathan Schmid, in a report to General von Streccius, 2 October 1940, quoted in Alan Mitchell, *Nazi Paris: The History of an Occupation, 1940-1944* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2008), 18. See also Brett Bowles, 'German newsreel propaganda in France, 1940-1944,' *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*. 24:1 (March 2004), pp. 50-52.

⁶⁷ See Dominique Veillon, *Vivre et survivre en France: 1939-1947* (Paris: Payot & Rivages, 1995). Also Mitchell, *Nazi Paris* (2008), 23; Filippo Occhino, Kim Oosterlinck and Eugene N. White, 'How Much Can a Victor Force the Vanquished to Pay? France under the Nazi Boot' *The Journal of Economic History* 68:1 (March 2008), pp. 1-45; Pyrcie-Jones, *Paris in the Third Reich* (1981), p. 98.

⁶⁸ Prefecture de Police, 30 June and 8 July 1941, AN Paris, AJ40, 553, quoted in Mitchell, *Nazi Paris* (2008), p. 55.

⁶⁹ Claude Bellanger, *Presse clandestine, 1940-1944* (Paris: A. Colin, 1961).

⁷⁰ 'La plupart de nos musiciens en tant que musiciens et en tant que Français sont au moins d'accord sur un point: le refus formel de souscrire au principe d'une collaboration.' Claude Delvincourt, 'Nous refusons de trahir... déclarent les musiciens.' *Université libre*, September/October 1941. Reprinted in Hervy, Krivopissko et al. *Quand l'Opéra* (2007), p. 22.

describe a very different sentiment. His inclusion of Berlioz is also significant: Berlioz' operas were regularly performed by the Paris Opéra and, as I mentioned earlier in this chapter, the composer had been 'Nazified' by the Germans. Delvincourt's inclusion of Berlioz on a list of approved works shows that the mere presence of particular composers on French stages could be interpreted in multiple ways, and could become the object of multiple groups' otherwise incompatible viewpoints with the performance of a particular work carrying different meanings for different people.

In 1941, Paris Opéra conductor Roger Désormière and composers Elsa Barraine and Louis Durey formed resistance group the Comité du Front national des musiciens (FNM). Membership increased modestly during the occupation, and although it had only thirty members by 1944, the group included prominent French composers, performers and conductors such as Francis Poulenc, Georges Auric, Charles Münch, Arthur Honegger and Alexis Roland-Manuel.⁷¹ FNM organised concerts of new and clandestine music, provided support to musicians – including Jews – in hiding, protested against collaboration and promoted musical subversion, or 'contrebande musicale,' such as playing or quoting patriotic songs.⁷² Like Delvincourt, writers in the FNM's clandestine journal *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* outlined the activities that French musicians could engage in to 'participate [...] in the great fight for national liberation.' These activities included inspiring patriotism through music, organising secret concerts of banned composers' music, disrupting the performance of German music, performing *La Marseillaise*, boycotting concerts given by visiting German companies, and writing new pieces of music that celebrated France and freedom.⁷³ *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui* called upon readers to champion the music of composers such as Ravel, Bizet and Debussy to save France from (cultural and, perhaps, political) occupation: an article in the June 1943 edition titled 'Debussy le libérateur' argued that Debussy had freed French music from 'la tutelle germanique.'⁷⁴ In another pamphlet a quote from French composer Saint-Saëns, 'L'art n'a pas de patrie?,' implied that the programming of French music could provide

⁷¹ Guy Krivopissko and Daniel Virieux, 'Musiciens: Une profession en résistance?' in *La vie musicale sous Vichy* (2001), pp. 335–38; Guy Hervy, Guy Krivopissko, Aurélien Poidevin and Axel Porin, *Quand l'Opéra entre en Résistance... Les personnels de la Réunion des théâtres lyriques nationaux sous Vichy et l'Occupation* (Paris: L'Œil d'Or, 2007), p. 23.

⁷² Krivopissko and Virieux, 'Musiciens: une profession en résistance?' (2001), p. 343-4; Nigel Simeone 'Making Music in Occupied Paris,' *The Musical Times*, 147:1894 (Spring 2006), pp. 45-6.

⁷³ 'Le Front de la résistance chez les musiciens,' *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, October 1942, quoted in Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013), p. 23; Hervy, Krivopissko et al. *Quand l'Opéra* (2007), p. 31.

⁷⁴ Anon. 'Debussy le libérateur' in *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*, June 1943, p. 4. BnF département Réserve des livres rares, RES-G-1470 (251).

a 'homeland' for French music and musicians during difficult times.⁷⁵ Such language suggested that the playing and programming of music was politically and nationally significant, and that French musicians had a responsibility to engage with French culture. Articles such as this one projected an agreed set of meanings onto cultural products which were mutually understood by the likeminded. They also guided musical listeners and programmers to subvert both the German presence in France and the collaborationist French government through culture. This was of course very subtle – many may have played music by Debussy or Chabrier without realising that the music of these composers had been co-opted by the resistance – but this subtlety was precisely the point: a political message was there for those who wished to hear it.

In March 1944, clandestine magazine *Les Lettres françaises* outlined the ways French musicians and theatres could 'claim the glory of having held the flag of the theatre in battle,' including through subtle forms of 'intellectual smuggling and sabotage' (*contrebande intellectuel et de sabotage*). The article argues that theatre programmers could manipulate 'interpretation (a gesture, an intonation)' to resist the occupier. The theatre 'has its role,' the author argues:

Let us put aside until the end of the war our admiration for Wagner, Goethe or Schiller, and stop interpreting them [...] Let's play Debussy, Berlioz, Corneille and Molière, and systematically withdraw our support for German works. Enough celebrating Germans, German jubilees! Enough commemoration of German glories stolen by the Nazis! Long live the French genius!⁷⁶

The author recommends that composers use subject matter to 'exalt [...] national aspirations,' though it is unclear what these national aspirations consisted of. The implication is that the reader was already aware. Intellectual smuggling often transcended repertoire choice: visual clues such as choreography, costume, staging, gesture and story also presented the opportunity to employ subtle intellectual smugglings which, unlike programmes, playscripts and libretti, were not scrutinised in advance through censorship. In 1942 Edith Piaf performed a patriotic

⁷⁵ Reprinted in Hervy, Krivopissko et al. *Quand l'Opéra* (2007), p. 22. In full: 'Si l'art n'a pas de patrie, les artistes en ont une' ('If art has no homeland, the artists are one').

⁷⁶ 'Une des principaux buts de la propagande allemande a été de créer un climat grâce auquel les Hitlériens et leurs agents français pussent exercer leur domination sur notre pays et accentuer progressivement leur oppression. A cette fin, l'opresseur use, non seulement de la presse entièrement entre ses mains, mais encore, dans la mesure où il le peut, de la radio, du cinéma et du théâtre. Il a fait de l'Opéra de Paris une succursale de celui de Berlin [...] Mettons de côté jusqu'à la fin de la guerre notre admiration pour Wagner, Goethe ou Schiller, et cessons de les interpréter [...] Jouons Debussy, Berlioz, Corneille et Molière, et retirons systématiquement notre concours aux œuvres allemandes. Assez de célébration d'Allemands, de jubilés allemands ! Assez de commémoration de gloires allemandes volées par les nazis ! Vive le génie français !' Anon. 'Échec à la propagande "culturelle."' *Les Lettres Françaises*. No. 14, March 1944, p. 5. BnF, Réserve des livres rares, RES-G-1470 (209).

hymn, 'Où sont mes petits copains?,' at the Théâtre de l'ABC in front of red, white and blue stage lighting, for example.⁷⁷

The extract from *Les Lettres françaises* shows that musical choices did not have to be overt to have deep resonance for certain audiences, in fact this subtlety was part of the appeal. The call for artists to celebrate French culture through *Les Lettres françaises*' vaguely-defined national aspirations was similar to the *Révolution nationale* encouraged by Pétain's Vichy government: they both encouraged the use of French thematic material through the arts. A resistance 'aesthetic' was thus created that allowed artists to use French thematic material to create culture that could be interpreted as sympathetic to Vichy whilst also fulfilling the suggestions outlined by musical resistance groups.

Through these clandestine newsheets, composers and musicians reinforced and attached political meaning to music. They promoted the performance and celebration of French composers such as Debussy, Chabrier and Ravel, rejected the performance of German music, and implied that French people dissatisfied with the Germans and the Vichy government could communicate their allegiance through cultural choices. Such instructions regarding musical programming contextualise the discussion of both repertoire choice and content at the Paris Opéra. As a member of FNM, it is highly likely that Désormière read (or even wrote) these articles and tried to implement their suggestions regarding repertoire, even though the Paris Opéra was directly answerable to both the German authorities and Vichy. These resistance documents show how musical choices and repertoire – such as the ballets presented at the Paris Opéra – could carry meaning in occupied Paris.

THE PARIS OPÉRA: A MICROCOSM OF OCCUPATION SOCIETY?

The choices faced by musicians during the occupation echo those of wider French society. The Paris Opéra was no exception. It was impossible to avoid the Germans altogether, and a degree of compromise, or accommodation, had to be reached. 'We belonged to a chain of resistance,' said composer Henri Dutilleux, 'Our aim was to fight collaboration. We said it was all right

⁷⁷ Playwrights and directors used allegory to navigate censorship though their interpretation is highly speculative. Examples include Jean Delannoy's film *Pontcarral, Colonel d'Empire* (1942) and Jean-Paul Sartre's play, *Les Mouches* (1943). See Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013), p. 23, 25.

to play in front of the Germans, but not for [German controlled] Radio-Paris.⁷⁸ Orchestral musicians – such as the orchestra at the Paris Opéra – had little choice in the playing of repertoire or performing for a German audience, though there were rumours that some musicians disrupted performances by deliberately playing wrong tempi and wrong notes.⁷⁹ If correct, such choices exemplify the sort of intellectual sabotage urged by FNM.

A network of machinists (an umbrella term for technicians ranging from stagehands and electricians to costumiers and upholsterers) at the Paris Opéra were involved in Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), a pre-1940 leftist trade union that had dissolved under Vichy and reformed as an underground resistance movement after the German invasion. Machinists including Eugène Leroy and Jean Rieussec were also involved in the Parti communiste français (PCF) and the trade union movement in Paris. Ninety percent of machinists at the Réunion des théâtres lyriques nationaux (RTLN) were active in the resistance movement Front national by 1944. Led by Rieussec, they campaigned against harsh living conditions and frozen wages.⁸⁰ Rieussec and Désormière led the *épuration* trials at the Paris Opéra in December 1944 in which Serge Lifar and Jacques Rouché were tried by a committee overseen by Désormière. Though Désormière and Georges Auric defended Rouché against charges of collaboration, he was dismissed from the Opéra (though his contract had already come to an end in March 1944). Désormière, founder of the FNM, conducted in front of the Germans at the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique on an almost nightly basis, conducting and programming new French works and writing for *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*. Though some of these activities had involved direct engagement with the Germans, Désormière was praised after the war for his promotion of French repertoire at the Paris Opéra, showing that cultural resistance was possible even at France's national institutions.⁸¹

Lifar, on the other hand, was accused of having actively sought out German approval through the many high-profile German parties, dinners and events he attended. Jean Cocteau – fellow ballet enthusiast, Ballets Russes contributor and occasional friend of the German authorities – wrote in his diary in 1943 that the Nazis in Paris 'treat [Lifar] like a myth [...] they speak of him as if he were Nietzsche, Wagner, God.' Franko interprets Cocteau's comments

⁷⁸ Quoted in Riding, *And the Show Went On* (2010), p. 152.

⁷⁹ Hervy, Krivopissko et al. *Quand l'Opéra* (2007), p. 33.

⁸⁰ See *ibid.*, pp. 23-7; p. 49.

⁸¹ Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013), p. 37. On the trials of French intellectuals, see Pierre Assouline, *L'Épuration des intellectuels, 1944-1945* (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 1996); Pascal Ory and Jean-François Sirinelli, *Les Intellectuels en France: De l'affaire Dreyfus à nos jours* (Paris: Perrin, 2017).

as indicative of surprise, shock and disapproval, showing that Lifar's 'tendencies toward self-mythification had grown dangerous and were becoming a reality in a disconcerting manner.'⁸² A double-page colourised spread appeared in the middle pages of women's magazine *Toute la vie*, a supplement to the collaborationist daily *Les Temps nouveaux*, in January 1944 exemplifies both the photojournalistic coverage paid to the company during the occupation in the French Press, but also the scale of Lifar's celebrity. Though this article claims to showcase the 'young stars of tomorrow,' the largest and most prominent photo is of Lifar himself.⁸³

During the *épuration*, Lifar's work was not criticised but his behaviour was: he had developed, Poulenc wrote to Milhaud, a taste for publicity.⁸⁴ Lifar was dismissed from the Paris Opéra Ballet permanently, though he returned two years later.⁸⁵ French musicians who had been successful during the occupation were pushed to justify their wartime activities after the liberation. Even members of FNM (including Honegger and Münch) were suspect: though they considered themselves to have worked against the Germans, they had undoubtedly benefitted financially and reputationally from having their music performed during the occupation.⁸⁶ Actions that were acceptable to some were unacceptable to others, and having achieved widespread success under German rule was treated with suspicion.

Understanding the network of people involved with the Paris Opéra during the period both contextualises the new ballets presented later in this thesis, and exemplifies the complications of living and working under German occupation. The Palais Garnier was a microcosm of occupation life both through audience diversity and through the diversity present in the staff and visiting artists. All strata of French society, political persuasion and degree of sympathy with the Germans were represented by colleagues who worked alongside one another. Modern scholarship published in association with the Paris Opéra pushes the view that the Paris Opéra was united against fascism whilst English language popular histories are reductive, often suggesting that the Paris Opéra was consistently collaborationist because it was led artistically by Serge Lifar.⁸⁷ In fact, the ballets presented at the Paris Opéra were

⁸² Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar* (2020), p. 224-5.

⁸³ Anon., 'Jeunes Étoiles du ballet de demain,' *Toute la Vie*, 6 January 1944. [Review] AVL. Fonds Lifar. Presse 1944.

⁸⁴ See Francis Poulenc: *Correspondance 1910-1963*, ed. by Myriam Chimènes (Paris: Fayard, 1994), p. 577.

⁸⁵ See Mark Franko, 'Serge Lifar' (2017), pp. 218-257.

⁸⁶ Honegger's music was unofficially boycotted in the months following the liberation though he did not face an *épuration* committee because he was Swiss. See Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013), pp. 40-78; Jackson *France: The Dark Years* (2003), pp. 590-2.

⁸⁷ Paris Opéra-commissioned publications include Opéra Nationale de Paris, *Serge Lifar à l'Opéra* (Paris: Éditions de La Martinière, 2006), which has one page about the Nazi Occupation; Guy Hervy, Guy Krivopissko et al. *Quand l'Opéra* (2007); Jean-Pierre Pastori, *Serge Lifar: la beauté du diable* (Lausanne: Favre, 2009), which was

created, rehearsed and performed in a highly concentrated environment where conflicting sympathies and experiences were represented both on and offstage. Establishing this dynamic complicates the view that the Paris Opéra was either wholly ‘collaborationist’ or wholly ‘resistant’ during the German occupation and is more in line with recent scholarship which argues that this binarism impedes a full understanding of social and cultural history.⁸⁸

INTERPRETING REPERTOIRE: A NIGHT AT THE OPERA, DECEMBER 1940

The Paris Opéra presented a gala evening on 20 December 1940 to raise money for relief organisation *Secours national*. An examination of the repertoire choices, staging and audience reception demonstrates how a deeper meaning can be read into such cultural presentations. Organised by collaborationist daily newspaper *Paris-Soir*, the event featured performances of music, drama, cinema and ballet, and marked a return to the glamour that characterised the Paris Opéra during the 1930s. Photographs show that the French audience was largely similar to the pre-war Palais Garnier clientele. Middle-class operagoers sat in the circle while upper-class Parisians and celebrity guests occupied the loges and stalls. Efforts were made to normalise the German presence and a foreword in the programme by Jean Cocteau stressed that there were no enemies between French and Germans in music.⁸⁹ Ballet performances included the recently premiered *Entre deux Rondes* (music by Marcel Samuel-Rousseau) and *L’Oiseau bleu*, a pas de deux from Tchaikovsky’s *La Belle au bois dormant*. Philippe Gaubert conducted a Chopin polonaise and the overture to Beethoven’s *Fidelio*. Edith Piaf and Germaine Lubin performed individual songs.

commissioned by the Lifar Society. Publications such as Frederic Spotts, *The Shameful Peace* (2008) are particularly scathing about Lifar’s collaborationist activities.

⁸⁸ For discussion of this binarism, see Philip Morgan, *Hitler’s Collaborators: Choosing Between Bad and Worse in Nazi-Occupied Western Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), pp. 10-11; Sophie Roberts, ‘A Case for Dissidence in Occupied Paris: The Zazous, youth dissidence and the yellow star campaign in occupied Paris (1942),’ in *French History*, 24:1 (2010), pp. 82-103; Vesna Drapac and Gareth Pritchard, ‘Beyond Resistance and Collaboration: Towards a Social History of Politics in Hitler’s Empire’ *Journal of Social History*. 48: 4 (Summer 2015), pp. 865-891; Vesna Drapac and Gareth Pritchard, *Resistance and Collaboration in Hitler’s Empire* (London: Palgrave, 2017), pp. 37-49.

⁸⁹ ‘En haut des fausses murailles vertes bordées de velours rouge se massaient des femmes et des hommes français et allemands. Il ne s’agissait plus d’amis ni d’ennemis.’ Jean Cocteau, foreword to the gala programme ‘Gala du 20 Décembre 1940 organisé par Paris-Soir au bénéfice du Secours National-Entre-Aide d’Hiver du Maréchal Pétain et des Enfants Victimes de l’Exode.’ [Programme] BNF BMO, Carton 2238: Programmes 1940. Paris.

Fidelio was the only production by an Austro-German composer performed at the Paris Opéra in the early months of the occupation. The opera was never banned by the Germans; Beethoven was considered Aryan through and through and he was lauded as an important German romantic. Generally, Beethoven's works could pass as uncontroversial from the French perspective, too: during the First World War, French programmers had circumnavigated the issue of programming German opera by reclassifying Beethoven as Belgian.⁹⁰ *Fidelio* was nevertheless a controversial choice.⁹¹ Described by Paul Robinson as the 'ultimate anti-Nazi gesture,' the opera's plot follows a resistant wife as she disguises herself to save her husband from death in a political prison run by a despotic leader.⁹² 'What obtuseness it took to listen to *Fidelio* in Himmler's Germany,' wrote German novelist Thomas Mann in 1947, 'without covering one's face and fleeing the hall.'⁹³ The choice to stage *Fidelio* at the Paris Opéra from October 1940 (when it had not been performed there for nearly two years) can be read both as an attempt to supplement a reduced repertoire and curry favour with the occupier by programming a German work, and as an attempt at cultural resistance to totalitarianism. Thus the choice to programme this particular work had differing implications for different audience members – to many it was simply a beautiful piece of theatre; to others it was highly political. The performance necessitated no outward recognition in order to carry significance and the appearance of *Fidelio* at the Paris Opéra in the early months of occupation shows that censorship could not account for interpretation in every instance.

The event was attended by French politicians including Louis Hautecœur, Fernand de Brinon and the Préfet de Police, and actors such as Fernand Gravey and Suzy Solidor. A four-page spread in collaborationist illustrated weekly *La Semaine* featured photographs of the guests as they arrived and ascended the grand staircase lined with guards dressed as Napoleonic soldiers (Figure 2) – an interesting choice given that, under Napoleon III, France had suffered defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. The article likened the evening's success and popularity to that of the Paris Opéra and Paris Opéra Ballet's performances during 'the time of Napoleon

⁹⁰ Fulcher, *Composer as Intellectual* (2005), p. 29.

⁹¹ Zalampas reports that some performances of *Fidelio* in Germany were changed because the prisons resembled concentration camps. Sherree Owens Zalampas, *Adolf Hitler: A Psychological Interpretation of His Views on Architecture Art and Music* (Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1990), p. 109.

⁹² Paul Robinson, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Fidelio* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 159.

⁹³ Thomas Mann, 4 July 1947. Furtwängler replied: '*Fidelio* never has been presented in the Germany of Himmler, only in a Germany raped by Himmler.' See *ibid.*, pp. 158-9.

III.⁹⁴ According to Vichyiste magazine *L'Illustration*, which featured a picture of the glamorous guests arriving at the Palais Garnier on its front cover (Figure 3), this was the first time that 'toutes les personnalités parisiennes' had been reunited since the war began.⁹⁵ Attending the Paris Opéra was as much a social exercise as a cultural one. Men are dressed in tuxedos and women in fine dresses and fur coats. They are greeted as they arrive and purchase large souvenir programmes. In the top left of the photograph, a German soldier wearing Wehrmacht uniform stands with his hands in his pockets, looking out over the balcony. The event was reported in a German magazine, the *Deutsche Zeitung in Frankreich*.⁹⁶ Though guests were taken home on special buses when the evening ended at 2am – well past the German-imposed curfew – rather than in their chauffeured cars, audiences were encouraged to forget the political circumstances. The gala evening re-established the normality of theatre-going and reinforced the Paris Opéra's place in French social and cultural life.

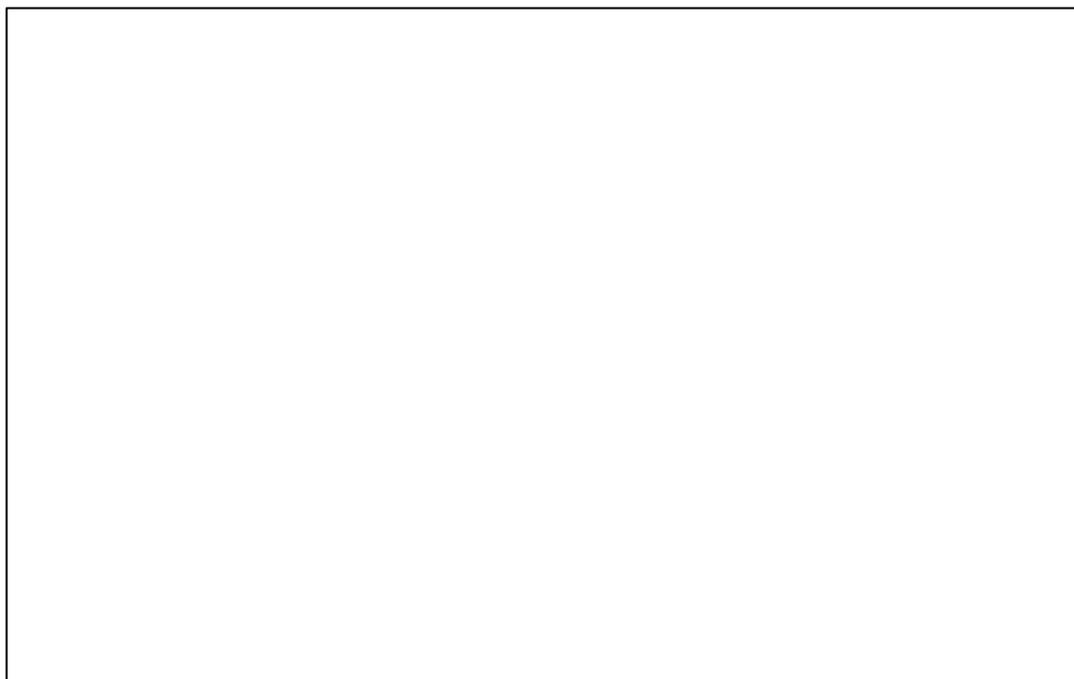


Figure 2: *La Semaine* details the Paris Opéra's gala evening for the Secours National, 26 December 1940.⁹⁷

The report shows the grand entrance to the Palais Garnier. Middle right is a photograph of the sold-out auditorium and in the bottom right, glamorous guests Jean Weber and Yolande arrive dressed in their finery.

⁹⁴ '2,131 personnes étaient venues remplissant toutes les places de l'opéra comme sous napoleon III.' 'L'Opéra a fait feu de tous ses lustres,' *La Semaine*, 26 December 1940. AVL. Fonds Lifar. Presse: 1940. Lausanne. At 'the time of Napoleon III,' the Paris Opéra performed at the Salle le Peletier.

⁹⁵ Anon. 'Le Gala de l'Opéra,' *L'Illustration*, 28 December 1940. AVL. Fonds Lifar. Presse: 1940. Lausanne.

⁹⁶ Anon. 'Gala-Abend in der Grossen Oper,' *Deutsche Zeitung Frankreich*, 22 December 1940 AVL. Fonds Lifar. Presse: 1940. Lausanne.

⁹⁷ 'À l'Opéra: a fait feu de tous ses lustres,' *La Semaine*, 26 December 1940. AVL. Fonds Lifar. Presse: 1940. Lausanne.

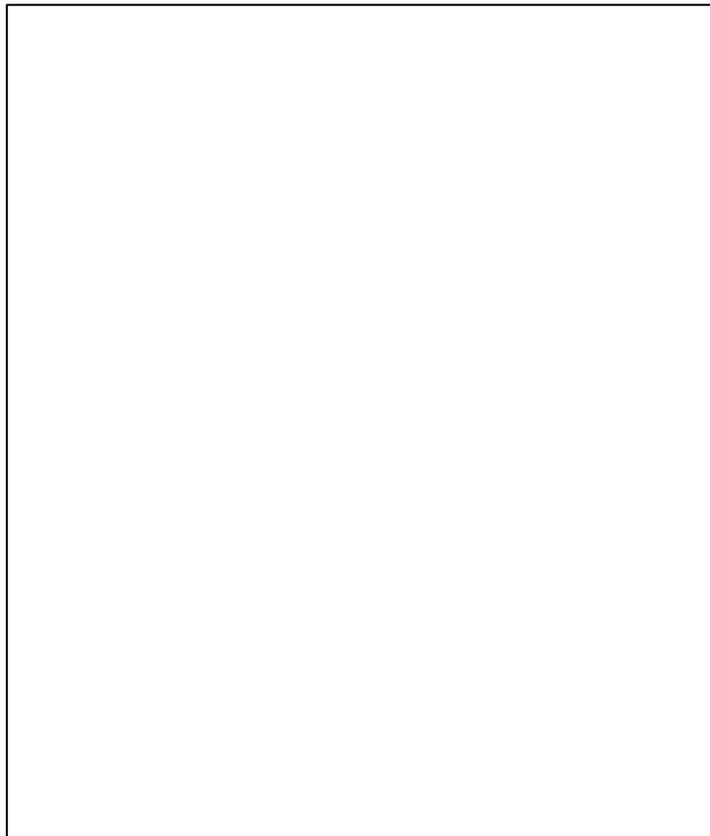


Figure 3: Front cover of *L'illustration*, 28 December 1940.⁹⁸
A German soldier looks out over the top left balcony.

THE IMPACT OF CENSORSHIP ON REPERTOIRE AT THE PARIS OPÉRA

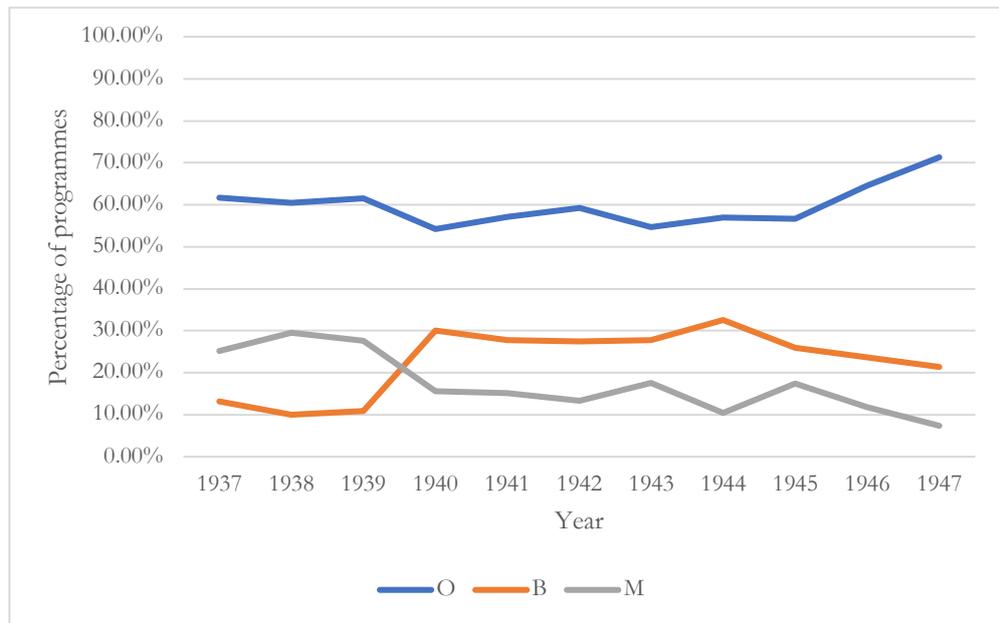
From Autumn 1940 the average number of presentations per week at the Paris Opéra settled back into the pre-war schedule. Operas appeared on Saturdays, Sundays and Mondays while ballet performances were presented every Wednesday and sometimes additional weekday evenings.⁹⁹ From mid-1943, operas were also performed on Fridays. The overall number of presentations at the Palais Garnier rose during the occupation from 15 to 17 performances per month from July 1940 to July 1944. The conclusions in this chapter are based on analysis of programmes in Appendices B-E: see Appendix D for a list of presentations in the period 1937-47, and Appendix E for a breakdown of the average performance frequency both by year and day of the week. Graph 1 - created using this database of performance evenings - shows that ballet performances increased between 1939 and 1940 while the number of mixed

⁹⁸ Anon. 'Le Gala de l'Opéra,' *L'illustration*, 28 December 1940. AVL. Fonds Lifar. Presse: 1940. Lausanne.

⁹⁹ During the Occupation the opera and ballet companies both took summer holidays. The opera company holidayed during July, during which time the ballet company increased their performances to Saturday, Sunday and Wednesday; the ballet company had time off in August.

evenings decreased significantly during the same time period and continued to decrease throughout the occupation. The percentage of opera presentations remained slightly lower during the Second World War than during the 1930s (see Appendix E for further detail).

Graph 1: Percentage of opera (O), ballet (B) and mixed (M) programmes at the Paris Opéra, 1937-47, demonstrating increase in the number of ballet programmes during the occupation.



The aforementioned restrictions placed on the performance of Wagner by French singers had a significant impact on repertoire at the Paris Opéra as the German composer's operas were so popular in Paris. Rouché faced a dilemma: how would he fill the space opened up by the censorship of a significant proportion of the Paris Opéra's most popular pre-war repertoire? Rouché negotiated a special dispensation to celebrate the centenary of *Le Vaisseau fantôme* in late 1940 and there were frequent exceptions to the prohibition thereafter, though the performance of Wagner opera at the Paris Opéra remained low.¹⁰⁰ This negotiation demonstrates that the German authorities' control of French cultural institutions was motivated less by pure aesthetics and ideology than by practical and military reasons. Again, ideology came second to practicality: the desire for German cultural milestones to be

¹⁰⁰ Note from the Propagandastaffel, 4 October 1940. AN AJ40, 1002. See Mathias Auclair, 'Richard Wagner à l'Opéra,' in *La Musique à Paris sous l'Occupation* ed. by Myriam Chimènes and Yannick Simon (Paris: Fayard, 2013), pp. 74-76. *Le Vaisseau fantôme* was in fact composed by Wagner specifically for the Paris Opéra though it was not actually performed there until 1937 (though it had been performed at the Opéra-Comique since 1897).

performed and celebrated in Paris surpassed the wish to preserve Wagnerian opera for German singers.

There were no such dispensations for productions perceived by the Germans to be *entartet*, or degenerate. All repertoire by Jewish composers disappeared from French concert halls, theatres and opera houses after summer 1940.¹⁰¹ At the RTLN this meant that popular operas such as Dukas' *Ariane et Barbe-Bleu* and Reynaldo Hahn's *Le Marchand de Venise* dropped from the repertory.¹⁰² Milhaud's new opera *Médée* which, as mentioned in Chapter One, premiered in May 1940, did not receive a second performance at the Paris Opéra until its revival in 1968 despite significant pre-war financial investment from the Third Republic's commissions scheme.

The disappearance of several operas after 1939 and 1940 which were not officially banned suggest that the military situation had a wider reach. All Russian works were withdrawn including Rimsky-Korsakov's reworking of Modest Mussorgsky's immensely popular opera *Boris Godounov* and scenes from Tchaikovsky ballets *La Belle au bois dormant* and *Le Lac des cygnes* which had been popular before the war. Italian operas including Verdi's *Aida* and *Rigoletto* continued to be performed regularly throughout the occupation. Similarly, some German operas disappeared from the Paris Opéra's repertory – some temporarily – despite not being officially prohibited. After 1938, Richard Strauss' *Salomé* was not performed until the 1950s. Operas by Mozart and Beethoven – Austro-German composers not associated overtly with Nazism – temporarily disappeared in the lead-up to the Second World War but were quickly reinstated. Mozart's *La Flûte enchantée* and *Don Juan* had been performed regularly throughout 1938-9 but were not performed at all in 1940 while Beethoven's *Fidelio* was performed regularly in 1937-8 but did not appear in 1939. All three operas returned from 1940-41. It is unclear whether these German operas were dropped as a result of growing Franco-German political tension and they were not officially prohibited, but the mass temporary disappearance of German operas in 1939-40 is surely not coincidental; more likely a reaction to the political situation, as indicated in Chapter One. As the aforementioned article in resistance publication *Les Lettres françaises* showed, French cultural aesthetes were

¹⁰¹ For discussion of musical censorship see Josette Alviset, 'La Programmation musicale à Vichy: les apparences de la continuité' in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy* (2001), pp. 404-6; Dorléac, *L'Art de la défaite* (1993), p. 262; Gisèle Sapiro, *La Guerre des écrivains, 1940-1953* (Paris: Fayard, 1999), pp. 32-3.

¹⁰² *Ariane et Barbe Bleu* had appeared 22 times in 1937-9 and *Le Marchand de Venise* 11 times in 1938-9.

not opposed to German music in principle; they simply questioned the appropriateness of its performance during wartime.

The ballet company suffered repertoire prohibitions to a much lesser extent because the majority of the ballets in the repertoire were by French composers anyway. In fact, the ballet company actually benefitted from the repertoire restrictions. The prohibition on the performance of Wagner in June 1940 coincides with a sharp decrease in the proportion of operas presented at the Palais Garnier and an increase in ballet evenings (see Graph 1). In September to December 1940 ballet evenings constituted 30 percent of total performances compared with only ten percent in the 1938-39 season. In October 1940 alone there were more total ballet than opera evenings. This suggests that ballet evenings were programmed to fill the gap as the RTLN assessed how to cope with the restrictions on opera presentations. Though this may have started as a temporary measure, the raised proportion of ballet evenings stayed constant between 1940 and 1944. Even when the number of operas returned to its pre-war regularity, the number of ballets was consistent; there were simply more weekly performance evenings at the Palais Garnier during the occupation, with ballet evenings making a larger overall contribution than before.

Though the Paris Opéra had successfully returned to its pre-war performance frequency by the end of 1940, opera repertoire had changed dramatically. Nazi policy in occupied France and the Opéra administration's reduced programming of works by German composers after September 1939 meant that most operas by Austro-German composers (including Wagner) were absent. The censorship restrictions enforced by the Germans in 1940 therefore had a significant impact on the repertoire that was performed at the Paris Opéra: the presentation of German repertoire overall diminished and the performance of French repertoire (including ballets) increased. Beyond nationality – and Wagner – however, the sort of opera on offer did not change significantly. As had been the case before the war, the Palais Garnier largely presented older, classic operas during the period 1940-44. The most popular works were nineteenth-century creations including *Faust* (1869, Gounod) *Rigoletto* (1851, Verdi), *Samson et Dalila* (1892, Saint-Saëns) and *Le Vaisseau fantôme* (1842, Wagner). Recent revivals such as *L'Enfant et les sortilèges* (1925, Ravel, revived by the Paris Opéra in 1939) and new works such as *La Samaritaine* (1937, d'Ollone) and *Œdipe* (1936, Enescu) were not performed during the occupation.

A further impact of the political situation on the Paris Opéra's overall performance scheduling was the frequent appearance of benefit galas to aid war-related causes such as prisoners of war and their families, children who had been affected by the exodus from Paris

that followed the occupation, national relief, the Croix-Rouge, and retired Paris Opéra personnel.¹⁰³ These galas consisted of either a wide selection of vocal and instrumental soloists, orchestral performances, opera excerpts and short ballets; or one-off, celebratory performances such as Chabrier's opera *Gwendoline* (which was paired with the 1940 ballet *Entre deux rondes*) at a gala organised in aid of families of prisoners of war on 3 May 1941.¹⁰⁴ The unveiling of new choreography by Lifar for Léo Delibes' 1876 ballet *Sylvia* marked the fiftieth anniversary of the French composer's death.

The Palais Garnier closed out of respect when Philippe Gaubert, conductor and musical director at the Paris Opéra, died on 9 July 1941 just one week after the premiere of his ballet *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle*. There was a special performance in his honour the following Saturday, featuring his new work alongside his 1937 ballet *Alexandre le Grand* and his 1929 orchestral work, *Les Chants de la mer*. Besides tours with the Paris Opéra Ballet, the *danseurs étoiles* performed in other venues across Paris, and some took on a celebrity-like status. For example, Lifar appeared in a 'Gala Serge Lifar' in a Russian aid benefit with Ludmila Tcherina at the Salle Pleyel on 16 June 1942 with a programme of ballets by French and Russian composers.¹⁰⁵ Ballerina Solange Schwartz similarly appeared in venues across Paris in various galas and aid concerts.¹⁰⁶ The dancers also travelled to the unoccupied zone to perform in Vichy in 1941.¹⁰⁷

The German authorities sponsored high profile German opera companies to visit France and encouraged Rouché to include German works in the Paris Opéra's repertory. Such cultural rapprochement was largely one-sided, though a programme in the Lausanne archive indicates that the Paris Opéra Ballet were scheduled to perform at the Deutsche Oper Berlin on 27-28 November 1943.¹⁰⁸ It appears that the performance was cancelled. A 1942 report

¹⁰³ 'Le Carnaval des Costumes, Organisé par les Centres d'entraide de Camp au bénéfice des Prisonniers de Guerre et de leurs Familles,' Programmes: 1943, BnF BMO, Paris; 'Grand gala organisé par Paris-Soir au bénéfice du Secours national,' [Programme] BnF BMO, Carton 2238. Paris.

¹⁰⁴ 'Soirée de Gala à l'Opéra organisée par le Secours National au profit de la Famille du Prisonnier du Guerre: *Gwendoline*, *Entre deux Rondes*.' [Programme] BnF BMO, Carton 2238: Programmes 1941. Paris.

¹⁰⁵ 'Gala Serge Lifar' [Programme] AVL. Fonds Lifar. Programmes: 1942. Lausanne.

¹⁰⁶ For example, Lifar, Schwartz and Efimoff performed with L'Orchestre National de Belgique at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, 15 March 1941; the dancers supported a performance of Tchaikovsky's opera *Le Dame de Pique* in a concert at the Salle Pleyel for the Secours National, 30 April 1943. See AVL. Fonds Lifar. Programmes: 1941; 1943. Lausanne.

¹⁰⁷ 'Secrétariat d'État aux colonies: Gala de danse de Serge Lifar, Solange Schwartz' [Programme] AVL. Fonds Lifar. Programmes: 1941. Lausanne.

¹⁰⁸ 'Serge Lifar: Maître de ballet.' [Programme] AVL. Fonds Lifar. Programmes: 1943. Lausanne. They were scheduled to perform *Suite en blanc*, *Icare*, *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle*, *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* and *Boléro*. The performance did not take place for unknown reasons.

from the Propaganda-Abteilung instructed that German companies should be visiting France at twice the rate French companies were visiting Germany.¹⁰⁹ In May 1941 Herbert von Karajan conducted the Berlin Staatsoper at the Palais Garnier in one of the most high-profile events given at the Paris Opéra during the occupation. French singer Germaine Lubin starred as Isolde in the production of Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*.¹¹⁰

Reviews of such events in both the sanctioned (largely right-leaning, collaborationist) French- and German-language press were, of course, highly complimentary. Diaries offer a more private – and therefore perhaps more honest – opinion. German officer Ernst Jünger, who attended the premiere of German composer Hans Pfitzner's *Palestrina*, recorded that the musicians in the orchestra were so 'weakened' that the brass players 'ran out of breath.'¹¹¹ Jean Cocteau recorded a similarly negative review of another German-controlled event: 'Stupid performance of Egk's *Peer Gynt* at the Opéra. Music, sets, costumes, everything is stupid. German audience. Stupid and a little dismaying.'¹¹² This comment suggests that these performances were less perfect than the press would have the public believe.

The Paris Opéra Ballet took part in these cultural rapprochement events, appearing frequently at performances at the German Embassy and Institut allemand. Lifar and members of the Paris Opéra Ballet performed at the German Embassy to members of the German military including Field Marshal Walther von Brauchitsch on 4 September 1940, only weeks after the German invasion (and only one week after the re-opening of the Palais Garnier).¹¹³ Lifar, Schwartz, Suzanne Lorcia and other members of the corps de ballet also appeared in an evening of music and ballet at the German Embassy on 20 March 1941 with other celebrities including singer Charles Trenet.¹¹⁴ Though such productions satisfied the Germans' desire to experience French culture and French dance, Goebbels remained unconvinced. He wrote in his diary a few days later:

¹⁰⁹ Captain Lucht, 'Gruppe Kultur. Paris, den 13 Januar 1942. Aktennotiz für den Herrn Staffelführer. Betrifft: Französische Kulturpropaganda.' Quoted in Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013), p. 15.

¹¹⁰ Emmanuel Boudot-Lamotte, 'L'Opéra de Berlin à Paris,' *Nouvelle Revue Française* 329 (July 1941), p. 127.

¹¹¹ Ernst Jünger, *A German Officer in Occupied Paris: The War Journals, 1941-1945*, trans. by Thomas S. Hansen and Abby J. Hansen (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019), p. 61. Composer Henri Dutilleux, then a *chef de chant* at the Palais Garnier, recalled that rehearsals for this performance were 'some of the worst moments of [his] life.' Quoted in Roger Nichols, *Poulenc: A Biography* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2020), p. 158.

¹¹² 'Stupide représentation du *Peer Gynt* de Egk à l'Opéra. Musique, décors, costumes, tout est stupide. Salle allemande. Stupide et un peu consternée. Il y a de quoi.' Diary entry 2 February 1943. Jean Cocteau, *Journal, 1942-1945* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989), p. 375.

¹¹³ Riding, *And the Show Went On* (2010), p. 160.

¹¹⁴ 'Deutsche Botschaft Paris, 20. März 1941.' [Programme] AVL. Fonds Lifar. Programmes: 1941. Lausanne.

Our embassy in Paris is staging ballet evenings with the young performers from the Paris Opéra. I have all the photographs of this impounded: send them to the Führer, and create merry hell. Paris has turned into a real den of iniquity. And the worst offender is our Major Schmidtke. A complete nincompoop!¹¹⁵

Despite Goebbels' attempts at propaganda, cultural seduction and indoctrination, this extract shows that Goebbels was still not convinced that French ballet was worthwhile, and that he was unable to prevent Germans in Paris from enjoying French ballet, or the German Embassy from endorsing ballet productions. Goebbels' language suggests that he associated French ballet with immorality and, perhaps, that he saw its popularity as evidence of cultural inferiority.

THE PARIS OPÉRA'S OCCUPATION BALLET REPERTORY

In contrast to the vast changes to opera repertoire caused by the Propaganda-Abteilung's cultural censorship, the Paris Opéra Ballet transitioned from peacetime through wartime and into the occupation relatively unchanged. Not only were the majority of ballets in the repertoire by French composers, but ballet was censored less strictly than opera. It largely continued to perform the same repertoire with the regular addition of new productions. Only one ballet, Vittorio Rieti's *David triomphant* (the only ballet by a Jewish composer performed at the Paris Opéra in the years preceding the occupation), was dropped from regular repertoire. German-composed ballets such as Beethoven's *Les Créatures de Prométhée* and Carl Maria von Weber's *Le Spectre de la rose* remained in the repertoire throughout the occupation, and *Suite de danse*, which was danced to music by Polish composer Chopin (who had been 'Aryanised' by Nazi musicologists) remained among the most-performed ballets in 1940.

The lack of a dance department created some confusion about by whom decisions concerning dance should be made; there was no dedicated team of German musicologists or dance historians on hand to prohibit or Aryanise French ballet. The enactment of censorship was also inconsistently applied to ballet when compared with opera and orchestral music, perhaps because ballets are difficult to categorise by nationality – they can usually be attributed

¹¹⁵ Josef Goebbels, *Goebbels Diaries, 1939-1941*, trans. and ed. by Fred Taylor (London: Hamish Hamilton Ltd, 1982), p. 313.

to multiple creators. *Le Spectre de la Rose*, for example, was choreographed by Michel Fokine for the Ballets Russes in 1911 to a story by Jean-Louis Vaudoyer, which was inspired by Théophile Gautier. The ballet was performed to music written by Weber in 1819 and reorchestrated by Berlioz in 1841. Given the different creators involved, was the ballet a French work, a Russian work, or German one? Ballet was not assessed as rigorously as the large-scale operas which suggests that its censorship was not treated with the same pertinence – its tendency to be used for escapism meant that it was perhaps perceived as being more politically innocent than opera and symphonic works or, perhaps, that there was a greater political innocence amongst the ballet-going audience.

Despite this perception, Sandrine Grandgambe reports that ballet was often frequented by German soldiers who preferred watching ballet to opera.¹¹⁶ In his description of culture in occupied Paris published in 1942, Paul Simon, editor of clandestine resistance newsheet *Valmy*, described the biggest attractions in occupied Paris. He introduced the Paris Opéra with reference to ballet rather than opera: ‘The Germans eagerly visit the Opéra, where Serge Lifar is appearing.’¹¹⁷ This adds weight to Grandgambe’s assertion that the Germans were excited by ballet, and suggests that the Paris Opéra was well-known as a successful ballet institution. The German-language publication *Der Deutsche Wegleiter für Paris*, a guide to Paris for Wehrmacht soldiers, described the Paris Opéra and the Paris Opéra Ballet on the first page of one of its earliest issues. The ballet company received high praise: ‘their performances should delight even the most spoiled audience.’¹¹⁸

Tickets were requisitioned by the Wehrmacht regardless of repertoire, but soldiers filled the seats without exception. Ballet was not constrained by language requirements and French ballet offered something different when compared with German dance. There was little of an equivalent standard on offer in Germany. Similarly, Mathias Auclair argues that the Germans did not want to hear Wagner sung in French, a feeling that may have applied to French opera too.¹¹⁹ It may be the case that the Germans stationed in Paris enjoyed attending the ballet because of the female dancers, as had been the case for audiences throughout the

¹¹⁶ Grandgambe, ‘La Réunion’ (2001), p. 119.

¹¹⁷ Paul Simon, *One Enemy Only* (1942), p. 19.

¹¹⁸ ‘Der weltberühmte Tänzer Serge Lifar und das Opernballet haben schon seit Wochen eifrig geübt und deren Leistungen dürfte auch das verwöhnteste Publikum entzücken.’ Anon., ‘Die Wiederöffnung der Opéra und Opéra-Comique,’ in *Der Deutsche Wegleiter für Paris*, 1941 (no specific date), p. 3. AVL. Fonds Lifar. Presse 1940. Lausanne.

¹¹⁹ Auclair, ‘Richard Wagner à l’Opéra’ (2013), p. 81.

nineteenth century. Either way, the quantitative evidence, which shows an increase in the proportion of ballet performances during the occupation, suggests that ballet was a significant part of the soldier experience in Paris as the Germans made up as much as half the regular ballet audience.

The most frequently performed ballets at the Paris Opéra during the occupation combined classical favourites with recent productions, showing that audiences sampled a range of classic and modern works. Classical ballets that had been popular before the war remained in the repertoire throughout the occupation. Acts from nineteenth-century French romantic ballets *Coppélia* and *Giselle* were among the most frequent, and Ballets Russes spectacles such as *Le Spectre de la rose* and *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* (with new choreography by Lifar) were also popular. However, recent new productions also remained in the repertoire throughout the occupation. Lifar's *Entre deux rondes* had premiered at the beginning of 1940 and was the most frequently performed ballet during the occupation, appearing more than fifty times. *Boléro*, 1937 ballet *Elvire* (which was choreographed by Aveline to music by Domenico Scarlatti, adapted by Alexis Roland-Manuel) and *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* also did well. With the exception of *Giselle*, all of the most frequently performed ballets during the occupation were recent creations. The majority of which had been choreographed by Lifar. This indicates that ballet audiences were willing to try new things and accept newer, modern productions – a significant detail given the RTLN's conservative nature, the financial need to please the audience by sticking to what was familiar, and the prevalence of nineteenth-century opera over recent works.

Variation may also have contributed towards the popularity of ballet nights at the Paris Opéra. Ballet evenings were shorter and conducive to variation in a way that was not always possible with operas, which tended to be much longer. The ballets therefore appeared in differing, complementary combinations – usually a mixture of older and newer works. Such a structure may have encouraged audiences to try something new, or to revisit the Palais Garnier on multiple occasions. Though the ballets already in the repertory by 1940 varied in length, scope and setting, they shared a significant connection: they were largely danced to music by French composers and often presented French thematic material.

Thirteen new ballets were premiered at the Paris Opéra during the occupation. The new ballets, listed in Table 1, were presented in glamorous, spectacular evenings which often coincided with special dates or charity events. *Istar*, to music by Vincent d'Indy, and *Boléro*, to music by Maurice Ravel, received their first performances on New Year's Eve 1941, and the premieres of *La Princesse au jardin* and *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* were part of a gala for

prisoners of war on 2 July 1941. Figure 4 shows a photograph of Jacques Rouché, Francis Poulenc, Serge Lifar and the corps de ballet as they celebrated the premiere of *Les Animaux modèles* backstage at the Palais Garnier in August 1942. The cast gather around the ageing director of the RTLN and smile for the camera while Poulenc stands awkwardly to the side.

The four newly-created ballets choreographed to original music – *La Princesse au jardin* (1941, music by Gabriel Grovlez), *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle* (1941, Philippe Gaubert), *Les Animaux modèles* (1942, Francis Poulenc), and *Guignol et Pandore* (1944, André Jolivet) – will be discussed in Chapter Four. These ballets presented French culture to the German audience and asserted ideas of French identity and cultural pride which may be interpreted in multiple ways. *Joan de Zarissa*, a German ballet by Werner Egk that appeared at the Paris Opéra in 1942, was the only non-French ballet to receive a French premiere. The implications of this ballet's presentation will be discussed in Chapter Five. Though it was intended as a show of Franco-German rapprochement, *Joan de Zarissa* in fact reinforced French ballet's domination through dance and choreography. The other ballets presented during the period were not danced to original music. An exception is Sauguet's *Les Mirages*. This new ballet was danced to original music but it did not premiere at the Paris Opéra during the occupation: its scheduled premiere was cancelled because of the liberation and it was not revived until December 1947. I have omitted discussion of *Les Mirages* from Chapter Four because it did not technically premiere during the occupation but, like the ballets discussed in this thesis, it similarly presented a French spectacle through its music and themes.

As well as these premieres, six new versions of existing ballets appeared during the occupation. *Istar* was the only new ballet to be choreographed to pre-composed orchestral music. *Boléro*, *Jeux d'enfants* (1941, music by Georges Bizet – the only occupation ballet to be choreographed by Albert Aveline), *L'Amour sorcier* (1943, music by Manuel de Falla) and *Suite en blanc* (1943, Pierre Lalo) were all reworkings of existing ballets or dances. *Le Jour* (1943) was choreographed to Maurice Jaubert's film score for *Le Jour se lève*. New choreography by Lifar to the aforementioned Delibes' 1876 ballet *Sylvia* premiered on 5 February 1941 and was highly popular. In three acts, *Sylvia* was Lifar's longest choreography to date and was the only full-length ballet to be performed during the occupation. The success of this work – at 37 performances it was the seventh most frequently-performed ballet during the occupation – shows that audience expectations for ballet were slowly changing. They could now expect full-length, plot-heavy works alongside short pieces. French ballets including *Sylvia* were unaffected by Goebbels' November 1941 'prohibition on dramatic ballet' in Germany, though Franko

sees the classical choreography and the prioritisation of beauty over plot in *Suite en blanc* as Lifar's response to Goebbels' preference for non-narrative dance.¹²⁰

Though ballet was still presented at the Opéra-Comique as part of opera performances, there were no ballet premieres to new French music presented there during the period, as dancers and ballets were transferred rapidly to the Palais Garnier. However, the Opéra-Comique, also overseen by Rouché, did stage short ballet performances to pre-composed music including the performance, in 1943, of the ballet *Fêtes de jadis* (*Verklungene Feste*), which had premiered in Munich in 1941 to music by François Couperin arranged by Richard Strauss. The ballet appeared at the Opéra-Comique with choreography by Constantin Tcherkas. This would ballet make an interesting project for future study.¹²¹

With fifty appearances, Samuel-Rousseau's April 1940 ballet *Entre deux rondes*, choreographed by Lifar, was the most performed ballet during the occupation. *Coppélia*, *Boléro*, *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle* and 1937 ballet *Elvire* (which was choreographed by Aveline to music by Domenico Scarlatti, adapted by Alexis Roland-Manuel) were also popular, each performed on more than 40 occasions. In July 1941 *La Semaine* ran an 'exclusive' three-page photo article to celebrate the premiere of *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle*, proudly announcing that this was the first time a journalist had been allowed such privileges, and showing how interest in ballet had grown by 1941. The article featured black and white photographs of a dress rehearsal for the ballet, allowing readers to view the dancers up-close (see Figure 5). This publicity suggests that audience interest in ballet had increased: this was the first of many such photo articles that would accompany new productions throughout the occupation. The largest pictures show Serge Lifar and Solange Schwartz in the title roles: they are deep in concentration and are performing sophisticated steps. Ballet is presented as dramatic and serious rather than light and pretty; the glamour and quality of the Paris Opéra is displayed through the sumptuous costumes and Cassandre's backdrop. The photos also feature Serge Lifar and other male dancers posing in battle scenes.¹²² This and subsequent photo articles show how imagery of French ballet had changed from the turn of the century; French dance was not only performed by female dancers but successful male dancers too.

¹²⁰ Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar* (2020), p. 228; Communication Reich Music Control Office, 29 November 1941, Bundesarchiv 50.01/238/1, p. 417; Lilian Karina and Marion Kant, *Hitler's Dancers: German Modern Dance and the Third Reich* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), p. 141.

¹²¹ See *Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique Paris: répertoire 1762-1972*, ed. by Nicole Wild and David Charlton (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005), p. 255.

¹²² Gaston Paris, 'Pour la première fois à l'Opéra un photographe pénètre dans trou du souffler.' *La Semaine*, 30 July 1941. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-705. Paris.

The end of the occupation and Lifar's brief departure from the Paris Opéra coincided with a pause in the production of new ballets and a decrease in the frequency of ballet performances at the Paris Opéra (see Graph 1 and Appendix E).¹²³ Ballet production therefore peaked during the occupation. By 1947 the proportion of opera evenings had increased to a higher percentage than before the occupation: more than 70 percent of presentations were operas. The brief advances achieved by the ballet company were somewhat undone. Lifar had solidified his place at the Paris Opéra during the occupation period, dancing the majority of male lead roles and choreographing twelve out of thirteen new ballets, making himself irreplaceable whilst ingratiating himself socially with the Germans in Paris.

The decrease in the number of ballet evenings and new ballet productions after 1944 signifies that Lifar's expulsion from Parisian cultural life was problematic for the company, further exposing the extent to which his role had been elevated during the occupation. Only two new ballets appeared from the end of 1944 to Lifar's return in 1947: *L'Appel de la montagne* (1945) choreographed by dancer Serge Peretti to music by Honegger (although Honegger had written the music in 1943) and *Le Palais de cristal* (1947), which was created by guest choreographer George Balanchine to Bizet's *Symphony in C*. This ballet premiered just before Lifar's return to the Paris Opéra. Lifar was still technically forbidden from performing, though he continued to work as artistic director.

¹²³ The information in this section comes from research conducted in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris and the Archives de la Ville de Lausanne. See Appendices B-E for further information.

Table 1: List of new ballets presented at the Paris Opéra during the German occupation.

New ballets choreographed to original music are marked with an asterisk.

Title	Date of premiere at the Paris Opéra (original)	Composer	Choreographer
<i>Sylvia</i>	5/2/1941 (1876)	Delibes	Mérante (1876), Lifar (1941)
<i>La Princesse au jardin</i> *	2/7/1941	Grovez	Lifar
<i>Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i> *	2/7/1941	Gaubert	Lifar
<i>Jeux d'enfants</i>	16/7/1941 (1932)	Bizet	Massine (1932), Aveline (1941)
<i>Istar</i>	31/12/1941 (1896)	d'Indy	Lifar
<i>Boléro</i>	31/12/1941 (1928)	Ravel	Nijinska (1928), Lifar (1941)
<i>Joan de Zarissa</i>	10/7/1942 (20/1/1940)	Egk	Lifar
<i>Les Animaux modèles</i> *	8/8/1942	Poulenc	Lifar
<i>L'Amour sorcier</i>	26/1/1943 (1915)	Manuel de Falla	Lifar
<i>Suite en blanc</i>	19/6/1943 (1882)	Edouard Lalo	Petipa (1882), Lifar (1943)
<i>Le jour</i>	23/6/1931	Jaubert	Lifar
<i>Guignol et Pandore</i> *	29/4/1944	Jolivet	Lifar
<i>Les Mirages</i> *	22/7/1944 (dress rehearsal only)	Sauguet	Lifar



Figure 4: The cast and creative team celebrate the premiere of *Les Animaux modèles*, August 1942.¹²⁴ Jacques Rouché sits at the centre. Composer Francis Poulenc (grey suit) stands between dancers Serge Lifar, Suzanne Lorcia and the corps de ballet.

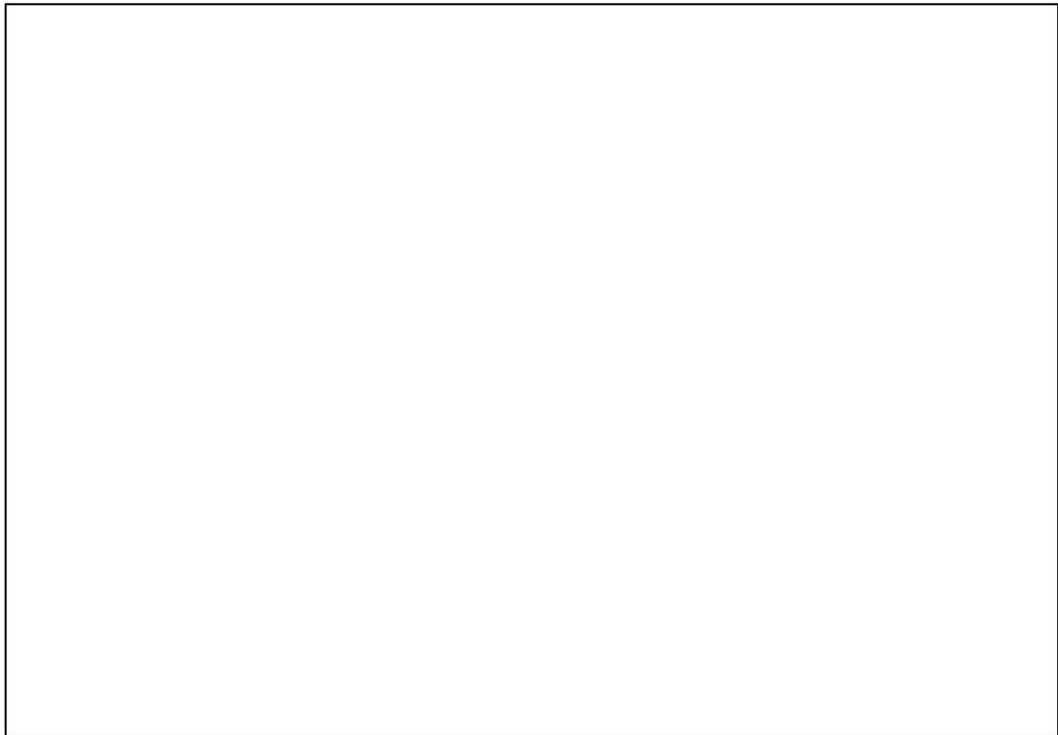


Figure 5: Photographs from *La Semaine*'s photo article celebrating the premiere of *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle*, July 1941.¹²⁵

The publication announced that it was the first time a journalist had been allowed to take such photos backstage at the Paris Opéra.

¹²⁴ BnF. Rue des Archives/ Coll. PVDE.

¹²⁵ Gaston Paris, 'Pour la première fois à l'Opéra un photographe pénètre dans trou du souffler.' 30 July 1941. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-705. Paris.

OCCUPIERS AS TOURISTS

As well as being an occupation zone, France was used throughout the war as a place for German relaxation. Soldiers were often sent to Paris for short stints following more intense combat periods on the Eastern Front and some Germans were stationed in Paris permanently.¹²⁶ Many therefore viewed Paris not just as occupiers, but through a tourist lens; Bertram Gordon argues that German tourism in Paris was a key factor in explaining why the National Socialists did not destroy French buildings during the invasion in 1940, or the retreat in 1944.¹²⁷ Compared with the brutal, violent conditions in the east, France was considered a relaxed, 'soft' posting, particularly because the French did most of the policing, at least until 1942. In his diary, German soldier F. Kurt wrote that memories of being stationed in France 'sustained' him while he was later fighting in Russia:

I helped take Dijon on 17 May 1940 and after that often went shopping there from Auxerre. Once my shopping was done, I drank a quite few bottles of good Burgundy there. We still often sustain ourselves on our memories of France. Compared to [the Eastern Front], that campaign was pure child's play.¹²⁸

As Julia Torrie argues, the Germans viewed hostility towards the French as somewhat inappropriate following the armistice.¹²⁹ Soldiers in Paris were provided with accommodation on the Place de la Concorde, Place de Clichy, the Champs-Élysées and the Faubourg Saint Honoré. The Luftwaffe were based at the historic Palais du Luxembourg in the sixth arrondissement where Goering kept a private suite. German soldiers were largely free to relax, explore and make the most of Paris' sights, history and entertainments, many of which were perceived to be quaint and old-fashioned when compared with German modernism.

Visiting Paris was exciting. It 'meant an abundance of new impressions,' wrote German Officer Georg Grossjohann.¹³⁰ Most German soldiers were young men who had not had much

¹²⁶ Julia S. Torrie, *German Soldiers and the Occupation of France, 1940-1944* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 5.

¹²⁷ Bertram Gordon, 'Ist Gott Französisch? Germans, Tourism and Occupied France 1940-1944,' *Modern Contemporary France* NS 4: 3 (1996), pp. 287-98; Bertram Gordon, 'Warfare and Tourism: Paris in World War II,' *Annals of Tourism Research* 25: 3 (1998), pp. 616-38.

¹²⁸ F. Kurt, *Kriegsbriefe an die Eltern 1933-1944*, 19 February 1944, quoted in Torrie, 'Tourism and the German Occupation of France' (2011), p. 324.

¹²⁹ Torrie, 'Tourism and the German Occupation of France' (2011), p. 314.

¹³⁰ Georg Grossjohann, *Five Years, Four Fronts: A German Officer's World War II Combat Memoir*, trans. by Ulrich Abele (New York: Ballantine, 2005), p. 54.

opportunity to travel, had heard about Parisian cultural and historical entertainments, and harboured no real hatred or disdain for the French. Sometimes the Germans stationed in Paris were Francophiles, or French-speakers who had travelled or studied in Paris in the inter-war years. Siegfried Knappe, who arrived in Paris in early September 1940, recalled visiting the Paris Opéra and ‘even *climb[ing]* the Eiffel Tower [...] I revelled in the architecture of the beautiful city and its cultural wealth.’¹³¹ Tours introduced for soldiers on leave in neighbouring cities followed the itinerary of Hitler’s early morning route on the 23 June 1940. Visiting the Palais Garnier was one of the top attractions in occupied France. ‘If they took one shot of themselves at the beach, in front of the Paris Opéra or at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier,’ writes Torrie, ‘they took hundreds.’¹³² In a letter to his parents, soldier Hans-Peter Eckener recalled visiting the Eiffel Tower, the Trocadéro, Place Vendôme, Notre Dame and the Palais Garnier, a ‘pompous building’ that he was ‘unfortunately unable to visit from the inside.’¹³³

Paris also presented Germans with the opportunity to witness cultural delights prohibited in the Third Reich. In his memoir, Sonderführer Gerhard Heller – in charge of French publishing at the Propagandastaffel – described the Parisian cultural scene revealed to him by his French friends as a gateway to art and music considered *entartet* in Nazi Germany: ‘All this was outlawed as works of a decadent, degenerate culture; I did not know anything about it [...]’¹³⁴ Gordon writes that this perception of the beauty of France and the Parisian way of life, enabled through the extensive tourism that became a shared experience for the Germans in Paris during the Second World War, may have curbed Wehrmacht violence towards French people and cities.¹³⁵ Further, Torrie argues that the experience of resting in France reenergised German soldiers, thus ‘undergird[ing]’ violence in other parts of Europe.¹³⁶

Compared with Nazi Germany, soldiers in Paris enjoyed relaxed laws and cultural freedom. *Soldatenkinos* showed exclusively German entertainments and, while soldiers were officially forbidden from spending time in Montmartre, they nevertheless made the most of the less salubrious entertainments on offer.¹³⁷ Goebbels described the ‘ancient magic of th[e]

¹³¹ Siegfried Knappe with Ted Brusaw, *Soldat: Reflections of a German Soldier, 1936-1949* (Shrewsbury: Airlife, 1993), p. 167. Italics in original.

¹³² Torrie, *German Soldiers* (2018), p. 153.

¹³³ 25 October 1941. Hans-Peter Eckener, quoted in Torrie, ‘Tourism and the German Occupation of France’ (2011), p. 320.

¹³⁴ ‘Tout cela était proscrit comme œuvres d’une culture décadente, dégénérée ; je n’en connaissais pour ainsi dire rien.’ Gerhard Heller, *Un Allemand à Paris, 1940-1944* (Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 1981), pp. 114.

¹³⁵ Gordon, ‘Warfare and Tourism’ (1998), p. 633.

¹³⁶ Torrie, *German Soldiers* (2018), p. 5.

¹³⁷ Kommandeur 30. Division (Kommandant der Stadt Paris), 16 July 1940, quoted in Torrie, ‘Tourism and the German Occupation of France’ (2011), p. 318.

wonderful city,' which by October 1940 was 'pulsating with life once more.' Comparing the French *variétés* with the entertainments on offer in Germany, he wrote: 'a lot of beautiful women and disarming nakedness. We could never stage something like that in Berlin.'¹³⁸ These entertainments were not strictly prohibited in France: Germans (including high-ranking officials such as Goering and Goebbels) frequented Parisian entertainments the equivalent of which were banned in Germany. Officials introduced rules to curb soldiers' behaviour such as extensive spending in French shops, associating with black or Jewish women, dancing in public, swimming in the Seine, riding horses for pleasure, and buying pornography.¹³⁹ Such rules acted as guidelines though they were often disrespected. Commingling was prohibited though this rule was often overlooked.

French theatre was a highlight of the German experience in Paris and the Palais Garnier itself was a must-see tourist destination. German newspapers and magazines such as the *Deutsche Wegleiter für Paris* contained cinema and theatre listings with titles recorded in German translation, as well as interviews with celebrities including Serge Lifar.¹⁴⁰ In the first week of September 1940, officers could choose between entertainments at the Deutsches Sodalten-Theater, Trocadéro, Opéra, Opéra-Comique, Comédie-Française, Théâtre de la Madeleine, Théâtre des Ambassadeurs and the Théâtre de l'Œuvre, not to mention cabaret and revue.¹⁴¹

Rule-breaking was met with varying degrees of disdain from higher-ranking German officials. Many joined the soldiers in stretching the rules; others strictly enforced them. Lieutenant Dietsch wrote that 'a sense of nationality seemed to escape these soldiers altogether,' after observing German soldiers and French citizens commingling in a mass at Notre Dame.¹⁴² Gerhard Heller remembered that, though a range of entertainments were readily available, German soldiers were officially encouraged to engage in high culture and avoid low culture.¹⁴³ Attending concerts and the theatre was encouraged until the end of the occupation. As late as June 1944 the Kommandant von Gross-Paris issued orders stating that German soldiers should still attend theatres, opera houses and cabarets (in pairs or carrying a pistol) despite the imminent defeat, and the *Wegleiter* carried theatre listings until its last issue

¹³⁸ Joseph Goebbels, *Goebbels Diaries* (1982), p. 148.

¹³⁹ Pryce-Jones, *Paris in the Third Reich* (1981), p. 15.

¹⁴⁰ *Der Deutsche Wegleiter für Paris*, 1941 (no date), p. 9, p. 60. AVL. Fonds Lifar. Presse 1941. Lausanne.

¹⁴¹ 'Theater und Revuen,' *Deutsche Wegleiter für Paris*, September 1940. AVL. Fonds Lifar. Presse 1940. Lausanne.

¹⁴² Quoted in Pryce-Jones, *Paris in the Third Reich* (1981), pp. 17-9.

¹⁴³ Heller, *Un Allemand à Paris* (1981), p. 172.

in August 1944.¹⁴⁴

French attitudes towards the German presence varied widely. A minority welcomed the occupiers; many detested them. Some Parisians became ambivalent towards the Germans. Writer Paul Léautaud recalled that the German presence had ‘little effect,’ whilst dance-band leader Georges van Parys said that it ‘neither surprised [him] nor [made him] uneasy.’¹⁴⁵ In many cases Germans and Parisians were able to live alongside one another, sharing the same spaces whilst hiding underlying tensions. ‘I don’t know exactly what I feel when I am near you,’ wrote French diarist Jean Guéhenno:

I don’t hate you, I don’t hate you anymore. I know you will never be my master. I pretend not to see you. I act as if you did not exist. I promised myself never to talk to you. I understand your language, but if you talk to me, I raise my arms in the air and act like someone who doesn’t understand [...] I tell myself that you probably come in all kinds, as we do. There are some very low kinds of you. There are those officers one meets around the Madeleine and the Opéra in their fine linen greatcoats, with their vain, high caps, that look of proud stupidity on their faces, and those nickel-plated daggers joggling around their bottoms.¹⁴⁶

Many diarists and memoirists similarly questioned the incongruent behaviour displayed by the occupiers depending on the circumstances. Paul Simon, editor of resistance newspaper *Valmy*, described the ways that German soldiers’ behaviour differed according to their surroundings:

If housewives in a queue protest for any reason, the shop is shut for the day. On the Métro, however, the gallant Germans give up their seats to women. [...] One might believe, from reading the papers, that before their advent no Frenchman had ever surrendered his seat to a woman. It is a pity that the same papers kept so quiet about the molesting of French women after nightfall.¹⁴⁷

Simon’s description echoes that of many Parisian citizens during the occupation: the Germans were at times courteous and polite; at others they were cruel and violent. It was not the donning of uniform that enabled this change (they were dressed in their uniform in public spaces at all times), but the Germans behaved differently in differing environments.

Many French people chose to simply ignore the German presence altogether, deliberately avoiding eye contact in the street. The French capital became known as ‘die Stadt

¹⁴⁴ Torrie, ‘Tourism and the German Occupation of France’ (2011), pp. 327-8.

¹⁴⁵ Léautaud and van Parys quoted in Pryce-Jones, *Paris in the Third Reich* (1981), pp. 17-9.

¹⁴⁶ Guéhenno, *Diary of the Dark Years* (2014), pp. 196-7.

¹⁴⁷ Simon, *One Enemy* (1942), pp. 33.

ohne Blick,' or 'city without a glance,' as a result.¹⁴⁸ French audiences were forced to navigate a city that was now filled with German soldiers and officials who wished to enjoy the same cultural entertainments and share the same cultural spaces in their leisure time. The Paris Opéra was at the centre of this space and opera houses, after all, were familiar; the etiquette and social rules of attending formal musical concerts were similar in both France and Germany. The Paris Opéra was therefore an environment where Germans – and French civilians – could forget their day-to-day lives and responsibilities and imagine that they were not at war.

Though Paris had not been physically damaged by the German invasion, its landscape was visually altered. Signs gave directions in German, Nazi swastikas hung from the Eiffel Tower and the National Assembly, and the Chamber of Deputies was draped in a banner which read 'Deutschland siegt an allen Fronten' (Germany is victorious on all fronts). A curfew was introduced.¹⁴⁹ Paris was no longer the city of light. Bicycles and the Métro became the primary means of transport and the roads were cleared for German vehicles. Officers and soldiers took over the city's most expensive hotels and residences. Public services including banks, schools and the Métro quickly reopened, though many – including some hospitals, cinemas, prisons and Radio-Paris were requisitioned by the Germans.¹⁵⁰ All seats in the loges at the Paris Opéra and the Opéra-Comique were free of charge for the Germans: this constituted around 20 percent of the house. Remaining seats were to be sold to German soldiers for half their retail price (in 1942 seats cost between 30 pfennigs and 2.50 Reichsmarks).¹⁵¹ The RTLN was reimbursed by the Secretariat d'État à l'économie nationale et aux finances.¹⁵² Over the course of the occupation, Rouché was reimbursed more than 10 million francs – the equivalent cost, Grandgambe estimates, of a year of sold-out performances at the RTLN. The Paris Opéra was also granted special paper dispensation so that programmes could be printed, though programmes got smaller as the occupation progressed.¹⁵³

By September 1940 the Paris Opéra catered for its new audience by including synopses of productions in both French and German in the programmes. Franco-German symbiosis

¹⁴⁸ Kommandant von Gross-Paris, Standortbefehl Nr. 40/44, June 9, 1944, quoted in Torrie, *German Soldiers* (2018), pp. 86-7.

¹⁴⁹ The curfew was quickly extended from 11pm to midnight. Mitchell, *Nazi Paris* (2008), pp. 13-4.

¹⁵⁰ See Cécile Méadel, 'Pauses musicales ou les éclatants silences de Radio-Paris,' in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy* (2001), pp. 235-251.

¹⁵¹ Prices listed in 'Veranstaltungen in Pariser Theatern' in *Der Deutsche Wegleiter für Paris*, 12 September 1942, p. 26. BnF Gallica, département Droit, économie, politique, 8-JO-4976.

¹⁵² Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity* (2018), p. 61.

¹⁵³ Grandgambe, 'La Réunion' (2001), p. 114.

was similarly encouraged through advertisements for the Berlitz language school which appeared on the central pages from September 1940.¹⁵⁴ This shows that Germans were a significant presence at both ballet and opera performances at the Palais Garnier and demonstrates the normality with which this presence was received. The concert-going experience in Paris would have been, for German soldiers, familiar to the experience of attending the opera or the concert hall in Germany; it relied on the same tacitly agreed ‘rules’ of listening.¹⁵⁵

THE PALAIS GARNIER AT THE CENTRE OF PARISIAN LIFE

As well as a place for socialising, the Palais Garnier was both the geographic and administrative centre of Parisian life. French citizens visited the German military office, the Kommandantur, which was set up in a building opposite the theatre on the Place de l’Opéra, to obtain permissions and conduct other business transactions. Diaries and memoirs by French citizens and German soldiers mention the looming presence of the Kommandantur in descriptions of the Opéra district. Jean Eparvier likened seeing the Kommandantur banner when emerging from the Opéra Métro station to being physically slapped.¹⁵⁶ In his 1946 publication, *Paris Pendant la Guerre*, Pierre Audiat wrote that pedestrians walking through the Place de l’Opéra would try to ignore the ‘immense banner’ carrying the name ‘Kommandantur von Gross Paris’ in its gothic script [see Figure 6].¹⁵⁷ The aesthetics of the Place de l’Opéra were further changed following the erection of German-language signage in front of the Palais Garnier, shown in Figure 7. The German language signs now obscured the view of the opera house from the other side of the Place: as one approached the Palais Garnier, their view of this cultural institution was obscured by a visual reminder of the German presence.

Nazi flags could also be seen around the Opéra district, particularly when marches or festivals took place. Audiat describes a music concert that took place on the steps of the Palais

¹⁵⁴ See AVL. Fonds Lifar. Programmes, 1939-40. Lausanne.

¹⁵⁵ Hansjakob Ziemer discusses concert-going in Germany in “‘The German in the Concert Hall’: Concertgoing and National Belonging in the Early Twentieth Century,” in *Dreams of Germany: Musical Imaginaries from the Concert Hall to the Dance Floor*, ed. by Neil Gregor and Thomas Irvine (New York: Berghahn Books, 2019), pp. 33-53.

¹⁵⁶ Jean Eparvier, *A Paris sous la botte des Nazis* (Paris: Éditions Raymond Schall, 1944), p. 14.

¹⁵⁷ ‘Une immense banderole déployée sur l'immeuble porte en lettres gothiques : “Kommandantur Gross Paris.”’ Pierre Audiat, *Paris Pendant la Guerre*. (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1946), pp. 32-3.

Garnier: the significant audience size was treated as a sign of a successful reception, though Audiart recalled that French onlookers visibly sulked.¹⁵⁸ In Figure 8, a large audience gathers on the same steps to watch a German choir. Most of the tightly packed onlookers are Germans dressed in uniform. Some civilians stand apart on the outskirts of the circle, pushing their bicycles as though pausing to observe the commotion as they pass by on other business. The open-air nature of this performance suggests that it was intended for public performance, but in reality its audience – or those that, in all likelihood, could hear the singers – was almost exclusively German. The Palais Garnier acts as a backdrop for this performative scene – *une façade mise en scène*.

Diarists also refer to casual walks through the Opéra district. Ernst Jünger mentioned the area frequently in his diary entries: he often walked around the Palais Garnier, visited cafes next to the Place de l'Opéra, and even parted company with a Parisian woman in front of the opera house.¹⁵⁹ Thus the experience of being in the Opéra district was completely changed following the German invasion. After June 1940 the area was associated with the German military officers, surrounded by physical reminders of the German presence in the city, and frequented by Germans in their leisure time. Visiting the opera and the ballet necessitated, often, close contact with the occupier – this dynamic is an important aspect to consider in this thesis's discussion of the occupation ballets' reception and cultural impact.

Despite being occasionally draped in Nazi flags and frequented by Germans on a daily basis, the Palais Garnier was physically unchanged during the occupation. The building's façade was not altered even though it was decorated with sculptures of French, German and Italian opera composers including Jewish composers Fromental Halévy and Giacomo Meyerbeer [Figure 9].¹⁶⁰ The Palais Garnier was at the physical centre of the occupation experience until the last moments of occupation as French resistance fighters surrounded the Kommandantur. The Palais Garnier looms in photographs of the 25 August 1944: French resistance fighters are shown fighting for their country with the Paris Opéra as a backdrop [Figure 10]. In his photo memoir, Eparvier uses the heading 'Prise de l'Opéra' (Taking of the

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 54.

¹⁵⁹ 'Das Erste Pariser Tagebuch,' 25 June 1941, SW 2, pp. 256-7. Paraphrased in Alan Mitchell, *The Devil's Captain: Ernst Jünger in Nazi Paris, 1941-1944* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), p. 22. See Bertram Gordon, 'Tourism and Erotic Imaginaries in Wartime Paris: French and Germans during the Occupation, 1940-1944,' *Via*, 11-12, 2017 (2018), pp. 10-11.

¹⁶⁰ In an interesting comparison, Rudolf Heydrich is rumoured to have ordered the removal of the Mendelssohn statue on the Rudolfinum in Prague. This rumour forms a plot point in Jiří Weil's novel, *Mendelssohn is on the Roof*, trans. by Marie Winn. (London: Daunt, 2011). It remains unproven.

Opéra) and the phrase 'le bataille de l'Opéra' (battle of the Opéra district) to describe the Battle for Paris.¹⁶¹ The Paris Opéra and its environs was a physical battleground as well as a symbolic site of Franco-German cultural diplomacy and cultural interaction.

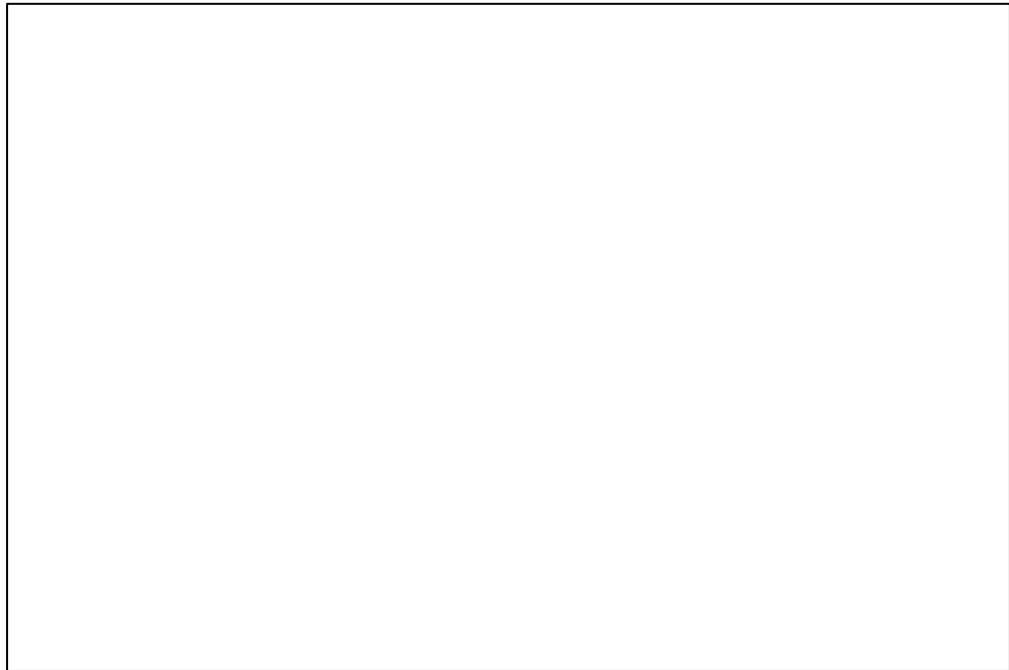


Figure 6: German soldiers emerge from the Opéra Métro stop outside the Kommandantur on the Place de l'Opéra, facing the Palais Garnier.¹⁶²
The gothic signage can be seen above the entrance to the military office.

¹⁶¹ Eparvier, *A Paris* (1944) [no page number].

¹⁶² See <<http://www.occupation-de-paris.com/2012/04/le-touriste-allemand-no1.html>> [Accessed 12 October 2018].

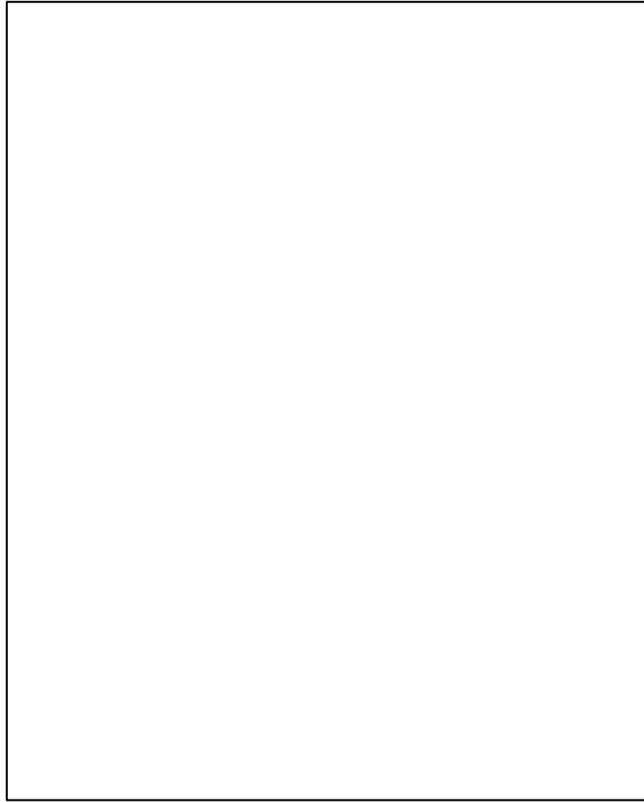


Figure 7: German road signs in front of the Paris Opéra.¹⁶³

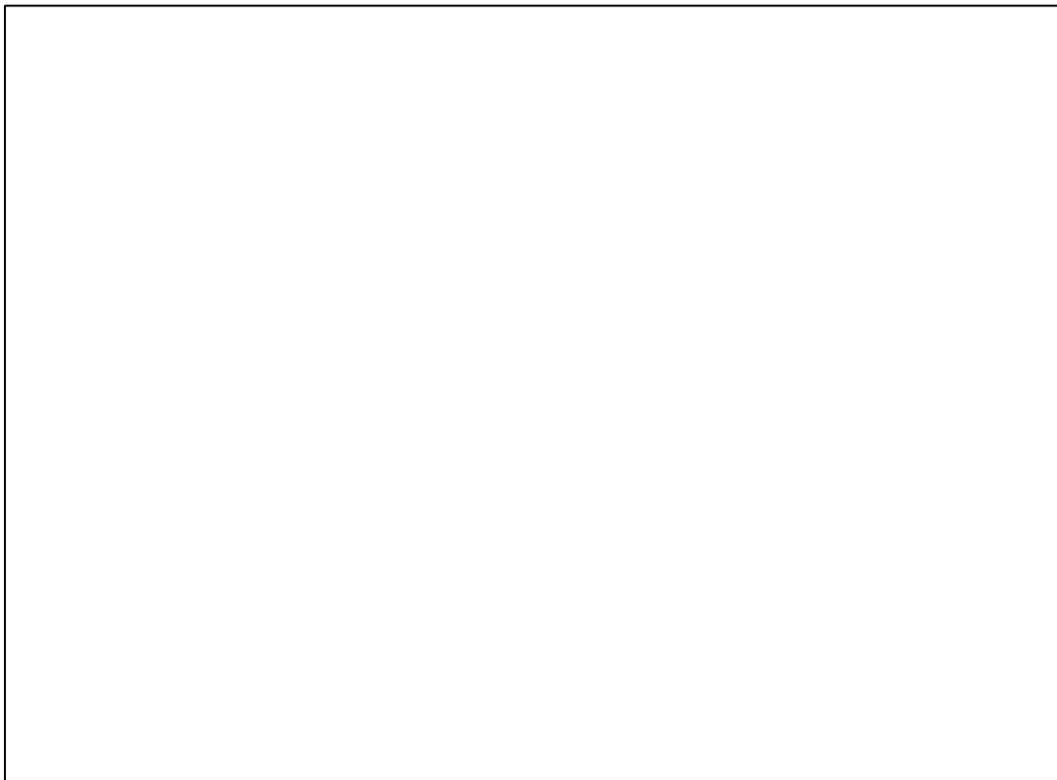


Figure 8: A German choir sing on the steps of the Palais Garnier, July 1940.¹⁶⁴
They are surrounded by German Wehrmacht soldiers in uniform.

¹⁶³ André Zucca, printed in Pryce-Jones *Paris in the Third Reich* (1981), p. 150.

¹⁶⁴ Eparvier, *A Paris* (1944).

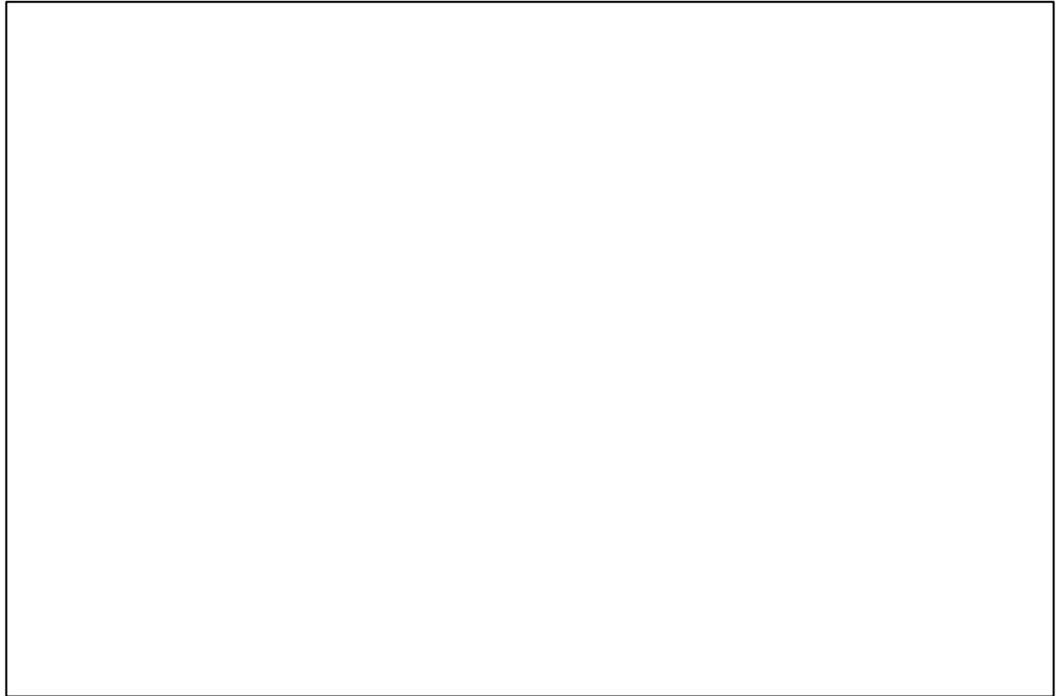


Figure 9: Uniformed German soldiers pose for a photograph outside the Palais Garnier.¹⁶⁵
The seven busts in the circles on the front of the building are, from left to right, Rossini, Auber, Beethoven, Mozart, Spontini, Meyerbeer and Halévy.

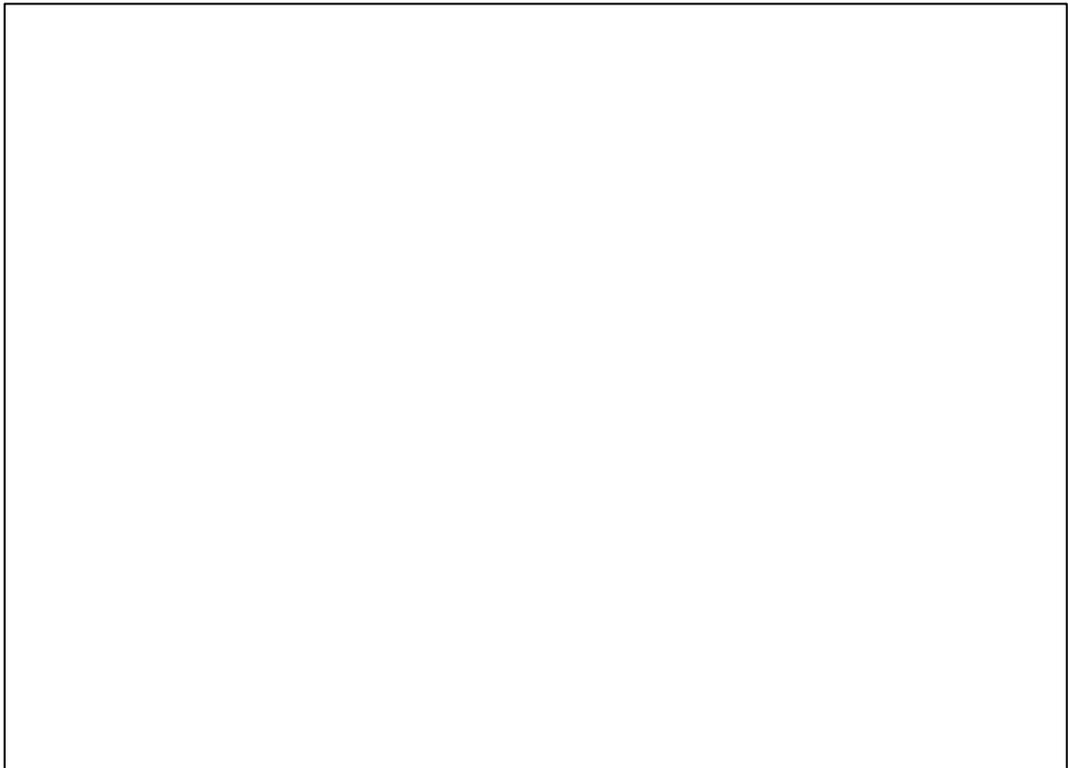


Figure 10: A German tank in flames in front of the Palais Garnier on the Place de l'Opéra, 25 August 1944.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ See Anon. [2018] 'Occupation de Paris' <<http://www.occupation-de-paris.com/2012/04/le-touriste-allemand-no1.html>> [Accessed 12 October 2018]. Public domain.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

The association between the Opéra district and German-occupied buildings did not stop anti-German Parisians from patronising the area. Resistance worker Lucie Aubrac remembered hiding in a brothel ‘between the elegant Rue de la Paix and the Avenue de l’Opéra.’¹⁶⁷ Neither did the Palais Garnier’s close proximity to German-occupied buildings and the Wehrmacht audience prevent those opposed to the National Socialists from frequenting the opera and ballet. High profile individuals opposed to the Nazi regime were seen in the auditorium; Gerhard Heller described locking eyes with Pablo Picasso across the loges.¹⁶⁸ As discussed earlier in this chapter, members of the organising resistance such as Roger Désormière occupied key positions at the RTLN. Photographs, newspaper clippings, diaries and memoirs help to build a picture of the wide-ranging types of individual that frequented the Palais Garnier, though it is difficult to know how the audience varied between opera and ballet performances. The photographs printed alongside newspaper articles provide insight into the Paris Opéra audience makeup, though because the articles refer to premiere evenings, they tend to show a more glamorous celebrity audience than would have been typical (see Figure 2 and Figure 3). As the programme advertisements for restaurants, alcoholic drinks, perfume and jewellery attest, opera- and ballet-going was largely a middle- and upper- class activity. Theodor Adorno’s description of the concert going public in the 1930s seems appropriate here: ‘the upper bourgeoisie [which] loves concerts – without compromising itself; this ideology attracts the educated in large numbers, including its impoverished and petit-bourgeois representatives.’¹⁶⁹ Neil Gregor identifies similarly middle-class content – cafés, jewellers and cosmetics – in German concert programmes across the Third Reich.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ Lucie Aubrac, *Outwitting the Gestapo*, trans. by Konrad Bieber (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), pp. 42-3.

¹⁶⁸ Heller, *Un Allemand à Paris* (1981), p. 127. Heller specifies that the performance at the Opéra was Honegger’s *Jeanne d’Arc au bûcher*, but there were no performances of this opera at the Palais Garnier during the Occupation. It is likely that Heller saw Picasso in the audience at the Palais Garnier, but at a different spectacle. “Ainsi, lors d’une représentation de la Jeanne au bûcher de Claudel et Honegger à l’Opéra, je me sentais, dans ma loge, comme traversé de courants électriques, que je ne pouvais attribuer au seul effet de la musique. En parcourant du regard les loges voisines, je découvris, à trois loges de distance, Picasso qui me regardait de ses grands yeux de braise.”

¹⁶⁹ Theodor Adorno, ‘On the Social Situation of Music’ (1932) in *Theodor W. Adorno. Essays on Music*, ed. by Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 420.

¹⁷⁰ Neil Gregor, ‘Siegfried von Hausegger, the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra and Civic Musical Culture in the Third Reich,’ *German History*, 36: 4 (December 2018), p. 557.

At the Paris Opéra the concert-going experience was augmented by Parisian celebrities and socialites. Concert-going was a matter of identity: attending the Paris Opéra and, importantly, being *seen* at the Palais Garnier was a marker of taste and societal status. For Jean Guéhenno, being observed in the audience at the Paris Opéra was a self-conscious marker of identity which tapped into the very essence of what it meant to be French. ‘How can one be a Frenchman?’ he asked, before describing the French capacity for self-reflection as ‘like a woman at the Opéra who feels all eyes upon her and arranges a lock of hair, smooths her eyebrows, moistens her lips, and lights up her eyes.’¹⁷¹ The Paris Opéra was associated with glamour and escapism: attending the ballet and opera – particularly for important events – was as much a social indicator as it was a cultural experience.

Diaries and memoirs offer further description of the Paris Opéra’s symbolic importance for both the French and the German audiences in a wider cultural and social sense. Educated French and Germans were often familiar with the plots, themes, source material and allegorical references in operas and symphonic works; opera and classical music enjoyed a wider appeal during the 1940s than it does today. References to operatic characters and scenarios appear in the memoirs and diaries of the people living in occupied Paris and attending the Paris Opéra, showing that the audience actively looked for allegorical meaning in these productions, making connections between the action onstage and their own lives. In his diary, Guéhenno likened the Parisians in occupied France to Biblical figures Mary and Joseph in Berlioz’s oratorio *L’Enfance du Christ*:

The great, terribly supple phrase, repeated ten times, speaks insistently of shelter, a refuge where there must be a sanctuary for the thought that will save us, while waiting for its time to come. But it seems there is no longer any refuge, no longer any Egypt.¹⁷²

Amongst other operatic references, Guéhenno uses Don Giovanni to describe French collaborators: ‘A sort of pederast Don Juan, he claims to be a rationalist.’¹⁷³ Philosopher Jean Paul Sartre makes frequent reference to Wagner throughout his diary, idealising ‘the life of a Liszt, a Wagner, or a Stendhal,’ and Eparvier describes the Battle for Paris using operatic imagery: ‘a terrible crash breaks out, it is a Wagnerian storm which seems regulated by the

¹⁷¹ Diary entry, 7 March 1941. Guéhenno, *Diary of the Dark Years* (2014), p. 66.

¹⁷² Diary entry, 26 December 1942. *Ibid.*, p. 186. Guéhenno is referring to Matthew 2:13-15, the escape to Egypt.

¹⁷³ Diary entry, 6 June 1941. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

Germans themselves.’¹⁷⁴ These references to operatic themes and composers show that educated opera- and ballet-goers actively considered the allegorical and thematic messages in these productions and applied literary themes to their lived experience. When audiences experienced new ballet and opera productions, therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that they analysed them on some level; they realised cultural and allegorical references hidden in the music, staging or dance. This thesis’s hermeneutic discussion and interpretation of the new ballets at the Paris Opéra in Chapters Four and Five assumes that audiences may have been making these connections to varying extents. These diary references to Wagner, Berlioz and Mozart suggest that ballet and opera had a political agency. Such references show that audience members actively linked allegory onstage to lived experience, in much the same way that, as the Front national des musiciens hoped, audiences may have looked to recognise relevant musical imagery and, perhaps, political coding.

Attending the Paris Opéra was more political than simply a cultural or social experience; it was a reminder that a war was taking place. Christopher Small writes that theatres and other musical spaces are ‘islands of community among the great sea of impersonal relations of the modern city.’¹⁷⁵ The intense, politically loaded environment in occupied Paris created an unorthodox island of community at the Palais Garnier as Germans and French shared the same spaces, walked along the same boulevards and enjoyed the same entertainments. With at least one third of tickets reserved for the Germans and a box often occupied by the Kommandant, the Opéra was no exception. Though their lives were markedly different, audience members gathered to sit alongside one another and enjoy an evening of entertainment. Guéhenno wrote:

Symbolic: every evening at the Opera, I am told, German officers are extremely numerous. At the intermissions, following the custom of their country, they walk around the lobby in ranks of three or four, all in the same direction. Despite themselves, the French join their procession and march in step, unconsciously. The boots impose their rhythm.¹⁷⁶

Though Guéhenno’s description may be somewhat exaggerated (and allegorical), he describes the way that the Germans made themselves at home at the Palais Garnier. They further

¹⁷⁴ Jean Paul Sartre, *War Diaries: Notebooks from a Phoney War, 1939-1940*, trans by Quentin Hoare (London: Verso, 1984), p. 73; p. 80; ‘Un fracas terrible éclate, c’est un orage Wagnerien qui semble réglé par les Allemands eux-mêmes,’ Eparvier, *A Paris* (1944), p. 24.

¹⁷⁵ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998), p. 41.

¹⁷⁶ Diary entry 10 February 1941. Guéhenno, *Diary of the Dark Years* (2014), p. 58.

asserted authority by frequenting the Palais Garnier dressed in full Wehrmacht uniform; the Parisians were not allowed to forget that they were under military occupation. While the Germans may have felt quite at home at the theatre, the French were constantly reminded of the German presence: ‘when we were at the Opéra,’ wrote Eparvier, ‘the hall was like camouflage because of their uniforms.’¹⁷⁷

Figure 11 shows the audience in the Palais Garnier stalls at a performance of *Joan de Zarissa* in 1942. The composer, Werner Egk, is conducting. At least half of the audience in the picture are wearing Wehrmacht uniform. Soldiers are interspersed between ordinary French men and women and a man sits on the front row, clutching his programme and putting up his feet in a relaxed fashion. The French audience’s middle-classness is reflected particularly through clothing, jewellery and accessories. The orchestral players (all male) are dressed in suits; the string players glance towards the stage as the woodwind section play a sectional solo. Though, as Gregor argues, it is difficult to define social status by observing what people are wearing, such photographs show that even during wartime – especially during wartime – both French appearances and German authority were maintained through clothing.¹⁷⁸ French theatres served the same purpose as the soldiers’ local theatres back in Germany; though they were in uniform the soldiers were not ‘on duty.’ The Paris Opéra was a space to relax, enjoy French culture, forget the war and experience the occasional romantic encounter.¹⁷⁹

Vichy-ite French writer Alfred Fabre-Luce wrote about the Palais Garnier as a space for cultural exchange. He questioned the motives of anti-Germans in his diary, suggesting that the French were willing to put their morals aside in order to witness great music: in this case, the performance of *Tristan und Isolde* given by the Berlin Opera and conducted by Herbert Von Karajan at the Palais Garnier in 1941. ‘Wagner disturbs and worries [anti-German French people],’ he writes: ‘Is it decent to witness such evil? At the curtain, we still wonder.’¹⁸⁰ Fabre-

¹⁷⁷ ‘Quand nous allions à l’Opéra, la salle était comme camouflée de leurs uniformes.’ Jean Eparvier, *A Paris* (1944), p. 14.

¹⁷⁸ The role of fashion and clothing in occupied Paris is discussed in Dominique Veillon, *Fashion Under the Occupation* (Oxford: Berg, 2002); Anne Sebba, *Les Parisiennes: How the women of Paris lived, loved and died in the 1940s* (Oxford: Isis, 2017). See Gregor, ‘Siegmond von Hausegger’ (2018), p. 564.

¹⁷⁹ For example, French teenager Micheline Bood recalled in her diary that her friend Monique was at the Opéra with her ‘new German.’ 28 March 1943, *Les Années doubles: Journal d’une lycéenne sous l’Occupation* (Paris: Éditions Robert Laffont, 1974), p. 189. Though Bood expressed disgust at Monique’s behaviour, it was because Monique had stayed out late days after her mother underwent an operation, and not because Monique was dating a German.

¹⁸⁰ ‘Wagner les trouble et les inquiète[...] Est-il décent d’assister à de tels maléfice? Au lever de rideau, on se le demande encore.’ Alfred Fabre-Luce, *Journal de la France 1939-1944* (Geneva: Les Éditions du Cheval Ailé, 1946), p. 362.

Luce evocatively describes the awkwardness with which audiences viewed one another as French tuxedos rubbed shoulders with military uniforms. His description summarises the way that Parisians and Germans ‘mingle[d] without speaking,’ showing that despite feelings of awkwardness, the hypocritical French audience – as he perceived them to be – were able to put their morals aside in favour of excellent music: the ‘art operates its miracle [...] we are beyond wars, nations.’¹⁸¹

Theatre-going offered familiarity and a shared respect for rules such as sitting still, dressing appropriately and knowing when to applaud. Concert-going, writes Gregor, is an assertion of social power which involves ‘submitting to a regime with implicitly authoritarian overtones.’¹⁸² During the occupation of France, attending the ballet and opera were politically nuanced activities because they necessitated acceptance that both parties shared cultural methods of seeing, listening and enjoying. The Germans were not only guests at the Paris Opéra; they brought their tastes, customs, expectations and theatre-going traditions. The Germans asserted their authority in this French cultural space, transforming the Palais Garnier into a German space as much as a French one. The concert hall, writes Small, is a place where audiences share similar tastes, expectations and, often, social and cultural backgrounds; where similar people ‘feel safe together.’¹⁸³ One wonders to what extent the French civilian audience felt safe in the Palais Garnier whilst sharing the space with German officers in uniform but the evidence might suggest that they *did* feel safe – or at least felt safe enough to attend the Paris Opéra in significant numbers. Fabre-Luce wrote that to attend the opera or ballet during the occupation was to transcend politics and engage in a ‘collective perdition’ whereby audiences agreed with one another – not through conversing but by applauding and laughing together.¹⁸⁴

For many French people, the Paris Opéra was simply a place to watch world-class opera and ballet, outwardly devoid of political association. French teenager Micheline Bood spontaneously visited the sold-out Palais Garnier on Christmas Day 1943 to see *Faust*. Her friend Gisele was able to secure a ticket, leaving Bood waiting outside: ‘I waited a long time

¹⁸¹ ‘Mais bientôt l’art opère son miracle. Français et Allemands se mêlent sans se parler [...] On est au delà des guerres, des nations.’ Ibid.

¹⁸² Gregor, ‘Siegfried von Hausegger’ (2018), p. 552.

¹⁸³ Small, *Musicking* (1998), p. 42.

¹⁸⁴ ‘Ce soir, l’amour est quelque chose de plus encore: une patrie spirituelle retrouvée, reconquise. Cette passion [...] apparaît maintenant comme un recours contre des passions plus fortes et plus nocives, contre une sorte de perdition collective.’ Ibid.

and I was about to give up when, from inside the Opéra, arrived a German officer,' she wrote in her diary. The ticket officer left Bood herself to negotiate with the soldier:

I wanted to pay him, but he would not accept. He showed me the way [...] and I found myself enthroned in a box between two columns like the Queen of England. *Faust* was amazing [...] what really pleased me was seeing Gisele's face at the intermission when I told her I had not paid. And besides, she was badly placed: she saw nothing!¹⁸⁵

Though she may not have felt as though a political encounter had taken place, Bood nevertheless accepted a favour from a German soldier. Her lack of alarm or apprehension at this encounter shows that this sort of interaction between a French girl and a German soldier had become, to an extent, normalised.

This brief description illustrates the way that the Paris Opéra operated as a sort of safe space: the rules that usually applied in everyday life did not apply here. French and Germans tolerated one another and pretended that a war was not taking place. Though Bood questioned her interactions with German soldiers elsewhere in her diary (telling a soldier, for example, that she could not go on a date with him because her family would not approve), she did not question the ethics of receiving a free opera ticket from an off-duty soldier. Like Guéhenno, Bood questioned the image of the 'evil German.' Though she disliked the Germans in principle, in reality many of her interactions with the soldiers were very pleasant.¹⁸⁶ Perhaps Bood was offered the free ticket from the German soldier because she was a teenage girl. Nevertheless, she recognised that there are situations where her morals may be compromised – in order to benefit from a free opera ticket, for example. Where culture is concerned, she was able to leave her principles at the door. The Palais Garnier was both a concentrated melting pot representative of different parts of occupied France where German soldiers, French citizens, high-ranking Germans and Parisian celebrities mixed in the foyer

¹⁸⁵ 'J'ai attendu un bon moment et j'allais y renoncer lorsque, de l'intérieur de l'Opéra, arrive un officier allemand qui tend un billet au type du contrôle en lui disant : 'Tenez, voilà une place. L'ami que j'attendais ne viendra plus maintenant.' L'employé m'a demandé si je la voulais, j'ai dit oui naturellement et il m'a répondu : 'Alors, arrangez-vous avec monsieur, car je ne m'occupe pas des places réservées aux Allemands.' J'ai voulu la lui payer, mais il n'a pas accepté. Il m'a indiqué le chemin car les ouvreuses avaient disparu et je me suis retrouvée, trônant dans la loge entre les deux colonnes, comme la reine d'Angleterre. Faust était épatant, sauf que Marguerite était vraiment énorme ; chaque fois qu'elle lui parlait, elle manquait de dégringoler par la fenêtre. Ça enlevait toute la poésie, mais ce qui m'a vraiment fait plaisir, c'a été de voir la tête de Gisèle à l'entracte quand je lui ai dit que je n'avais pas payé. Et en plus, elle était mal placée : elle ne voyait rien!' Diary entry 26 December 1943. Micheline Bood, *Les Années doubles* (1974), p. 256.

¹⁸⁶ In her diary entry 9 June 1941, for example, Bood explains that she distinguishes between the 'Boche' as a group whom she dislikes, and individual Germans who have often been pleasant. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

(while *résistants* and communists operated the scenery); and a space where its inhabitants could completely detach from the reality of war and enjoy a world-class presentation.



Figure 11: Werner Egk conducts a performance of *Joan de Zarissa* at the Palais Garnier to an audience of civilians and soldiers, 1942. It is unclear why some seats are covered.
André Zucca/BHVP/Roger-Viollet.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS: REPERTOIRE AND AUDIENCE AT THE PARIS OPÉRA DURING THE GERMAN OCCUPATION

The Paris Opéra was not just a place for entertainment; it was a symbol of French culture and a microcosm of élite occupation life. The cultural environment within which the occupation ballets appeared is an important angle to consider for the next two chapters of this thesis. What were these audience members thinking? What was their experience of the Paris Opéra under occupation? How did this experience affect their interpretation of the Paris Opéra's repertoire, particularly the new ballets? Establishing the diversity of this audience is also important for Chapters Four and Five because it indicates the ways in which new ballets may have been interpreted when they were first presented and, furthermore, the space occupied by ballet in occupation life.

The programmes and performance frequencies illuminate the Paris Opéra's occupation experience from an administrative, political, bureaucratic and creative point view. Though heretofore overlooked in discussions of cultural life in France during the occupation,

ballet was an important part of the Parisian cultural milieu. It was not just an afterthought or a poor relation to opera; ballet held its own in occupied Paris and was enjoyed and encouraged by audiences for its own sake. This is reflected through the increase in the number of ballet presentations at the Paris Opéra during the occupation, and also in the many new ballets that were presented in this short period of time, including *La Princesse au jardin*, *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle*, *Les Animaux modèles*, *Guignol et Pandore* and *Joan von Zarissa*, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapters Four and Five. The company also benefited from the celebrity status of its dancers, none more so than Serge Lifar.

French cultural institutions such as the Paris Opéra were directly influenced by the German occupation. Their repertoire was censored, their workforces were impacted by mobilisation and Nazi racial laws, and their audience was different. However, cultural institutions were not just victims of circumstance. They had an important national role to play in the encouragement and dissemination of French culture. Though some cultural figures took the opportunity to benefit from German favours, others used their influence to promote French repertoire and cultural identity through music. Furthermore, cultural figures such as Jacques Rouché were important decision makers that directly impacted policy. Essentially, Rouché interacted with the Germans in the role of cultural diplomat. The limitations and aims of the Paris Opéra administration as described in this chapter contextualise the decisions made regarding repertoire during the German occupation. Similarly, understanding the way musicians and cultural figures approached the German presence and encouraged cultural resistance provides context for the next chapters of this thesis. Cultural offerings could have multiple meanings and nourish alternative interpretations: the performance of French music (such as Berlioz' *Damnation de Faust*) might simultaneously appeal to the Vichy authorities' *Révolution nationale*, subtly respond to FNM's call for French composers to be performed and celebrated, whilst also contributing to Otto Abetz' strategy of cultural seduction.

The role played by the Paris Opéra in occupation life must also be understood from a subjective, personal angle. The diaries, memoirs and accounts which mention the Paris Opéra help to understand the way that cultural life, opera- and ballet-going, and the Palais Garnier were understood by those that experienced it first-hand. This audience experienced their visits to the Palais Garnier in different ways: the opera house was a complicated cultural space which carried political connotations, even if it did not seem that way to the people living through it at the time. Considering the audience makeup and experience through diaries and memoirs contributes to scholarly conversations relating to culture in occupied Paris and calls for a greater understanding of the experience of both French and Germans in Paris. This discussion

further develops understanding of the complicated and often contradictory dynamic that existed in Parisian occupation society, indicates how the occupiers' policy of cultural seduction worked in practice and, finally, it suggests ways in which this relative leniency may have been subtly manipulated during the occupation by those with political motivation.

CHAPTER FOUR | THE OCCUPATION BALLETS

During the German occupation of France, four ballets premiered at the Paris Opéra to original music by French composers: *La Princesse au jardin* by Gabriel Grovlez, *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* by Philippe Gaubert, *Les Animaux modèles* by Francis Poulenc and *Guignol et Pandore* by André Jolivet. All four ballets were choreographed by Serge Lifar, presented by the Paris Opéra Ballet at the Palais Garnier, and featured sets and costumes by French designers. The premieres of these highly narrative ballets were endorsed through the attendance of German officials. Their appearances thus made a significant contribution towards French cultural life and fed into German ambassador Otto Abetz' policy of cultural seduction in Paris. The National Socialists' November 1941 'ban on dance - prohibition on dramatic ballet' in Germany, discussed in Chapter Two, did not apply in France: cultural seduction took priority over homogenous ideological cultural policy across the Nazi Empire.

These French ballets were presented during a time when everyday acts were imbued with political symbolism. The ballets' nostalgic, pastoral French themes spoke to Pétain's *Révolution nationale* and reinforced his idea of *Travail, famille, patrie*.¹ Such apparent *Vichyisme*, tolerated by the occupying forces under 'cultural seduction,' might well have been interpreted by some as indicative of national collaboration. The presentation of Gaubert's romantic music for ballet *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* might even indicate an alignment with the National Socialists' aesthetic preferences for musically conservative choices. At the same time, however, the ballets spoke to French resistance composers' desires to express subtle resistance where possible through the presentation of French music and culture and the exaltation of 'national aspirations,' as discussed in Chapter Three.² The ballets were thus presented in a space that was policed, politicised and nuanced. Cultural 'Frenchness' could be defined differently across

¹ See Christian Faure, *Le Projet culturel de Vichy: Folklore et Révolution nationale 1940-1944* (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1989); Jean-Pierre Azéma, 'Le régime de Vichy,' in *La France des années noires* ed. by Jean-Pierre Azéma and François Bédarida (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2000), pp. 151-179; Thomas A. Kselman, 'Catholicism, Christianity, and Vichy,' in *French Historical Studies*, 23:3 (2000), pp. 513-30.

² See Anon. 'Échec à la propagande "culturelle."' *Les Lettres Françaises*. No. 14, March 1944, p. 5. BnF, Réserve des livres rares, RES-G-1470 (209), quoted in Chapter Three.

the political spectrum and both the choice to present French material and the material itself – particularly at the Paris Opéra – might be interpreted in various ways. While this could perhaps be said about many of the cultural presentations on offer in occupied Paris, I argue further that the presentation of French cultural and historical imagery to a diverse audience through the medium of ballet – an inherently French art form – spoke subtly to those who looked for political subversion in culture.

As I argued in Chapter One, the performance of ballet at the Paris Opéra extended the historic link between ballet and French cultural identity, or ‘Frenchness,’ a concept which was loosely defined and developed at the beginning of the twentieth century as the music of composers such as Emmanuel Chabrier and the ‘trinity’ – Claude Debussy, Maurice Ravel and Gabriel Fauré – were promoted in French musical circles during the interwar years. Composers associated with the Ancien Régime such as Jean-Philippe Rameau, Jean-Baptiste Lully and François Couperin also experienced a revival as French journalists, musicologists and composers looked to define and solidify a French cultural identity through music.³ Roy Howat suggests that French music from this era was recognisable as French even to the ‘untrained ear.’⁴ Further, Barbara L. Kelly argues that French music during the early twentieth century was characterised by an exploration of ‘sonority.’⁵ This musical soundscape formed a sort of canon for the listening public which was transformed and modernised during the 1920s and ’30s by French composers including Francis Poulenc and other members of Les Six and later, André Jolivet and Olivier Messiaen (under the collective umbrella, *La Jeune France*). French music during the interwar period, writes Kelly, was hallmarked by ‘simplicity, the ‘stripped-down style’ (*style dépouillé*), counterpoint, melody, sonority (with its concern for tonality, modality and polytonality) and classicism.’⁶ Many of these composers working during the interwar years were influenced by Igor Stravinsky. The resulting unique and distinctive sound was not only highly influential for young composers working within and outside France

³ See Barbara L. Kelly, ‘Common Canon, Conflicting Ideologies: Music Criticism in Performance in Interwar France’ in *Music Criticism in France, 1918-1939: Authority, Advocacy, Legacy* ed. by Barbara L. Kelly and Christopher Moore (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018), pp. 122-8, p. 149; Jann Pasler, ‘*Bleu-horizon* Politics and Music for Radio Listeners: *L’Initiation à la musique* (1935),’ in *Music Criticism in France* (2018), p. 91, p. 110, p. 119; Barbara L. Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France: A Fragile Consensus, 1913-1939* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 15-36; Jane F. Fulcher, ‘Debussy as National Icon: From Vehicle of Vichy’s Compromise to French Resistance Classic.’ *The Musical Quarterly*, 94:4 (Winter 2011), p. 459.

⁴ Roy Howat, ‘Modernization: From Chabrier and Fauré to Debussy and Ravel’ *French Music Since Berlioz*, ed. by Richard Langham Smith and Caroline Potter (Farnham: Ashgate, 2006), pp. 206-7.

⁵ Kelly, *Music and Ultra-Modernism in France* (2013), p. 8.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

but was also aurally representative of French music and culture to audiences and concertgoers worldwide.⁷

Given the National Socialists' regulation of French cultural life as discussed in Chapter Three, it is significant that the new ballets produced at the Paris Opéra during the occupation were by French composers who were not only trained in this French sonority but were part of its development. Gabriel Grovlez and Philippe Gaubert were both born in 1879 and were contemporaries of the 'trinity,' whilst Francis Poulenc and André Jolivet (born in 1899 and 1905 respectively) were at the forefront of French modernism during the interwar years. By creating and scheduling high-profile performances of their ballets, director Jacques Rouché – and artistic director and choreographer Serge Lifar – presented a national style of music at the Paris Opéra during a time when French identity and cultural stability was publicly tested by the German presence. This approach was aided by the Vichy commissions scheme, which offered 20,000 francs to composers of new lyric works including ballets that were performed at the Réunion des théâtres lyriques nationaux (RTLN).⁸

Though they varied in scope, style and story, the occupation ballets reinforced the Paris Opéra's commitment to showing French repertoire whilst ballet-going encouraged audiences to enjoy French culture. The scenarios to all five ballets discussed in this thesis are reproduced in Appendix A. Some members of the audience, I argue, may well have read the plots as subversive or perceived them as anti-German because the creators played with themes such as trust, power and resistance. Others may have interpreted the ballets' presence at the Palais Garnier as indicative of French collaboration. Of course, some may not have perceived any political message at all in the presentations, and some may even have believed that ballet was an apolitical artform; the ballets' elusive nature was precisely what allowed the works to avoid intense scrutiny.⁹ In terms of the wider history of French ballet, the productions' critical success contributed towards the continued growth of ballet at the Paris Opéra as substantial critical discussion in respected musical publications put forward the view that dance was more than just frivolous, light-hearted entertainment.

⁷ See Charles B. Paul, 'Rameau, d'Indy, and French Nationalism' *The Musical Quarterly*, 58:1 (Jan 1972), pp. 46-56; Déirdre Donnellon, 'French Music Since Berlioz: Issues and Debates' *French Music Since Berlioz* (2006); and Jane F. Fulcher, *The Composer as Intellectual: Music and Ideology in France, 1914-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁸ Leslie Sprout, 'Music for a "New Era": Composers and National Identity in France, 1936-1946,' PhD diss. Berkeley, University of California, 2000, p. 35.

⁹ Leslie Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), p. 16; Sandrine Grandgambe, 'La Réunion des théâtres lyriques nationaux' in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy* (2001), pp. 112-5.

As individual presentations, the ballets directly display French culture through music, dance and décor, but their message is intensified when the ballets are considered together. The first occupation ballet premiere evening at the Palais Garnier, in July 1941, presented *La Princesse au jardin* and *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle*. It was an important event in Parisian cultural life and it is no coincidence that these ballets were selected by Rouché for performance almost immediately after the invasion of France. Though *La Princesse au jardin* had been composed (though never performed) more than twenty years previously, it was inherently French in its music and themes, and Grovlez's impressionist music conveys a subversive, unsettlingly aggressive storyline. In contrast, Gaubert's ballet was more contemporary. According to Lifar, the idea for *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle* was conceived as early as 1938 and Gaubert composed the score following the German invasion whilst in Cahors in the unoccupied zone.¹⁰ Gaubert's use of French courtly dances in his setting of French source material might subtly have resonated with those who believed that such choices had national significance. The third occupation ballet, Poulenc's *Les Animaux modèles* (1942), was also conceived pre-war but completed after the occupation and, like *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle*, similarly presented French thematic material. Based on stories by French fabulist Jean de La Fontaine, the ballet's apparent farmyard simplicity masked musical quotation and allegory that invoked unmistakably subversive thematic imagery consistent with a critique of foreign armies on French soil. The final occupation ballet, *Guignol et Pandore* (1944), reimaged a traditional, nostalgic French puppet show. Jolivet, who began composing the ballet after the German invasion, invited comparison between his ballet and Stravinsky's *Petrushka* through story and harmonic musical quotation.

Considering the new ballets alongside the practical and administrative changes at the Paris Opéra discussed in Chapter Three deepens our understanding of cultural life during the occupation. On an initial level, musical commentary and analysis of the ballets widens knowledge about creative reactions to the German presence, contributing to existing studies related to music and the arts during the occupation. Contemporary reviews and newspaper reports including reviews of the new ballets add further depth to this understanding by showing how the ballets were received and, consequently, how the Paris Opéra was perceived by Parisian society and the German occupiers. This chapter offers a qualitative analysis of the ballets from a musicological and aesthetic perspective, using musical sources alongside

¹⁰ Serge Lifar *Ma Vie: An Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1970), p. 288. The ballet's story was based on twelfth-century source material.

documents written by and about the ballet creators, to try and understand how the ballets were created and how they may have been perceived by their audience. Letters from Gabriel Grovlez, Francis Poulenc and André Jolivet to Serge Lifar and Jacques Rouché provide insight into the creative process and the challenges of creating and staging a production in difficult circumstances. It is unfortunate that Philippe Gaubert's correspondence has not survived.

In some cases, it is difficult to know how and by whom decisions were made regarding these ballets. Evidence has disappeared or become shrouded in myth and, one assumes, key decisions were sometimes made in the rehearsal room and not recorded. I have been unable to find significant correspondence between Jacques Rouché and Serge Lifar which might suggest that decisions were often made in-person, or that letters have since been destroyed. Dance historian Mark Franko concludes similar; he writes that Lifar destroyed much of his personal correspondence, and his autobiographical writing is unreliable.¹¹ This chapter attempts to draw conclusions where possible, and make speculations where appropriate, based on the evidence available whilst acknowledging that the time period in question may have necessitated a reluctance for individuals to document their activities and discussions or commit their ideas to paper.

New ballets were reported in the French press in much the same way as new operas: they were 'announced' by the Paris Opéra in advance, then advertised again on the day of the premiere. Serge Lifar often provided a description of his inspirations and choreographic methods. As the occupation progressed, such articles were accompanied by dress rehearsal photographs. Reviews usually appeared in daily newspapers such as *Paris-Soir* and *Paris-Midi* the day after a ballet's premiere while longer articles appeared in culture journals like *Beaux-Arts* and *Comœdia* sometime later. A ballet might receive ten or more reviews before critical interest gradually tailed off. Premiere reviews are particularly useful for the study of ballets because they provide description and analysis where recordings and choreography no longer exist. Reviews of revivals were much less detailed and numerous because the music was familiar, though public appetite for revivals, particularly of larger works like *Sylvia*, was widespread. Even in the French press, unexpected political or musical events could affect critical coverage with, writes Katharine Ellis, sometimes 'brutal' results for composers and creators.¹² Such was the case for Milhaud: the premiere of *Médée* on 8 May 1940 was overshadowed by the German

¹¹ Mark Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar: Interwar French Ballet and the German Occupation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 183-4.

¹² Katharine Ellis, 'Opera Criticism and the Paris Periodical Press' in *Revue belge de Musicologie*, 66 (2012), p. 129.

invasion of the Netherlands two days later. Occasionally, the opposite phenomenon occurred: *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* received more press coverage than usual following the death of its composer, Philippe Gaubert, mere days after the ballet's premiere.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the sanctioned French press was dominated by right-leaning, collaborationist editors, journalists and publishing houses. The reviews must be read in this context, though not all contributors were necessarily pro-Fascist. Critics self-censored their writing and avoided overt discussion of (political) 'meaning' in their reviews. Serge Added argues that even cryptic allusions to resistance themes on the Parisian stage would have been picked up by either German or collaborationist French reviewers, who would likely have denounced the persons involved.¹³ Edward Boothroyd provides examples in French theatre, however, of allegorical references that did 'slip[] through their net,' showing that a resistance theatre was possible, and arguing that the most effective means of communicating with the audience was 'through overarching themes, and usually under the cover of a mythical or historical plot.'¹⁴ This was precisely the case with the occupation ballets – politicised references were hidden inside allegory and metaphor.

Many Paris-based German-language newspapers carried advertisements and listings for the city's largest cinemas, theatres and music halls. With the exception of *Joan de Zarissa*, which will be discussed in Chapter Five, detailed attention in the German-language press to the occupation ballets is, sadly, scant. The daily *Pariser Zeitung* highlighted cultural events across the German-occupied territories in its 'Tagebuch aus dem Kulturleben.' This included short announcements for new productions at the Paris Opéra for the majority of the occupation, including the premieres of *La Princesse au jardin* and *Le Chevalier et la Damselle*. The publication carried a short article and longer review of the premiere of *Les Animaux modèles* which offers a unique perspective on the German reception of the ballet. The newspaper focussed almost exclusively on political news in the final months of war: the 'Tagebuch' column became more sporadic and the premiere of *Guignol et Pandore* in April 1944 was not mentioned. The *Deutsche Wegleiter für Paris* occasionally reviewed performances by visiting German opera companies and orchestras but did not review performances such as the French occupation ballets. It did, however, give brief details of upcoming performances at the Palais

¹³ Serge Added, 'L'euphorie théâtrale dans Paris occupé,' in *La Vie culturelle sous Vichy*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Rioux (Éditions Complexe, 1990), p. 290.

¹⁴ Edward Boothroyd, 'The Parisian Stage During the Occupation, 1940-1944: A Theatre of Resistance?' PhD diss. University of Birmingham, 2009, pp. 39-40.

Garnier and carried instructions for those wishing to purchase tickets. Such publications help us to understand how the Germans stationed in Paris navigated Parisian life and French culture and, where detailed reviews exist, give an insight into the way French productions were received and interpreted by their German audience.

Musicological studies are sometimes limited where documents relating to reception are concerned, so it is important to look past the reviews and avoid creating simply an analysis of the ballets as they were reported publicly.¹⁵ It must of course be acknowledged that the ballets were likely understood in differing ways by different audience members; their interpretations were affected as much by contextual factors as by the ballet and music that they enjoyed on the night. Interpretations also change over time: an analyst might 'read' associations – particularly when studying musical scores – that were not understood by a contemporary audience watching the ballet for the first time. As shown in Chapter Three, some audience members actively looked for deeper meaning and allegory in opera productions. It is not unreasonable to suggest that this audience looked for similar opportunities in the ballets – after all, ballets and operas were often presented at the Palais Garnier on the same evening. Aside from reviews, however, it is difficult to find out what the ballet audience was thinking. This chapter therefore attempts to treat the ballets in context, asking 'how might a contemporary audience have understood these presentations?' using the ballets themselves as the primary objects but considering other factors too. The musical commentary in this chapter offers tentative readings for how the composers and the creative team involved in producing the occupation ballets conveyed meaning through their work, and how this may have been understood by a contemporary audience.

Structurally, this chapter presents the four ballets in chronological order using a series of case studies. I outline the methodology on which this musical commentary is based below. In the conclusion to this chapter, I argue that the occupation ballets' presentation of idealised French thematic material appealed superficially to Pétain's Vichy aesthetics whilst veiling politically relevant themes such as trust, power, deception and resistance. To those alert to such musical and aesthetic cues, the ballets may have called forth FNM's wish to boost

¹⁵ See Mark Everist, 'Reception Theories, Canonic Discourses,' in *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), ed. by Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, pp. 378-402; Nicholas Cook, *Music Analysis and the Listener* (New York: Garland, 1989); Leon Botstein, 'Music in History: The Perils of Method in Reception History' *The Musical Quarterly*, 89: 1 (Spring, 2006), pp. 1-16.

‘national aspirations’ through culture and provide a home for French musicians, resonating with the view that the German presence was an affront to French national sovereignty.

MUSIC AND MEANING

Though excellent analyses of particular ballets exist, methodological frameworks for the analysis and interpretation of meaning in ballet music are few and far between. Studies of opera and musical theatre offer useful blueprints for the development of a process for the relationship between music and meaning on the theatrical stage, though there are limitations in such methodologies.¹⁶ In ballet, of course, audiences are not given verbal instruction aside from a short libretto, so music and choreography take on a greater role for imparting meaning. The methodology I outline here acts as a starting point for discussing the relationship between music and meaning in ballet with which the 1940s audience would likely have been familiar. It outlines a set of melodic, harmonic, rhythmic, orchestration and structural techniques used by ballet composers for conveying meaning through music. These general techniques – established largely by romantic ballet composers such as Delibes, Adam, Tchaikovsky and, later, Stravinsky – provide a framework against which the ballet music in this chapter may be discussed.

Ballet composers typically use a range of methods to convey mood, characterisation and setting in their work including melody, harmony, pastiche, quotation, motivic development, rhythm and orchestration. Taking the operatic ideas of ‘aria’ and ‘recitative’ as a starting point, the functions of ballet music may be separated into two categories: pure dance

¹⁶ Notable ballet analysis case studies which centre music and meaning include Richard Taruskin, ‘Russian Folk Melodies in *The Rite of Spring*,’ *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 33:3 (Autumn 1980), pp. 501-543; Thérèse Hurley, ‘Opening the door to a fairy-tale world: Tchaikovsky’s ballet music’ in *The Cambridge Companion to Ballet*, ed. by Marion Kant (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Studies which discuss frameworks for analysing opera include *Reading Opera*, ed. by Arthur Groos and Roger Parker (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988); *Analyzing Opera: Verdi and Wagner*, ed. by Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989). Case studies which discuss the relationship between music and meaning in musical theatre include Ronald Rodman, ‘“There’s No Place Like Home”: Tonal Closure and Design in *The Wizard of Oz*,’ *Indiana Theory Review*, 19:1-2 (Spring-Fall 1998), pp. 125-143; Paul Filmer, Val Rimmer and Dave Walsh, ‘Oklahoma!: Ideology and Politics in the Vernacular Tradition of the American Musical’ in *Popular Music* 18:3 (October 1999), pp. 381-395. The study of music and meaning in symphonic music studies are also useful though they tend to assume a highly specialist audience. See Fred Everett Maus, ‘Music as Drama,’ *Music Theory Spectrum* 10 (Spring 1988), p. 60; Gregory Karl, ‘Structuralism and Musical Plot,’ *Music Theory Spectrum* 19:1 (Spring 1997).

music and pantomime. Pure dance music comprises passages of music which express emotion and accompany solo and group dances. Comparable to operatic aria, pure dance music passages are self-contained, (often) melodically motivated, and make for pleasant, standalone concert music. Subcategories of dance music include passages of characterisation which use music to convey characteristics such as nationality, occupation, morals or age without forwarding plot. These are also typically driven by melody and rhythm. Pure dance music may also take the form of ‘action’ music, which usually accompanies large group scenes such as battles, duels or hunts. These passages are often motivated rhythmically.

Pantomime music serves a different purpose and is similar to operatic recitative: rather than convey an abstract emotion, pantomime tells the audience a particular story or message which is specific to the moment and the character. Pantomime often accompanies choreographic hand gestures or slapstick; it might be diegetic. In pantomime passages, the music is secondary to the action: it is often motivated percussively – by movement rather than melody. Often the ‘pure dance’ passages comprise a ballet’s orchestral suites though both types of music are relevant for understanding meaning. The ballets in this thesis combine pure dance music and pantomime music to differing extents.

Topic theory offers a useful way of thinking about ballet music. Musical ‘topics’ help the listener to make associations between the music they are hearing and the music they have heard in the past, creating meaning based in connotation and tradition.¹⁷ One recognises a musical fanfare, for example, because of the composer’s melodic, harmonic, rhythmic and orchestration choices and makes assumptions about the time period and setting of the music; possibly even the motivations or social status of the characters onstage – whether or not one is trained in music theory. Such topics might further signify mood. A lament or elegy, for example, might suggest a funeral setting. A structural way of analysing ballet music using topic theory is by considering the use of established dances styles which often come loaded with national meaning: a fandango rhythm might imply that a character is Spanish whilst music in strict 2/4 time might imply a march; characters dancing onstage may be assumed to be in the military. Ballet composers manipulate these assumptions through the use of leitmotif. Dance style can further be manipulated to implicate morality, personality or social class.¹⁸

¹⁷ See *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. by Danuta Mirka (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 1-47.

¹⁸ For example. in *Sleeping Beauty* Tchaikovsky uses a Minuet and a Gavotte to accompany the ‘noble and proud’ Duchess and ‘arrogant and conceited’ Baroness. His choice of dance style helps his audience to understand the characters’ personalities and motivations because these classical dance styles evoke the outdated court culture of

These associations are often subconscious. The musical clues are so engrained in tradition that they transcend conscious understanding:

Horns accompany the hunt, the oboe, cor anglais [sic], and panpipes invoke rustic settings; muffled snare drums suggest state funerals and executions; pipes and drums go with marches; bagpipes are bound to call Scotland to mind; organs now have religious connotations.¹⁹

Thus instrumentation, form and style carry ritual, religious or national connotations that transcend the instruments themselves.²⁰ Composers similarly use the orchestra to provide diegetic soundscapes through word painting, onomatopoeia or for mimesis.²¹ Ballet composers may choose either to perpetuate or subvert these assumptions to imbue a work with connotative meaning.

Pastiche including style, rhythm, harmony and orchestration similarly evokes a time-period or place through musical soundscape. Musical anachronism – the use of historical or period techniques or topics – is deployed to evoke a specific time period, often embedded within modern writing which acts as a point of reference. Such anachronism, writes Thomas Greene, brings the music ‘out of the remote past into the emergent present’; Martha Hyde calls this technique ‘metamorphic anachronism,’ creating meaning by ‘bringing the present into relation with a specific past.’²² Similarly, musical exoticism, writes Ralph P. Locke, constitutes ‘the borrowing or use of musical materials that evoke distant locales or alien frames of reference.’²³ In ballet, exoticism serves to emphasise the otherness of the characters onstage and may be complemented by costume or choreography. The soundscape takes us out of the ballet proper and momentarily into a different world. Such musical borrowings usually do not attempt to authentically recreate a foreign soundscape but rather, writes Jonathan Bellman, to ‘state the otherwise unstatable’ – that is to aurally transport the listener to another time and

the past. See Thérèse Hurley, ‘Tchaikovsky’s ballet music’ (2007). The quotation marks indicate Petipa’s instructions to Tchaikovsky, quoted in John Wiley, *Tchaikovsky’s Ballets: Swan Lake, Sleeping Beauty, Nutcracker* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 361.

¹⁹ Stephen Davies, *Musical Meaning and Expression* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 277, quoted in Stephanie Jordan, *Moving Music: Dialogues with Music in Twentieth-Century Ballet* (London: Dance Books, 2000), p. 68.

²⁰ A famous example of this is Prokofiev’s *Peter and the Wolf*. Though not conceived of as a ballet, it demonstrates how instrumentation and orchestration are used to denote particular animals: an oboe accompanies the duck, the flute is used for the bird, et cetera.

²¹ Hurley, ‘Tchaikovsky’s ballet music’ (2007), p. 173.

²² Thomas Greene, quoted in Martha M. Hyde, ‘Neoclassical and anachronistic impulses in twentieth-century music,’ in *Music Theory Spectrum*, 18:2 (1996), p. 205.

²³ See Ralph P. Locke, ‘A Broader View of Musical Exoticism’ *The Journal of Musicology*, 24(4), Fall 2007, pp. 478-83; Ralph P. Locke, *Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 113, pp. 155-64.

place without straying too far from the ballet's soundscape: 'just enough "there" to spice the "here" but remain comprehensible in making the point.'²⁴ Locke shows how composers such as Rameau, Handel and Bizet use subtler techniques to signal exoticism through music and costume (and, in sung works, libretto) to 'other' characters whilst staying within a work's musical overarching soundscape – implying exoticism without borrowing from another musical style.²⁵ Folk idioms are sometimes used to compare characters of differing social class, regardless of whether the music used authentically corresponds to the characters themselves.²⁶ This technique is employed by Werner Egk in *Joan de Zarissa* as he uses Germanic folk music to 'other' his low-court characters, even though the characters are not German themselves.

During the nineteenth century, ballet composers inserted direct quotations from well-known operas or other vocal music into their ballets in a technique known as *air parlant*. This forerunner to leitmotif allowed audiences to cross-reference the emotion associated with the original quotation into the ballet narrative.²⁷ During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, ballet composers used leitmotif to varying extents. Stravinsky's use of the *Petrushka* chord is a notable example. Later in this chapter I argue that Jolivet manipulated the *Petrushka* chord to characterise his ballet and conjure a Stravinskian soundscape, thus using harmony as topic, leitmotif and pastiche. Orchestration, melody and dynamics are further used motivically, with characters often represented by particular instruments, intervals or motifs. The tritone, or the 'diabolus in musica' (devil's interval) is often used by composers to signify warning.²⁸ Clashing notes and harmony are often used by ballet composers to symbolise distress, impurity or evil while consonant major keys demonstrate purity, innocence and gaiety. Grovlez, Gaubert, Poulenc, Jolivet and Egk – like many nineteenth- and twentieth-century ballet composers – both perpetuated and subverted orchestration to signify characters' gender, allegiance and intent. Female characters might typically be accompanied softly by high-pitched instruments such as the flute, oboe or solo violin, whilst male characters are represented by lower-pitched, louder instruments. This may be an onomatopoeic representation of female and male voices but nevertheless, it reinforces gendered ideals in

²⁴ Jonathan Bellman, Introduction to *The Exotic in Western Music*, ed. by Jonathan Bellman (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), p. xii.

²⁵ See Ralph P. Locke, 'A broader view of musical exoticism' (2007), p. 483.

²⁶ Locke, *Music and the Exotic* (2013), p. 134.

²⁷ *La Fille mal gardée* (1828), Ferdinand Hérold uses *air parlant* to quote from the opening chorus from Rossini's opera *The Barber of Seville*, 'Piano, *pianissimo*,' to tell his audience that the main character, Lise, must be very quiet so as not to wake her mother. Described in Jordan, *Moving Music* (2000), p. 70.

²⁸ Tchaikovsky uses a tritone for the Mouse King's battle call in *The Nutcracker*, whilst Stravinsky builds much of his harmonic language of *The Rite of Spring* around tritone distances.

dancing - women as light and dainty; men as strong, forceful and commanding. This orchestration was established during the nineteenth century as the types of movement classical dancers were expected to perform became increasingly gendered with the widespread use of the pointe shoe: female ballerinas showed off their precise technique through intricate pointework, delicate movements and elegant *port de bras* while male dancers performed high-energy solos through dazzling *tours en l'air*. The relegation of male dancers in favour of female stars during the nineteenth century further emasculated dance as ballet became increasingly associated with femininity. Though such stereotypical gendering of classical ballet roles began to break down during the early twentieth century as modernist companies experimented with concepts of 'masculine' and 'feminine' in dance, dancers at the Paris Opéra during the 1940s were still trained in classical technique - including pointe and *batterie* - according to their gender.

CASE STUDY ONE | Impressionism and allegory in *La Princesse au jardin* (1941)

On the 2 July 1941, *La Princesse au jardin* by Gabriel Grovlez and *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* by Philippe Gaubert appeared in a double bill of ballet premieres in a special charity programme which was described by composer Arthur Honegger as one of the most striking events he had experienced at the Paris Opéra.²⁹ A large souvenir edition of the programme informed audiences that the evening was supported by Maréchal Pétain and attended by Vichy representatives including Admiral François Darlan, Fernand de Brinon and Georges Scapini.³⁰ The evening's grandeur indicates the pomp and circumstance that continued to surround significant evenings at the Paris Opéra even under German occupation.

La Princesse au jardin is the only ballet discussed in this chapter for which the music was completed before the German occupation of France. The score was in fact composed twenty years earlier during the First World War – a comparable time of political instability when French identity was a loaded cultural theme. The score, like the majority of Grovlez's compositions, is stylistically impressionist, influenced by contemporaries such as Debussy and Fauré. Though Grovlez was well acquainted with Jacques Rouché, having worked as conductor at both the Théâtre des Arts from 1911 and the Paris Opéra from 1914, very little is known about the composer or his ballet.³¹ Sadly no recordings of *La Princesse au jardin* were made and the choreography did not survive beyond sixteen performances between 1941 and 1943. Overshadowed by the premiere of Gaubert's larger ballet, *Le Chevalier et la Damselle*, *La Princesse au jardin* made a comparatively muted impact on the Parisian cultural scene and did not experience the volume of critical attention enjoyed by the other occupation ballets.

²⁹ Arthur Honegger, 'Grande Première à l'Opéra' *Comœdia*, 5 July 1941. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-705. Paris.

³⁰ See programme for 'Soirée organisée par les Amis des Croisières au Bénéfice des Marins Prisonniers.' [Programme] BnF BMO, Carton 2238: Programmes 1941. Paris.

³¹ Born in Lille in 1879, Grovlez's maternal Polish grandmother had studied piano with Chopin. Grovlez directed a Ballets Russes season, taught chamber music at the Paris Conservatory from 1939 and directed other opera companies abroad including in Monte Carlo, Chicago and New York. As a composer he wrote three ballets: *La Princesse au jardin*, *Maïmouna* (1916, Opéra de Paris, 1921) and *La Fête à Robinson* (1921, Manhattan Opéra, 1922). He also wrote lyric and symphonic works. See 'Gabriel Grovlez' in *The Harvard Biographical Dictionary of Music*, ed. by Don Michael Randel (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996) p. 335; Paul Landormy, *La Musique française après Debussy* (Paris: Gallimard, 1948), pp. 342-44.

Though it appears in reviews, *La Princesse au jardin* is afforded little discussion. The presentation of *La Princesse au jardin* at the Paris Opéra in 1941 nonetheless illustrates how the Paris Opéra selected ballets that asserted French themes during the early months of occupation.

In October 1940, just six weeks after the reopening of the theatres following the armistice, Grovlez was informed by Philippe Gaubert that his ballet *La Princesse au jardin* would soon be premiered at the Palais Garnier. French artist Paul Bony was engaged to design the costumes and sets.³² Though Grovlez had written the ballet in 1914, he had struggled to get it performed and his correspondence reveals that its selection for appearance in 1940 was an unexpected surprise to the composer. This correspondence does not detail why this decision was made – Rouché and Lifar could have created a new ballet to any number of pre-existing compositions. Why *La Princesse au jardin* at this precise moment?

The timing of the letters between Rouché, Grovlez and Bony is key to understanding this decision. They corresponded in October 1940, shortly after the reopening of the theatres when life under German occupation was yet uncertain, and *La Princesse au jardin* offered two solutions to occupation-related problems. The first was a matter of practicality: the Paris Opéra administration perhaps felt the need to demonstrate that creativity had not been negatively affected by the German presence. Grovlez's ballet was more or less ready to be choreographed so it would quickly bolster the company's repertoire. The second was a matter of substance: what kind of new repertoire would be presented under occupation? The presentation of *La Princesse au jardin*, a French impressionist work, is evidence that style and musical association were significant factors in the selection of ballet scores. Of all ballets and pre-existing symphonic music that could have been chosen for choreography in 1941, Rouché chose a score that was unmistakably French. In his letters during March 1941, Grovlez expressed gratitude to Rouché and asked repeatedly to be involved in decisions regarding the décor. His letters imply that he was flattered by the opportunity to present a ballet at the Palais Garnier, but was frustrated that Lifar was responsible for most of the artistic decisions regarding the production of their ballet.³³ In fact, Grovlez even appealed to Lifar in a letter written on 28 July 1941, just days before the ballet's premiere, threatening to boycott the opening night if

³² Letters Gabriel Grovlez to Jacques Rouché, 1 February 1941, 4 March 1941, 9 April 1941. [Letters] BnF BMO, 'Lettres de Gabriel Grovlez à Jacques Rouché, à propos des représentations de son ballet "La Princesse au jardin".' NLAS-42 (95-101). Paris; Letters Paul Bony to Jacques Rouché, [n. d.]. [Letters] BnF BMO, 'Lettre autographe signée de Paul Bony à Jacques Rouché (sans lieu ni date).' LAS BONY (PAUL) 4. Paris.

³³ Ibid.

the lighting was not adjusted.³⁴ Grovlez's comments show both that he was keen to have his ballet produced despite the political situation, and that Lifar wielded creative control over many aspects of the ballet during the production stages. Though Grovlez's letters make reference to 'the current difficulties' (*les difficultés actuelles*) his letters show no reservations about being publicly promoted during this particular time.

As well as being an easy choice for the first ballet premiere evening at the Palais Garnier during the German occupation, *La Princesse au jardin* was a relatively conservative choice. Its music was decades old and conventional; it was not likely to draw unwarranted attention from National Socialists. Nevertheless, *La Princesse au jardin* might be interpreted as subversive in context of its performance early in the German occupation both through its plot, which can be read as political allegory, and ambiguity between the plot and the ballet's music, which invites the audience to question the ballet's simplistic story.

ALLEGORY IN *LA PRINCESSE AU JARDIN*

Grovlez's one-act ballet featured all the hallmarks of a traditional ethereal fantasy including beautiful costumes, delicate flowers and passionate *pas de deux*. Though it is a simple fantasy one-act ballet, *La Princesse au jardin* can be read as an allegory for invasion because the title character forcibly enters a beautiful garden, overrules the residents and takes its spoils for herself. The garden is looked after by an old sage. He protects the flowers who are 'incarnated wandering souls.'³⁵ The princess and her ladies-in-waiting spy the garden and wish to pick the flowers. Because the sage warns against it, he is tied up and immobilised by the princess's servants. The princess picks the flowers and falls asleep. Led by the commanding iris, the flowers awaken and exact revenge on the princess, killing her with their perfume. Here lies the ballet's strikingly unsettling ending: the princess's 'lifeless corpse' remains alone in the enchanted garden as the orchestra plays a joyful finale.

The libretto of *La Princesse au jardin* was written by Émile Vuillermoz, a collaborationist French critic, composer, and advocate for Debussy following the latter composer's death.³⁶

³⁴ Gabriel Grovlez to Serge Lifar, 28 June 1941 [Letters]. AVL. Fonds Lifar. Musique: Gabriel Grovlez à Serge Lifar, 1941-1943. Lausanne.

³⁵ Synopsis in programme, 'Soirée organisée par les Amis des Croisières' (1941). See Appendix A.

³⁶ Kelly, *Music and Modernism* (2013), pp. 15-7.

Vuillermoz was involved in the ballet's preparations during 1941, though the extent of this involvement is unclear.³⁷ The scenario was adapted from a poem by liberal German poet Ferdinand Freiligrath, who expressed his radical politics through his poetry. Freiligrath's work was banned in Germany from 1844-8; the poet later spent time in England to avoid persecution for his politics. Freiligrath's poem *Der Blumen Rache* (*The Flowers' Revenge*) closely matches the libretto of *La Princesse au jardin* and is the likely source material for the ballet. Differences between the original poem and the final ballet scenario support the interpretation of the ballet as an allegorical warning against invasion. In Freiligrath's poem, *Der Blumen Rache*, a young virgin (*Jungfrau*) is killed by the overwhelming scent of flowers in a nearby vase. The flowers' anthropomorphised fragrances float out of the vase and overwhelm her. They chastise her for tearing them away from their flowerbeds, encircling her until she is overwhelmed and killed by their perfume. In the poem, the *Jungfrau* turns into a flower when she dies, a cyclical ending that implies that the flowers were all former people who made comparable mistakes. In the ballet however, the lifeless corpse of the young princess is left alone in the deserted garden, a much more melancholy ending which punishes the princess and condemns her actions.

It is significant that the protagonist does not turn into a flower at the end of the ballet as she does in Freiligrath's poem: the ballet ambivalently leaves the audience unsure whether to feel sadness at the princess's death, or happiness that the flowers have exacted their revenge. This ambiguity is reflected harmonically: the ballet ends on a descending C#-G#, and the final chord is made up of C#s and G#s. It has no third, so it is neither major nor minor. This harmonic ambiguity creates an unresolved sense of discomfort which compounds the realisation that the princess is not going to be saved.

Vuillermoz and Grovlez make the French cultural symbolism unmistakable through the use of the iris as the hero of the ballet. A type of *fleur de lys*, irises had been associated with France since the twelfth century when the flower was adopted by King Louis VII as a national symbol of France. The iris in the ballet thus represents France: he unites the flowers and resists the princess' destruction of the garden. The altered ending and the iris's victory are significant in a subversive reading of *La Princesse au jardin* because they show that the source material was

³⁷ In letters to Rouché, Grovlez implies that Lifar is difficult to work with, and asks that Vuillermoz might be granted a pass to travel to Paris from Marseille, so that he could explain the libretto to Lifar: 'I confess that his presence at the moment would be very useful for me.' Letters Gabriel Grovlez to Jacques Rouché, 9 April 1941. [Letters] BnF BMO, 'Lettres de Gabriel Grovlez à Jacques Rouché,' Paris.

altered so that the princess is punished to a more forceful extent than the *Jungfrau* in Freiligrath's original poem – her actions are purposeful, not accidental – and, through the iris, the audience is presented with a heroic and resistant French leader.

MUSICAL FRENCHNESS

La Princesse au jardin is written for a typical ballet orchestra with a large percussion section, celesta, and two harps.³⁸ Grovlez's impressionist score uses harmonic ambiguity, tonal writing, parallel harmony and modal scales to assert a sonority that signals early twentieth century French music. Much of the ballet is told by the dancers through pantomime though there are two extended dances – a group number when the flowers come alive and a *pas de deux* between the princess and the iris. The ballet is written as one continuous piece of music, though it can be divided into sections. Grovlez's loose structure and relatively short score calls to mind contemporary ballets based on tone poems rather than longer nineteenth-century Romantic ballets which were divided into movements.³⁹ The score for *La Princesse au jardin* is the most pantomime-like of the four ballets discussed in this chapter and its impressionist style is reflected in its fluid structure as one section runs into another. Impressionism (and thus the ballet's 'Frenchness') is established from the beginning of the score and is threaded throughout the work. The harmonic ambiguity created by the repeating octave G#s over the chords in F# in the introductory section, for example, creates an eerie start to the piece and hints that the setting is magical and other-worldly (Example 1). Grovlez's use of otherworldly music lets his audience in on a secret: they can expect magic to appear.

Grovlez's score combines pantomime with pure dance music, using solo instrumental lines to reflect the characters' mimed passages and contrasting thematic ideas to reflect the rival groups (the flowers and the maidens) in the two extended dance sequences. The princess is represented harmonically by clashing seconds, ninths and elevenths, and melodically by

³⁸ Gabriel Grovlez, *La Princesse au jardin* (Paris: Éditions Max Eschig, 1943). [Piano score] BnF BMO, 'Réduction de piano avec indications de mise en scène. Académie nationale de musique, 2 juillet 1941.' A-834 (B). Orchestra specifications: 3.3.3.3 – 4.3.3.1 – timb – 5 perc – cél 2 hpe – cordes (divisées). See Universal Music Catalogue <<http://catsearch.umpgclassical.com/en/operas/la-princesse-au-jardinInstrumentation>> accessed 4 April 2017. *La Princesse au jardin* has never been recorded.

³⁹ An example might be the Ballets Russes' one-act production of *L'Après-midi d'un faune* (1912) which was danced to Debussy's symphonic poem *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* (1894). Grovlez would have been familiar with this ballet because he worked with the Ballets Russes in Paris during the 1910s.

long, soloistic chromatic lines and dotted rhythms as well as quintuplets and sextuplets. This contrasts with the flowers' melodies which use strict, regular rhythm and simpler harmony. The descending perfect fourth and tritone is used as an ominous motif throughout the ballet, often in relation to the princess, whom the audience are supposed to dislike.

Though it is unusual for a princess to be the antagonist in a ballet, Grovlez convinces his audience that she is a villain through the dissonant harmonisation of her thematic material. Representing the princess using harmonic motif rather than beautiful memorable melody, Grovlez distances her from popular ballet heroines such as Giselle, Aurora or Odette. The princess's music is onomatopoeic, imitating her imagined speech patterns which were likely reflected on stage through pantomime. She is accompanied by single lines of improvisational, high-pitched music often harmonised in seconds. Harmonic and melodic motifs represent the princess: these contrasting compositional techniques reflect her easily changeable mood. In Example 2, the princess's solo line is legato, virtuosic and pretty as she tries to charm the sage into selling his flowers, with the irregular rhythm using a constantly changing combination of straight and dotted quavers, triplets, semiquavers and demisemiquavers. However, as the princess becomes increasingly frustrated with the sage, the music becomes chromatic. Notes rise in pitch as she pleads with him and her frustration is intensified. Her solo ends with the accented perfect fourth interval B-E which reflects her irritation. When the princess orders the servants to pick the flowers and dismisses them when they disobey her, her solo line reappears. This time the chromaticism is more pronounced and the line is occasionally harmonised in seconds and ninths. This disjointed and unpleasant effect, shown in Example 3, demonstrates that the princess is annoyed with the sage and her maidens.

RECEPTION AND CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Though reviewers offered short descriptions of *La Princesse au jardin* in their recollections of the evening, the ballet was undoubtedly overshadowed by the concurrent premiere of *Le Chevalier et la Damesse*. Overall, frustratingly little critical attention is paid directly to *La Princesse au jardin* when compared with the other ballets discussed in this thesis. The ballet's only mention in the German-language press was a short announcement in the *Pariser Zeitung*

which reported that two new ballets would be appearing at the Paris Opéra.⁴⁰ In the publication's 'Tagebuch aus dem Kulturleben,' *La Princesse au jardin* was described as a ballet created to content written by Émile Vuillermoz (Grovez was not mentioned). Through his contributions to newspapers including the collaborationist journal *Je suis partout*, Vuillermoz was perhaps a more familiar name to the Germans stationed in Paris than Grovez.

French critics acknowledged that *La Princesse au jardin* was not a new score, though they did not question the reasons for its appearance at the Paris Opéra in 1941. In a review in *Comœdia*, Honegger offered a descriptive account of the ballet, praising Grovez's score and regretting that it had not been heard in the twenty years since it was written; he remarked that it did not sound outdated. Honegger was less complimentary about Bony's décor, however, lamenting that it was too simple.⁴¹ This view was repeated by Russian critic Alexis Michaguine-Skrydloff in *Paris-Midi*, and composer Marcel Delannoy in collaborationist daily *Les Nouveaux temps*. Both reviewers agreed that the set for *La Princesse au jardin* was too bare, describing the lighting as 'too bland, too weak' and the choreography disappointing, though both were complimentary about the score.⁴² Figure 12 shows dancers Nicholas Efimoff, Lycette Darsonval and Serge Peretti dancing in *La Princesse au jardin*. The costumes are traditional, and the sage is made to look older with a fake beard. His costume is similar to those worn by the sage elders in the Ballets Russes' original production of *The Rite of Spring* (1913), shown in Figure 13. It may be that Bony has here used costume to show that the sage is old-fashioned, or somehow primitive. The photograph – one of the few in circulation relating to this ballet – further shows that the Princess's choreography was classical and traditional because she is dancing *en pointe*. One can understand why reviewers believed the décor to be too bare; there are no flowers in the background though the ballet is set in a beautiful garden. This problem

⁴⁰ Anon., 'Tagebuch aus dem Kulturleben: Theater,' *Pariser Zeitung*, 2 July 1941, p. 5. BnF Gallica.

⁴¹ 'On aimerait une plus grande profusion florale, puisque cette abondance de fleurs fait partie intégrante du sujet [...] La partition de M. G. Grovez ne présente aucun signe de vétusté.' Honegger, 'Grande Première à l'Opéra' (1941).

⁴² 'Avec cette musique moderne, bien orchestrée, où les mélodies ne manquent pas, et dont la composition reflète bien le thème de l'action, on pouvait réaliser un spectacle captivant. Mais l'éclairage est trop fade, trop faible et ne met pas en valeur les décors de Paul Bony qu'on pouvait au moins rehausser lumineusement ; on oublie trop que nous sommes à l'époque de la lumière.' A. Michaguine, 'Nouveaux ballets à l'Opéra' *Paris-Midi* 6 July 1941; 'Sa partition est d'une belle pâte, vive en couleurs, tour à tour vigoureuse et tendre. Elle survivra peut-être à la chorégraphie, qui, n'en déplaît à Lifar, reste encore un art éphémère, personnel, *non écrit*.' Marcel Delannoy, 'Deux nouveaux ballets, à l'Opéra' *Les Nouveaux temps*, 27 July 1941. [Reviews] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-705. Paris.

was perhaps exacerbated by the dark lighting, lamented by Michaguine in his review – and raised as a concern by Grovlez in his letter to Lifar in advance of the ballet’s premiere.⁴³

Grovlez’s letters show that the ballet was chosen for performance shortly after – and therefore probably as a reaction to – the occupation of France; its appearance in 1941 was not coincidental. *La Princesse au jardin* may have appealed to the directors of the Paris Opéra – including Jacques Rouché, Roger Désormière and Serge Lifar – for both practical and stylistic reasons. Firstly, Grovlez’s score was both easily available and could be worked on right away to produce a ballet premiere just one year into the occupation, showing that the Paris Opéra was continuing with its day to day business despite the political situation. Secondly, the ballet’s impressionist score, composed during the First World War, displayed French music without being modern – it appealed to those keen to see French culture in Paris without drawing attention from National Socialist censors. On a deeper level, the ballet’s story implies that resistance is a justified reaction to invasion through the rebellious antihero, the iris, who can be read as a symbol for France. Because *La Princesse au jardin*’s allegorical messages of deception, trust and colonisation are masked through an overarching mythical – in this case fantastical – theme, and presented through innocuous, feminine dance, it is plausible that the ballet appealed to those looking to find a message of defiance in French culture.

⁴³ Gabriel Grovlez to Serge Lifar, 28 June 1941 [Letters]. AVL. Fonds Lifar. Musique: Gabriel Grovlez à Serge Lifar, 1941-1943. Lausanne.

The princess's solo line uses an irregular rhythm with straight and dotted quavers, triplets, semiquavers and demisemiquavers. Her solo ends with the accented perfect fourth interval B-E which reflects her irritation.

Le vieillard découvert par les pages est amené tout tremblant aux pieds de la souveraine

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The first system (mm. 86-90) features a 2/4 time signature and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The piano accompaniment consists of a steady eighth-note pattern in the right hand and a similar pattern in the left hand. The second system (mm. 91-95) includes tempo markings 'Meno mosso' and 'Moderato'. It features a change in time signature to 3/4 and then back to 2/4. The piano accompaniment includes triplets and a dynamic shift from piano (*p*) to forte (*f*). The third system (mm. 96-105) includes the tempo marking 'Piu vivo' and 'Meno mosso'. It features a change in time signature to 3/4 and then back to 2/4. The piano accompaniment includes triplets and a dynamic shift from piano (*p*) to piano (*p*) with an 'express' marking. The score concludes with a final accented perfect fourth interval (B-E) in the vocal line.

"Bonhomme!" vends-moi tes fleurs!

Je n'en ai jamais vu d'aussi belles!

Le vieillard repousse avec horreur un pareil sacrilège *La Princesse* *tout à son*

caprice, elle insiste, elle s'irrite.

Example 3: Gabriel Grovlez, *La Princesse au jardin*, mm. 153-63.

The princess orders the servants to pick the flowers; her solo line is harmonised with clashing seconds, sevenths and ninths.

Elle ordonne à ses suivantes de lui faire une ample moisson fleurie
Allegretto

gracioso

Celle-ci impressionnées par la malédiction du vieillard cherchent à décider leur maîtresse à reprendre sa promenade

expressivo

rall.

mf



Figure 12: Nicholas Efimoff as the sage, Lycette Darsonval as the princess and Serge Peretti as the iris in *La Princesse au jardin*, Comœdia, 5 June 1941.
[Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-705. Paris.

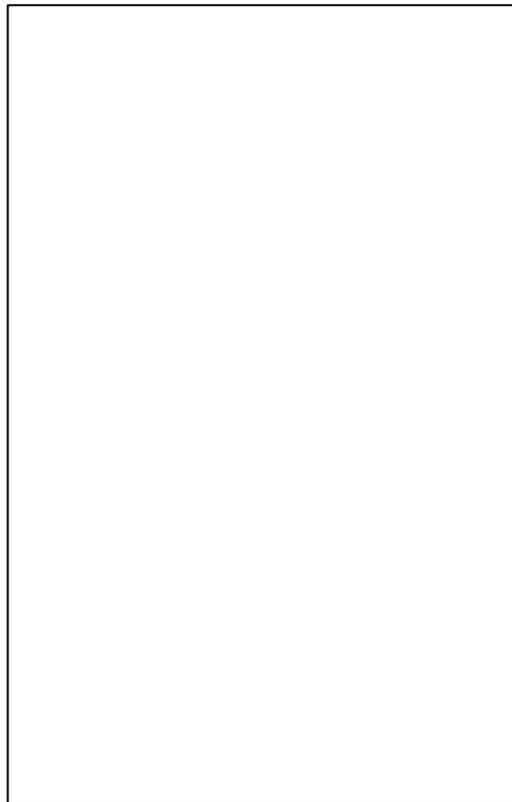


Figure 13: Nicholas Roerich, costume design for the sage elders in the Ballets Russes' production of *The Rite of Spring*, 1912.
Bakhrushin Theatre Museum, Moscow.

CASE STUDY TWO | Medieval pastiche in *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* (1941)

Le Chevalier et la Damselle was presented at the Paris Opéra on the same evening as *La Princesse au jardin*. It was composer (and Paris Opéra conductor and musical director) Philippe Gaubert's most successful ballet and also his last: on 8 July 1941, just six days after the ballet's first appearance, Gaubert died of a stroke.⁴⁵ The presentation of two new ballets in the same evening invited widespread comparison in the French press, and *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* received much more critical attention and acclaim than *La Princesse au jardin*. The ballets' stylistic differences and the popularity of *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* reveals the occupation audience's preference for romantic ballet. Grovlez's pantomimic, characterful ballet contrasted unfavourably with Gaubert's sweeping, romantic melodic lines and traditional themes of courtly love, differences which were emphasised because the ballets were presented on the same evening. Despite his personal anti-occupation sentiments and the ballet's use of French historical imagery, Gaubert's music might well have appealed to the National Socialists through his romantic style which was encouraged under Fascism in both Germany and Italy.⁴⁶

Gaubert began working on the ballet in summer 1940 after fleeing Paris (with administrative staff at the Paris Opéra, including Jacques Rouché) to his birthplace, Cahors. Sadly, it is difficult to gain insight into Gaubert's thoughts at the time, his composing process, or how the ballet came together because his papers have been lost. His family allege that they were destroyed by staff at the Palais Garnier; they argue that Gaubert's distress at the political

⁴⁵ Yvette Poiré-Gaubert, *Philippe Gaubert* (Paris: S.I., 2001), p. 98-100. BnF BMO, C-14043. Paris. Lifar writes that he and Gaubert were on the phone when the latter suffered his fatal stroke, typically involving himself in an important moment. Serge Lifar *Ma Vie: An Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1970), p. 288. This is disputed by Gaubert's stepdaughter; she remembers that Lifar telephoned an hour after the composer had passed away. Musicologist Harry Halbreich argues that Lifar's determination to claim ownership of the ballet – playing down the composer's involvement in what Gaubert felt was his best work – tainted Gaubert's final days and contributed to his stress. Harry Halbreich, 'A great ballet à la Française,' trans. by John Tyler Tuttle on Marc Soustrot and the Orchestre Philharmonique du Luxembourg, *Philippe Gaubert: Le Chevalier et la Damselle*, Timpani, 2010 [CD].

⁴⁶ Erik Levi, 'Towards an Aesthetic of Fascist Opera,' in *Comparative Studies on the Aesthetics and Politics of Performance in Europe, 1925-1945*, ed. by Günter Berghaus (New York: Berghahn Books, 1996), p. 263.

situation had an effect on his health.⁴⁷ He was ardently patriotic and deeply disturbed by the German invasion of France – he detested the Germans being at the Paris Opéra and refused their requests to visit his dressing room.⁴⁸

Despite striking contrasts between *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* and *La Princesse au jardin*, both ballets celebrated stylistically French music. While Grovlez's music was based in impressionism from the early twentieth century, Gaubert's light-hearted, characterful use of late middle ages pastiche recalled a nostalgic, celebrated period in French cultural history. Contemporary reviews by Honegger in *Comœdia* and composer Adolphe Borchard in pro-Nazi publication *Le Petit Parisien* described the score as 'masterful,' 'a brilliant success,' 'of an incomparable magnificence,' and 'a model of a ballet score.'⁴⁹ *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* was unanimously well-received by critics and was performed more than forty times at the Paris Opéra during the German occupation of France. The ballet's popularity was maintained throughout the end of the summer season and at the end of July 1941, weekly illustrated magazine *La Semaine* featured a series of photographs by French photographer Gaston Paris of rehearsals for *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* which claimed to be the first time a photojournalist had been backstage at the Paris Opéra.⁵⁰ Critics used this work to compare modern French ballet with the luxurious Russian ballets of the previous century, describing ballet using patriotic language. *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* 'is the logical link between the splendid, but bygone, era of the old Russian ballets and our own,' wrote reviewer Pierre Berlioz in *Paris Soir*.⁵¹ Unlike *La Princesse au jardin* which did not appear after 1943, the ballet remained in the Paris Opéra's repertoire until 1957 (though a recording was not made until 2010).⁵² Gaubert's death on 8 July 1941, just one week after its premiere, added to the press coverage of *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* and undoubtedly increased its public profile.

⁴⁷ Poiré-Gaubert, *Philippe Gaubert* (2001), pp. 98-100.

⁴⁸ Ibid. Lifar wrote the scenario himself and writes in his autobiography that the idea had been planned two years previously, although he was in Australia when Gaubert retired to Cahors to write the score. In his autobiography Lifar is unkind about Gaubert, suggesting that the composer openly detested the Nazis but secretly enjoyed their praise. Lifar, *Ma Vie* (1970), p. 288.

⁴⁹ Honegger, 'Grande Première à l'Opéra' (1941); Adolphe Borchard, 'Nouveaux ballets: *Le Chevalier et la Damselle et la Princesse au jardin*' *Le Petit Parisien*, 5 July 1941; Pierre Berlioz, 'A l'Opéra: *La Princesse au jardin*,' "Le Chevalier et la Damselle," *Paris Soir*, 8 July 1941. [Reviews] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-705. Paris.

⁵⁰ 'Pour la première fois à l'Opéra un photographe pénètre dans le trou du souffleur,' *La Semaine*, 30 July 1941. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-705. Paris.

⁵¹ 'C'est le trait d'union logique entre l'époque splendide, mais révolue, des anciens ballets russes et la nôtre.' Pierre Berlioz, 'A l'Opéra: "La Princesse au jardin"' (1941).

⁵² Marc Soustrot and the Orchestre Philharmonique du Luxembourg, *Philippe Gaubert: Le Chevalier et la Damselle*, Timpani, 2010 [CD]. Philippe Gaubert, *Le Chevalier et la Damselle*, (Paris: Heugel, 1941) [Piano score].

Like *La Princesse au jardin*, *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle* idealises the French past through pastoral, fairy-tale imagery. A princess has been cursed so that she transforms into a doe every evening. The curse will be lifted when she meets a man who can show her what true suffering feels like. The princess (as a doe) dances a romantic *pas de deux* with the knight and accidentally wounds him with her horns. In retaliation, he wounds her back. Because she has now experienced true suffering, the curse is broken and the doe is transformed back into a beautiful princess just as the knight disappears. The second half of the ballet takes place at a tournament which has been organised by the princess to find the knight. The backdrop, pictured in Figure 15, was designed by art-deco poster designer Adolphe Jean-Marie Mouron, under the pseudonym Cassandre. It shows a fantastical, almost cartoon-like castle decorated with flags. A series of dances introduce the peasants, shepherds and the princess herself. The knight is challenged to a duel and is accompanied by a 16-bar fugue, shown in Example 4, which made a particular impression on reviewers including Honegger who believed that it showed Gaubert's 'invention and vigour.'⁵³ The knight wins the princess's hand and they celebrate.

The plot was based on 'Guigemar,' a twelfth-century Anglo-Norman 'lai' by Marie de France.⁵⁴ In the original lai, a knight, Guigemar, shoots and wounds a white doe but is also wounded when his arrow bounces back. As the doe dies, it places a curse on him: his wound will not heal until he finds a woman who is willing to suffer for him and for whom he is also willing to suffer. Guigemar eventually finds such a woman but she is married and the lovers are separated. Guigemar takes part in a tournament and kills the woman's husband. The lovers are reunited. Gaubert's ballet uses the same courtly themes and settings but the roles are reversed. The princess is under a curse; it is her who must find someone willing to suffer. The use of French literary source material firmly establishes the ballet's national identity.

The music in the ballet's opening scenes is very romantic. Gaubert uses long, lyrical melodies and clashing string chords to emphasise the princess's transformation and the tragedy as the knight wounds her. At this point in the ballet Gaubert quotes the love theme from Tchaikovsky's *Romeo and Juliet*: an ascending D major scale leading up to a descending minor sixth. This quote, shown in Example 5, informs us that the princess and the knight

⁵³ 'Mais c'est dans la scène du tournoi que l'invention et la vigueur de Gaubert se manifestent le mieux.' Honegger, 'Grande Première à l'Opéra' (1941).

⁵⁴ This connection was made by G. Cioch, in his review 'Opera: Hommage à Philippe Gaubert; Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle' *L'Œuvre*, 19 July 1941. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-705. Paris. Cioch's assertion is not corroborated elsewhere but the similarities between the short medieval lyric poem and the plot of the ballet are so striking that Cioch's assertion is likely correct.

have found true love. If deliberate (sources do not confirm whether Gaubert intended to reference Tchaikovsky here), this may be a highly subversive moment in the ballet as the Russian composer's music was invoked at a time when most Russian works had not been heard at the Paris Opéra for a year. The reference to Tchaikovsky is fleeting but can clearly be heard; there is no indication that this section was cut from the ballet and it appears on the Luxembourg Philharmonic Orchestra's 2010 recording. Significantly, the premiere of this ballet took place only weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union when the Russians joined the allies, adding a layer of interpretive meaning for astute listeners.

MUSICAL ANACHRONISM

Le Chevalier et la Damselle is divided into distinct contrasting movements across two acts, in-keeping with the structure of traditional nineteenth-century romantic ballets. Gaubert transported the audience to a popular and successful period of French history by setting his ballet in medieval French Burgundy and using pastiche to reinforce a sense of nostalgic cultural pride. The Burgundian composers in eastern France, Belgium and the Netherlands developed characteristic styles of music of this era such as the use of polyphony and the invention of the chanson. Though the score is, overall, late romantic in style (like much of Gaubert's compositional output), he used a permissive mix of anachronistic musical techniques such as polyphony, organum, modality and renaissance choral harmony to aurally evoke the late middle ages.

The ballet begins with an overture prelude which aurally informs the audience that the ballet is set in French Burgundy and introduces some of the main themes heard throughout the piece including the high energy, galloping knights' themes shown in Example 6a and Example 6b and the slower, regal princess's theme shown in Example 6c. The stylistic contrast between the main themes heard in the overture reflects the traditional gender roles performed by the princess and the knight. Gaubert also uses dance forms from the period which contribute towards his late middle ages atmosphere. The second piece, 'La princesse et ses pages,' is a beautiful modal pastoral dance in duple time for woodwind and strings, while later in the ballet the slow 'Pastourelle' is a medieval Loure, a French dance in 6/8 with a lilting rhythm. As discussed in Chapter One, the use of such historical dance forms reinforced, strengthened engagement with and idealised the French cultural past, an anachronistic technique typical of French Third Republic music that allowed the composer to create

meaning by presenting newly-composed music through historical forms associated with French musical history.⁵⁵ Dance critic Léandre Vaillat wrote in illustrated weekly magazine *L'Illustration* that Gaubert achieved a 'medieval atmosphere' through 'invention, imagination and taste,' showing that the score achieved its aims.⁵⁶

The use of music for encouraging national pride was explicit and these perceived associations with French history were used as a tool for advertising ballet to the French public. Though Lifar wrote that Gaubert had been inspired by 'the tunes of your [French] national heritage' in an interview published the day before the ballet's premiere, I have been unable to find any genuine folk tunes in the ballet itself – the reference perhaps refers more directly to general French musical forms and dance movements.⁵⁷ The score does not utilise any genuine period instruments but Gaubert does use orchestration and harmony to create his soundscape. Parallel fifths and fourths evoke the harmonic series used in fanfares, and the oboe, flute and trumpet imitate period instruments. In the princess's theme shown in Example 6c, the trumpet solo is accompanied by lute-like pizzicato strings and harp. Through this choice, Gaubert aurally transports the listener to another time and place, stating – to employ Bellman's terminology – the 'otherwise unstatable' without straying outside his late romantic soundscape.⁵⁸ Such musical anachronisms help audiences to place the ballet in historical context by infusing the score with nostalgic flavour without being historically accurate or quoting directly from historic sources. This aesthetic juxtaposition transports the French musical past to modern audiences – the Paris Opéra in 1941 – and exemplifies Hyde's metamorphic anachronism as the historical elements of the piece are realised aesthetically.⁵⁹ Gaubert brings the past into relation with the present, 'making the distance' between the late middle ages and the present meaningful by reminding audiences of the richness of France's cultural history. Such '*couleur historique* or *couleur antique*,' evokes a nonspecific French 'late

⁵⁵ See See Carlo Caballero, 'Pavanes and Passepieds in the Age of the Cancan' in *Musicology and Dance: Historical and Critical Perspectives* ed. by Davinia Caddy and Maribeth Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p. 176-7; Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), p. 640.

⁵⁶ 'À force d'invention, d'imagination et de goût, [Gaubert] a obtenu l'équivalence d'époque [moyenâgeuse] dans une recherche d'atmosphère.' Léandre Vaillat, 'Les Nouveaux Ballets de l'Opéra,' *L'Illustration*, 5 July 1941. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-705. Paris.

⁵⁷ 'C'est un conte de fées dans la tradition populaire du vieux folklore de France, dont la renaissance m'est chère. M. Philippe Gaubert a su lui donner cette forme naïve, grâce à une musique inspirée des airs de votre patrimoine national.' Interview with Serge Lifar. 'A l'Opéra, Serge Lifar répète un ballet de tradition médiévale,' *Le Matin*, 1 June 1941. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-705. Paris.

⁵⁸ Bellman, Introduction to *The Exotic in Western Music* (1998), p. xii.

⁵⁹ Hyde, 'Neoclassical and anachronistic impulses in twentieth-century music' (1996), p 205.

middle ages' which, though not historically authentic, nonetheless feeds the idea of an idealised French heritage, or *patrimoine* in line with Pétain's *Révolution nationale*.⁶⁰

The décor for the first act was a large backdrop painting of a forest with cliffs stage-left and a tent in the centre (Figure 14). The backdrops were appreciated by the audience: Honegger described Cassandre's décors for *Le Chevalier* as 'a complete success' (*une réussite complète*) and Michaguine – who was impressed with every aspect of *Le Chevalier* – described the décor and costumes as of such taste and perfection that it 'would take a page to describe them.'⁶¹ In contrast, Jean Laurent complained in *Les Nouveaux temps* that the set and costumes reminded him of Italy rather than Burgundy.⁶² Like *La Princesse au jardin*, this ballet received no German-language press reception aside from an advertisement announcing the ballet on the day of its premiere, so it is difficult to ascertain how the ballet (and its French themes) was received by its German audience.⁶³ However, the announcement in the *Pariser Zeitung* did mention that Gaubert composed *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* (unlike the advertisement for *La Princesse au jardin* which only mentioned scénarist Vuillermoz by name).

In an announcement in *L'Information musicale*, the most prominent musical journal in occupied Paris, Lifar presented his two new ballets (with minimal reference to *La Princesse au jardin*).⁶⁴ The choreographer was apparently determined to claim ownership of the *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* as he minimised Gaubert's role in favour of his own. Lifar wrote that his libretto was inspired by the 'chivalrous spirit' of medieval tournaments (though not with a particular legend in mind), and compared his choreographic approach directly to all the 'great French court choreographers.'⁶⁵ The choreography for his new ballet – which was described in a review by Michaguine as 'sparkling,' and unlike any of his previous ballets; 'a spectacle of high quality

⁶⁰ See Katharine Ellis, 'Patrimoine in French music: Layers and crosscurrents from the Romantics to the 1920s, in Deborah Mawer, *Historical Interplay in French Music and Culture* (London: Routledge, 2018), p. 20.

⁶¹ Honegger, 'Grande Première à l'Opéra' (1941); 'Les décors et les costumes [...] sont d'une telle perfection, d'un tel goût, qu'il faudrait une page pour les décrire.' A. Michaguine, 'Nouveaux ballets à l'Opéra' *Paris-Midi* (1941).

⁶² Jean Laurent, 'Le Chevalier et la Damselle,' *Les Nouveaux temps*, 31 July 1941. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-705. Paris.

⁶³ Anon., 'Tagebuch aus dem Kulturleben: Theater,' *Pariser Zeitung*, 2 July 1941, p. 5. BnF Gallica.

⁶⁴ Yannick Simon, 'Les périodiques musicaux français pendant la seconde guerre mondiale,' *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 49:1/2 (2002), p. 73.

⁶⁵ The full citation reads as follows: 'J'ai conçu moi-même le livret du *Chevalier et la Damselle* en m'inspirant de l'esprit chevaleresque des tournois du Moyen-Âge, des légendes à caractère gothique en général, et non d'une légende particulière. On m'a reproché, parfois, d'être "égoïste" en créant mes ballets sur des livrets et même des rythmes à moi. Ce reproche n'est pas mérité : en procédant ainsi, je ne fais que renouer avec les belles traditions de Noverre, de Vigano, de Bournonville. [...] Je recours au vocabulaire le plus strictement académique, enrichi [du...] nos découvertes en matière d'art, découvertes qui n'ont pas été assimilées à la danse académique.' Serge Lifar, 'A propos de deux nouveaux ballets,' *L'Information musicale*, 27 June 1941; repeated in *Beaux-Arts* on the same day. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-705. Paris.

and rare beauty'⁶⁶ – was, according to Lifar, based on ‘new discoveries’ about medieval dance. This article was designed to promote Lifar and embed his choreography in French history by linking to Jean-George Noverre, a revolutionary ballet master who led the Académie Royale de Musique (which later became the Paris Opéra ballet) during the late eighteenth century. Such statements indicate a desire to (re-)legitimise Lifar’s presence at the Paris Opéra, despite his having spent more than a decade there already, at a time when being seen as Russian (and known to be homosexual) was regarded as suspicious and potentially dangerous. In reality, the choreography for *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* was largely neoclassical – a modernised form of classical dance technique – rather than medieval. Lifar’s claim to have made new discoveries about medieval dance is not expanded upon elsewhere, and reviewers do not comment on this in their reviews. Lifar’s article, which calls upon the notable links between French dance and French cultural history, does however show that, amidst its appearance during the German occupation of France, *Le Chevalier et la Damselle*'s Frenchness was its selling point.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Gaubert’s charming score satisfied audiences by cloaking clichéd French medieval and renaissance musical nods in a traditional ballet score. His long, beautiful melodies imbue the music with romanticism whilst the nostalgic, simpler late middle ages are hinted at through musical pastiche and anachronism. The late middle ages were further echoed through the costumes, sets and choreography, which offered modern techniques and beautiful colours amidst a rose-tinted view of French Burgundy. Though it has been suggested that Gaubert was distressed by the German presence in Paris, his ballet’s high-profile premiere may in fact be perceived as feeding into the Germans’ strategy of rule by ‘cultural seduction.’ Furthermore, his nostalgic French setting and source material resonated with the quasi-mystical, idealised celebration of French history propagated by Pétain’s *Révolution nationale*, and his romantic style may have spoken broadly to Nazi aesthetic ideals. Thus the ballet and its presentation of French history – perhaps intended by its creators as a(n apolitical) reminder of a glorious

⁶⁶ ‘La chorégraphie de Serge Lifar est étincelante [...] Sa variation du 1er acte [...] est une grande surprise, car elle ne rappelle aucune des multiples créations que le danseur nous a montrées. [...] Un spectacle de grande qualité et de rare beauté.’ A. Michaguine, ‘Nouveaux ballets a l’Opera’ *Paris-Midi* (1941).

period in France's cultural past – in fact held political connotations that could be interpreted by the audience in a number of ways.

Example 4: Philippe Gaubert, *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle*, 'Danse du Chevalier et des trois damoiseaux (Danse Gothique).' Fugue in four parts, mm. 1-12.

Très modéré et lourd

The first system of the musical score is in G minor (one flat) and 3/4 time. It begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The right hand features a melodic line with eighth-note patterns and a half-note, while the left hand provides a simple harmonic accompaniment with quarter notes.

The second system continues the piece, starting at measure 6. The right hand has a more active melodic line with eighth-note runs and a half-note, while the left hand continues with a steady accompaniment of quarter notes.

The third system starts at measure 11. The right hand has a melodic line with eighth notes and a half note, while the left hand provides a harmonic accompaniment with quarter notes.

Example 5: Philippe Gaubert, *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle*, 'Scène,' mm. 9-19.

Romantic, lyrical melodies, long phrases and clashing chords. Gaubert quotes Tchaikovsky in mm. 10-11.

Très expressif

ff

6

Le Chevalier tire son poignard et frappe le Biche

10

8

Elle se transforme

en une radieuse jeune fille

14

rit. poco a poco

fp *rit.* *mf*

Example 6: Philippe Gaubert, *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle*, themes in the 'Prélude.'

6a. Galloping knights' theme in 5/4, harmonised in parallel fifths in the second phrase, mm. 1-8.

Allegro Moderato

f *Pesant*

5

6b. A2 Combat theme, mm. 21-31.

3

5

8

6c. Princess's theme showing romantic melody with parallel fifth harmony; second subject (from the 3/4) trumpet solo with pizzicato string accompaniment. Rehearsal marks 6-8.⁶⁷

Les trois damoiseaux jurent amour et fidélité à la Princesse

Modéré 72-76

6

10

poco rit Trp. tempo 100

16

⁶⁷ This metronome marking is incomplete in the primary source but it likely means crotchet = 72-76 in bar one, and crotchet = 100 in bar 13.

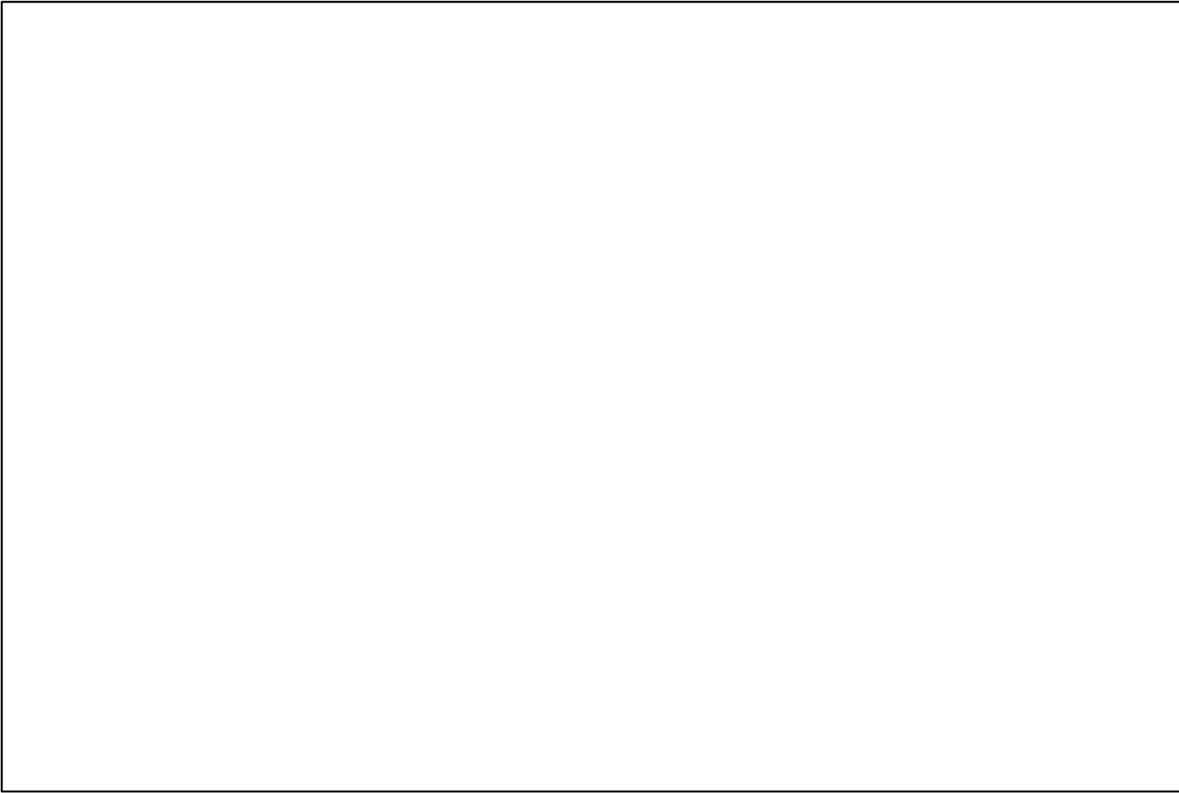


Figure 14: A.M. Cassandre, décor for *Le Chevalier et la Damselle*, Act 1.
BnF BMO, MAQ-846, Paris.

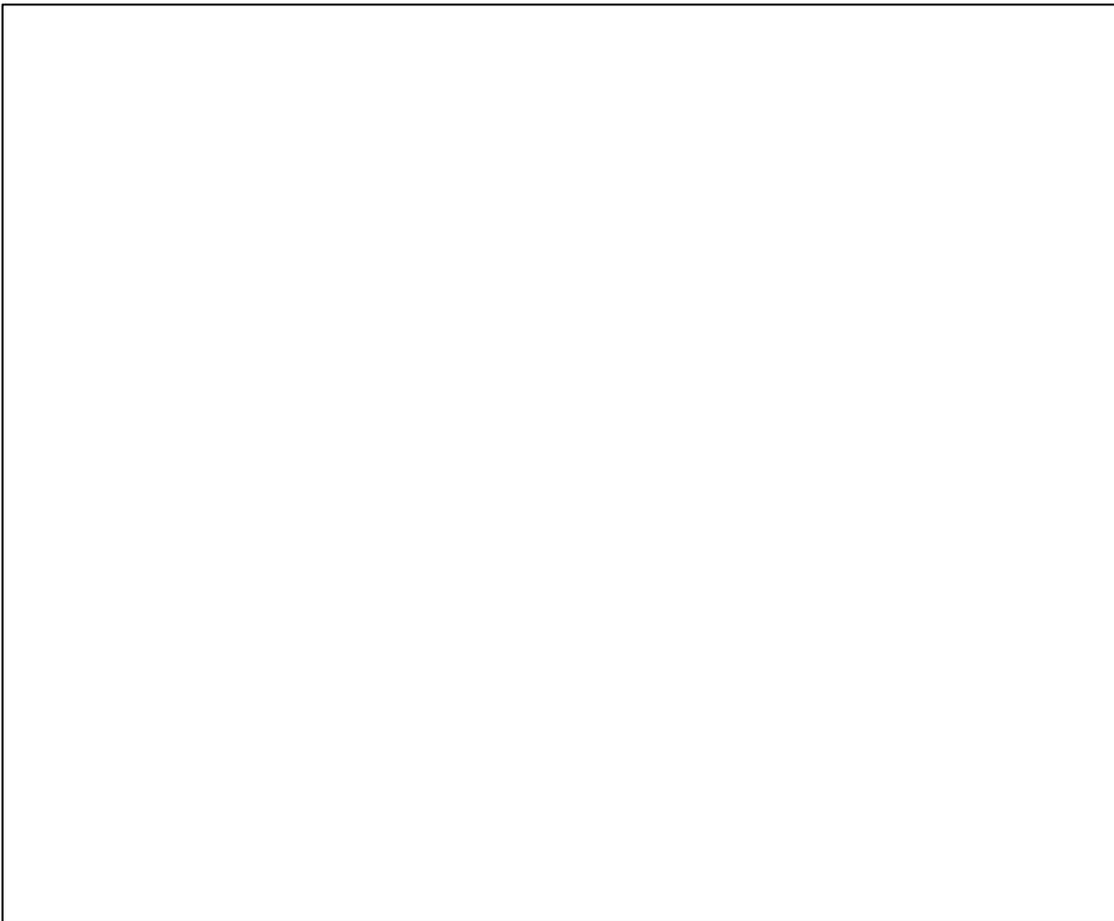


Figure 15: A. M. Cassandre, décor for *Le Chevalier et la Damselle*, Act 2.

CASE STUDY THREE | Identity, allegory and quotation in *Les Animaux modèles* (1942)

In summer 1942, the Paris Opéra presented two ballets: *Joan de Zarissa*, by German composer Werner Egk, and *Les Animaux modèles* by French composer Francis Poulenc. Discussed at length in the French and German press, these large-scale ballets were highlights of the Paris Opéra's programming during four years of occupation. Like Gaubert's *Le Chevalier et la Damselle*, *Les Animaux modèles* presented a nostalgic vision of pastoral France. Poulenc asserted his national identity and presented rural, traditional France by basing his ballet on fables by iconic French poet Jean de La Fontaine and setting his work on a French farm. The composer employed musical quotation and imitation to highlight the French elements in his ballet, placing himself within the French ballet canon and, notably, directly pointing to an 1871 resistance song. Poulenc's music further drew the audience's attention to the moral messages in La Fontaine's fables, and his use of well-known French stories imbued the whole work with allegorical meaning given the context of its premiere in occupied Paris.

Poulenc, a First World War French Army veteran, had found success as a composer during the 1920s with *Les Biches* (1924), a ballet for Diaghilev's Ballets Russes. He was well-known as a member of avant-garde group Les Six: the young composers' musical ideology both rejected Wagnerism and worked to carve out specifically French articulations of musical modernism during the 1920s.⁶⁸ Though Poulenc had considered writing a ballet based on the fables of La Fontaine as early as 1937, his demobilisation in the south of France after the German invasion in summer of 1940 provided the time and motivation to work on his new

⁶⁸ A somewhat arbitrary grouping named by Henri Collet in an article in *Comœdia*, 'Les Six' comprised French composers Georges Auric, Arthur Honegger, Germaine Tailleferre, Darius Milhaud, Louis Durey and Francis Poulenc. See Benjamin Ivry, *Francis Poulenc* (London: Ivry, 1996); Jane F. Fulcher, 'Musical Style, Meaning, and Politics in France on the Eve of the Second World War' *The Journal of Musicology*. 13:4 (Autumn 1995) pp. 425-453; Malcolm S. Cole, *Francis Poulenc: His Artistic Development and Musical Style* (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982).

creation.⁶⁹ ‘I feel full of music,’ he wrote to singer Pierre Bernac in July 1940. ‘I have come up with a thousand melodies and the overall colour of my ballet. Even the absence of a piano has been good for me.’⁷⁰ Poulenc returned to Paris at the end of the summer having sketched the score and having decided on the main scenes.⁷¹ In his post-war interviews with Claude Rostand, Poulenc described his optimism that ‘during the darkest days of the Summer of 1940,’ he could give ‘a reason to hope for the future of [his] country [...] no matter the cost,’ framing the ballet as a resistance work inspired by the occupation.⁷²

The ballet’s thematic appeal to the *Révolution nationale* and Poulenc’s later determination to frame the ballet as a resistance work might be contextualised through Poulenc’s changing relationship with and attitude towards the Vichy government. Though the setting and themes in *Les Animaux modèles* – French countryside, work and Catholicism – spoke clearly to Pétain’s motto of *Travail, famille, patrie*, biographer Roger Nichols argues that any ‘Pétainist leaning’ through the glorification of French countryside is ‘purely accidental,’ because Poulenc initially conceived of the ballet’s theme as early as 1937.⁷³ However, we know that Poulenc actively chose to pursue the 10,000 franc payment offered by Vichy’s administration des Beaux-Arts to composers of one-act works premiered in France’s lyric theatres – which he knew favoured productions with French themes – because he wrote to Rouché as such in summer 1942.⁷⁴ In his letters Poulenc implied that, though Rouché had long tried to persuade him to produce a work for the Paris Opéra Ballet, it was the German occupation that motivated the creation of *Les Animaux modèles*.⁷⁵

Fulcher argues that Pétain’s conservative values may have appealed to the composer while he was writing the ballet in 1940-41 when he is known to have supported the French government by serving on two professional Vichy committees.⁷⁶ By the time of the ballet’s

⁶⁹ In October 1937 Poulenc mentioned his plans to ‘start a ballet for Massine on the fables of La Fontaine’ in a letter to the Belgian musicologist Paul Collaer. *Francis Poulenc: Correspondance 1910-1963*, ed. by Myriam Chimènes (Paris: Fayard, 1994), p. 456.

⁷⁰ Poulenc, letter to Pierre Bernac, 10 July 1940, and Poulenc, letter to Mare-Blanche de Polignac, 10 July 1940, in *Correspondance* (1994), pp. 468-99.

⁷¹ Leslie Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), p. 2.

⁷² Francis Poulenc, *Entretiens avec Claude Rostand* (Paris: Julliard, 1954), p. 57. Translated in Simeone, ‘Making Music’ (2006), p. 30.

⁷³ Roger Nichols, *Poulenc: A Biography* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2020), p. 154.

⁷⁴ Letter to Rouché, 4 June 1942. *Correspondance* (1994), p. 518. Poulenc’s later request to the administration des Beaux-Arts for a commissions payment appears to have been denied – Sprout argues this was likely because Poulenc was financially better-off than those the programme was designed to aid. See Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013), p. 3.

⁷⁵ *Correspondance* (1994), p. 507, 511, 518; Poulenc, *Entretiens* (1954), p. 57.

⁷⁶ Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity* (2018), pp. 242-3; p. 245; pp. 251-2.

premiere in 1942, however, Poulenc did not consider himself politically aligned with the French government.⁷⁷ As the Second World War progressed, he became active in anti-German circles and collaborated professionally with other musicians and poets who were sympathetic to the resistance. In 1942, Poulenc joined resistance group Front national des Musiciens (FNM).⁷⁸ Fulcher even suggests that the ballet's original costume designer, André Derain (who had partaken in 'collaborationist' activities such as travelling to Vienna in 1941) may have resigned from the role because of Poulenc and Désormière's associations with resistance circles.⁷⁹ Thus, though support for Vichy and (cultural) French resistance had perhaps felt compatible for Poulenc in the early years of occupation, Fulcher concludes that associations between *Les Animaux modèles* and Pétain's Vichy government became a source of shame for the composer.⁸⁰ This perhaps explains Poulenc's determination, Nigel Simeone writes, to 'enshrine' the ballet in myth following the Second World War.⁸¹ Indeed, most of what we know about the ballet's 'resistance message' comes from post-war assertions. The composer spoke with the benefit of hindsight in a post-war context in which attachment to 'resistance' was high status and success under German occupation was often viewed with suspicion – with potential career-ending consequences.

Nevertheless, analysis of the score supports Poulenc's claim to have subtly embedded a resistance message into his folkloric French ballet, and the initial reception of *Les Animaux modèles* does indeed suggest that it passed under the radar of acceptability. Contemporary newspapers and journals devoted significant coverage to *Les Animaux modèles* in the days and weeks following its premiere in August 1942 and, unlike the other French ballets discussed in this thesis, a lengthy review of the premiere of *Les Animaux modèles*, which complimented the dance, was reported by journalist Hans Steen in German-language publication the *Pariser Zeitung*.⁸² The reviews draw attention to the ballet's thematic Frenchness and discuss the significance of this work's premiere under German occupation. Not only was the ballet praised extensively in the (largely collaborationist) press, it instigated discussion about French identity, the quality of French ballet, and the role of culture during wartime. Reviewers made frequent

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013), pp. 3-4.

⁷⁹ Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity* (2018), pp. 250-1.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 245.

⁸¹ Nigel Simeone, 'Making Music in Occupied Paris' *The Musical Times*, 147:1894 (Spring 2006), p. 36 ; see Poulenc, *Entretiens* (1954), pp. 56-9.

⁸² Hans Steen, 'Getanzte Fabelwelt: Ballett-Uraufführung in der Grossen Oper.' *Pariser Zeitung*, 11 August 1942, p. 5. [Review] BnF Gallica. Paris.

reference to Poulenc's French style by comparing him to canonical French composers such as Chabrier, Satie, Debussy and Ravel, and *Paris Soir* described Poulenc as one of the great contemporary French composers alongside Milhaud, Honegger and Delannoy.⁸³ Michaguine described *Les Animaux modèles* as 'purement française' in *Paris-midi*.⁸⁴ These discussions solidified the young composer within the French canon, identified key French themes in *Les Animaux modèles*, and proved that French ballet could instigate interesting and worthy intellectual discussion. In *Les Nouveaux temps*, Marcel Delannoy wrote that Poulenc rejuvenated the public's taste for live music, suggesting that the ballet was an attractive prospect for citizens of Paris that were perhaps fatigued by the musical entertainments on offer under occupation.⁸⁵ Reviews pointed out that every performance of *Les Animaux modèles* was sold out during the 1942 run which was impressive but not remarkable: the run was short – the ballet had premiered later than expected – and most productions at the Paris Opéra were sold out anyway. Critics repeatedly aligned the new production with the Ballets Russes, often identifying Stravinsky's musical influence on Poulenc, in spite of the fact that – though Poulenc defended Stravinsky's reputation in an article in journal *L'Information musicale* in 1941 – his new ballet betrayed much less of a Stravinskian influence than his other works such as *Les Biches*.⁸⁶ References to those associated with the Ballets Russes emphasised a musical connection between the two companies (in addition to the oft-cited choreographic link through Lifar), and reminded readers that Paris was the global centre of ballet invention.

The premiere audience featured significant numbers of German Wehrmacht officers, which was commented upon by Poulenc years later: 'Imagine the audience of German officers and secretaries in their drab grey at such a typically French spectacle.'⁸⁷ The *Pariser Zeitung* anticipated the new ballet on 7 August 1942 with a short notice in its 'Tagebuch aus dem

⁸³ A.L.B., 'A l'Opéra: "Les Animaux modèles," *Paris Soir*, 13 August 1942; I. Parrot, 'Les animaux modèles: Ballet de Francis Poulenc,' *L'Atelier*, 5 September 1942; Xavier de Courville, 'La Fontaine et Boccace en musique,' *Paris-midi*, 20 September 1942. [Reviews] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-873. Paris. It is interesting that Milhaud is mentioned in these reviews as the composer had already fled France for the United States. In this review he is celebrated as a great French composer, despite the fact that he is not protected by the French government.

⁸⁴ A. Michaguine, 'A l'Opéra: "Les Animaux modèles," *Paris-Midi*, 14 August 1942. [Reviews] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-873. Paris.

⁸⁵ 'Le succès du ballet de Poulenc a été direct, et il faut se réjouir du goût sans cesse accru du public pour la musique vivante.' Marcel Delannoy, 'La Musique: « Les animaux modèles »' *Les Nouveaux temps*, 16-17 August 1942. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-873. Paris.

⁸⁶ As noted in Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity* (2018), p. 250. See Arthur Honegger, 'Un ballet de Francis Poulenc,' *Comœdia*, 15 August 1942; Marcel Delannoy, 'La Musique: « Les animaux modèles »' (1942). Though Russian, Stravinsky had become a French citizen in 1934 and his ballet music was often celebrated as a French success.

⁸⁷ Francis Poulenc, *Entretiens avec Claude Rostand* (Paris: Juilliard, 1954), p. 58. Translated by Simeone in 'Making Music' (2006), p. 33.

Kulturleben' column. In his article published after the ballet's premiere, Steen was largely complimentary about *Les Animaux modèles* though he offered no musical commentary beyond describing the score as 'wondrous' (*wundersam*), and misspelling Poulenc's name: 'Francis Pouleng.'⁸⁸ Nevertheless, the attention paid to this ballet in both the French- and German-language occupation press shows that the premiere of *Les Animaux modèles* was a significant cultural event for both French and German audiences.

IMAGERY AND ALLEGORY IN THE FABLES

Though Jean de La Fontaine's fables were not an unusual source of inspiration for French artists and composers, *Les Animaux modèles* offered a reinterpretation of the stories through a twentieth-century lens that put France's political situation under scrutiny. In a September 1942 review, *Paris-midi* referred to the 'consolation' that La Fontaine could 'offer to a bruised France,' showing that critics perceived a connection between *Les Animaux modèles*, La Fontaine, and the wider connotations of the performance of this material during wartime just weeks after the ballet's premiere.⁸⁹ La Fontaine's fables were widely known to be reflections of society – one of his most famous lines refers to his collections as 'a comedy with one hundred different acts, whose stage is the universe.'⁹⁰ The fabulist intended for his work to be interpreted allegorically and morally; he wanted his audience to apply his messages to their own lives. The stories would have been well-known to their French audience as La Fontaine's fables circulated in collections of children's stories during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Poulenc's 1940s ballet audience may well have read the stories as children.⁹¹

Though Poulenc had already decided to base a ballet on La Fontaine's fables before the German invasion of France, Fulcher argues that this source material would have appealed to conservative Vichy factions eager to foreground traditional notions of French history and

⁸⁸ Steen, 'Getanzte Fabelwelt' (1942), p. 5.

⁸⁹ '[T]out les réconforts qu'un La Fontaine peut offrir aux Français meurtris'. Xavier de Courville, 'La Fontaine et Boccace en musique' (1942).

⁹⁰ 'Une ample Comédie à cent actes divers, Et dont la scène est l'Univers.' Jean de La Fontaine, Book 5, Fable 1, 'Le Bûcheron et mercure,' in *La Fontaine et tous les fabulistes, ou La Fontaine comparé avec ses modèles et ses imitateurs.*, ed. by Marie Nicolas Silvestre Guillon, (Paris: Milan Nyon Paris Stoupe, 1803), p. 261.

⁹¹ See for example, *La Fontaine: Fables choisies pour les enfants*, ill. by Louis Maurice Boutet de Monve (Paris: Plon-Nourrit & Cie, 1888). Library of Congress. Available at: [<https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbc0001.2003holmes80074/>] [Online].

culture after 1940.⁹² The ballet is set during La Fontaine's lifetime: the fables are set in seventeenth-century Burgundy when France was ruled by Louis XIV, the Sun King. The curtain opened on a 'family scene,' a French farmyard at dawn, further underlining French family values and making the composer's use of Pétainist imagery overt.⁹³ The set was a pastoral tribute to the south of France where Poulenc had been demobilised at the beginning of the war. Replacing Derain, designer Maurice Brianchon evoked a nostalgic, idyllic vision of the French countryside which was recognised by reviewers such as Delannoy, who likened the set and the farmhands to the pastoral works by seventeenth-century French painters the Le Nain brothers.⁹⁴ Like the brothers and their paintings of balmy, sunlit, farmyard scenes, Brianchon captured nostalgic, rural France and called forth the Pétainist values of French continuity, family, country and tradition. Brianchon's set for *Les Animaux modèles* is pictured in Figure 16.

The ballet's title, suggested by surrealist resistance poet Paul Éluard, reinforced an allegorical reading.⁹⁵ As well as children's toys, the phrase 'model animals' can mean 'perfect animals' (the German title of the work, *Die Mustertiere*, has the same meanings). This *double entendre* established that the ballet could be understood allegorically: on one level the characters are just animals but on a deeper level their actions are models for social behaviour. Poulenc also suggested double meaning through his use of costume. The composer specified in his score that the characters dress in seventeenth-century costume in the style of Louis XIV's courtiers. Had the main characters dressed in animal costumes, *Les Animaux modèles* could perhaps have been mistaken for a children's production. By anthropomorphising his model animals, Poulenc further emphasised his allegorical message because the audience must link the animals in the fables with the human choices being made onstage: the animals' choices became human choices and human mistakes. The costumes and set celebrated the richness of French history and the historic connection to French ballet by evoking Louis XIV who, as discussed in Chapter One, used dance as a symbol for French prestige.⁹⁶ Lifar described his

⁹² Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity* (2018), p. 245.

⁹³ Francis Poulenc, *Les Animaux modèles* (Paris: Éditions Max Eschig, 1942) [Piano score]. BnF B. FP 111; CS-6315. Paris; Francis Poulenc, *Les Animaux modèles: Version symphonique* (S.I.: Eschig, 1949) [Orchestral score]. BL. London.

⁹⁴ Marcel Delannoy, 'La Musique: « Les animaux modèles »' (1942); Adolphe Borchard, 'Opéra - Première de *Les Animaux modèles*, ballet de M. Francis Poulenc,' *Le Petit Parisien*, 12 August 1942. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-873. Paris.

⁹⁵ Poulenc originally named the ballet after Éluard's poetry collection, *Les Animaux et leurs hommes* but Éluard himself suggested the final title. Éluard famously worked resistance themes into his own poems. See Poulenc, *Entretiens* (1954), p. 58.

⁹⁶ Serge Lifar, 'Ce soir à l'Opéra' (1942).

neoclassical choreography as ‘très Louis XIV,’ with each musical movement stylised in a different manner.⁹⁷

Anachronism appears in *Les Animaux modèles* not through music – as in *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* – but through costume and other aesthetic choices. Poulenc thus created meaning between Louis XIV’s court and the present day (August 1942), emphasising the lessons that might be learned by applying La Fontaine’s morals in a contemporary setting. The ballet was interpreted consciously by audiences as a French spectacle and a celebration of French culture – Delannoy upheld *Les Animaux modèles* as the next in a long line of ballet creations with their roots in France.⁹⁸ The success of *Les Animaux modèles* ‘cannot be overemphasized,’ he wrote in collaborationist daily *Les Nouveaux temps*.⁹⁹ In *Tout la vie*, Jean Laurent praised the 1941-2 season, emphasising French cultural success and the importance of ballet during wartime by arguing that the new ballets ‘ensure[d] the Opéra ballet a place unrivalled in Europe’.¹⁰⁰

Interestingly, the halcyon days of Louis XIV’s court were not inferred by Hans Steen: the German reviewer felt that the seventeenth-century costume and traditional farmyard setting ‘left a clearly noticeable distance between us and this yellowed dream of [La Fontaine...] It is a reminiscence, the July morning of a world of thought that has long since faded away.’¹⁰¹ Steen’s reference, in particular, to a ‘July morning’ – despite the ballet premiering in August – calls to mind France’s national day of celebration, *le 14 juillet*. Steen here mocks the use of traditional French imagery as a pathetic attempt to celebrate a free, united France that he believes has faded away.

Steen was not the only one left unconvinced by the creators’ aesthetic decisions, however. Though French writer Colette reviewed the work positively, she maintained that the music, choreography and décor were incongruous with one another. Lamenting Lifar and

⁹⁷ Serge Lifar, ‘Ce soir à l’Opéra : *Les Animaux modèles*,’ *Comœdia*, 8 August, 1942. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-873. Paris.

⁹⁸ ‘C’est merveille de voir comment la danse classique, partie jadis d’Italie et de France, avec le maître de ballet Petitpas [sic] pour la cour de Russie (ballets impériaux), proménée dans le monde par Serge de Diaghilew et modernisée, s’est, en fin de compte, retrouvée à l’Opéra de Paris, où, sur la tradition, brillamment entretenue et continuée par les Aveline, peut se greffer journallement l’invention d’un Lifar.’ Marcel Delannoy, ‘La Musique : « Les animaux modèles »’ (1942).

⁹⁹ ‘On ne saurait trop souligner cette réussite.’ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ ‘Et ce spirituel divertissement termine une saison de danse particulièrement brillante [...] qui assurent au ballet de l’Opéra une place sans rivale en Europe.’ Jean Laurent, ‘La Fontaine, auteur d’un ballet : Serge Lifar crée à l’Opéra un ballet de Francis Poulenc, “Les Animaux modèles,” d’après les Fables de La Fontaine,’ *Tout la vie*, 13 August 1942. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-873. Paris.

¹⁰¹ ‘Dies alles spielt in der Tracht des 17. Jahrhunderts, und man left damit einen deutlich spürbareren Abstand zwischen uns und diesem vergilbten Traum des alten französischen Fabeldichters. Es ist eine Reminiszenz, der Julimorgen einer längst verklungenen Gedankenwelt.’ Steen, ‘Getanzte Fabelwelt’ (1942), p. 5.

Brianchon's creative contributions in *Comœdia*, she stated that the three collaborators had gone 'on different roads.'¹⁰² Poulenc defended the ballet in the same publication and explained that he had designed much of the décor and made decisions about the choreography and costumes. 'Dear Colette,' he wrote – Colette and Poulenc were friends – 'take your pruning shears and your gardener's hand and trim fairly some of the laurels you have offered me too generously.'¹⁰³ Nonetheless, Laurent found the Lion to be an unconvincing character, and 'Le Connaisseur' in *Beaux-arts* similarly complained that the costumes made identification of the individual fables difficult.¹⁰⁴ This shows that reviewers understood the ballet to varying extents and implies that some of Poulenc's allegorical meaning may have been lost – or was simply unconvincing – to both French and German audiences.

The movements in his ballet are based on six fables from La Fontaine's collections of more than two hundred moral stories and, like Poulenc's earlier ballet *Les Biches*, the ballet forms a suite of individual movements. Each fable's story is distinct though the movements are linked by the ballet's farmyard setting. Poulenc added two additional movements to open and close the work which accompanied farmhands as they left for work at dawn and arrived back for lunch:

1. Le Petit Jour
2. L'Ours et les compagnons
3. Le Cigale et la fourmi
4. Le Lion amoureux
5. L'Homme entre deux âges et ses deux maîtresses
6. Le Mort et le Bûcheron
7. Les Deux coqs
8. Le Repas du midi

The fables in the ballet describe simple, conservative morals and focus on themes of trust, power and deception. They advise the audience to look after themselves and to be wary of

¹⁰² 'Le musicien, le peintre, le maître de ballet s'éloigner par des routes divergentes...' Colette, 'À propos d'un ballet,' *Comœdia*, 22 August 1942. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-873. Paris. See also Nichols, *Poulenc: A Biography* (2020), p. 156.

¹⁰³ 'Chère Colette, prenez donc votre sécateur et de votre belle main de jardinière, taillez équitablement quelques-uns des lauriers que vous m'avez offerts trop généreusement.' Francis Poulenc, 'A Propos d'un ballet,' *Comœdia*, 29 August 1942. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-873. Paris.

¹⁰⁴ Le Connaisseur, 'La Danse : Les Animaux modèles,' *Beaux-arts*, 20 August 1942. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-873. Paris.

others. In 'L'Ours et les compagnons,' two hunters try to outsmart a bear, only to be taught a lesson about friendship. In the second fable, 'Le Cigale et la fourmi,' a grasshopper tries to manipulate food supplies from an ant and learns to plan ahead instead of relying on others. 'Le Lion amoureux' attempts to win his lover by outwitting her father, and an adulterous man receives his comeuppance in 'L'Homme entre deux âges et ses deux maîtresses'. In 'Le Mort et le Bûcheron,' a woodcutter calls on death to help carry his heavy load, and in the final fable, 'Les Deux coqs,' an arrogant rooster prematurely celebrates a victory.

A deeper and more specific allegorical message may be read in many of the fables chosen by Poulenc for *Les Animaux modèles*. In 'L'Homme entre deux âges et ses deux Maîtresses,' the man and his two mistresses enter the stage to a light, *prestissimo* string melody and they dance a *pas de trois*. As they begin to disagree, the music is complicated through key and time changes; alternation between different instrument families imitates the mistresses as they pull out tufts of the man's hair (the younger mistress pulls out his grey hairs so that he will look younger and closer in age to herself; the older mistress pulls out his coloured hairs so that he will look older) until he is bald. After he sends the mistresses away, the man returns home. He looks in the mirror and realises he is now bald as the strings play a playful rising pizzicato diminished arpeggio on C. This light-hearted accompaniment to the man's shock is highly comic and would have provided light relief during an at times sombre and serious ballet. During the eighteenth century this fable had been used for political comment: English satirical poet Matthew Prior printed a version of it in *The Examiner*, presenting the 'mistresses' as English political parties the Tories and the Whigs.¹⁰⁵ Prior criticised King William III, arguing that his support for both parties was detrimental to the country and his leadership. It is not inconceivable that Poulenc was using his ballet to criticise Vichy's efforts to try to please both the Germans and the French; it is possible that Poulenc's audience members may have known that this fable could be interpreted in a political way. Nonetheless, by hiding it in comedic orchestral writing, Poulenc invited his audience to laugh at the idea of trying to appease two diametrically opposed political parties at once.

¹⁰⁵ Matthew Prior, 'A Fable' (1703). See Karen Sullivan, *Frames and Constructions in Metaphoric Language* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2013), p. 165.

The parties, henpecked William, are thy wives,
The hairs they pluck are thy prerogatives;
Tories thy person hate, the Whigs thy power,
Though much thou yieldest, still they tug for more,
Till this poor man and thou alike are shown,
He without hair, and thou without a crown.

On a wider level, the fables take place within a framework where all is not what it seems: the farmers do not know what is taking place on their farm while they were gone. Poulenc later wrote that he chose fables that could be ‘represented symbolically,’ which suggests that he intended for his audiences to look beyond the simple stories for an allegorical meaning, and in the programme he wrote that it seemed unnecessary to summarise the fables as they were ‘known to all’ – presumably meaning *all that grew up reading La Fontaine*.¹⁰⁶ Though it is reasonable to expect that Francophile Germans may have been familiar with La Fontaine’s fables – and Steen references the fabulist without giving further information to explain who he was – it is unlikely that all German soldiers would have been as familiar with the fables as the average French person, making Poulenc’s statement somewhat exclusionary.

Nevertheless, the fables’ moral themes of trust, deception and self-preservation took on new meaning in context of the ballet’s premiere in occupied France. The lion cannot trust his lover’s father, the man between two ages cannot rely on his mistresses, and the grasshopper should have prepared for the future. An audience could interpret ‘La Cigale et la fourmi,’ as a condemnation of those who take what they do not deserve; ‘La mort et le bûcheron,’ might be understood as a message of steadfastness and perseverance in times of strife. Though many members of the audience would not have understood them in this way, it is probable that some did – particularly given that many, as Poulenc suggests, would have been familiar with the moral messages before the ballet began, or at least known that La Fontaine’s fables were intended to be read allegorically. In his review, Steen offered a superficial description of the animal characters but did not attempt to interpret the fables beyond this. He in fact suggested that the ballet’s story was lacking in substance. This suggests either that he did not read further into the allegorical messages hidden within the ballet, or perhaps chose to downplay an allegorical reading in his review.¹⁰⁷

Another actively anti-German message can be interpreted in the final fable, a love rivalry entitled ‘Les Deux coqs.’ Two roosters fight and the winner, while arrogantly celebrating his victory, is unexpectedly killed by a vulture. Meanwhile, the second rooster regains consciousness and rises to win a moral victory by triumphing through perseverance and honest means. ‘Les Deux coqs’ appears to warn against boasting and self-congratulation and suggests that there is still hope for those that have been defeated. This fable is significant

¹⁰⁶ Quoted in *Francis Poulenc: Correspondance 1910-1963*, ed. by Myriam Chimènes, (Paris: Fayard, 1994) p. 456; ‘Point n’est besoin de résumer des fables connues de tous.’ Francis Poulenc, *Les Animaux modèles* [Piano score].

¹⁰⁷ Steen, ‘Getanzte Fabelwelt’ (1942), p. 5.

from an allegorical perspective because the Gallic rooster is an unofficial symbol of the French nation, and it was not the first time that a cultural figure had used La Fontaine's 'Les Deux coqs' to signify Franco-German tension. French glass artist Émile Gallé painted the French fable on his 1878 fan, *Une poule survint* (A Hen Appeared). The fan, which is pictured in Figure 17, portrays two hens fighting over Alsace and Lorraine. Jessica Dandona writes that Alsace and Lorraine are specifically implied on the fan through the signing of the Cross of Lorraine next to the artist's signature.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the picture on the fan loosely resembles a map of France: the shaded section to the right occupies the space where, geographically, Alsace and Lorraine is situated. 'Et voilà,' Gallé writes in the shaded section, 'la Guerre allumée.' This further solidifies the link between 'Les Deux coqs,' Alsace and Lorraine, and Franco-German military tension. That is not to say that Poulenc was directly inspired by Gallé's fan, but the example shows that he was not the first to use La Fontaine's fighting roosters to hint towards Franco-German political tensions. It is possible that Poulenc's audience may similarly have made the connection between the Gallic rooster, La Fontaine and France, just as Gallé did fifty years earlier.

Edmond Rostand also used the rooster allegorically in *Chantecler* (1910), a well-known play that commented satirically on Parisian society. Like Poulenc's dancers, the characters in *Chantecler* are farm animals, but the actors in Rostand's play dressed in animal costumes, as shown in Figure 18. *Chantecler*'s success and its revival in the 1920s indicates that Poulenc's ballet audience may have been familiar with the Gallic rooster and its use as a figure in theatrical social commentary – this comparison was indeed made by Colette.¹⁰⁹ It would be logical to suggest that French audiences might therefore interpret the second hen in 'Les Deux coqs' as representative of the French nation, persevering despite domination.

¹⁰⁸ Jessica Dandona, *Fin-de-Siècle France: The art of Emile Gallé and the École de Nancy* (London: Routledge, 2017), [Google books – page numbers not available]

¹⁰⁹ Colette, 'À propos d'un ballet' (1942). Poulenc responded to her article arguing that his costume choices were a deliberate effort to avoid comparison with *Chantecler*. Poulenc, 'A Propos d'un ballet,' (1942). See Marco F. Liberma, *Story of Chantecler: A Critical Analysis of Rostand's Play* (London Forgotten Books, 2015) for more information about Rostand's play.



Figure 16: Drawing of Yves Brianchon's set for *Les Animaux modèles*.
Printed in *Comœdia*, 8 August 1942. BnF Gallica, France.

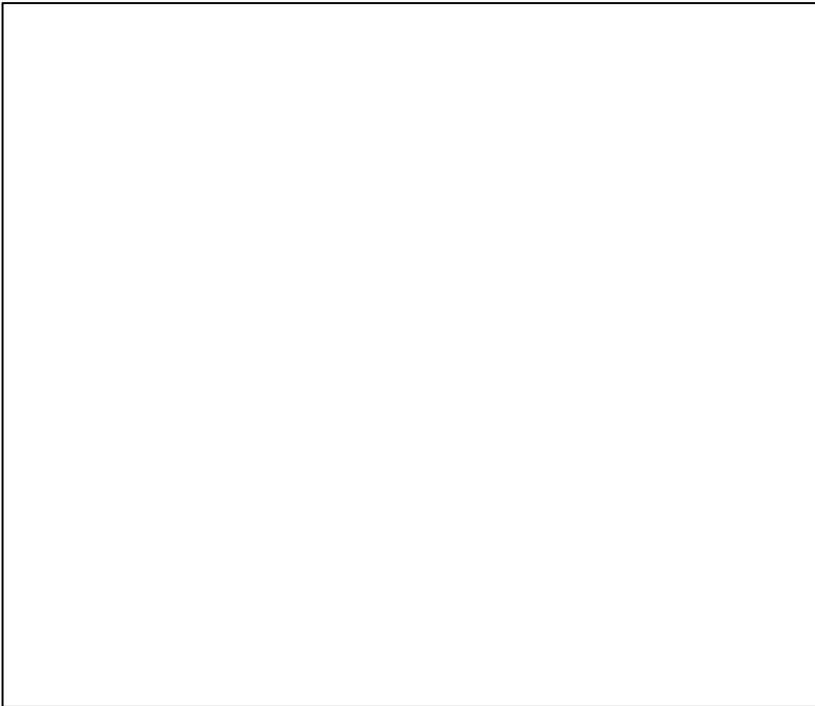


Figure 17: Emile Gallé, *Une poule survint* (A Hen Appeared), 1878.
Glass and enamel. Musée de l'École de Nancy.

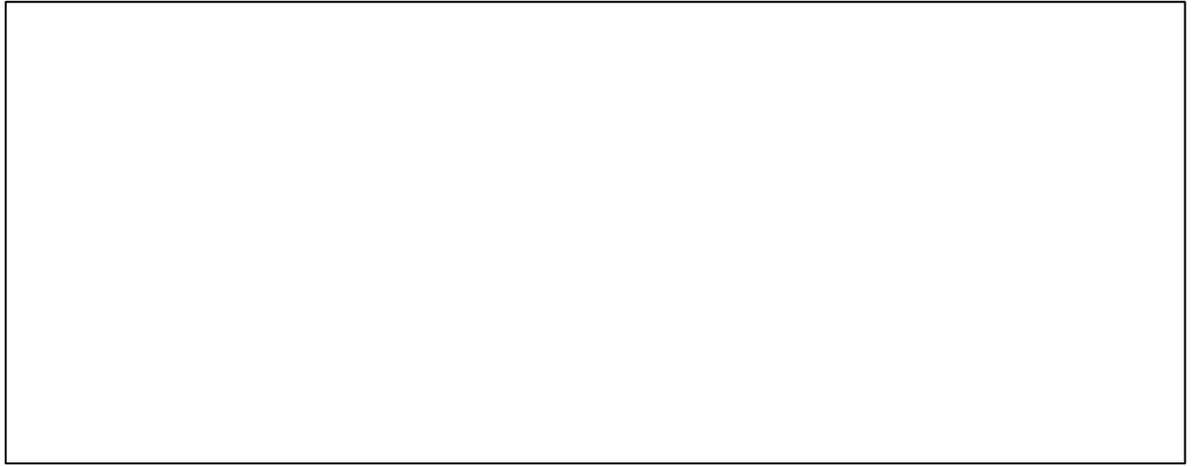


Figure 18: Daniel de Losques, *Les Animaux de Chantecler* (1910).
BnF, Gallica.

MUSICAL ALLEGORY AND QUOTATION

As well as literary allegory, *Les Animaux modèles* contains musical allusion including religious self-quotation in ‘Le Petit Jour’ and ‘Le Repas du midi,’ quotation from a resistance song in ‘Le Lion amoureux,’ and reference to Debussy in ‘Les Deux coqs.’ These musical allusions, likely understood by audiences to varying extents, gave the ballet a deeper meaning and contribute towards a subversive reading of the work. ‘Le Lion amoureux’ is the most well-known movement in the ballet and is also the movement most imbued with metaphorical and political meaning through Poulenc’s use of musical quotation. In La Fontaine’s fable, a peasant girl and a lion fall in love against her father’s wishes. To prove his trustworthiness, the lion removes his claws and files his teeth. Unarmed, the lion is killed by her father. This movement’s impact is primarily a musical one. After the war, Poulenc claimed to have inserted a musical quotation from a resistance song – originally written to protest the German annexation of Alsace and Lorraine during the Franco-Prussian War – into this movement of the ballet:

I allowed myself the indulgence, which only some of the musicians of the orchestra recognised, of introducing in the fight of ‘Les Deux Coqs,’ the song Non, non, vous n’aurez pas notre Alsace-Lorraine. Each time the trumpet hammered out the theme, I could not stop myself from smiling.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Poulenc, *Entretiens* (1954), p. 58.

In his article ‘Making Music in Occupied Paris,’ Nigel Simeone traces the resistance song, concluding that it is in fact ‘Vous n’aurez pas l’Alsace et la Lorraine’ (words by Gaston Villemer and Henri Nazet; music by Ben Tayoux). Simeone also shows that the quote was inserted into ‘Le Lion amoureux,’ rather than, as Poulenc mistakenly recollected, ‘Les Deux coqs.’¹¹¹ Despite Poulenc’s confusion, the melody and harmony, as Example 7 shows, are unmistakably similar. The words to the original chorus closely mimic the sentiment of many French people during the German occupation both in 1871 and in 1940. Poulenc could hardly have chosen a more appropriate chorus:

Vous n’aurez pas l’Alsace et la Lorraine,	You shall not have Alsace Lorraine,
Et, malgré vous, nous resterons français.	And in spite of you, we remain French.
Vous avez pu germaniser la plaine,	You can Germanise the land,
Mais notre cœur vous ne l’aurez jamais.	But you will never have our hearts. ¹¹²

The very specific reference not just to annexation but specifically occupation by Germany gives this climactic movement of the ballet a strong, unambiguous anti-German message. Poulenc’s insertion of the quote in such an obvious way was a risk.

Though a recording of this song was made in 1939 by tenor Georges Thill, the orchestra at the Paris Opéra, apparently, did not recognise the quotation during rehearsals and it is difficult to know whether this song was recognised by audiences in 1942.¹¹³ Simeone points to an article in the October 1942 issue of clandestine resistance magazine *Musiciens d’aujourd’hui* which makes reference to (anonymous) FNM member who had been ‘inserting the Marche Lorraine into compositions.’¹¹⁴ Poulenc was a member of FNM by this time. Simeone sees this as ‘almost certainly’ a reference to *Les Animaux modèles*, providing contemporary evidence that Poulenc’s reference to this song was known in some circles.

The reviews of *Les Animaux modèles* do not draw attention to the resistance quote in ‘Le Lion amoureux,’ but this is by no means an indication that Poulenc was misunderstood. Resistance did not have to be widely recognised to be significant and, had reviewers understood his message, they could hardly have written about it in the daily newspapers without condemning the composer. Nevertheless, Fulcher argues, had any well-versed

¹¹¹ Simeone, ‘Making Music’ (2006), pp. 34-7.

¹¹² Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 35; translation mine.

¹¹³ Simeone, ‘Making Music in Occupied Paris’ (2006), pp. 33-4.

¹¹⁴ Nigel Simeone, ‘Composers as Critics in Occupied Paris,’ in *The Routledge Companion to Music under German Occupation, 1938-1945: Propaganda, Myth and Reality* ed. by David Fanning and Erik Levi (London: Taylor & Francis Ltd., 2018), [no page numbers available].

Francophile Germans recognised the resistance song, they may have laughed at the irony of resurrecting such a theme when France had so recently lost territory to Germany.¹¹⁵

The quote is placed straight into the ballet largely in its original form: Poulenc did not dilute its message through development or reharmonization, though the melody is now written in 4/4 rather than 2/4; it is no longer a military-style march but is romantic and lyrical. Perhaps the composer's decision to use this song at the romantic climax of the ballet – rather than during 'Les Deux Coqs,' the ballet's military climax – is an indication that his message was designed to appeal directly to the audience's hearts and minds. 'Le Lion amoureux,' 'Les Deux coqs,' and the introduction and finale were selected by reviewer I. Parrot, for example, as 'the most pleasant and delicate musical movements' in *L'Atelier*, a weekly collaborationist newspaper for French socialists.¹¹⁶ German reviewer Steen also highlighted 'Le Lion amoureux' and 'Les Deux coqs' as forming the ballet's 'climax' (*Höhepunkt*) in the *Pariser Zeitung*: 'here representation and choreography are triumphant.'¹¹⁷ Such quotations show that the movements of the ballet that carried the most symbolic meaning were also the most striking to reviewers.

The resistance quote appears at other significant moments in the ballet. A harmonic motif from the end of the 'Le Lion amoureux' chorus appears in the ballet's overture, 'Le Petit Jour,' for example. Though Poulenc fragments the chord progression when it appears in 'Le Petit Jour,' the harmony is unmistakable because it is based around an unusual chord progression which utilises a major chord III instead of the expected minor iii (mm. 4-7 of Example 8). Significantly, this section of the resistance quotation progression accompanies the lyrics 'we remain French' in the original resistance song. Poulenc therefore uses the repetition of this aurally striking chord progression to draw attention to the most significant line from the resistance song.

Aside from the quotation from 'Le Lion amoureux' (and the death motif from 'La Mort et le Bucheron'), Poulenc used *air parlant* to further add an interpretive layer to his ballet, most notably in 'Le Petit Jour,' where he links the opening of the ballet to prayer and hope.¹¹⁸ Simeone shows that Poulenc self-quotes – in the same key and tempo – a homophonic solo line from the composer's own *Litanies à Vierge noire* (1936) in *Les Animaux modèles* as an elderly

¹¹⁵ Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity* (2018), p. 247.

¹¹⁶ Parrot, 'Les animaux modèles' (1942).

¹¹⁷ 'Hier feiern Darstellung und Choreographie einen Triumph.' Steen, 'Getanzte Fabelwelt' (1942), p. 5.

¹¹⁸ As identified in Simeone, 'Making Music' (2006), p. 37.

woman crosses the stage on her way back from morning mass. He quotes again from his *Litanies* at the end of the ballet when the farmhands return to the farmhouse for lunch.¹¹⁹ For critic Delannoy, the finale transported the ballet from light-hearted to serious: ‘it is no longer the mind that is touched, but suddenly the heart.’¹²⁰ Is Poulenc ‘praying for hope’ in this difficult political situation?¹²¹ He is certainly appealing to Pétain’s Catholic values; Fulcher suggests that this scene reinforces Pétainist morals as the sincere, rural, Catholic peasants return home.¹²² This is not to suggest that all Catholics were Pétainists, or that all Pétainists were Catholics – Poulenc himself was a Catholic who joined the resistance. Nevertheless, the composer’s Catholic imagery might be seen to align with Vichy values. Poulenc was well known for quoting his own music or using short phrases from other composers in his work, so it is likely that some listeners expected such symbolism, and Poulenc’s use of general Biblical imagery was commented upon in reviews (though his self-quotation was not mentioned specifically).¹²³ Though the ballet ostensibly concerned animals and children’s tales, the religious imagery in the overture introduced themes of morality, piety and truth, presenting *Les Animaux modèles* as a prayer for a perfect, idyllic, nostalgic France. The ballet may thus be interpreted as a sign of hope framed in *Révolution nationale* imagery.

Poulenc also further emphasises French culture through intertextuality in ‘Les Deux coqs.’ Though less direct than the Alsace-Lorraine quote in ‘Le Lion amoureux,’ or the religious self-quotation in the introduction and finale, the musical quotes in ‘Les Deux coqs’ were arguably more familiar to the ballet’s contemporary audience. Sprout identifies that the last section of the movement (‘Apothéose du coq bien aimé’) alludes to the end of the first movement of Debussy’s *La Mer*, ‘De l’aube à midi sur la mer’ (‘From dawn to midday on the sea’). Poulenc quotes Debussy rhythmically and melodically, using the rising semiquaver major second motif from *La Mer*. Sprout argues that Poulenc used this quote to show midday has arrived in his ballet, just as it does in *La Mer*. Appearing at this important part of the work,

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ ‘Ce n’est pas plus l’esprit que est touché, mais soudain le cœur.’ Marcel Delannoy, ‘La Musique : « Les animaux modèles »’ (1942).

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity* (2018), p. 244.

¹²³ In Nocturne No. 7 (1930-38), for example, Poulenc quotes Chopin; in his *Trois pièces* (1928) he includes a melody from his Improvisation No. 13 in A minor. See Parker Tichko, ‘Poulenc – Self-Quotation.’ <<https://parkertichko.wordpress.com/2010/06/19/poulenc-self-quotation-toccata-improvisation/>> [Accessed 14/2/2018]. On Poulenc’s use of intertextuality, and particularly Stravinsky’s influence on the composer, see Barbara L. Kelly, ‘Poulenc et Stravinsky : influence musicale, crise ou complicité?’ in *Du Langage au style: Singularités de Francis Poulenc* ed. by Lucie Kayas and Hervé Lacombe (Paris: Société française de musicology, 2016), pp. 159-71; and Ellis, ‘Patrimoine in French music’ (2018), pp. 15-37.

described in the score as the second rooster’s ‘apotheosis,’ Poulenc displays a message of hope and persistence that applies to both the rooster and to his defeated country. The rooster comes back to life to the music of France’s ‘most beloved composer,’ emphasising the rooster as a symbol of a defeated – but untiring – France.¹²⁴ Fulcher has noted that the second rooster’s apotheosis may represent the continuity of Poulenc’s perceived ‘traditional’ France, persevering in spite of the Third Republic.¹²⁵ Indeed, La Fontaine’s original fable ends with the phrase, ‘Adieu les amours et la gloire’ – an ambiguous warning to be cautious after a conflict that could be received as a message to the Vichy government, to the French people, or to the Germans.¹²⁶ It is no coincidence that Poulenc quoted Debussy to add texture and meaning to the climactic moments in his ballet. Debussy’s music was not just widely known throughout France; Chapter Three showed that Debussy was proffered by French cultural resistance group FNM as a symbol for French cultural identity and resistance.

Example 7: Source melody for the resistance quote in *Les Animaux modèles*.

- a. Ben-Tayoux, ‘Vous n’aurez pas l’Alsace et la Lorraine’ chorus.



- b. Francis Poulenc, *Les Animaux modèles*, ‘Le Lion amoureux,’ Figure 90, bars 1-4.



¹²⁴ Sprout, ‘Music for a “New Era” (2000), p. 312.

¹²⁵ Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity* (2018), p. 247.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

Example 8: Francis Poulenc, *Les Animaux modèles*, 'Le Petit Jour' (piano reduction), mm. 23-29.

The image displays a piano reduction of Francis Poulenc's 'Le Petit Jour' from the ballet *Les Animaux modèles*. The score is written for two staves, treble and bass clef, in a 3/4 time signature with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The first system (measures 23-29) begins with a *pp* *très douce* dynamic marking. The right hand features a melodic line with a long slur over measures 23-28, while the left hand provides a steady accompaniment of chords and eighth notes. A *p* dynamic marking appears at the start of measure 27. The second system (measures 30-36) starts with a measure number '5' in the left margin. The right hand continues with a melodic line, marked *intense* at the beginning of measure 34. The left hand continues with a similar accompaniment pattern. The score concludes with a double bar line and a circled asterisk symbol.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The setting of the ballet in the *grand siècle* presented an idealised France, the rural pastoral scene showing the beautiful, nostalgic countryside of a romanticised era. Poulenc's music contributes to this nostalgia throughout the ballet, particularly through the opening and closing numbers which frame the ballet as a prayer. *Les Animaux modèles* presented French thematic material through music and ballet, outwardly supporting Pétain's *Révolution nationale* whilst masking resistance themes that may have resonated with audiences distressed by the German presence in France. The ballet occupies the complicated, non-binary cultural space in which many French composers and artists were working during this period. The nature of such pieces of 'resistance' culture makes their message intangible: to be widely known, subversion was so subtle as to be almost imperceptible.

It is difficult to assess the author's intention in this complicated space because many French artists – particularly those that had benefitted financially under occupation – scrambled to retrospectively align themselves with the French resistance in the post-war years. It was financially and reputationally fortuitous that his work was performed at such a prestigious venue and it could be argued that, by benefitting from such prestige when the Paris Opéra was frequented by Germans, Poulenc's message of resistance was somewhat diluted. Throughout the occupation, Poulenc set works by French writers and poets and worked with other musicians and intellectuals sympathetic to the resistance so it is reasonable to suggest

that his intentions for his musical works were, to an extent, motivated by his politics.¹²⁷ Unsurprisingly, Poulenc's post-war recollections reinforce the resistance reading but, while such statements should be read with scepticism, their retrospectivity does not necessarily render them untrue, particularly when considered alongside primary material such as the resistance quotation in the ballet and the allusion to the work in *Musiciens d'aujourd'hui*.¹²⁸ The extent to which Poulenc intended to mock the Germans by floating a resistance work under their noses, and the extent to which the staging of *Les Animaux modèles* by the Paris Opéra Ballet was simply an attractive career opportunity, we cannot know. Complicating matters further, as Fulcher has suggested, is the knowledge that Poulenc's feelings towards the Vichy government changed between the main period of writing in 1940 and the time of the ballet's premiere in 1942. Thus any political indications present in *Les Animaux modèles* may indeed have become misaligned with Poulenc's political views by the time the ballet appeared before audiences.

There is no doubt that the ballet was received well by French audiences and reviewers, who made explicit reference to the ballet's political context and held it up as a symbol for French spiritual strength. In her review, Colette considered ballet's function during wartime, writing that dance's appeal lay in its lack of language. She concluded that, when faced with a choice between different cultural exploits, 'it is ballet [...] which breathes its freshness on the prisoners of Paris.'¹²⁹ Delannoy similarly used *Les Animaux modèles* as an opportunity to highlight the importance of the arts in occupied Paris, describing music and theatre 'in the midst of a tragic time' as shining 'like two torches.'¹³⁰ In the German language press, Steen was complimentary about the ballet, though the misspelling of Poulenc's surname displays a (deliberate?) lack of respect for a composer that was far from unknown in Germany.

In comparison to reviews of *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* and *La Princesse au jardin* from the previous year, the critics drew more explicit links between ballet and politics, referencing Poulenc's nationality, the success of ballet as a French art, reflecting on the importance of the Paris Opéra in Parisian culture, and even suggesting that this ballet proved that Paris was thriving despite the circumstances. 'I believe that *Les Animaux modèles* is a masterpiece,' wrote

¹²⁷ See Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013), p. 2 for Poulenc's wartime compositions and musical collaborations.

¹²⁸ Sprout, 'Music for a "New Era"' (2000), p. 315.

¹²⁹ 'C'est le ballet, avec ses ailes de musique, de tulle, de bras déliés, de chevelures, qui souffle la fraîcheur sur les prisonniers de Paris.' Colette, 'À propos d'un ballet' (1942).

¹³⁰ 'Au milieu des heures les plus tragiques, la musique et le théâtre luisent comme deux flambeaux'. Marcel Delannoy, 'La Musique: « Les animaux modèles »' (1942).

modernist writer Adrienne Monnier in *Le Figaro littéraire*. 'Nothing is more French than the playfulness of Poulenc.'¹³¹ It is possible that Poulenc's ballet was so well-received precisely because the country was under occupation.

¹³¹ Adrienne Monnier, 'At the Opéra with Francis Poulenc,' quoted in Simeone, 'Making Music' (2006), pp. 37-8.

CASE STUDY FOUR | Style and quotation: Musical meaning in *Guignol et Pandore* (1944)

The final new ballet to appear at the Paris Opéra during the German occupation was *Guignol et Pandore*. Composed by French composer André Jolivet and choreographed by Serge Lifar, *Guignol et Pandore* premiered on 29 April 1944. It was the first new ballet to appear at the Palais Garnier in nearly two years, and some French critics used reviews of the work to complain that productions had been delayed and some had not appeared at all.¹³² The ballet was smaller in scale than *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* and *Les Animaux modèles*, and its appearance was somewhat eclipsed as it was presented in a double-bill on the same evening as a revival of Vincent d'Indy's 1903 opera *L'Étranger*, which was received with some disappointment.¹³³ Unlike the composers of the other ballets discussed in this chapter, Jolivet received a payment from the Vichy commissions scheme for *Guignol et Pandore*. Like *Les Animaux modèles*, however, *Guignol et Pandore's* outward compliance with Vichy's call for aesthetically pleasing works on French themes might be seen as a 'cover' for deeper content.

Reviews of *Guignol et Pandore* were overall positive, though many interpreted the ballet as a purely light-hearted spectacle. In *Les Nouveaux temps*, Jean Laurent called it 'deliciously witty,' (*délicieusement spirituel*) while *Paris-Midi* exclaimed, 'What a lovely ballet,' and Georges Ricou described *Guignol et Pandore* as 'simple, easy, alert; it requires no effort in understanding,' in collaborationist newspaper *La France Socialiste*.¹³⁴ *La Chronique de Paris* reported that the ballet proved wrong Rouché's wish to present 'works of substance' by using

¹³² Pierre Michaut, 'La Danse : Guignol et Pandore,' *L'Opinion*, 25 May - 10 June 1944. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-1596. Paris.

¹³³ While most ballets appeared in double- or triple-bills, or in tandem with a longer opera it was less usual for two new works (or new stagings) to premiere on the same evening. See for example: Jacques Parrot, 'Un Étranger dont on peut se passer de faire la connaissance. Guignol et Pandore,' *L'Atelier*, 6 May 1944. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-1596. Paris.

¹³⁴ Jean Laurent, 'La Danse: Guignol et Cie,' *Les Nouveaux temps*, 12 May 1944), p. 7; 'Quel charmant ballet.' F. D., 'Guignol et Pandore,' *Paris-Midi*, 1 May 1944; 'Simple, facile, alerte; il n'exige aucun effort de compréhension'. Georges Ricou, 'Le Théâtre,' *La France Socialiste* 6-7 May 1944. [Reviews] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-1596. Paris.

themes ‘from the past in the name of progress.’¹³⁵ Though positive, these reviews summarise the view that light-hearted ballets were not seen as substantial in some circles. Despite its outward simplicity, however, Jolivet used pastiche, self-borrowing and nods to composers such as Debussy and Stravinsky to situate his musical style, showing that ballet music could be rich, and suggesting a deeper meaning to the outwardly simple story. Compared with other productions created for the Vichy commissions programme, *Guignol et Pandore* had a long-lasting appeal and remained in the Paris Opéra Ballet repertoire after the war. This success and the ballet’s press reception demonstrates that even small-scale ballets had come to play a significant role in occupation cultural life by spring 1944. However, *Guignol et Pandore* did not receive any attention in the German-language press. As 1944 wore on, culture advertisements appeared with less frequency in German-language publications and by spring 1944 there were no announcements for new works or nightly listings for Parisian opera houses in German-language publications such as the *Pariser Zeitung*.

Like the other ballets discussed in this chapter, *La Princesse au jardin*, *Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle* and *Les Animaux modèles*, *Guignol et Pandore* used French music and historical themes to present French culture on the Palais Garnier stage. The ballet’s premise evoked simpler times via the traditional French Guignol shows made popular during the eighteenth century. Its theme resembled Stravinsky’s ballet *Petrushka* (1911), and Jolivet made further reference to the influential Russian ballet through harmonic quotation. Combined with impressionism, Jolivet created a specific harmonic soundscape which motivated Laurent – who, as we have seen, offered robust criticisms of the Opéra’s new ballets through his writing in *Les Nouveaux temps* – to describe the ballet as a French *Petrushka*.¹³⁶ While this gave the simple story a deeper meaning which painted the ballet as a French answer to the Russians’ domination of the ballet sphere, *Guignol et Pandore* also suffered from frequent comparison with its hugely popular predecessor.

¹³⁵ ‘La Musique,’ *La Chronique de Paris*, (April 1944), p. 70, quoted in Sprout, ‘Music for a “New Era”’ (2000), pp. 339-40.

¹³⁶ Laurent, ‘La Danse’ (1944), p. 7

TRADITION IN GUIGNOL ET PANDORE

As a founder of *La Jeune France*, André Jolivet's pre-war musical style – influenced by modality, atonality and jazz – had gained him a reputation as an *enfant terrible* of 1930s Parisian music. His wartime compositions, however, display a simpler melodic style that was more palatable to the French public than his experimental pre-war works.¹³⁷ Like Poulenc, Jolivet was mobilised when war was declared, and his early wartime output might be seen to resonate with Vichy's cultural aesthetic ideals. His *Trois complaintes du soldat* for voice, piano and orchestra, for example, which was composed shortly following the German invasion, has been described as sympathetic to Pétain's vision of a bruised France.¹³⁸ Though Jolivet's modernism perhaps made him an unusual candidate for a Vichy ballet commission, this lucrative opportunity offered the composer the chance to gain widespread recognition and prove that his music was accessible to a mainstream audience.¹³⁹ Jolivet began work on the ballet during the occupation period and completed it in July 1943, a year before its premiere at the Paris Opéra.¹⁴⁰ His music showed influence from French and Russian composers such as Debussy, Ravel, Fauré, Stravinsky and Rimsky-Korsakov, and experimented with impressionism and polytonalism. Like Grovlez's ballet *La Princesse au jardin*, Jolivet's score is recognisable for the mood and impression it leaves rather than for melodious earworms. It is also pantomimic: Jolivet used short sections of distinct, contrasting musical passages rather than large, sweeping romantic melodies like Gaubert and Poulenc do in their ballets.

It is significant that Jolivet chose to imitate Stravinsky so strongly through scenario and music because Stravinsky was such an important cultural figure for ballet in both Russia and France. However, despite Stravinsky's pre-war success in France, his ballets were absent

¹³⁷ André Jolivet, quoted by Suzanne Demarquez in *André Jolivet* (Paris: Ventadour, 1958), p. 17. In 1936 Jolivet, Olivier Messiaen, Yves Baudrier and Daniel Lesur united as Jeune France in rebellion against a chamber music organisation, Le Triton, founded four years earlier by Pierre-Octave Ferroud. Le Triton championed Central-European expressionism while Jeune France protested the 'invasion of French music by foreign influence' in much the same way that Les Six had united against 'Wagnérisme' in the 1920s. See Brigitte Schiffer, 'André Jolivet (1905-1974),' *Tempo* 112 (March 1975), p. 14-5.

¹³⁸ See Lucie Kayas, *André Jolivet* (Paris: Fayard, 2005), pp. 543-6; Richard D. E. Burton in *Olivier Messiaen: Texts, Contexts, and Intertexts (1937-1948)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 34-6.

¹³⁹ Schiffer, 'André Jolivet' (1975), p. 15.

¹⁴⁰ According to the orchestral score, which is signed 8 July 1943. *Guignol et Pandore: Suite symphonique* (Paris: Max Eschig, 1954). BL. The orchestral suite consists of numbers 1-3, 5, 7, 8 and 15.

from the Paris during the occupation period. The Ballets Russes also used ballet to project an image of nostalgic, rural, rose-tinted Russia which popularised Russian folklore and made it seem quaint and glamorous. In the same way that Stravinsky, Fokine and designer Alexandre Benois wished to present a recreation of a Russian folk activity in 1911 ballet *Petrushka* – going to the Shrovetide fair – Jolivet and Lifar similarly recreated a French historical pastime: visiting a public garden to watch a Guignol show.

Like the other occupation ballets, *Guignol et Pandore* is rooted in a rose-tinted, fetishized imagining of France's history. Through this, however, *Guignol et Pandore* presented a much more gritty, urban depiction of French culture than the farmyard scenes from *Les Animaux modèles* or the romanticised duels in *La Chevalier et la Damoiselle*. On the surface, the themes presented in *Guignol et Pandore* tied in with Vichy's cultural *Révolution nationale* as the ballet encouraged its audience to celebrate France, tradition and family life. As mentioned in Chapter One, French folklore had by the early 1940s become a contested theme for French artists, at times speaking to Pétain's right-wing motto *Travail, famille, patrie*, and at others appealing to left-wing ideas about working class culture.¹⁴¹ Unlike Poulenc and Gaubert's ballets, Jolivet's work perhaps appealed more directly to left-wing ideas of working class culture, because its story is based in satirical urban Guignol plays, rather than rural Pétainistic visions of balmy French countryside.

The ballet's story is tragic and dangerous. When puppet Guignol catches his wife, Guignollette, with conquistador Pandore, a fight ensues and Guignol kills his mother in law. Guignol is sentenced to death and killed but, in a twist, the audience learns that he is immortal. The looming puppet master revives all of the puppets in time for a light-hearted finale and the puppets are saved to dance the same comic romp again. Though he is supposed to be the ballet's puppet-master, the looming 'director' was a huge, real puppet that hung at the top of the stage, looking down on the action below. His onstage 'puppets' were danced by human dancers, reversing the roles of controller and controlled. Lifar, who designed the scenario, wanted his audience to feel as though they too played a part – they were the audience at a traditional eighteenth-century Lyonnais Guignol show – thus rooting the ballet in tradition, familiarity and nostalgia.

The nostalgic effect was further achieved through Dignimont's costumes, which presented typical reproductions of the original Lyonnais Guignol puppets: a red and yellow

¹⁴¹ Jane F. Fulcher, 'Musical Style, Meaning, and Politics in France on the Eve of the Second World War,' *The Journal of Musicology*, 13:4 (Autumn 1995), pp. 434-5.

striped clown's vest, blue tie, white socks and catogan ponytail for Guignol; a moustache, black uniform, epaulettes and a Bicorn military hat for Pandore the conquistador; and a traditional white dress and blond wig for Guignolette.¹⁴² 'This charming ballet escapes realism,' wrote critic Jean Laurent in *Les Nouveaux temps*, 'it awakens memories from our childhood, it does not take place on the stage but in our hearts.'¹⁴³ Laurent's review shows that the ballet did indeed evoke childhood memories to the occupation audience.

Lifar's choreography was praised in all reviews. Émile Vuillermoz (who wrote the scenario for *La Princesse au jardin*) described it as a 'firework' of rhythm in *L'Echo de la France*, and Laurent claimed that Lifar was 'never more expressive.'¹⁴⁴ Many reviewers remarked that they had been tentative, expecting Lifar to copy the turned-in shapes and choreographic character vocabulary used by Fokine for *Petrushka*, but reviewers agreed that Lifar created his own neoclassical template and they were pleasantly surprised.¹⁴⁵ 'Academic dance cloaks itself in cheeky humour,' Lifar wrote in a promotional article in Italian-language newspaper *Nuova Italia*. It 'revives the primal vivacity of popular dances and the *Commedia dell'Arte*, its original source.'¹⁴⁶ Despite Lifar's claims, there is little evidence to suggest that *Guignol et Pandore* faithfully revived eighteenth-century dance, and neither was his choreography particularly modern. Its inventiveness was in its unexpected fluency. Far from the stylised, awkward dance style that Fokine modelled onto Nijinsky in the title role of *Petrushka* – and that audiences may therefore have expected in *Guignol et Pandore* – Lifar's 'puppets' dance like humans. Only the director puppet, the sole puppet onstage, was controlled like a marionette.

IMAGERY AND SELF-QUOTATION

Marionettes were popular thematic material for early twentieth-century artists and creators. Stravinsky had used the Russian incarnation of the Neapolitan puppet as the basis for ballets

¹⁴² André Jolivet, *Guignol et Pandore* (Paris: Max Eschig, 1948). [Piano score] BnF. Richelieu - Musique - magasin de la Réserve, MS-26269 (1); André Jolivet, *Guignol et Pandore: Suite symphonique* (Paris: Éditions Max Eschig, 1954) [Orchestral Score]. BL. London.

¹⁴³ 'Ce charmant ballet échappe au réalisme [...] il éveille des souvenirs venus de notre enfance, et ne se déroule pas sur la scène, mais dans le cœur du spectateur.' Laurent, 'La Danse' (1944).

¹⁴⁴ 'C'est un feu d'artifice de rythmes.' Émile Vuillermoz, 'La Musique: Liturgie, Théâtre Chorégraphie,' *L'Echo de la France*, 6-7 May 1944. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-1596. Paris; 'Jamais Lifar n'a été plus expressif.' Laurent, 'La Danse' (1944).

¹⁴⁵ See F. D., 'Guignol et Pandore' (1944).

¹⁴⁶ Serge Lifar, *Nuova Italia*, 22 March 1944, quoted in Sprout, 'Music for a "New Era"' (2000), p. 329.

Petrushka and *Pulcinella* (1920). However, the French Guignol character is more heroic than its Neapolitan trickster cousin; the traditional Guignol endeavours to overcome evil. Ostensibly children's puppet shows, Guignol performances commented on social issues, and the original eighteenth-century Lyonnaise Guignol shows on which *Guignol et Pandore* was based taught moral lessons to young children whilst entertaining adults with satirical humour. The simple, tragi-comedic puppets are controlled by an external force, adding a layer of interpretation: the audience could enjoy a Guignol play – and therefore the ballet *Guignol et Pandore* – for its simple story, or interpret a wider satirical meaning. The marionettes' potential for social commentary was particularly relevant in occupied Paris and it was not the only cultural production that made use of the trope. Gaston Baty's play on a similar theme *La Queue de la poêle*, for example, opened at the Palais du Louvre one month after Jolivet's *Guignol et Pandore*. Puppetry provided a childlike, nostalgic medium for reviving France's urban culture whilst presenting political and social issues in a light-hearted fashion.¹⁴⁷ *Guignol et Pandore* manipulated the idea that art could be overlooked as a space for the discussion of political and social issues, echoing the way that ballet itself was sometimes misunderstood as flippant, colourful and simplistic despite often having more to say. Furthermore, Jolivet's urban imagery might have provided, for the Parisian audience, a more tangible version of French tradition than the idealised historic, rural peasant imagery presented in the earlier occupation ballets, bringing its social commentary to light in a more relatable way.

The ballet plays with the idea of theatre itself because the audience watch a play-within-a-play on a stage-within-a-stage. An *impassible* (impartial, unblinking) Godlike director looms visibly above a traditional *castelet* tent. The puppet-master is visible to the audience, who also play a double role: they are both audiences at the eighteenth-century Guignol show and, in reality, audiences at the Palais Garnier. This idea is reflected in Jolivet's score. The prelude and finale use neoclassical pastiche to bookend the play-within-a-play, contrasting markedly with the modern music that accompanies the ballet's main story. Sprout writes that Jolivet used this neoclassical prelude and coda in the same way that Stravinsky bookended *Petrushka* with Russian folksong. Here Jolivet replaces Russian folksong for a French 'national' style invoking Rameau and Lully, harmonised in the style of Ravel.¹⁴⁸

The director appears onstage and the curtain rises; the abrupt change in mood between light and consonant dance music and heavy, less tangible impressionism takes the audience

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 328.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 333.

on a journey from the real world (neoclassical dance music) and into the Guignol play (modernism). The next time the audience hear the light-hearted consonant neoclassical music, it is a symbol that the Guignol show has ended. Jolivet wrote in collaborationist journal *Panorama* that the ballet's ending symbolised a return to the 'amiable and indisputably popular fantasy' of the ballet's opening, suggesting that his simpler neoclassical music serves to remind the audience that they are emerging from a dream world.¹⁴⁹

Jolivet reused ideas and sections from existing compositions in his score for *Guignol et Pandore* to communicate meaning through self-quotation. Though it was, overall, a new work, his score in fact includes extensive sections from existing compositions including 1938-39 piano music *Cinq Danses rituelles* (which had been scored for orchestra in 1940-41), *Quatre Vérités* (which was originally conceived as a ballet and offered to the Paris Opéra in 1941¹⁵⁰) and *Petite Suite* for flute, viola and harp (1941). See Table 2 for a list of movements from *Guignol et Pandore* alongside Jolivet's self-borrowing.

Dances two, three and five from *Cinq Danses rituelles* appear in *Guignol et Pandore*, largely in their original forms; the suite was based on five stages of 'social and religious life [...] of all human life.' The borrowings are significant for showing the characters' morals and values, particularly as Jolivet envisaged his *Cinq Danses rituelles* to be indicative of the ritual stages of humanity:

1. Danse initiatique (Initiation)
2. Danse du Héros (Hero)
3. Danse nuptiale (Wedding)
4. Danse du rapt (Abduction)
5. Danse funéraire (Funeral)

An example of Jolivet's use of self-quotation to create meaning appears when Jolivet's 'Danse nuptiale' from *Cinq Danses rituelles* becomes Guignolette's 'Danse du supplication' (No. 9) in *Guignol et Pandore*. As she pleads with the judge not to execute Guignol, Guignolette's dreamy waltz theme appears, played by an oboe over rich, impressionist harmony. This alternates with

¹⁴⁹ Quoted in Sprout, 'Music for a "New Era"' (2000), p. 333.

¹⁵⁰ Jolivet wrote to Lifar in September 1941 to congratulate him on the productions of *Le Princesse au jardin* and *Le Chevalier et la Damoselle* and intimated that he had spoken to Rouché about the possibility of staging 'le ballet Les Quatre Vérités' as a ballet at the Paris Opéra. 18 September 1941 [Letters]. AVL. Fonds Lifar. Musique: André Jolivet à Serge Lifar, 1941-1949, (1950) et non daté. Lausanne.

a fast and flurried contrasting section which uses the orchestra's highest tessitura. Here, Jolivet's music emphasises Guignol's femininity: she is sweet, light and ethereal – even though her affair with Pandore precipitated Guignol's unfortunate situation. Jolivet's use of his waltz from 'Danse nuptiale' is ironic: this is no marriage dance – she is pleading with the judge to save a husband that she has cuckolded. In a similar way, 'Danse funéraire' from *Cinq Danses rituelles* appears in *Guignol et Pandore* as No. 12, 'March au supplice,' to foreshadow Guignol's death sentence: as Guignol approaches his death the audience knows that there is no hope for him because his funeral march is already playing. An audience member with knowledge of Jolivet's previous work may have understood this musical foreshadowing.

In a rather odd article published in *Comœdia* in March 1944, a month before the ballet's premiere, Jolivet explained his motivations for writing the ballet score, distancing himself somewhat from the music:

My only ambition is to serve the show in such a way that the score fits the whole choreography/décor/sound ensemble. I wanted to allow Serge Lifar, adjusting his choreography to my music, to realise – from a rhythmic point of view – exactly what he would have done if he had staged the music starting from his scenario alone [...] I wish that my score could be for him an auxiliary and a witness, like those large mirrors which decorate the end of the dance hall.¹⁵¹

This article suggested that his music was of less importance than Lifar's choreography, and Jolivet implied that he composed according to Lifar's exact rhythmic expectations. We know this statement is untrue because Jolivet had already written six of the movements and many were not substantially changed when inserted into *Guignol et Pandore*. Jolivet's description of the music is very short and at the end of the article he writes: 'I would not like to be misunderstood on this position and accused of wanting to downplay the role of ballet music and the musician,' though this is precisely what his article does.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ 'Ma seule ambition étant de servir le spectacle de façon telle que la partition s'intègre à l'ensemble chorégraphie-décor-son. J'ai voulu permettre à Serge Lifar, réglant sa chorégraphie sur ma musique, de réaliser au point de vue rythme, exactement ce qu'il aurait fait s'il avait mis en scène, en partant de son seul scénario, la musique [...] Je souhaite que ma partition air pu, au cours de son travail de choréauteur, être pour lui un auxiliaire et un témoin, comme ces grands miroirs qui garnissent le fond des salles de danse.' André Jolivet, 'A propos de la création à l'Opéra de *Guignol et Pandore*,' *Comœdia*, 4 March 1944. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-1596.

¹⁵² 'Je ne voudrais cependant pas qu'on se méprenne sur cette position et qu'on m'accuse de vouloir minimiser le rôle de la musique de ballet, et du musicien.' Ibid.

Table 2: List of movements and borrowed material in *Guignol et Pandore* (1944).

Movement in <i>Guignol et Pandore</i>	Borrowed material
I. Prelude	[Original]
II. Parade 'Défilé du principaux personnages'	From <i>Les Quatre Vérités</i> (also used in <i>Symphonie de Danses</i> , 1941)
III. Pas de Deux Guignolette et Pandore	[Original]
IV. Variation de Guignol 'Danse du reproche'	Beginning of the 'Danse du héros' (No. 2 from <i>Cinq Danses rituelles</i>)
V. Pas de Deux Guignol, Guignolette	No. 1, 'Modéré,' from <i>Petite Suite</i> for flute, viola and harp. Jolivet adds a middle section (<i>Poco appassionato</i>) to this movement in his score for <i>Guignol et Pandore</i> .
VI. Pas de Quatre. Entrée de la belle-mère	From <i>Les Quatre Vérités</i> (also used in <i>Symphonie de Danses</i>)
VII. Bastonnade	[Original]
VIII. Entrée du Juge	[Original]
IX. Variation de Guignolette 'Danse du supplication'	Beginning of the waltz from 'Danse nuptiale' (No. 3 from <i>Cinq Danses rituelles</i>)
X. Entrée du Bourreau	[Original]
XI. Variation Prémortuaire de Guignol	[Original]
XII. Marche au Supplice	'Danse funéraire' (No. 5 from <i>Cinq Danses rituelles</i>)
XIII. Exécution de Guignol	[Original]
XIV. Variation du Directeur	[Original]
XV. Final a) Marche b) Ronde	[Original]

Comparisons between *Guignol et Pandore* and *Petrushka* gave French critics a focus for debate. The similarities between the ballets go beyond storyline and characterisation, showing that Jolivet consciously invoked *Petrushka* through his harmonic language and use of musical quotation. Jolivet also used an unusual orchestration which further nodded towards Stravinsky including string quartet, enlarged percussion and woodwind sections, two harps and a piano.¹⁵³ This orchestration shares similarities with *Petrushka*, which also uses a piano and two harps and the result is a stripped-back, sparse, neoclassical orchestral sound. Aside from the light-hearted folk dances in the first and last movements, the majority of the ballet is stylistically modern. Laurent complained that the music had sounded acceptable on the piano, but that the ‘muddy’ orchestration spoiled it. ‘During the dance of the gendarmes and executioners,’ he wrote drolly, ‘I thought the musicians were stirring pans.’¹⁵⁴ Michaguine’s conclusion was similar. He worried that the score was too modern for the Paris Opéra and argued that the orchestration made the score unrecognisable, particularly through the use of too much brass: ‘the spirit has disappeared,’ he wrote in *Paris-midi*.¹⁵⁵

Compared to reviews of the other new occupation ballets, Jolivet’s score received little focussed attention and was not reported at all in the German-language press. This suggests an ambivalence towards the music, as many critics chose not to discuss it in detail. The score was perhaps regarded simply as a vehicle for the dancers rather than an innovative musical achievement. Nevertheless, Adolphe Borchart briefly reviewed the ballet’s music for *Le Petit Parisien*, describing it as *élégant* and Pierre Berlioz praised the score’s subtlety, its rhythms and the variety that it afforded the dancers in *Paris-Soir*.¹⁵⁶ Aubin, Beydts and Delannoy described the score as intelligent and offered praise to the young composer, whose neoclassicism they

¹⁵³ Full orchestration: 3 flutes (2 doubling on piccolo), 2 oboes, cor anglais, 2 clarinets, bass clarinet, 2 bassoons, contrabassoon, 4 horns, 4 trumpets, 3 trombones, tuba, timpani, percussion, celeste, xylophone, 2 harps, piano and string quintet (including 5-string double bass).

¹⁵⁴ ‘During the dance of the gendarmes and executioners, I thought that the musicians of the orchestra were waving pots and pans.’ Laurent, ‘La Danse’ (1944).

¹⁵⁵ ‘L’esprit en a disparu.’ A. Michaguine, ‘L’Étranger à l’Opéra.’ *Paris-midi*, 9 May 1944. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-1596. It may have been that the sparse Stravinskian orchestration contributed towards the ballet’s unorthodox soundscape, rendering its modern elements more noticeable.

¹⁵⁶ Adolphe Borchart, ‘La Musique,’ *Le Petit Parisien*, 6-7 May 1944; Pierre Berlioz, ‘A l’Opéra: Guignol et Pandore,’ *Paris-Soir*, 8 May 1944. [Reviews] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-1596.

viewed as typical of the direction that modern French music was moving towards.¹⁵⁷ Musicologist André Cœuroy hoped that Jolivet would help to reinvigorate French theatre music.¹⁵⁸

Jolivet's music complements the French themes in the ballet and contributes towards the narrative. He utilises impressionist harmony throughout, particularly in slower dance movements such as No. 5, 'Pas de Deux' and No. 9, 'Variation de Guignollette,' both of which were borrowed from earlier works. Audience members with a keen ear for twentieth-century harmony may have been able to identify specific nods to Stravinsky, whose harmonic and rhythmic influence is audible during *Guignol et Pandore*. An example of this occurs when Guignol murders his mother in law in No. 6, 'Pas de Quatre.' As the mother in law tries to stop Guignol and Guignollette from dancing, Jolivet strips back the harmonic layers and begins an octatonic dance in 6/8. He goes through all three octatonic collections (see Example 9), beginning each with a scale so that astute musical audience members would instantly recognise this harmonic technique traceable both to Russian composers Stravinsky and Rimsky-Korsakov, and French impressionists such as Debussy and Ravel.¹⁵⁹ The clashing octatonic scale heightens the tension and anxiety of the moment as the mother in law tries to intervene.

Jolivet also signals to Stravinsky in No. 13, 'Exécution de Guignol,' through the use of the 'Petrushka' chord: two major triads, separated by a tritone, played simultaneously to create a distinctive dissonant effect (Example 10).¹⁶⁰ He spells the chord (using A major + Eb major + an added G#) at the beginning of the movement in the same way that he clearly spelled the octatonic collections in No. 6 before developing them through more complicated arrangements (see Example 9). By using the 'Petrushka' chord and spelling it note by note, Jolivet allowed his listeners to easily identify it: listeners could hear the 'Petrushka' chord and be instantly reminded of the musical and thematic links between Stravinsky's ballet and *Guignol et Pandore*. Audiences may even have listened out for a 'Petrushka' chord, knowing in

¹⁵⁷ Tony Aubin, 'A l'Opéra: Guignol et Pandore,' *Comœdia*, 13 May 1944 [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-1596; Louis Beydts, 'La musique: reprise et création,' *Aujourd'hui*, 13-14 May 1944, p. 4, quoted in Sprout, 'Music for a "New Era"' (2000), p. 339.

¹⁵⁸ André Cœuroy, 'La Musique,' *La Chronique de Paris*, April 1944, p. 7, quoted in Sprout, 'Music for a "New Era"' (2000), p. 339.

¹⁵⁹ On Stravinsky and octatonicism, see Richard Taruskin, 'Chez *Pétrouchka*: Harmony and Tonality "chez" Stravinsky,' in *19th-Century Music*, 10:3 (Spring 1987), pp. 265-86; Richard Taruskin, *Stravinsky and the Russian Traditions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Dmitri Tymoczko, 'Stravinsky and the Octatonic: A Reconsideration,' in *Music Theory Spectrum*, 24: 1 (Spring 2002), pp. 68-102. See also Steven Baur, 'Ravel's "Russian" Period: Octatonicism in His Early Works, 1893-1908,' *Journal of the American Musicology Society*, 52:3 (1999), pp. 531-92; Allen Forte, 'Debussy and the Octatonic,' *Music Analysis*, 10:1/2 (1991), pp. 125-69.

¹⁶⁰ See Taruskin, 'Chez *Pétrouchka*' (1987).

advance that there were similarities between the storylines of both ballets. Jolivet's score thus indirectly invited Stravinsky back to the Paris Opéra and to the Parisian musical scene by quoting him harmonically. Jolivet's music offered a platform for critics to discuss Stravinsky's substantial influence on French music and theatre at a time when the Russian composer's iconic music and ballets were absent from France's national theatres.

The direct harmonic quotation and shared source material invited further comparison between the moral messages in *Petrushka* and *Guignol et Pandore*. *Petrushka* – whose title character is left alone to cry on a rooftop in Stravinsky's closing scene – is a much more tragic ballet than *Guignol et Pandore* and *Petrushka* himself a more sympathetic figure. In *Petrushka* the puppet is a *puppet*: he dances in a disjointed way with his shoulders shrugged and his feet turned-in, as though attached to strings. He is a tragic character that comes alive despite his awkward movements. In *Petrushka*, Stravinsky asks his audience: for whom should they feel empathy? Who is real? By directly referencing *Petrushka* through both scenario and music through the use of the 'Petrushka' chord, Jolivet asks his audience to consciously link the two ballets and look beyond the simple *Guignol* show. *Guignol et Pandore* prompts the same questions as *Petrushka*: who is real? What is real? Who should take accountability for these tragedies?

In contrast to *Petrushka*, the play-within-a-play in *Guignol et Pandore* ends abruptly and the characters are brought back to life. The ballet ends with happiness and laughter and all sins are erased – the implication is that the characters have acted at the whim of the puppet master director and will do so again tomorrow. The characters are not held accountable for their actions. They are controlled by a dictator director even though, in this production, *they* are the humans and the director is the puppet. In this imagined world, their actions mean nothing. *Petrushka* suffers because he knows what it is to be human, to have human responsibilities, human emotions and human failings. He must suffer in order to have his truest wish, because that is what it means to be human. In *Guignol et Pandore*, however, the roles reverse because the puppets use human choreography. *Petrushka* is naïve but Jolivet's puppets are human; they have responsibilities and their actions cannot be excused. *Guignollette* and *Pandore* know better than to commit adultery, and *Guignol* knows that he should not murder and yet they allow themselves to be controlled by a puppet director, believing their actions to have no consequences. *Guignol et Pandore* teaches that people should take responsibility for their own actions.

It is probable that this interpretation was not inferred by all audiences, and *Paris-Midi* even complained that the finale was unnecessary, showing that the significance of the play-

within-a-play trope was misunderstood.¹⁶¹ But cutting the finale would have changed the whole story, creating a poignant ending similar to the end of *Petrushka* and negating the significance of the puppet director. By retaining the light-hearted prelude and finale, the creators of *Guignol et Pandore* reinforced the idea that their ballet had a deeper message. It was not just a traditional Guignol play, but a subtle comment on autonomy, responsibility and dictatorship that may have felt relevant to those distressed by the German presence in France.

Example 9: André Jolivet, *Guignol et Pandore*. No. VI, 'Pas de Quatre, Entrée de la belle-mère.'

Rehearsal marks C and D: Jolivet uses all three octatonic pitch collections, shown on the diagram with colour-coded brackets¹⁶²:

1. Eb diminished (red: Eb, F, F#, G#, A, B, C, D, Eb)
2. D diminished (green: D, E, F, G, G#, A#, B, C#, D)
3. Db diminished (blue: C#, D#, E, F#, G, A, Bb, C, C#)

La belle-mère tente de détacher Guignolette de Guignol.

C Au mouvement

etc

¹⁶¹ F. D., 'Guignol et Pandore' (1944).

¹⁶² Jolivet spells some of the accidentals enharmonically. Coloured brackets added.

Example 10: André Jolivet, *Guignol et Pandore*. No. 13, 'Exécution de Guignol,' mm. 1-6: 'Petrushka' chord.

Colours (added) identify the two chords, separated by a tritone, that are spelled out at the beginning of the movement and then played simultaneously at the end of each phrase: A major (red) and D# major, spelled enharmonically in the score as Eb major (blue). Jolivet adds a G#.

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system covers measures 1-4, and the second system covers measures 5-6. The tempo is marked 'Vif (♩ = 132)'. The first system begins with a piano (*f*) dynamic. The second system begins with a fortissimo (*fff*) dynamic. The 'Petrushka' chord is highlighted with red and blue colors, representing A major and Eb major respectively. The score includes a timpani part starting at measure 5.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

Though praise for Lifar's choreography and Dignimont's set outshone mentions of Jolivet's music in contemporary reviews, critics repeatedly compared *Guignol et Pandore* to *Petrushka* directly. 'We now have our own *Petrushka*,' wrote Laurent, 'but why must it be that Serge Lifar and Dignimont had to expend so much talent in the illustration of André Jolivet's insipid music?'¹⁶³ His comments show the reverence with which *Petrushka* was viewed by the French audience and a determination to create links between the Russian ballet and French culture, despite disappointment with the score. In pro-Nazi French newspaper *La Gerbe*, Yann Lorenz also compared the ballets using national language, suggesting that the French version of the story was more compatible with the French people:

¹⁶³ 'Nous avons aujourd'hui notre *Pétrouchka* [...] Mais pourquoi faut-il que Serge Lifar et Dignimont aient déployé tant de talent pour illustrer l'insipide musique de André Jolivet?' Laurent, 'La Danse' (1944).

Whereas *Petrushka* offered us the disjointed marionettes of Russia, Lifar's *Guignol* gives us puppets of living flesh that are very close to us and whose raggedy hearts beat in unison with ours.¹⁶⁴

Such comments show that *Guignol et Pandore*'s French themes were understood and appreciated by critics; the Paris Opéra's use of French thematic material was celebrated by reviewers such as Lorenz whose comment suggests an almost emotional connection with the 'raggedy hearts' onstage. This comment personalised *Guignol et Pandore* and suggested that its themes reflected on its French audience. The assertion that the puppets' hearts beat 'in unison' with the audience's implied that Lorenz felt a kinship between Guignol's desperation to survive and the French people's, though this was perhaps not his intention (Lorenz was writing in a viciously right-wing paper after all). Unfortunately, the ballet's absence from the German language press means that we cannot know how it was received amongst German audiences.

While Lifar benefitted from critical comparisons with *Petrushka* which praised his innovation, Jolivet's score did not compare well with its Russian equivalent. Vuillermoz complained that Jolivet had not also chosen to use folk inspirations for his ballet, and student reviewer André Hodeir described Jolivet as 'flat, boring and insincere' compared to Stravinsky.¹⁶⁵ One wonders whether this was really a fair comparison, given Stravinsky's reputation and the thirty years that had enabled the legendary Russian composer's controversial innovations to become embedded in concert-going consciousness. Nevertheless, the overall ballet was recognised as a sweet, light-hearted take on the Pulcinella story that diverged in important ways from *Petrushka*, despite sharing source material. Similarly, its comparison with the Russian ballet – as well as the musical similarities between the two ballets – invited audiences to consider the similarities and differences between *Petrushka* and *Guignol et Pandore*. Jolivet created meaning by inviting audiences to consider the questions raised by *Petrushka* regarding autonomy and responsibility in a contemporary French occupation context. Like the other occupation ballets, *Guignol et Pandore* disguised a deeper meaning in a light-hearted work, though by centring *urban* French folk culture, this later ballet subtly side-

¹⁶⁴ 'Si Petrouchka nous avait présenté des marionnettes désarticulées importées de Russie, le Guignol de Lifar met en scène des pantins de chair vivante, très proches de nous et dont les cœurs de charpie battent à l'unisson des nôtres...' Yann Lorenz, '« Guignol et Pandore » à l'Opéra.' *La Gerbe*, 18 May 1944. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-1596. Paris.

¹⁶⁵ André Hodeir, review of *Guignol et Pandore*, *L'Écho des étudiants*, 27 May 1944, quoted in Sprout, 'Music for a "New Era"' (2000), p. 339.

lined Pétain's vision of rural countryside France in favour of something more gritty and tangible to the Parisian audience.

THE OCCUPATION BALLETS | CONCLUSIONS

The four new ballets premiered by the Paris Opéra Ballet during the German occupation show the range and depth of new ballet works offered by the company in spite of – or perhaps because of – the political circumstances. The ballets, which were all choreographed by Serge Lifar, differ in their modes of storytelling and their creators use a variety of techniques to create meaning. Both *Le Chevalier et la Damoselle* and *Les Animaux modèles* are large-scale, whilst *La Princesse au jardin* and *Guignol et Pandore* are more compact. *Le Chevalier et la Damoselle* tells a heroic, action-oriented story, whilst *Les Animaux modèles* combines a series of short fables. *La Princesse au jardin* is magical; *Guignol et Pandore* is a satirical farce. Nevertheless, the similarities between the occupation ballets are significant. In combination, the ballets demonstrate that the Paris Opéra administrative and creative teams provided audiences with new productions, ensured that these new productions were of a high quality, and showed French culture to the diverse audience. Though other opera houses and concert halls such as the Opéra-Comique, the Salle Pleyel and the Comédie-Française were also programming French works during the occupation, the Paris Opéra at the Palais Garnier was unique in providing newly-composed and newly-choreographed ballet productions for its large and varied audience.¹⁶⁶

The new productions showed French ballets based on French thematic material including important periods in French history, French fables and traditional childhood puppet shows. These themes resonated with the conservative, national values of the Vichy government through their alignment, to varying degrees, with the Pétainist values of *Travail, famille, patrie* and their nostalgic, sentimental thematic imagery. Outwardly, therefore, the

¹⁶⁶ See Chapter Three; also Jane F. Fulcher, *Renegotiating French Identity: Musical Culture and Creativity in France during Vichy and the German Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); Leslie Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013); Alan Riding, *And the Show Went On: Cultural Life in Nazi-Occupied Paris* (London: Duckworth Overlook, 2011); Frederic Spotts, *The Shameful Peace: How French Artists and Intellectuals Survived the Nazi Occupation* (London: Yale University Press, 2008); Stéphanie Corcy, *La Vie culturelle sous l'Occupation* (Paris: Perrin, 2005); *La vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed. by Myriam Chimènes (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 2001).

ballets satisfied the relevant administrative parties including the German occupiers whose policy encouraged a rich cultural life in Paris. The ballets might thus have made a negative contribution towards French resistance by creating the illusion that life was not damaged by the German presence.

However, such imagery does not necessarily indicate that the cultural collaborators involved with these ballets were pro-Vichy or pro-Pétain; there was huge variation across the French political and cultural spectrum. As the Poulenc example demonstrated, composers' alliances were fluid and were not consistently aligned with the Vichy authorities' aims or ideas about politics or social policies, even if their ballets spoke thematically to *Vichyisme*. The outward compliance with the ruling authorities and the use of broad 'French' themes – coupled with a perception that ballet was less complex than other art forms as argued in Chapter One – may have masked politically nuanced thematic and musical material. This may have allowed French creators to sew small seeds of subversion within the ballets presented on the Palais Garnier stage. Such imagery spoke to the resistance group Front national des musiciens' wish to boost 'national aspirations' – providing a home for French art through the presentation of music which represented the 'true' French spirit under the cover of a sanctioned, nostalgic version of French cultural identity.

Under this cover, the ballets in this chapter presented moral themes of trust, power and resistance. In *La Princesse au jardin*, the princess' forced entry to the garden and picking of the flowers mimics the German invasion and plunder of France, forcing the flowers to join together behind the iris in resistance. Poulenc uses French fables in *Les Animaux modèles* to reiterate morals such as to be wary before trusting others, and to look after yourself in times of need – important messages in an occupation context. *Guignol et Pandore* similarly uses the looming director puppet to question the legitimacy of dictatorships, asking the audience to take responsibility for their actions and resist the control of a dictator with ruthless morals. Though these messages may not have been starkly apparent to the majority of audiences, subtle references and allusions allowed a subversive message to be found behind outwardly light, innocent and joyous productions, particularly when considering that performing ballet on the Paris Opéra stage had a long history linked inherently to notions of French cultural identity. The ballets' shared themes of French culture, history, legends and fantasies mimic a trend for fantasy and escapism popular in French film during the German occupation and, as

Boothroyd suggested, such thematic material may have provided a cover for political comment.¹⁶⁷

Because their thematic material was compatible with Vichy's vision of *Révolution nationale*, the ballets could pass under both the French and German authorities' radars quite effectively – they did not raise red flags for those keen to smooth over Franco-German relations in Paris – whilst at the same time allowing French people unsatisfied with the German occupation to nourish alternative interpretations. The ballets help us to understand the entertainments on offer to both French and German audiences, showing how the Paris Opéra not only survived occupation but thrived. That there was no pushback against the Paris Opéra's ballet presentations might seem odd given despite the National Socialists' ban on narrative ballet in Germany, but the tolerance and even enjoyment of French ballet exemplifies the party's inconsistency in solidifying its own cultural ideology, and the willingness to make exceptions in Paris to prioritise the cultural seduction over any overarching National Socialist cultural agenda.

On a diachronic level, these productions solidified the reputation of French ballet by furthering the steadily increasing reputation and renown of the Paris Opéra Ballet over the previous decades. The music was particularly important in this endeavour. The press coverage of these ballets shows the seriousness with which ballet music was understood by reviewers and audiences. The occupation ballet composers elevated ballet music to a higher level, convincing audiences that ballet music was exciting and complex, it was not just simple accompaniment to beautiful dancing. These ballets contributed to the Paris Opéra's mission to dispel the turn of the century perception, discussed in Chapter One, that French ballet had become staid, boring and outdated.

¹⁶⁷ Julian Jackson argues that these fantasy themes reveal 'a desperate wish to believe that the outside world did not exist.' François Garçon similarly argues that escapist themes perpetuated during the occupation alongside a general removal of 'overt political reference in French film.' This was reflected in the UK: culture in Britain also noticed an increase in audience appetite for escapist entertainment. Thus French cinema, like the ballets discussed in this chapter, became *more* thematically French during the occupation. See Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940-1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 321; Abaigh McKee, "'For the Million': The Sadler's Wells Ballet and British identity during the Second World War' [Unpublished article, 2019]; Brian Frederick Foss, 'British Artists and the Second World War, With Particular Reference to the War Artists' Advisory Committee of the Ministry of information,' PhD diss. University College, London, 1991, p. 254; François Garçon, *De Blum à Petain: Cinéma et société français (1936-1944)* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1984), p. 196; Evelyn Ehrlich, *Cinema of Paradox: French Filmmaking under the German Occupation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), p. 109.

CHAPTER FIVE | THE PARISIAN PREMIERE OF WERNER EGK'S *JOAN DE ZARISSA*

Though the National Socialists briefly endorsed German dance during the 1930s, the German cultural administration did not invest significantly – financially or ideologically – in dance productions once support for *Ausdruckstanz* was renounced by Joseph Goebbels in 1936. In fact, the Nazis curtailed their support for dance thereafter, and largely rejected the art form during the 1940s. There was one notable exception, however: the presentation of German ballet *Joan de Zarissa* at the Paris Opéra in 1942. In France, this large-scale work for orchestra, ballet company, choir and narrator, which had first appeared at the Berlin Staatsoper on 20 January 1940, received a Parisian make-over and, though it was danced to music by a German composer, the ballet was otherwise very French. This chapter argues that the ballet's 'Frenchification' betrays a tacit acceptance that only with French choreography and French dancers could a German ballet be palatable to the Parisian audience.

The original German *Joan von Zarissa* was a ballet of epic proportions resembling a Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk* which united music, dance, costume, singing, décor and spoken word. Despite this structural Germanness, the ballet's content was distinctly French and the work was multilingual. Egk's four choral numbers set poems by the French poet Charles d'Orléans, which he kept in the original language, without providing translations, even when the ballet was performed in Germany. The music is similarly transnational, combining Austro-Germanic orchestral writing with choral interludes in the style of French vocal composers Debussy and Ravel, who had also set texts by d'Orléans. These French-influenced passages contrast clearly with the stylistic Germanness of the rest of the ballet. This Frenchness was thus a conscious choice: like the ballet composers discussed in Chapter Four, Egk chose to embody French culture as part of his score. Unlike the French ballet composers, however, Egk emphasised the French aspects of his score through stylistic pastiche that contrasted with the rest of the ballet. This balance between Germanness and Frenchness persists throughout *Joan de Zarissa*: the work is neither fully German nor fully French. The scale of the ballet's

Gesamtkunstwerk gradually diminished over three years of editing and reworking, and by the time *Joan de Zarissa* was performed in Paris, its 'German' elements – its choreography, title and German language interludes – had been systematically erased.¹ Though the ballet's pro-German propaganda potential was significantly diluted when it was produced by the Paris Opéra Ballet in 1942, the National Socialists celebrated *Joan's* success as a German ballet.

Through the presentation and discussion of the ballet *Joan von/de Zarissa* and its presentation in Paris, this chapter shows that the production of *Joan* in occupied France was really an exercise in showing German music and not German ballet. Though the musical commentary is based in the same hermeneutic methodology outlined in Chapter Four, the analysis here differs slightly in that the changes and cuts (both musical and extra-musical) are equally important for assessing meaning as the original ballet itself. Both the plot of *Joan de Zarissa* and the circumstances of the ballet's performance in occupied Paris offer interpretations that might imply a questioning of Nazi authority. Examining the extent to which the ballet lived up to National Socialist expectations for Franco-German rapprochement helps us to assess the wider influence and perception of French ballet in occupied Parisian cultural life. Publicity surrounding the ballet in the German-language press aimed to paint the work as proof of German talent but, I argue, in fact reinforced the perception that French ballet was of a higher quality than German ballet, and shows that the ballet's success in the French and German press was more important than concerns about narrative dance.

Like the ballets discussed in Chapter Four, there is frustratingly little archival documentation concerning *Joan de Zarissa*, particularly its performance in occupied Paris. Jason Hobratschk's PhD thesis is a useful secondary source, however, for understanding the ballet's creation and performance. Through analysis of the ballet score and its edits and changes between 1940 and 1943, Hobratschk argues that plot elements of *Joan de Zarissa* can be read as subversive or pro-French because Egk used French sources as his inspiration and his plot can be read as an analogy for the Third Reich.² Although he also discusses the changes that were made for its performance in Paris, Hobratschk concentrates on the ballet's reception and interpretation within Germany. His study largely addresses Egk's controversial career

¹ I refer to the ballet as *Joan von Zarissa* when discussing its origins and performance in Germany, and as *Joan de Zarissa* when discussing it in its French context. Generalisations that apply to both versions will be referred to as *Joan von/de Zarissa*.

² Jason P. Hobratschk, 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa: Music as Politics and Propaganda under National Socialism,' PhD diss., The Florida State University College of Music, 2011.

within Nazi Germany rather than the implications of the ballet's performance in context of culture in occupied Paris and the other ballets presented at the Paris Opéra.

This latter angle is occasionally addressed through wider studies of cultural life in occupied Paris. *Joan de Zarissa* is often mentioned in comparison with Poulenc's *Les Animaux modèles* (premiered at the Paris Opéra a month later in August 1942) or, alternatively, *Joan de Zarissa* is mentioned in descriptions of German cultural seduction in Paris more generally.³ This scholarship largely concludes that the French *Joan de Zarissa* was a successful German propaganda exercise because the production sold well, and reviews (in both the French and German press) were positive. Leslie Sprout argues that *Joan de Zarissa* compromised the Paris Opéra's commitment to French culture: it cannot be read as a resistance ballet because resources were directed away from a French composer in favour of a German. Sprout argues that French productions of German works such as *Joan de Zarissa*, operas *Palestrina* by Hans Pfitzner (performed in Paris in March 1942) and Egk's *Peer Gynt* (performed in Paris in October 1943) may have had a negative impact on Parisian morale because there was no reciprocal programme of cultural performance in Germany.⁴ Similarly the use of German music to accompany French ballet implicitly relegated French music to second place.⁵ Dance historian Mark Franko describes *Joan de Zarissa* as choreographer Serge Lifar's 'biggest propaganda coup of the occupation period': he sees the work as an attempt by Lifar to unify French and German choreography to appeal to the National Socialists, even though Lifar had written disparagingly about German choreography in 1938.⁶ This chapter approaches *Joan de Zarissa* from a more nuanced perspective than those that adopt a binary resistance/collaboration standpoint. I focus on the ballet's performance in occupied Paris in context of contemporary *œuvres* presented at the Paris Opéra, considering the propaganda implications of the ballet from a dance perspective as well as a musical one.

What does the ballet's success say about German culture and German dance? This thesis argues that *Joan de Zarissa* in fact demonstrated the success of French ballet: even aside from its French thematic content, the all-French cast and creative team reinforced Parisian

³ See Leslie Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013); Leslie A. Sprout, Music for a 'New Era': Composers and National Identity in France, 1936-1946, PhD diss., Berkeley: University of California, 2000; *La vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed. by Myriam Chimènes (Brussels: Éditions Complexe, 2001).

⁴ Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013), p. 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁶ Mark Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar: Interwar French Ballet and the German Occupation*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), p. 218.

ballet's world-leading reputation, and elevated ballet within the context of culture during the Third Reich. *Joan de Zarissa* exposes an unusual contradiction whereby dance was no longer actively promoted by the RMVP within Germany, but a highly narrative 'German' ballet was promoted in occupied Paris and enjoyed by German audiences. In Germany, *Joan de Zarissa* was categorised as a 'divertissement' in order to get around Goebbels' ban on dramatic ballet.⁷ *Joan de Zarissa* thus epitomises the complex and relatively unregulated space enjoyed by ballet in occupied Paris, exemplifying this thesis's argument that French ballet productions at the Paris Opéra occupied a political space that may be interpreted in diverse ways.

WERNER EGK'S *JOAN VON/DE ZARISSA*

The task of interpreting Werner Egk's intention in *Joan von/de Zarissa* is complicated by the fact that his relationship to the National Socialist Party is somewhat mysterious. Egk's early operatic compositions *Die Zauberflöte* (1935) and *Peer Gynt* (1938) garnered the German composer a considerable reputation both on a personal level with Hitler and Goebbels, and on a wider scale across Germany. 'Egk is a huge, original talent,' wrote Goebbels in his diary, '[H]e knows how to make music. I am totally delighted and so is the Führer. A new discovery for both of us; we have to remember his name.'⁸ Egk's considerable success during the Third Reich was built on a willingness to represent the party abroad and an ability to mould his style to the party's cultural ideology (though early compositions had been criticised for showing jazz and Stravinskian influence which never quite disappeared).⁹ Egk conducted in Prague, Bratislava and Croatia during the 1940s and travelled to Paris multiple times in 1942 to conduct performances of his new ballet, *Joan de Zarissa*. He was welcomed by French collaborators in Paris and was personally lauded in reviews by French composers and critics.¹⁰

In spite of this, Egk successfully navigated three separate post-war denazification proceedings, in which his music was cited as evidence in his defence. Egk's 1938 opera *Peer*

⁷ Notes from Dr Schlösser and communication Section Theatre to Main Office, 15 September and 1 October 1942, quoted in Karina and Kant, *Hitler's Dancers* (2004), p. 143.

⁸ Quoted in Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 10.

⁹ Some conductors and musicians including Wilhelm Furtwängler refused to tour the occupied countries. See Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era* (2010), pp. 18-9.

¹⁰ Arthur Honegger was particularly positive about Egk and his role as a representative of a new wave of young German composers. Arthur Honegger, 'Création à l'Opéra de *Joan de Zarissa*,' *Comœdia*, 18 July 1942, pp. 1, 5. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-947.

Gynt had been accused of being *entartet* and received negative contemporary press reviews following its 1938 premiere. His denazification lawyers argued that this was evidence of the composer's opposition to National Socialist ideology.¹¹ Citing *Joan de Zarissa* in his denazification proceedings would not have added weight to Egk's argument that he had subverted National Socialist values because he had achieved widespread praise and travelled to France to conduct it at the Paris Opéra. However, such post-war discourse opens the possibility of reading dissatisfaction with the Nazi regime in Egk's music.

Hobratschk argues that the plot of *Joan von/de Zarissa* is potentially highly subversive and even critical of National Socialism.¹² The ballet takes place in the Burgundian court of the Iron Duke and the Duchess Isabeau. As they preside over a group of Moorish prisoners, festivities are interrupted by the arrival of the lothario Joan von Zarissa and his sidekick, Lefou. Joan kills the Iron Duke in a duel and 'seduces' (captures) Isabeau. She mourns for her husband and eventually kills herself. Meanwhile, the relationship between Joan and Isabeau is mirrored by a subplot involving Lefou and the dancer Florence. The murdered characters reappear at the end of the ballet as apparitions and Joan is killed by the ghost of the Iron Duke. Hobratschk argues that Joan could be read as Adolf Hitler: a Don Juan-like 'charismatic figure of questionable genealogy and base motivation' who was trying to systematically dominate the world.¹³ Lifar sympathetically described this character as 'intensely tragic' (*intensément tragique*) but, as Franko suggests, it is difficult to find the tragedy in Joan's fate.¹⁴

Egk's use of choir and narrator superseded the boundaries of regular ballet productions and resembled a Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk*, combining dance, music, décor, chorus and spoken word to produce a unified German ballet along Wagnerian ideology not unlike Stravinsky's *Perséphone*, a *mélodrame* which combined dance, music, chorus and speakers. There are frequent references to Greek mythological imagery throughout *Joan von/de Zarissa*, not least through Egk's use of contrasting choral interludes which appear between each of the four tableaux, commenting and moralising like a Greek chorus. The grand scale of his

¹¹ Hobratschk, 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), pp. xv, pp. 300-301. Egk received awards and prizes at Nazi events such as the Munich Olympic Games in 1936 and the Music Festival Reichsmusikstage in Düsseldorf in 1939; he was appointed Head of the Board of Composers in the Reichsmusikkammer from 1941 and represented the party in multiple overseas trips. His denazification proceedings included being blacklisted by the Americans, exonerated by the Germans, un-exonerated by a German prosecutor, retried, re-exonerated and nearly retried again.

¹² Hobratschk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), p. 300.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Franko, *The Fascist turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar* (2020), p. 221; Serge Lifar, 'Un nouveau ballet à l'Opéra: *Joan de Zarissa*,' *Comœdia*, 4 July 1942. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-947.

creation was evidenced further by his use of classical and Biblical imagery – Egk specified that the ballet’s backdrop should depict Odysseus surrounded by Sirens, for example.¹⁵ This mythological imagery implied that *Joan von Zarissa* was similarly legendary and complemented Egk’s use of a Greek-style chorus. Alongside Fenneker’s backdrop shown in Figure 19, the ten voices could be perceived as mendacious Odyssean Sirens whose beautiful message was both misleading and bizarre. The mythological imagery, French text, German prologue and the stylistic incongruities offer rich material for interpretation. The large scale of the ballet and the classical allusions suggest that Egk intended his creation to be perceived as more than just a regular ballet. In fact, he referred to the work as a ‘*dramatische Tanzdichtung*’ (a dramatic dance-poem) which shows that he wished to distance it – elevate it – from his audience’s perceptions of regular ballet.¹⁶

Reviews of the Berlin premiere defined *Joan von Zarissa* as a German success by linking Egk with German predecessors including Wagner.¹⁷ Critics similarly identified Egk’s skill in combining music, dance, singing and spoken word, praising the ballet for being *tänzerisch*, or highly danceable. In the *Hamburger Fremdenblatt*, German critic Karl Ruppel explained that German composers had historically overlooked – and continued to overlook – classical dance music as a genre, despite well-known composers having achieved success as ballet composers.¹⁸ Ruppel’s list of composers is exclusively non-German, though Beethoven’s *Créatures de Prométhée* was performed regularly in Europe throughout the 1930s and 40s, and Richard Strauss had composed *Josephslegende* for the Ballets Russes in 1914. Ruppel thus draws a distinction between ‘ballet composers’ and ‘German composers.’ This statement is made sincerely, as though lamenting a distinct gap in German music and showing that German composers were not associated with ballet. The German reviews of the Berlin premiere of *Joan von Zarissa* were unanimously positive, something which tells us very little as all German cultural productions were reported as great successes in the German press. Nevertheless, critics

¹⁵ Hobratchk ‘Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa’ (2011), pp. 100; p. 112.

¹⁶ Though the work is listed as a ‘Ballett’ in the 1940 piano reduction published by Schott Söhne. Werner Egk, *Joan von Zarissa*, arr. by Hans Bergese (Mainz: B. Schott Söhne, 1943) [Piano score]. BnF Richelieu. Musique - magasin, FOL-VM6-197.

¹⁷ Hobratchk identifies a number of reviews that liken the ballet to Wagner and/or opera, including Elsi Jänecke in the *Hannoverscher Kurier* 26, 27 January 1940; Fred Hamel in the *Deutsche Zukunft* 4, 28 January 1940; Andreas Liess, ‘Die Zukunft des Tanzdramas,’ *Neues Musikblatt*, February 1940. Hobratchk ‘Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa’ (2011), pp. 221-4.

¹⁸ *Hamburger Fremdenblatt* 21, 22 January 1940, quoted in Hobratchk ‘Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa’ (2011), pp. 224-5. He lists Debussy, Ravel, de Falla, Malipiero, Bartók, Tchaikovsky, Stravinsky, amongst others.

found *Joan von Zarissa* to be less musically appealing than Egk's operas *Peer Gynt* and *Die Zauberflöte*.

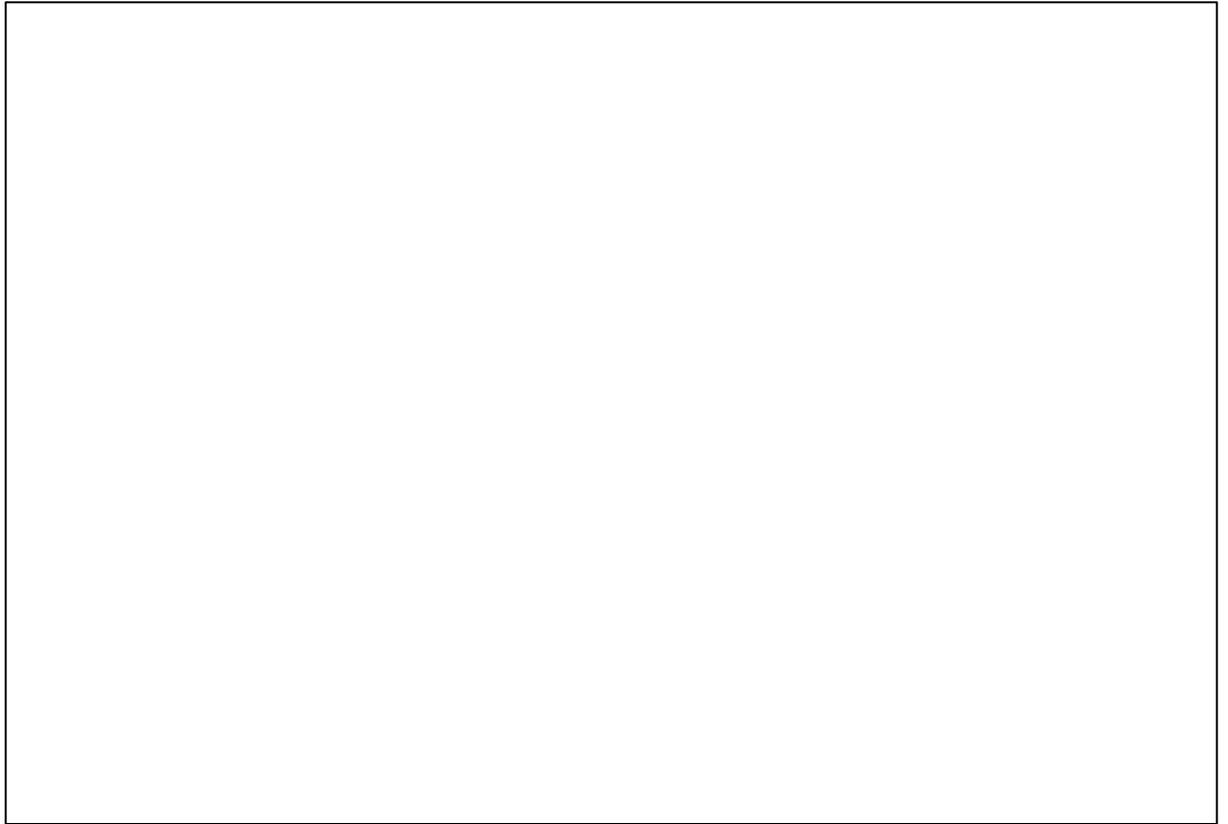


Figure 19: Josef Fenneker's backdrop for *Joan von Zarissa* showing Odysseus and the Sirens.
Stadmuseum Bocholt, Fenneker-Nachlaß, 89/4903.

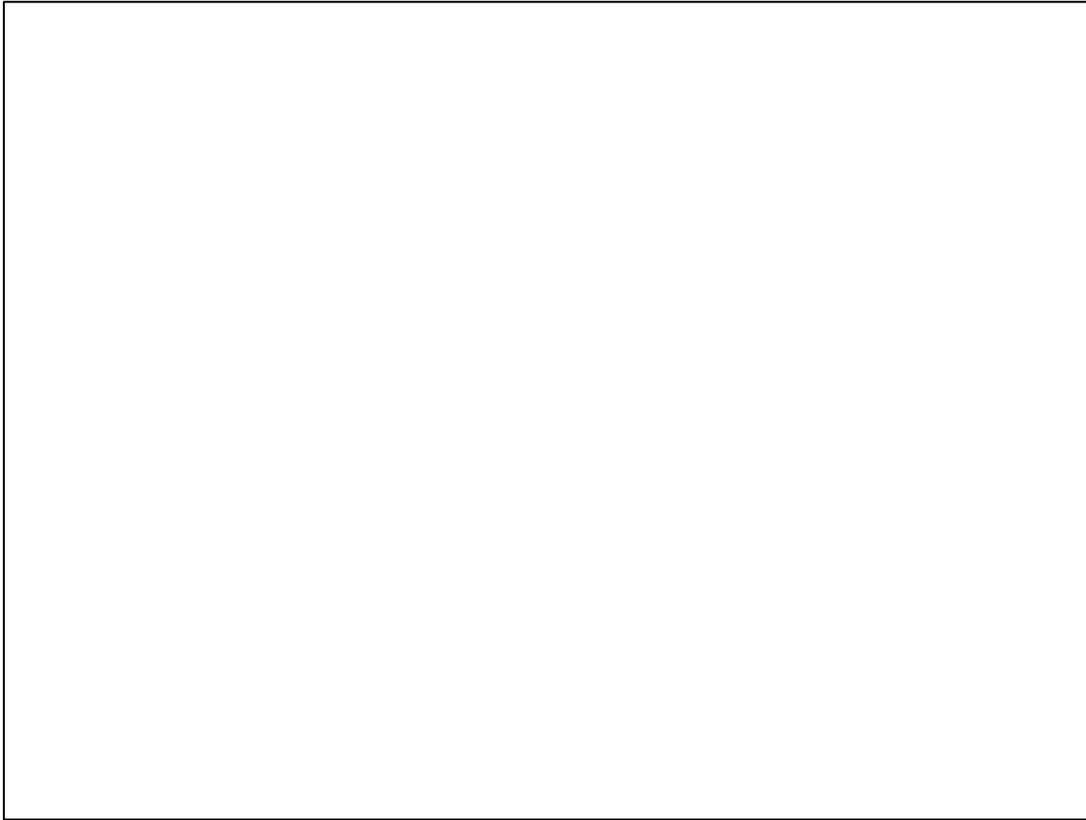


Figure 20: Press cutting showing Yves Brayer's backdrop for *Joan de Zarissa* as it appeared in Paris, also showing Odysseus and the Sirens.
Le Petit Parisien, 17 July 1942. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-947.

JOAN VON/DE ZARISSA'S FRENCH ROOTS

Though much of the music was thoroughly German, *Joan von Zarissa* was inherently transnational because its inspiration and setting were Spanish and French. The character of Joan is based on Don Juan, a mysterious, legendary Spanish womaniser immortalised by Mozart in *Don Giovanni* (1787), though for reasons that remain unknown, Egk transposed the story of Don Juan to fifteenth-century Burgundy. In 1973 the composer wrote that he chose to adapt the legend of Don Juan (for a second time – separate music had accompanied a radio play in 1932) because of its Europeanness, its ‘primary European cultural element.’¹⁹ Egk suggests that he saw his ballet as uniting European culture rather than dividing it, though this was a statement made with the benefit of hindsight.

¹⁹ Werner Egk, *Die Zeit wartet nicht* (Munich: Goldmann, 1981), quoted in Hobratchk ‘Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa’ (2011), p. 132.

The original Staatsoper décor and costumes were produced by German painter Josef Fenneker using French source materials provided by Egk including paintings of medieval court culture by Jean Fouquet, who was relatively unknown at the time even within France.²⁰ In a letter dated 5 June 1939, Egk wrote to Fenneker:

[I] just now discovered a true treasure for our work [...] In this book you will easily find generally everything that has come down to us from the time. Reproductions of tapestries, drawings, paintings, sculptures, etc.²¹

Fenneker and Egk reproduced paintings, colours, costumes and compositional and architectural arrangements from the *Iconographie de l'art profane au moyen-âge et la Renaissance* by Raimond van Marle and *Codex Gallicus VI* at the Munich Staatsbibliothek in his period costumes and scenic backdrop designs (which included a medieval tapestry).²² Ausdruckstanz choreographer Lizzie Maudrik provided the choreography, about which very little is known; as a rule, Maudrik's choreographic style combined Ausdruckstanz principles with some traditional ballet techniques such as pantomime and pointe work.²³

The setting of the ballet in fifteenth-century Burgundy – which included regions of modern-day France, Luxembourg, Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands – rejected the Reichskulturkammer's wish for German artists and musicians to prioritise (exclusively) German cultural sources in their work. Egk was not criticised for his ballet's setting and, interestingly, both French and German critics assumed that the ballet was set in *French* Burgundy. It celebrates 'the last blossoms of old-French culture and *joie de vivre*,' reported the *Berliner Zeitung*, for example.²⁴ The setting thus implicitly entrenched the ballet in French culture and romanticised French history, reinforcing the association between ballet and France, and showing that the ballet was interpreted as French even before the production transferred to the Paris Opéra.

Joan von Zarissa was performed 29 times in Berlin between 1940-43, and also produced at the Städtische Bühnen Halle in April 1940, then at the Hamburgische Staatsoper in

²⁰ See Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar* (2020), p. 221; for a detailed description see Hobratchk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), pp. 132-143. The costume designs are available at the BnF, Intra muros IFN-10539266.

²¹ Letter from Egk to Josef Fenneker, 5 June 1939, translated and quoted in Hobratchk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), p. 144.

²² For a detailed description see Hobratchk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), pp. 145-154.

²³ Lilian Karina and Marion Kant, *Hitler's Dancers: German Modern Dance and the Third Reich* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2004), pp. 14-5.

²⁴ *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag* 17, 19 January 1940, quoted in Hobratchk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), p. 226.

December. This latter performance reinstated sections that had been removed for the Berlin premiere. In 1941 *Joan* was performed in Stuttgart (February), Chemnitz (April), Essen (May and November), and Zurich (December); it could be seen in Düsseldorf (February), Vienna (February and March) and Prague (March and April) in 1942.²⁵

BERLIN TO PARIS

In summer 1941 Jacques Rouché was offered a selection of operas and ballets from which he could pick two for presentation in the Paris Opéra's 1942 season. It is unclear how this list was compiled and from whom the order was made though Egk reported that Dr Fritz Piersig (the German Embassy in Paris's representative of the Reichskulturkammer) requested the list of ballets directly from German publishers.²⁶ Propaganda-Staffel Lieutenant Lucht reported that the appearance of 'choice' was merely a façade. 'For tactical reasons,' he wrote, Rouché was given the impression that he could choose to present new German works 'independently and free from influence' when in fact, of course, he had no choice in the matter.²⁷ Richard Strauss's *Ariadne auf Naxos*, Hans Pfitzner's *Palestrina* and Egk's *Peer Gynt* were also selected ('during collective deliberations,' wrote Lucht), for performance at the RTLN and appeared in March 1942, April 1943 and October 1943 respectively. The other ballets on Lucht's list were Hermann Reutter's *Der Kirmes von Delft*, Boris Blacher's *Das Fest im Süden* and Richard Strauss's *Josephslegende*.²⁸ These selections would make an interesting research project. It may have been the case that Rouché chose *Joan von Zarissa* from the list because it contained French themes; this would make sense from the German point of view too as the National Socialists often used already-established Franco-German links to persuade French audiences to accept German performances.²⁹

²⁵ Hobratchk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), p. 246. Ausdruckstanzer Harald Kreuzberg danced the part of Lefou when the ballet was performed in Vienna.

²⁶ Egk, *Die Zeit* (1981), pp. 349-50.

²⁷ Lucht, Bericht über die französische Erstaufführung des Ballettes 'Joan von Zarissa' von Werner Egk, 28 July 1942, quoted in Hobratchk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), p. 251.

²⁸ Recalled by Egk in *Die Zeit* (1981), pp. 349-50.

²⁹ Manuela Schwartz, 'La Musique, outil majeur de la propagande culturelle des Nazis,' trans. by Laetitia Ingraio in *La vie musicale sous Vichy* ed. by Myriam Chimènes (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 2001), pp. 102-3. Further examples include German conductor Wilhelm Kempff, who had performed in Paris before the war, and pianist Walter Gieseking, who was born in Paris.

In an article in *Revue des Beaux-Arts de France* in autumn 1942, Rouché described the new operas and ballets produced at the Paris Opéra, including *Joan de Zarissa* – ‘one of the most typical examples of contemporary music’ – and *Palestrina*, though he omitted mention of the composers’ nationalities.³⁰ The performance of these German works at the Paris Opéra fulfilled two of the Germans’ objectives: the first being to entertain German soldiers in Paris (where German operas were concerned there were often exclusive German soldier-only productions), and the second to show German culture to the French. The success in this latter regard, I argue in this chapter, is questionable. Though Rouché believed that the cultural exchange would be a mutual one, no French works were performed in Germany in a comparably high-profile situation.³¹ However, in Lifar’s papers in Lausanne, a programme exists for a performance by Serge Lifar and members of the Paris Opéra Ballet at the Deutsches Opernhaus Berlin in November 1943. This programme indicates that a showcase of popular French ballets including *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* and *Prélude à l’après-midi d’un Faune* was given, or was due to be given.³² Curiously, the opera house in Berlin has no record of this performance and no other accounts corroborate this information – it is possible that this programme was produced in advance for a tour that was subsequently cancelled.

MUSICAL COMMENTARY

Egk’s use of leitmotif, repetition, harmony and word painting reinforce the ballet’s moral messages in an accessible and danceable way whilst leaving space for audience interpretation, particularly through the choral interludes. His harmonic and rhythmic writing is both distinctive and varied: dissonance, percussion and rapidly changing metre contrasts with light, melodic choral writing. Reviews described the ballet as ‘*tanzerisch*,’ ‘*illustrativ*’ and ‘*dramatisch*,’ but ultimately the music for the ballet was considered inseparable from the work itself – colourful in parts, the musical score mostly serves as accompaniment for the dancing.³³

³⁰ Jacques Rouché, ‘Les théâtres subventionnés: les dernières saisons de l’Opéra et de l’Opéra-Comique,’ *Revue des Beaux-Arts de France* 1 (October-November 1942), pp. 32-37, quoted in Sprout, ‘Music for a “New Era”’ (2000), p. 259.

³¹ Sandrine Grandgambe, ‘La Réunion des théâtres lyriques nationaux’ in *La Vie musicale sous Vichy*, ed. by Myriam Chimènes (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 2001), pp. 119-120.

³² ‘Serge Lifar: Maître de Ballet, Premier danseur Étoile du Théâtre National de l’Opéra.’ AVL. Fonds Lifar. Programmes: 1943. Lausanne.

³³ See, for example, Alfred Burgatz in *Berlin Illustrierte Nachtausgabe* 18, 22 January 1940; *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 19, 23 January 1940, quoted in Hobratschk ‘Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa’ (2011), p. 215, p. 220.

Examination of Egk's compositional choices indicate that the score was perhaps less ideologically aligned with National Socialist aesthetics than the German authorities wanted the public to believe. The score was (wrongly) described as at times 'atonal' by Alfred Burgatz in the *Berlin Illustrierte Nachtausgabe*, and many German critics identified the Russian (particularly Stravinskian) influence in Egk's score.³⁴ In Paris, too, critics were keen to describe his music as stylistically German, despite clear French and Russian influences. In collaborationist newspaper *La Gerbe*, for example, Serge Moreux described Egk's music as 'Germanic in spirit' but heard Debussy, Stravinsky and Honegger in 'veins of discrete colour.'³⁵

Like the French ballet composers discussed in Chapter Four, Egk used orchestration, harmony and melody to indicate the gender, class and identity of his characters. These leitmotifs help to convey the ballet's story whilst creating room for interpretation. Many of Egk's musical characterisations are introduced in the first tableau, which takes place at a banquet at the Burgundian court of the Iron Duke. A processional musical motif accompanies the Iron Duke and his army of men. Egk's rhythmic accompaniment contrasts the high court characters such as the Duke, Joan and Isabeau with low-court characters such as the 'barbarian' Moorish prisoners. The Moors process through the court accompanied by the Bavarian *Zwiefacher* folk dance rhythm. The folk rhythm does not signify that the Moors are Bavarian, however – it is used to differentiate the unsophisticated, barbaric Moors from the high-court characters.³⁶ The use of a folk rhythm was not an unusual way to musically 'other' the Moors, showing that they were incongruous with the high court setting, but Egk here used a traditional German rhythm to represent characters who would have been considered 'un-German' according to National Socialist ideology – a highly subversive choice in the context of (well-known) Nazi racial politics.³⁷ Such choices indicate that the ballet was in fact highly narrative, and at many points loaded with subversive thematic imagery.

There are four choral interludes in the ballet, all of which were performed in the original French in both the German and French versions of *Joan von/de Zarissa*. Though these

Hobratschk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), p. 220.

³⁴ Alfred Burgatz in *Berlin Illustrierte Nachtausgabe* 18, 22 January 1940; *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* 19, 23 January 1940, quoted in Hobratschk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), p. 215.

³⁵ Serge Moreux, *La Gerbe*, 23 July 1942; *Revolution Nationale*, 1 August 1942, quoted in Hobratschk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011) pp. 262-3.

³⁶ Hobratschk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), pp. 207-8.

³⁷ On folk idioms to represent social class, see Ralph P. Locke, *Music and the Exotic from the Renaissance to Mozart* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 134; on internal exotic see Ralph P. Locke, 'A broader view of musical exoticism,' in *The Journal of Musicology*, 24:4 (Fall 2007), p. 483.

choral interludes perform the aesthetic function of a Greek chorus (and were recognised as doing so by critics), the lyrics were often incongruent with the action onstage.³⁸ This incongruity creates a space for interpretation because the audience must decide how the interludes relate to the action. For example, the first chanson, 'C'est grant paine,' appears at the end of the first tableau, introducing the audience to the production's key themes of morality, sin and death. The first section is calming and quiet. The lyrics may reference the Iron Duke, who has just been killed:

Living in this world gives great trouble,
And dying even greater pain.
As we live, we must suffer death
And, in the end, pass along the road of death.
If at times joy and pleasure abound,
They cannot be kept for long.³⁹

However, the second section of the chanson bears little similarity to the ballet's action. The choir are suddenly loud and erratic; a total musical contrast:

And so, I am willing to have my head shaved like a madman if,
Whatever I see coming, I think about anything
Except living virtuously and seeking a good end.
Alas! There is nothing that care does not overwhelm.

These lyrics appear to mock Joan, serving as a warning that he does not live a virtuous life. The offstage choir warns both Joan and the audience that one should seek to live virtuously.

The second chanson, 'D'ont vient ce souleil de Plaisance,' appears at the end of the second tableau following the seduction of Isabeau. The chanson setting uses renaissance polyphony and is quick and bright, changing atmospherically between G and D major. Because Egk uses the major key so sparingly in the ballet, the light-heartedness of this chanson stands out:

³⁸ Adolf Diesterweg commented that the chorus 'comment (something like the Greek choir) on the course of the story line.' *Königsberger Allgemeine Zeitung* 26, 27 January 1940, quoted in Hobratchk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), p. 236.

³⁹ All text and lyrics in this chapter use Hobratchk's translations in 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011) pp. 100-113.

From where comes this sun of pleasure,
That so astounds my eyes?
Beauty, sweetness, and even better
Are here in too great a measure.
Suddenly lit up as if
From a lightning bolt coming from on high.
From where comes this sun of pleasure,
That so astounds my eyes?
It makes all men lose their composure
All men, young and old;
There is not an eclipse, so help me God,
That has the power to obscure it:
Beauty, sweetness, and even better!
Are here in too great a measure.
From where comes this sun
Ah!

Given the scenes that the audience has just witnessed – Joan violently and rapaciously dominating the newly-widowed Isabeau – the bright, jovial song feels distasteful. The lyrics and tone of the song jar with the action onstage. The song seems to be mocking Isabeau because it cheerily asks where pleasure comes from, moments after she has witnessed her husband’s murder. The Siren-like choir’s message is beautiful and alluring but ultimately dangerous because it presents a lie; Isabeau is not experiencing pleasure. The music is similarly beautiful but misleading, and this incongruence raises questions about the reliability of the ballet’s narrative and its main character.

A related question is posed to the audience directly through the third chanson, ‘Vous y fiez-vous’:

Do you put your trust in this world?
If it disappoints you,
Ask everyone!
La, la, la...
Its lure is sweet
And it gets the better of people.
Do you put your trust in this world?

La, la, la...
Whether of joy or anger,
Care or nonchalance—
The world speaks to you
Out of both sides of its mouth.
Do you put your trust?

This rondeau is more contemplative than the previous two (though each sentence or question is followed by contrasting passages of hurried 'La la las'). Each sentence is slowly and clearly articulated. This chanson bears the least resemblance to the ballet's action, and yet it imparts the most political message. 'Do you put your trust in this world?' was a loaded question to ask an audience in Nazi Germany or occupied France because it asked the listener to question their lived experience.

The final movement of the ballet, the 'Rondeau-Finale,' contained a fourth chanson, 'Allez-vous-en, allez, allez!' which was cut shortly after the Berlin premiere and not performed in Paris. The choir warns the audience, in French, that they will be judged: 'I pray to God that he curse you/And that by which you return!' German reviewers suggested that this final contrasting part of the ballet was ineffective, and it was specifically identified as the weakest section of the performance. Friedrich Herzfeld wrote that Egk shows 'his own style least of all' in the Finale.⁴⁰

The political allusions in the sung sections of the ballet are striking given their performance in Nazi Germany. They were, however, heavily cloaked: not only were the interludes sung in their original French - creating a potential language barrier to German audiences as no translations were provided - but also, in German performances, the French-language chorus sang offstage. 'They may better constitute a sound-coullisse,' wrote Herbert Gerigk, 'since one could neither understand anything from the text nor could one follow the voice-leading.'⁴¹ Is it possible that Egk was nervous that some German audiences might interpret his politically-relevant question, 'Do you put your trust in this world?,' as *too* direct for a performance in Nazi Germany?

⁴⁰ See Friedrich Herzfeld *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 30 January 1940; Fred Hamel, *Deutsche Zukunft* (Berlin), 28 January 1940; quoted in Hobratschk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), pp. 37-8.

⁴¹ Herbert Gerigk, 'Aus den Berliner Opernhäusern,' *Die Musik*, February 1940, pp. 173-4, quoted in Hobratschk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011) p. 236.

In Paris the lyrics to the choral interludes were much clearer because the singers were moved onstage and, of course, the audience were likely all French speakers. The chorus's message – and its directly political implications – was clearer in Paris than it was in Berlin. The chansons in the ballet add weight to the suggestion that the French texts did more than simply imbue the ballet with a French soundscape to mirror the setting. The use of French-language material – for those that could hear and understand it – invited audiences to compare the chansons with the ballet's plot and interpret a deeper allegorical meaning. This deeper meaning suggests that 'heroes' should be treated with scepticism, and warns the audience to think twice before trusting the world.

CHANGES TO THE SCORE 1940-1942: CHANGING THE BALLET'S IDENTITY

Because the ballet's French premiere was postponed from May until July 1942, *Joan de Zarissa* opened just a month before the premiere of Poulenc's ballet *Les Animaux modèles*, which was also set in Burgundy during the middle ages. Captain Lucht, chief of the Propaganda-Abteilung's division for cultural affairs, hoped that Egk's involvement would produce a better ballet, and Egk travelled to Paris in summer 1942 to assist with rehearsals for *Joan de Zarissa*. 'I must express my delight,' wrote Lucht, 'because the experiences of the productions of *Palestrina* just done here show how essential it is to have a leading and strong German hand in the performance of newer German works in French theatres.'⁴² Though Opéra conductor Louis Fourestier conducted the ballet's premiere, Egk was invited to conduct at least one performance – on 28 October – of the work during 1942. In his German-language review of the Paris premiere in the *Pariser Zeitung*, Heinrich Strobel told his readership that Egk was invited by Rouché, and that this was the first time a German conductor had stood at the podium of the Paris Opéra in decades.⁴³ Egk can be seen conducting the ballet in Figure 11 in Chapter 3. He also conducted a performance of the score on Radio-Paris on 16 July 1942 and a recording of the ballet made later that month: the first commercial recording by a German musician in occupied Paris was a ballet score.⁴⁴ *Joan de Zarissa* first appeared at the Paris Opéra

⁴² Lucht to Egk, 4 May 1942, quoted in Hobradschek 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), p. 252.

⁴³ Heinrich Strobel, 'Meisterwerk der Tanzkunst Stürmischer Beifall für Egks "Joan von Zarissa" in der Pariser Oper,' *Pariser Zeitung*, 12 July 1942, p. 5. [Review] BnF département Philosophie, histoire, sciences de l'homme, GR FOL-LC2-6634.

⁴⁴ Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013), p. 17.

in an all-German programme that included Carl Maria von Weber's *Le Spectre de la rose* and Beethoven's *Les Créatures de Prométhée*. Reviews of the ballet were excellent. Many critics referred to it as one of the best productions seen at the Paris Opéra in recent years, though such reviews appeared almost exclusively in the collaborationist or Vichyste press and – as mentioned earlier – such critics could hardly have expressed an openly negative opinion.⁴⁵ Many of the same critics such as A. Michaguine and Adolphe Borchard reviewed both *Palestrina* and *Joan de Zarissa* in the French press. Though details of the works' transfer from German to French opera houses was not relayed in their articles, critics including Serge Moreux, writing in ultra-collaborationist French newspaper *La Gerbe*, used their writing as an opportunity to compare French and German musical styles.⁴⁶

Various alterations had been made as the ballet toured Germany and the occupied countries between 1940-43. It is likely that some of these changes were made because of the practicalities of touring such a large production; it is possible that Egk intended both a large-scale premiere in Berlin and subsequent smaller touring performances. Hobratschk identifies eight different versions of the score including a manuscript, two full scores, two full piano reductions, a concert suite, a *Triptychon* consisting of the three movements in the third tableau, and a collection of the three chansons. An additional score housed at the BnF includes a typed page entitled 'Remarks by Werner Egk' which outlines a number of optional cuts and changes both musical and choreographic.⁴⁷ However, the most significant changes happened when the ballet appeared in Paris. Though this was not unusual – foreign compositions, particularly operas, have a long history of being altered, renamed and/or assimilated as French for performance in Paris⁴⁸ – the changes made to *Joan von Zarissa* are particularly significant here because they went beyond mere alteration, significantly diminishing the Germanness of the

⁴⁵ For example, French composer Adolphe Borchard referred to the ballet as 'truly one of the most magnificent spectacles offered from the Opéra,' in 'La Musique: Opéra – *Joan de Zarissa*, ballet en quatre tableaux de M. Werner Egk,' *Petit Parisien*, 17 July 1942. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-947.

⁴⁶ See reviews in 'Recueil. "Palestrina" de Hans Pfitzner.' [Reviews] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-972. Moreux writes in a somewhat disparaging tone about, he perceives, Pfitzner's lack of originality: 'Pfitzner's works draw their convincing strength, not from a garish, individualistic originality, but from a unanimous "nationality". H. Pfitzner is German, fundamentally German, he has felt it, knows it and sticks to it.' [Les œuvres de Pfitzner puisent leur force convaincante, non dans une originalité criarde, individualiste, mais dans une "nationalité" unanime. H. Pfitzner est allemand, foncièrement allemand, il l'a senti, le sait et s'y tient.] Serge Moreux, 'Un grand musicien allemand contemporain Hans Pfitzner,' *Comœdia*, 21 March 1942. [Reviews] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-972.

⁴⁷ Werner Egk, *Joan von Zarissa* (1940) [Piano score].

⁴⁸ Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker, *A History of Opera: The Last 400 Years* (London: Penguin Books, 2015), pp. 284-9.

ballet, gradually removing the innovative parts of Egk's *Gesamtkunstwerk*, and creating a French work in line with other French ballets performed at the Paris Opéra.

Changes for the Paris premiere included cuts and alterations to the score, new sets and costumes, and completely new choreography. Though the ballet's plot and French setting remained the same, *Joan* became more French. The ballet was referred to in the Paris Opéra's publicity and the French press as (the French-language) *Joan de Zarissa*, instead of its original title *Joan von Zarissa*. This change was not unusual – most foreign-language titles were translated in Opéra publicity – but it meant that the new ballet could not be distinguished by the average passer-by as a German piece and the ballet's very identity was altered. *Joan de Zarissa* was no longer a German *dramatische Tanzdichtung* but a French interpretation of a ballet by a German composer.

The revised version of the score that appeared at the Paris Opéra omitted the 'Rondeau-Finale' and two short movements, streamlining the ballet and removing the German-language prologue and epilogue (which had gradually reduced as the ballet toured Germany). Egk composed orchestral accompaniments for the choruses, and the 'offstage' choir was instead placed onstage. Lucht remarked, noncommittally, that these changes 'resulted from circumstances particular to Paris,' and that the prologue had to be cut because its translation 'encountered linguistic difficulties.'⁴⁹ But the cuts changed the overall dramatic impact of the ballet: without the spoken prologue, audiences had less direction with which to frame the ballet, and in the absence of the epilogue and jovial Rondeau-Finale, the ballet concluded sombrely with Joan's death; the lasting impression of the performance was one of tragic demise rather than celebration. This contrasted significantly with the framing of French ballets *Les Animaux modèles* and *Guignol et Pandore*, which both featured contrasting introductory and concluding scenes that informed the audience they were entering another time and place. In his German-language review, Strobel – who saw *Joan von Zarissa* with Maudrik's choreography in Frankfurt and Vienna – reported that, in editing out the spoken prologue, the Odyssean imagery in the ballet's backdrop now made little sense, and the ballet's overall tone was one of tragedy because it no longer concluded with light-hearted music.⁵⁰ The cuts also meant that the ballet further shed its Germanness as it was no longer a bilingual

⁴⁹ Lucht Report: 'Bericht über die französische Erstaufführung des Ballettes „Joan von Zarissa“ von Werner Egk.' Reprinted in Hobratchsk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), pp. 398-401. Appendix F.

⁵⁰ Strobel, 'Meisterwerk der Tanzkunst, (1942).

production – its German-language prologue and epilogue disappeared leaving only a French-language choir.

French designer Yves Brayer provided new sets and costumes that evoked nostalgic medieval France, shown in Figure 21. These were largely similar to Fenneker's designs – further similarities between Fenneker and Brayer's designs can be seen by comparing the artists' depictions of Odysseus in Figure 19 and Figure 20.⁵¹ This further erased the German aspects of the production and imposed the viewpoint of creators associated with the Paris Opéra.

Crucially, *Joan de Zarissa* featured new choreography by Lifar who also appeared in the title role, and the entire ballet was performed by the Paris Opéra Ballet company. Lifar worked enthusiastically on the new ballet – Lucht reported that the choreographer helped to ease issues in rehearsal between Egk and the orchestra. He could 'not have wished for a more intensive advocate' for the production.⁵² After the war, Egk wrote of his great affection for Lifar and his talent as *maître de ballet*:

One of the greatest strokes of luck in art happens when the faculty of knowledge unites itself to the faculty of execution, and in dance today, this stroke of luck is named Serge Lifar. As often as I could, I attended not only ballet performances, but also ballet rehearsals high atop the Opéra, under its roof. Here sits Lifar, with his back against the great mirror in which the dancers regulate their movements, the inevitable stick in hand, with which he pounds out meter and shapes his dancers and his works. At work, he is of a fierce concentration, relentless with himself and with others. As if possessed by a demon, he demands absolute perfection, and the power he exudes appears to stir everyone, beginning with the 'élèves,' this tenderly lovely school of youth and grace, up to the 'étoiles,' these perfectly thoroughly trained virtuosic individualities.⁵³

Lifar's collaboration with Egk and with the German authorities created widespread publicity for the ballet. The *Semaine à Paris* published a selection of photographs staged to show the preparations for performances of *Joan de Zarissa*: Lifar, Rouché, Brayer, Egk, Chauviré and Schwartz are pictured backstage and in costume sipping tea together and in one photograph, Egk feeds Lifar a snack during the interval [Figure 22]. The photographs show a cast and

⁵¹ Hobratschk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), p. 257.

⁵² Lucht Report, 'Bericht über die französische Erstaufführung des Ballettes „Joan von Zarissa“ von Werner Egk.' Reprinted in Hobratschk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), Appendix F. pp. 398-401.

⁵³ Werner Egk, *Musik-Wort-Bild* (Munich, Albert Langen Georg Müller Verlag, 1960), pp. 213-4, trans. Hobratschk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), p. 254.

creative team enjoying work together as they stage this lavish production; others, such as Figure 23, show the cordial relationship between Lifar and Egk. The extent to which Rouché was involved in the preparations for the production is unclear.

Though French reviews mention Egk, his contribution to the ballet was overshadowed by the extensive coverage of Lifar. French press reports largely omit to mention that the ballet had a life in Germany before the French production. German-owned *Paris-Midi* mentioned the composer in a general overview of the cast and creative team without reference to his nationality; the article also wrongly named the ballet 'Jean de Zarissa.' This typographical error may have encouraged a reader unfamiliar with the Paris Opéra's new productions to overlook the ballet's origin, particularly given the Frenchification of Joan's first name. In a subsequent article, *Paris-Midi* described the ballet as a 'true collaboration' between a German *auteur* and a French theatre. In contrast, ultracollaborationist *Le Petit Parisien* focussed entirely on Egk, mentioning his nationality twice and repeatedly referencing his success in the Third Reich.⁵⁴ Strobel also concentrated on Egk's achievements, writing in a short French-language review published the day after the premiere that – through Egk – new German music had 'surpassed itself in Paris.'⁵⁵ His emphasis was on German *music* and not German ballet.

Joan de Zarissa nevertheless satisfied both aspects of the Germans' strategy of cultural seduction: it presented German music to Parisian audiences, and the production contributed towards the perpetuation of a rich cultural life in Paris under German occupation. Like the other occupation ballets, Lifar was the face of *Joan de Zarissa*. Neoclassical in style, Lifar's choreography was rooted in classical ballet vocabulary but structured, virtuosic and less reliant on pantomime than Lizzie Maudrik's *Ausdruckstanz*.⁵⁶ Hobratschk writes that, with its new choreography, *Joan* 'suffered something of an identity crisis.'⁵⁷ The work lost one of the key things that made it German because Maudrik's German *Ausdruckstanz* was replaced by Lifar's modern French choreography. In an article published in *Comœdia* on 4 July 1942, Lifar confirmed that the aim of the ballet was to unite French and German culture through dance: 'Above all, I wanted to make a synthesis of German choreographic aspirations and our own,'

⁵⁴ [Anon.] "'Jean de Zarissa" à l'Opéra' [sic] *Paris-Midi*, 9 July 1942; [Anon.] "'Joan de Zarissa" ballet de Werner Egk sera créé demain à l'Opéra,' *Le Petit Parisien*, 9 July 1942. [Reviews] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-947. The term 'ultracollaborationist' is used in Donna Evleth, *The Authorized Press in Vichy and German-Occupied France, 1940-1944: A Bibliography*. (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1999), p. 132.

⁵⁵ 'La jeune musique allemande s'est surpassée à Paris.' Heinrich Strobel, 'Le triomphe de Werner Egk.' *Pariser Zeitung*, 11 July 1942, p. 7. [Review] BnF département Philosophie, histoire, sciences de l'homme, GR FOLLC2-6634.

⁵⁶ Strobel, 'Le triomphe de Werner Egk' (1942).

⁵⁷ Hobratschk 'Werner Egk and Joan Von Zarissa' (2011), p. 254.

he wrote (emphasising his identification as a Frenchman, despite having been born and trained in Kiev). Throughout the article Lifar glorified the cultural exchange taking place between France and Germany, whilst taking the opportunity to reiterate the superiority of French classical dance:

There is no doubt that the German choreographers achieved very great results in the field of expressionism and the use of the ensemble, but they disregarded, in their desire for novelty, the centuries-old traditions of academic dance [...] In my version of "Joan de Zarissa" I specifically wanted to show how German ballet could be enriched and developed in contact with the academicism it disdained. I wanted to marry expressionism and pure dance. [...] The essential goal of the various processes which I use in "Joan de Zarissa" is to reinforce the expressionism of the dance, to help us to achieve this synthesis of two schools that I have wanted for a long time now.⁵⁸

Though Lifar referred to a synthesis of the French and German schools as something that he had 'wanted for a long time,' there is no evidence of him having met with or danced with German dancers (though he did travel to Germany on multiple occasions), nor did he include any German dancers in his production. In a similar French-language article published in the *Pariser Zeitung* on 10 July, the day of the ballet's premiere, Lifar explained that the ballet combines German expressionism with French classical ballet:

The ballet technique is a sort of intermediary between the academic technique and that of the German school [...] I would like here to wish that it be the prelude and the first symbol of a new cooperation between the peoples of Europe, united as two centuries ago in the same artistic faith and working together to build a temple of Art and Dance.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ 'J'ai voulu surtout réaliser une synthèse des aspirations chorégraphiques de l'Allemagne et des nôtres [...] Il est hors de doute que les choréauteurs allemands sont parvenus à de très grands résultats dans le domaine de l'expressionnisme et de l'utilisation des masses d'ensemble, mais ils ont dédaigné, dans leur désir insatiable de nouveauté, les traditions séculaires de la danse académiques [...] Dans me version de << Joan de Zarissa >> j'ai précisément voulu montrer à quel point le ballet allemand pouvait s'enrichir et se développer au contact de l'académisme dédaigné par lui, j'ai voulu marier l'expressionnisme plastique et la danse pure. [...] Le but essentiel des divers procédés que j'ai pu utiliser dans "Joan de Zarissa" est de contribuer à renforcer l'expressionisme de la danse, de nous aider à réaliser cette synthèse de deux écoles que j'ai souhaitée depuis longtemps.' Serge Lifar, 'Un nouveau ballet à l'Opéra: *Joan de Zarissa*,' *Comœdia*, 4 July 1942. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-947.

⁵⁹ 'La technique du ballet est un quelque sorte intermédiaire entre la technique académique et celle de l'école allemande [...] je voudrais souhaiter ici qu'il soit le prélude et le premier symbole d'une coopération nouvelle des peuples d'Europe, unis comme il y a deux siècles dans une même foi artistique et travaillant en commun à l'édification d'un temple de l'Art et de la Danse.' Serge Lifar, 'Joan de Zarissa,' *Pariser Zeitung*, 10 July 1942. BnF département Philosophie, histoire, sciences de l'homme, GR FOL-LC2-6634.

‘What I wanted to evoke above all,’ wrote Lifar, ‘is the powerful constructivism of today’s Germany.’⁶⁰ He does not explain how this was practically realised.

Such articles typify the vagueness with which Lifar wrote, as well as his predilection for writing in an authoritative manner without basing his statements in tangible description. Dance historians including Franko argue that Lifar’s actions – particularly during the occupation – were selfishly motivated, based on furthering his career and reputation rather than aligning with strongly-held political beliefs.⁶¹ Lifar had written disparagingly about new German dance in 1938, but now framed it as, writes, Franko, ‘the masculine dance of the future, and French dance as the feminine dance of the past.’⁶² He used, for example, the National Socialists’ emphasis on strength and health when describing Egk’s score as ‘solid, healthy, strong, and expressive’ – the same qualities that Lifar had described as ‘organically foreign to music and dance’ in 1938.⁶³ Franko writes that Lifar’s articles in the *Pariser Zeitung* and *Comœdia* constitute a new theory ‘cobbled together’ to please the German authorities that did not reflect on or accurately describe Lifar’s actual choreographic method for *Joan de Zarissa*, which was not different from his other ballets.⁶⁴

Reviewers’ descriptions of the choreography, like for many of the other ballets discussed in this thesis, are vague. *Toute la vie*, for example, described the dance as a brilliant unification of ‘German choreographic aspirations’ with traditional French ballet, though the specifics of how this was realised are not described.⁶⁵ It is likely that Lifar’s pre-released statement acted as a guideline for critics as they reported on the ballet. German reviewer Strobel praised the choreography, writing that the *Gesamtkunstwerk* was reminiscent of Diaghilev’s productions, and responded indirectly to Lifar’s assertions, writing that the choreographer’s synthesis of German and French dance was successful.⁶⁶ Interestingly, Strobel

⁶⁰ ‘Ce que j’ai voulu évoquer surtout, à travers la chorégraphie de Joan de Zarissa, c’est le constructivisme puissant de l’Allemagne d’aujourd’hui.’ Serge Lifar, ‘Un ballet nouveau entre ce soir au repertoire de l’Opéra,’ *Le Matin*, 10 July 1942. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-947.

⁶¹ See Mark Franko, ‘Serge Lifar et la question de la collaboration avec les autorités allemandes sous l’Occupation (1940–1949)’ *Vingtième Siècle: Revue d’histoire* 132 (Oct.– Dec. 2016), pp. 27-41; Mark Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar: Interwar French Ballet and the German Occupation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

⁶² Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar* (2020), pp. 221-2.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 222. ‘C’est une musique très solide, très saine, très forte, très expressive.’ Lifar, ‘Un nouveau ballet à l’Opéra: *Joan de Zarissa*,’ *Comœdia* (1942).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 221-2. Many of Lifar’s articles were in fact written by ghost-writers – it is plausible that Lifar was even given some help or direction when preparing his public statements by German officials.

⁶⁵ ‘Une brillante synthèse des aspirations chorégraphiques allemandes et des traditions séculaires de la danse française.’ Pierre Berlioz, ‘À l’Opéra: *Joan de Zarissa*,’ *Paris-Soir*, 18 July 1942. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-947.

⁶⁶ Strobel, ‘Meisterwerk der Tanzkunst, (1942).

ended his article by writing that *Joan de Zarissa* was ‘more than a great ballet success’ – he emphasised that it was a victory for German music, showing that, from the German perspective, a choreographic success was not important; the ballet’s most significant impact was in the musical sphere. German opera and music had been presented in France by French performers, but the substance of the productions remained largely intact. Staging a German ballet in occupied France, however, was unprecedented, and it appears to have been tacitly accepted that *Joan de Zarissa* would lose a substantial part of its German identity to be accepted in Paris. The German dance was unnecessary; the ballet was a vehicle for German music and not German dance, though this did not stop German critics from arguing that *Joan de Zarissa* indicated a success for German choreography. ‘If the Opéra, which cultivates the art forms of dance and ballet like no other institution in the world, accepted *Joan* as part of its permanent repertoire,’ wrote German critic Hans Borgelt in *Musik im Kriege*, ‘this signals the recognition of German advances in that area too.’⁶⁷ This was a fundamental misinterpretation of *Joan de Zarissa*’s success in Paris: not only was *Joan* danced to choreography in the French style, but it was performed by the Paris Opéra Ballet, and its performance was enforced by the German authorities. *Joan de Zarissa* did not signal German advances in dance at all.

Because the ballets premiered only a month apart, *Joan de Zarissa* and *Les Animaux modèles* were often reviewed and compared in the same articles. In a subtle act of defiance, Vichy-authorized publication *L’Information musicale* printed a full-page article about the choreography for *Joan de Zarissa* penned by Serge Lifar alongside a photograph of Francis Poulenc [Figure 24].⁶⁸ Perhaps an innocent error, this juxtaposition reminded readers that French composers were also creating ballets at the Paris Opéra; precious column space was spent on a photograph of Poulenc instead of the article’s subject. French critics also mentioned the similarities in setting in *Joan de Zarissa* and Gaubert’s ballet *Le Chevalier et la Damselle*, which had been immensely popular at the Paris Opéra since its premiere the previous year. Lifar remembered (with characteristic immodesty):

Poulenc’s ballet, though highly appreciated, was somewhat thrown in the shade by the enduring success of the dazzling German work, just as Egk’s ballet had relegated to a second

⁶⁷ Borgelt, ‘Diskussion um „Peer Gynt“ Werner Egks Oper im Urteil der französischen Kritik,’ *Musik im Kriege* 1, nos. 9-10 (December 1943-January 1944), p. 179, quoted in Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013), p. 18.

⁶⁸ Serge Lifar, ‘Au lendemain de *Joan de Zarissa* à l’Opéra de Paris,’ *L’Information musicale*, 28 August 1943, p. 78. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-947.

place my ballet by Gaubert *Le Chevalier et la Demoiselle* which, however, up to then had been considered as a masterpiece.⁶⁹

The ballets shared setting and story as both productions concerned knights in medieval Burgundy. Honegger wrote that he was pleasantly surprised that Lifar had managed, in *Joan de Zarissa*, to create a ballet so unique when the stories were so similar.⁷⁰

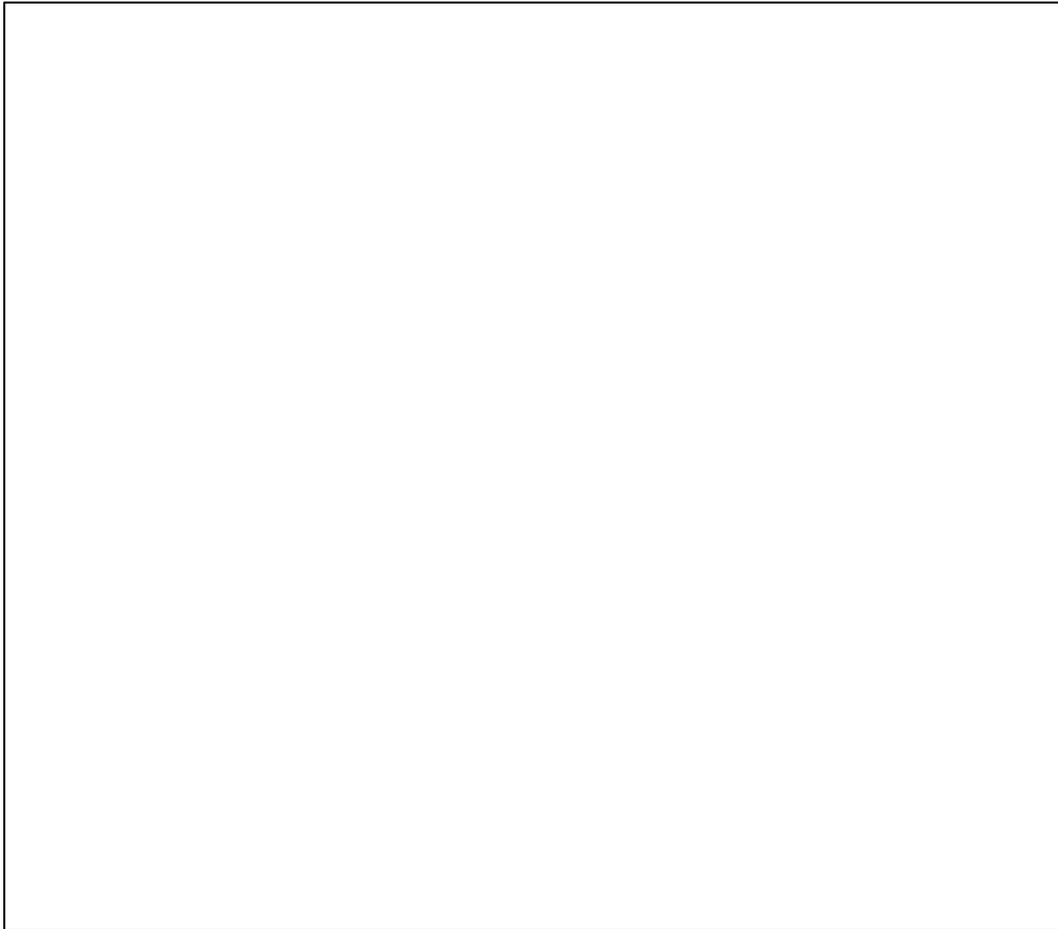


Figure 21: Yves Brayer's set design for the First Tableau of *Joan de Zarissa*.

Reproduced in '*Joan de Zarissa à l'Opéra*,' *Images de France*, 1942. BnF. BMO. Dossier d'Œuvre: *Joan de Zarissa*.

⁶⁹ Serge Lifar, *Ma Vie: An Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1970), p. 231.

⁷⁰ Arthur Honegger, 'Creation à l'Opéra' (1942).

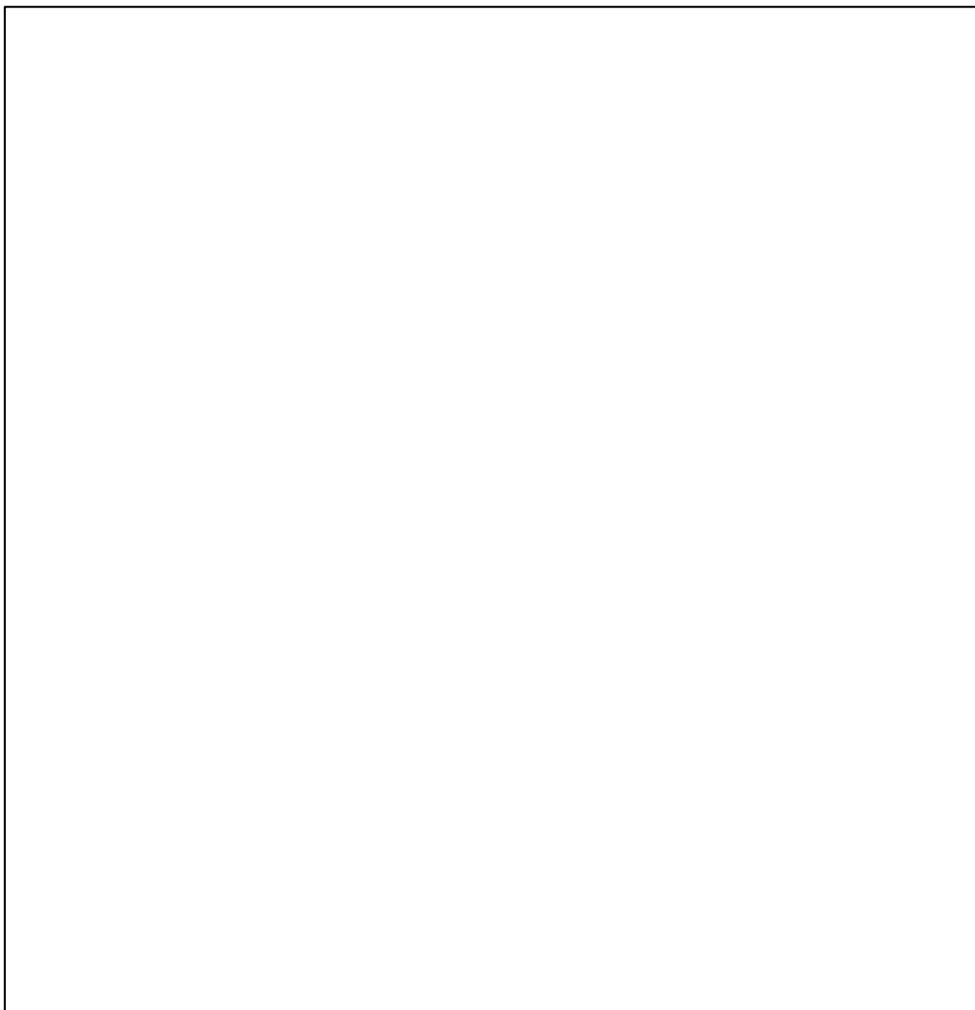


Figure 22: Werner Egk feeds Serge Lifar (in costume as Joan) jam brought by one of *les petits rats* – the youngest members of the corps de ballet.
Photos Lido. *La Semaine à Paris*, 12 November 1942. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-947.



Figure 23: Serge Lifar (left) and Werner Egk are photographed together outside the Palais Garnier. The photo essay emphasises the good relationship between choreographer and composer. Photos Lido. *La Semaine à Paris*, 12 November 1942. [Review] BnF AS, 8-RSUPP-947.

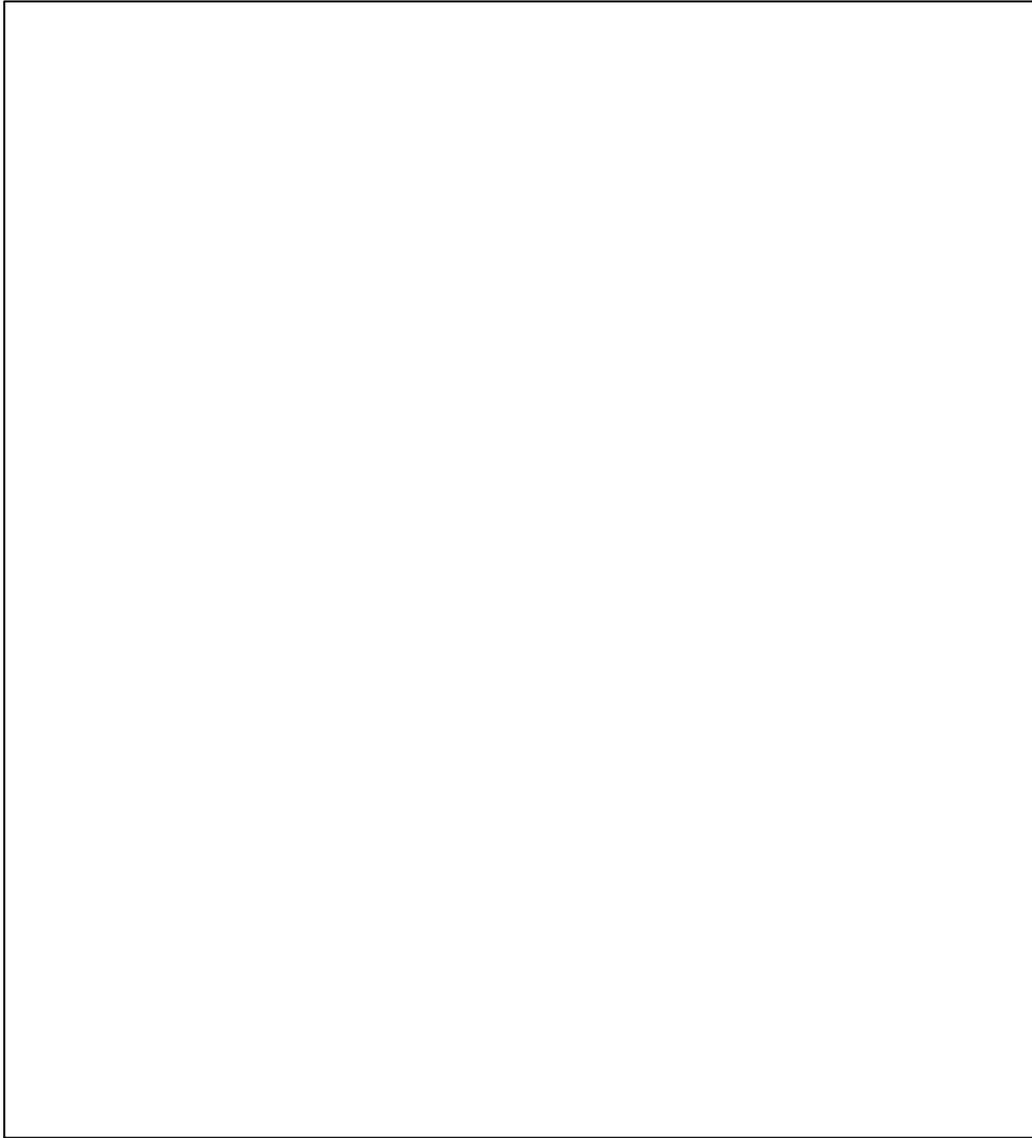


Figure 24: Lifar's article for *L'Information Musicale* about *Joan de Zarissa* which mistakenly featured a photograph of Francis Poulenc.
BnF BMO. Dossier d'Œuvre: *Joan de Zarissa*.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS: A GERMAN BALLET IN PARIS?

Pro-German critics celebrated *Joan de Zarissa* as a German production: its music was by a German composer and its size and scope resembled Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk*. The National Socialist authorities promoted *Joan de Zarissa* and encouraged the elevation of German dance through the performance of the work on France's leading ballet stage. However, though it was deemed a success by critics and the German authorities, the production of *Joan de Zarissa* in Paris was not a National Socialist success at all: in fact, it solidified Parisian ballet's prestige both in France and throughout the Third Reich.

As well as changes to the ballet's title, choreography and décor, significant changes were made to Egk's score that reduced the German elements of the ballet. These changes diminished *Joan de Zarissa*'s German identity, calling into question the extent to which the ballet achieved the National Socialists' propagandistic aims. While other German artists, writers and composers were encouraged to honour German history and culture through their work, Egk's ballet used a traditionally French genre to set French source material. The production celebrated French history, culture and dance: it was essentially a French ballet danced to German music. Furthermore, its content questioned authority, raised political themes – 'Do you put your trust in this world?' – and presented a despotic, untrustworthy leader.

The French production of *Joan de Zarissa* was never intended as a display of German dance because it was not danced with German choreography: Maudrik's *Ausdruckstanz* choreography was considered suitable for the performances of the ballet in the Eastern and Central European territories but unsuitable for Paris. This suggests that it was a conscious decision based in the RMVP's implicit belief that French dance was of better quality than German dance. Had the ballet contained modern German choreography then French reviews of *Joan de Zarissa* may have turned into a discussion of German *Ausdruckstanz* and the merits of German dance. The presentation of the ballet with French choreography avoided a discussion of German dance in the French press and, with Lifar's choreography, reviews concentrated on discussion of Egk's music.

Sprout writes that *Joan de Zarissa* 'overshadowed' the Paris Opéra's latest French ballet productions. But how does one define success in this context? *Joan de Zarissa* was performed twenty-two times in Paris during the German occupation, and was not performed in France after the liberation in August 1944.⁷¹ For comparison, Poulenc's *Les Animaux modèles*, which premiered at the Paris Opéra one month after *Joan*, received twenty-nine performances during the war.⁷² French productions of German operas *Palestrina* and *Peer Gynt* received thirteen and twelve performances respectively. Therefore, while *Joan de Zarissa* was the most frequently-performed of the Paris Opéra's new German productions, it was not staged as many times as

⁷¹ Though it was not performed again in France, *Joan de Zarissa/Joan von Zarissa* was restaged after the war in Vienna (1945), Buenos Aires (1950), Munich (1960) and Wiesbaden (1983). See Franko, *The Fascist Turn in the Dance of Serge Lifar* (2020), p. 219-20.

⁷² Francis Poulenc, *J'écrit ce qui me chante* (Paris: Fayard, 2011), p. 85; Hervé Lacombe, *Francis Poulenc* (Paris: Fayard, 2013), p. 513. See Appendix C for comparisons of ballet and opera performances at the Paris Opéra during the German occupation.

its closest French counterpart, *Les Animaux modèles. Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle*, premiered a year earlier in July 1941, though still one of the Paris Opéra's 'latest' ballet productions, was performed forty-three times during the occupation, double the number of performances received by *Joan de Zarissa*. In terms of the ballet's audience and scope, therefore, *Joan de Zarissa* can hardly be said to have 'overshadowed' French ballet productions: all three ballets were received well in the French press but *Joan de Zarissa* was performed the least number of times.

If the Propaganda-Staffel aimed to present a German ballet in France, then *Joan de Zarissa* surely failed to meet this objective. The ballet that premiered on the Palais Garnier stage in July 1942 was not a German ballet: it presented French dancers, French choreography, French set and costumes and a French historical setting, all danced to German music. It was no more a 'German' ballet than Weber's *Le Spectre de la rose*. *Joan de Zarissa* proved French prestige; it proved little about German dance because there was no German dance involved in the production. Moreover, its plot, characterisation and text invited audiences to question the way they view the world, and to disparage the ballet's autocratic antihero. One wonders if these themes may have been regarded as 'degenerate' had the ballet been subject to the same strict censorship regulations as other cultural productions in both France and Germany.

Ballet is unique amongst discussions of National Socialist cultural policy, cultural resistance and wartime international relations: this was a cultural genre which the Germans failed to dominate. However, German soldiers' attendance at French dance performances created an opportunity for the Paris Opéra to curry favour with the occupying authorities whilst keeping French ballet and French culture alive during difficult political, financial and cultural circumstances. *Joan de Zarissa* drew attention to the fact that the Paris Opéra was consistently producing successful French ballets despite the restrictions of the German presence.

CONCLUSION | BATTLE FOR THE OPÉRA

On the evening of 24 August 1944, General Philippe Leclerc's Second Armoured Division of the Free French Army entered Paris. The following day, outside the Palais Garnier on the Place de l'Opéra, a brief but intense standoff took place between French troops and the Germans at the Kommandantur. The Palais Garnier, which had stood at the centre of cultural life during the German occupation, was now at the heart of the battle for France. *Le bataille de l'Opéra*, wrote Jean Eparvier, was 'a Wagnerian storm.'¹ General Dietrich von Choltitz, the German military governor, surrendered to the Allies. Paris was free.

General Charles de Gaulle spoke outside the Hôtel de Ville. 'Paris! Paris outraged! Paris broken! Paris martyred! But Paris liberated!' he exclaimed. 'Liberated by itself, liberated by its people with the help of the French armies, with the support and the help of all France, of the France that fights, of the only France, of the real France, of the eternal France!'² The construction of an occupation memory began and photographers scrambled to document the momentous occasion. In Figure 25, the Palais Garnier looms in the background as French civilians take down a Nazi swastika flag. After four years as a space for resistance workers, trade unionists, parlour collaborators, German soldiers, French teenagers and talented dancers, the Paris Opéra's occupation experience had come to an end.

French courts began trying alleged collaborators. In more than 300,000 cases referred to the courts, over 40,000 people were given a prison sentence and more than 50,000 were sentenced to *dégradation nationale*. More than 10,000 people were executed before and during the liberation.³ Professional organisations and committees including the Front national des musiciens (FNM) and the Paris Opéra formed their own purge committees which paralleled

¹ Jean Eparvier, *A Paris sous la botte des Nazis* (Paris: Éditions Raymond Schall, 1944), p. 24.

² Quoted in *Paris libéré: Ils étaient là!*, ed. by Philippe Ragueneau and Eddy Florentin (Chaintreau: Éditions France-Empire monde, 2011), p. 112.

³ Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years, 1940-1944* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 577-8.

high-profile trials of writers and intellectuals.⁴ The cases relating to celebrities and entertainers including Arletty, Sacha Guitry and Maurice Chevalier attracted significant public attention. ‘What aroused such resentment’ in these high-profile cases, writes Julian Jackson, ‘was that they had so palpably *enjoyed* themselves’ during the German occupation.⁵

At his *épuration* trial at the Paris Opéra in October 1945, Serge Lifar was found guilty of collaboration.⁶ According to the choreographer, forty-four members of the corps de ballet spoke in his favour, including Yvette Chauviré who gave evidence in her tutu.⁷ Such a move played, perhaps, on the public perception that ballerinas were feminine and apolitical; ballerinas in their tutus could not possibly have been involved in political crimes. This incident demonstrates the performative element of the purge process in general. Almost all other witnesses spoke against Lifar, including forty-eight stagehands led by Jean Rieussec. Lifar was handed the maximum sentence allowed by the Paris Opéra purge committee: expulsion for life from the Paris Opéra stage and all French state institutions. He retreated to Monte Carlo. A caricature in the liberation press showed Lifar leading a ballet class, his limbs splayed out like a swastika.⁸

Jacques Rouché was also found guilty of collaboration and dismissed as director of the Réunion des théâtres lyriques nationaux. Dancers including Solange Schwartz and Nicholas Efimoff faced lesser charges.⁹ The purges were confused and, to an extent, arbitrary – particularly where intellectuals, artists and writers were concerned. Many of the sentences were commuted or revised. Despite his expulsion, Lifar returned to the Paris Opéra Ballet in 1947 and was reinstated as ballet master where he remained until his (reluctant) retirement in 1958. Rouché was made honorary director of the Paris Opéra in 1951. In the post-war years, those who lived through the Second World War published their accounts of the occupation, producing, in many cases, a historical record tainted by the benefit of hindsight.

The occupation ballets were also ‘cleansed’ of association with the occupation. Grovlez’s *La Princesse au jardin* had already fallen out of regular performance during 1943 but

⁴ Leslie Sprout, *The Musical Legacy of Wartime France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), p. 41. On the purges see Gisèle Sapiro, *La Guerre des écrivains: 1940-1953* (Paris: Fayard, 2012); Herbert R. Lottman, *The Purge: The Purification of French Collaborators after World War II* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1986); Peter Novick, *The Resistance versus Vichy: The Purge of Collaborators in Liberated France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968).

⁵ Jackson, *France: The Dark Years* (2003), p. 589.

⁶ Comité d’*épuration*, 8 December 1944. Dossier Lifar: Z/6/11, Archives Nationales, Paris.

⁷ Serge Lifar, *Ma Vie: An Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1970), p. 298.

⁸ Anon., ‘Khoreauteur,’ *Édition du midi*, 11 November 1944. AVL. Fonds Lifar. Press: 1944. Lausanne.

⁹ Lifar, *Ma Vie* (1970), pp. 285-305; Dominique Garban, *Jacques Rouché: L’Homme qui sauva l’Opéra de Paris* (Paris: Somogy éditions d’art, 2007).

the larger French ballets *Le Chevalier et la Damselle*, *Les Animaux modèles* and *Guignol et Pandore* managed to escape long-term damage from association with the occupation. Like most of Lifar's ballets, they temporarily disappeared after July 1944 and reappeared on Lifar's return, indicating that they could or would not be performed without him. Like Lifar, the ballets were not damaged long-term by association with the historical period in which they were created, though none have appeared in regular repertoire since the 1950s.

Egk's *Joan de Zarissa* has not appeared at the Paris Opéra since April 1944 (though it has been performed in Germany), despite the critical acclaim with which it was originally received. This perhaps indicates that its German association was unwelcome in French theatres following the liberation. Though the ballet had, aesthetically, become more French when it was produced by the Paris Opéra Ballet in 1942, its association with the National Socialists and the circumstances of its transfer to Paris were inescapable. It is unsurprising that a German work was unwelcome in the years following 1944, whether or not it contained subversive content.

The number of weekly ballet evenings declined sharply after 1944 and the proportion of operas performed at the Paris Opéra rose again, surpassing the pre-war rate by 1947. The advances achieved by Rouché, Lifar and the Paris Opéra Ballet during the occupation – which had been steadily building through the 1930s – initially seemed as though they had been undone. The reception of the occupation ballets – and Lifar's return to Paris – in a post-occupation French society still struggling to come to terms with its wartime legacy would make an interesting project for further study and may complement existing research into the navigation of the post-war cultural landscape and the creation of a collective memory of the occupation.¹⁰ The occupation of Paris had, at one time, inaugurated a second 'golden age' for French ballet. Had this all happened in vain? The simple answer is no. The Paris Opéra is today regarded as one of the world's leading ballet companies, and the wider ballet world continues to celebrate Lifar's legacy through memorial concerts and publications.¹¹

¹⁰ See Claire Gorrara, 'Figuring memory as palimpsest: Rereading cultural memories of Jewish persecution in French crime fiction about the Second World War,' in *Rewriting Wrongs: French Crime Fiction and the Palimpsest*, ed. by Angela Kimyongur and Amy Wigelsworth (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014); Sprout, *Musical Legacy* (2013); Hannah Diamond and Claire Gorrara, 'Reframing War: Histories and Memories of the Second World War in the Photography of Julia Pirotte,' in *Modern & Contemporary France*, 20:4 (2012), pp. 453-471; Michael Kelly, *The Cultural and Intellectual Rebuilding of France after the Second World War* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); *Recollections of France: Memories, Identities and Heritage in Contemporary France*, ed. by Sarah Blowen, Marion Demossier and Jeanine Picard (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000).

¹¹ Evenings dedicated to Lifar include: Ballet du Rhin (1978), Ballets de Monte-Carlo (1986), Paris Opéra Ballet (1977, 1988, 1990, 2006), Ballet de Nancy (1989), Ballet du Grand Théâtre de Bordeaux (1996, 2002),

On his return to Paris in 1947, Lifar gave a series of speeches to celebrate the opening of the Paris Opéra's new ballet school. In his inaugural address he emphasised the Paris Opéra Ballet's rich history and its association with Louis XIV and Jean-Georges Noverre, implicitly describing himself as the next great French national choreographer.¹² Lifar's speech emphasised the importance of ballet in French history, the importance of history in French ballet, and drew a bold line from the sixteenth century to the present day. Using the same narrative for French ballet that was used to justify its existence, funding and prominence during the first half of the twentieth century and helped it to survive the German occupation of Paris, Lifar's linear narrative glossed over the period 1940-44. The photographs of Lifar at glamorous events at the Institut allemand, his tours to Germany, his antisemitic writing, and his close relationships with National Socialist officials, were buried.

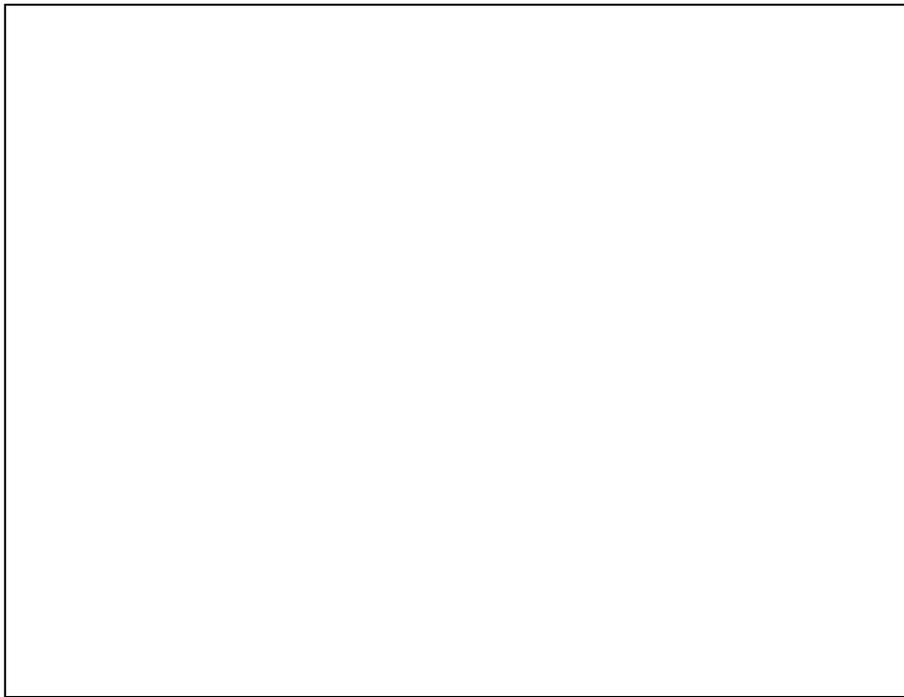


Figure 25: French civilians take down a National Socialist flag near the Palais Garnier. 25 August 1944. Pierre Berge.

Nationaltheater Munich (2005). See Opéra Nationale de Paris, *Serge Lifar à l'Opéra* (Paris: Éditions de La Martinière, 2006), p. 113.

¹² Serge Lifar, 'Inaugural address: Foundation of the Choreographic Academy at the National Opera House, Paris, 18 December 1947,' reproduced in Serge Lifar, *Lifar on Classical Ballet* (London: A. Wingate, 1951), pp. 201-212

BALLET AND BALLET MUSIC AT THE PARIS OPÉRA UNDER THE GERMAN OCCUPATION OF FRANCE

How did the 'dark years' impact on the city of light? How did the Paris Opéra ballet navigate the Second World War? What contribution did ballet and ballet music make to cultural life in Paris during the German occupation? The Paris Opéra Ballet thrived during the period 1940-44 both through the production of new works and the increase in the proportion of weekly ballet presentations, and in terms of its presence in the Parisian cultural milieu. The Paris Opéra regularly sold out its ballet and opera presentations, widened the diversity of its audience by playing to both French and Germans, and presented successful new ballets which were reported widely in the press. Under the skilful control of both Serge Lifar and Jacques Rouché, the occupation was a productive and celebratory time for the Paris Opéra Ballet.

One of this study's key arguments is that French ballet enjoyed national significance through its historical association with French power, strength and culture. Though French ballet might initially be perceived to misalign with National Socialist cultural aesthetics, the National Socialists' November 1941 'ban on dance - prohibition on dramatic ballet' in Germany, discussed in Chapter Two, did not apply to ballet in France. In fact, the presentation of successful new ballets in Paris was endorsed through the attendance by German officials and contributed towards the Germans' approach of 'cultural seduction' by promoting a sense of normality and prosperity despite occupation. Furthermore, the nostalgic, rose-tinted view of French history and the French countryside offered by the occupation ballets responded directly to the collaborating Vichy government's *Révolution nationale*. Part of the success of ballet, in particular, during the German occupation therefore lay in its unique place in French culture, and its tendency to present appealing material that did not appear, on the surface, to be controversial. This thesis argues that within the unexpectedly permissive space permitted under the German occupation, in which cultural products could carry a multitude of political associations and could be performed with a large degree of latitude, the occupation ballets' outward compliance and apparently simple themes might have acted as a cover for thematic material and music that may have resonated with those looking to find subversive messages through culture. The ballets presented at the Paris Opéra during the occupation showcased French music that responded to calls made by the cultural resistance for the presentation of French music and thematic material where possible, particularly at France's national institutions.

This thesis has presented this argument using three angles which relate to the discussion of historical precedent: the impact of the German presence on the day-to-day running of the theatre; and, within these contexts, the examination of the ballets themselves. Firstly, Chapters One and Two presented frameworks within which French dance and the implications of its performance in occupied Paris may be understood, contributing to historical and musicological scholarship concerning twentieth-century music, dance and culture. As Chapter One argued, the Paris Opéra' Ballet's success was partly a result of progress which pre-dated the Second World War and the occupation of France. Centuries of devaluation and a perceived 'decline' in the quality and reputation of French ballet prompted questions about the value of French dance at the Paris Opéra during the early twentieth century, particularly as other (foreign) ballet companies thrived in Paris's avant-garde interwar cultural milieu. Structural changes which happened during the 1930s including, on a macro level, the uniting of the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique as the Réunion des théâtres lyriques nationaux under Rouché in 1939, and, on a micro level, Lifar's abolition of the voyeuristic Foyer de la Danse and elevation of the male *danseur*, meant that the Paris Opéra Ballet was already increasing in prominence, reputation and quality before the German invasion in summer 1940. Furthermore, interwar conversations relating to the role of culture in French society, the search to define a French musical canon, and the relationship between music and politics provided an intellectual backdrop and precedent for the handling and interpretation of culture during the Second World War, particularly with regard to repertoire choice and its relationship to patriotism and cultural values. Another of this thesis's key findings is that the Paris Opéra Ballet's success during the period 1940-44 must be understood as part of a much longer development. The occupation success was not inevitable, nor did it happen solely because or in spite of the German presence.

A second contextual framework informs the way we understand the Paris Opéra, French ballet and the occupation ballets in their social and political context. Chapter Two discussed the National Socialists' understanding of dance on ideological and practical levels, arguing that this had important implications for their handling of French ballet in Paris. Ballet was able to thrive during the German occupation partly because of the National Socialist cultural propaganda system and the lack of attention paid to ballet on an official level. The chapter showed how dance was handled by the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda in Germany and found that German dance was problematic for the National Socialists because it subverted Nazi gender ideas. Furthermore, a consensus as to whether dance was sport or art was never reached, which exacerbated the Germans' misplaced

enforcement of rules relating to ballet. Joseph Goebbels' dislike and distrust of dance resulted in the almost complete prohibition of theatre dance in Germany. And yet, whilst the German propaganda system was largely echoed by the Propaganda-Abteilung in occupied France, this prohibition on dance was never applied to French ballet, meaning that it operated in a unique administrative space within the Third Reich.

Against these contextual frameworks, Chapter Three discussed the impact of the German presence on the Paris Opéra Ballet, particularly through reference to repertoire. It concluded that the lack of administrative attention had wider implications for French dance when the German propaganda and censorship system was applied in occupied France after 1940. Because French ballet had a wider profile than German theatre dance, the implications for its mishandling and a lack of significant censorship relating to dance were exacerbated. Chapter Three further concluded that the Paris Opéra Ballet's success during the early 1940s was in many ways encouraged by occupation-related factors including the Paris Opéra's need to make up for the ban on Wagner opera (which had constituted a substantial proportion of the pre-war repertoire), the German soldiers' enjoyment of French ballet, Serge Lifar's ingratiating with the occupiers, and, possibly, an audience preference for escapism. Importantly, Otto Abetz' policy of 'cultural seduction,' as outlined by French history scholars such as Philippe Burrin and Julian Jackson, encouraged the continuation of cultural life in occupied Paris in order to normalise the German presence.¹³ This left the Paris Opéra Ballet largely free to continue presenting ballets – essentially uncensored – in the same manner that it had done before the war. Maintaining the balance between the German authorities, the French government in Vichy and the needs of the audience was a significant challenge and was one that, I argued, was negotiated through repertoire. This chapter further showed how ballet and opera-going fit into French society on a wider scale by working laterally, showing how it was perceived by its audience using memoirs and diaries. This contributes to conversations concerning cultural life in occupied Paris, the German experience in Paris, and the history of Nazism and the Second World War by using an intensive study of a single institution to draw out wider conclusions about the function and role of culture during wartime. Though the Paris Opéra Ballet was by far the largest and most substantially funded company in France, a broader study which considers the ballet companies attached to regional

¹³ See Philippe Burrin, *Living with Defeat: France Under the German Occupation, 1940-1944*, trans. by Janet Lloyd (London: Hodder, 1996); Julian Jackson, *France: The Dark Years* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

French theatres could make an interesting future project and provide a deeper understanding of how ballet featured in French cultural life during the occupation outside Paris.

It is within this intense, politically loaded space that the new ballets were premiered during the occupation, and it is within this context that a hermeneutic interpretation was presented through Chapters Four and Five. In contrast to previous historians and musicologists who have focussed on French opera, or on choice moments from individual French ballets, this thesis considers the new French ballets presented during the occupation as a coherent body of work in order to draw wider conclusions about the role of ballet and its political interpretation in occupied Paris. The French occupation ballets by Gabriel Grovlez, Philippe Gaubert, Francis Poulenc and André Jolivet presented French themes, used French source material and, to varying extents, played with thematic material relating to resistance, trust and dictatorship. Through their music, and in collaboration with aesthetics and choreography, the ballets' apparent alignment with Vichy's preferred aesthetic masked deeper material that might be seen as subversive, particularly by those sensitive to some French composers' desires to 'resist' the German presence through music.

What impact did these ballets have on the audience and the people of Paris? This is perhaps the most difficult question to answer with any degree of certainty. It is impossible to expect that multiple audience members would have recorded their thoughts about these ballets, and yet it is frustrating that they did not do so. It is by gathering together the widest possible range of source materials both qualitative and quantitative that a more tangible picture emerges. On an individual level these ballets may have seemed simple, light and escapist; taken as a body of work their similarities show the French administration des Beaux Arts' intentions and aims for wartime French culture both at the Paris Opéra – and also on a national level because the Paris Opéra was France's national institution. This thesis concludes that ballet at the Palais Garnier spoke to a diverse political audience and negotiated a range of political aims. The ballets and their creators used cultural choices to present themes which might be interpreted as 'resistance' or 'subversive,' whilst the personalities involved engaged in activities that some have viewed as 'collaboration' or 'accommodation.' In this way this thesis' findings complicate binary narratives of individual action during the occupation as either 'resistance' or 'collaboration' and contributes towards recent scholarship which argues for nuance in the discussion of political agency and social responsibility.

The final chapter brought the thesis's thematic arguments together to show not only that French ballet existed in a subversive space, but that French ballet's capacity for political comment was perhaps underestimated by the National Socialists. Though it was created by a

German composer and intended as an opportunity to showcase German music in Paris, Chapter Five found that the presentation of Werner Egk's ballet *Joan de Zarissa* at the Paris Opéra in 1942 in fact asserted, in part, French culture. The ballet's presentation of French content and thematic material combined with its anti-totalitarian story to diverge significantly from National Socialist cultural aims. The Germans' message was further diluted because the ballet was danced by a French company. This case study further reinforced the thesis' argument that the German presence in France could be uniquely undermined through French ballet.

This research contends that the Palais Garnier was in some ways a microcosm of occupation society as resistance workers, collaborators, German soldiers and officials, French celebrities and ordinary civilians gathered under one roof to collectively experience French cultural offerings. In tracing these developments, this thesis has presented three levels of analysis. Firstly, through the examination of bureaucratic documents, newspaper reports, and the creation and analysis of a database of programmes, it focussed on the everyday workings of the Palais Garnier, the motivations of associated individuals and the cultural significance of French ballet from a top-down perspective. This conversation contributes to the more commonly studied histories of French opera and symphonic music to understand the impact of the German presence on French cultural life from a complementary perspective. On a wider level, this study contributes to the interrelated histories of Nazism, World War II, and the role of culture therein. Second, this study presented the inner workings of an individual institution to extrapolate wider conclusions about the way a diverse range of people experienced and negotiated war and occupation. The presentation and analysis of new ballet productions in their cultural and historical contexts combined with the discussion of audience perceptions of the Paris Opéra add depth to the portrayal of lived experience during the occupation. This discussion included both French and German individuals.

By placing dance at the centre of historical discussion, this thesis challenges the perception that ballet and dance have little to offer scholarly conversation, and that is where the third level of analysis comes in. The perception that ballet is frivolous, feminine and apolitical is proved a myth. 'Trivial' cultural sources make a rich contribution to historical analysis when given the space to reveal themselves. Throughout this thesis I argue for the inclusion of ballet and its music in interdisciplinary historical analysis.

This thesis's approach to ballet in Paris and cultural life during the occupation has implications for further research on national, transnational and methodological levels. Initial ways to expand this research into French ballet during the Second World War would be firstly

to widen the scope of the project to include discussion of the ballet revivals produced by the Paris Opéra during the occupation, such as *Sylvia* (1941) and *Suite en blanc* (1943). Discussion of these ballets alongside further analysis and comparison of opera performances given by the Paris Opéra and Opéra-Comique would provide a detailed and interesting overview of the RTLN under occupation, and answer questions regarding France's national institutions during wartime. Another way to expand this project would be to include regional ballet companies in a lateral study of ballet across wartime and occupied France. Further study could contribute to literature relating to the construction of memory of the German occupation, asking questions such as how was the Paris Opéra Ballet affected, if at all, by association with the occupation.

The methodology used in this thesis could also be used for a transnational study. Comparison between, for example, ballet in Paris with ballet in Nazi-occupied Western European countries such as the Netherlands and Denmark may offer a deeper understanding of how National Socialist perspectives on dance manifested in the occupied territories. Western countries would possibly allow for a more straightforward comparison, though study of the eastern territories would speak to academic scholarship which compares the National Socialists' treatment of Eastern and Western cultures.

FINALE

Whilst conducting research in Paris in 2017, I attended a tribute at the Palais Garnier to French étoile Yvette Chauviré who died in 2016 at age 99. Chauviré danced with the Paris Opéra Ballet during the German occupation of France, was made étoile in 1941, and awarded the Légion d'Honneur in 1964. She was one of the dancers who spoke for Lifar at his purge trial, dressed in her tutu.

I ascended the grand staircase, once draped in Nazi swastikas, and sat in a loge which, eighty years previously, might have been shared by German soldiers and French civilians. Chauviré's beautiful costumes were on display in the foyer and tributes were made to her long and successful career. I purchased a programme, which advertised French perfume and expensive Parisian restaurants. The company performed excerpts from Chauviré's most celebrated ballets, including Henri Sauguet's *Les Mirages*, a production that was rehearsed during the occupation (though its premiere was postponed because of the liberation).

Discussion of its creation, and Chauviré's occupation experience, was absent from this glamorous celebratory evening.

The occupation period is, to this day, largely absent from conversations about and memorialisation of the Paris Opéra Ballet and French culture, despite it being a formative period in the history and development of Parisian cultural life and twentieth-century ballet. And yet the place of culture in contemporary society, its reflection of social values, its ability to showcase political allegiance or subversion and its intrinsic political agency carries contemporary relevance. The issues relating to cultural identity politics presented through this thesis are not confined to 1940s Paris, or to wartime.

The place, value and function of culture in contemporary society is a pertinent and, sadly, divisive issue. At the time of writing, in January 2020, French workers protest Emmanuel Macron's pension reforms. Though more than thirty unions are involved in the strike, it is the Paris Opéra Ballet that has made headlines throughout the world.¹⁴ On Christmas Eve 2019, the company performed an excerpt from *Swan Lake* on the steps of the Palais Garnier. Against this façade as *mise en scène*, where Nazi swastikas once hung, banners proclaim, 'la culture en danger' – culture in danger. The crisis has been framed using national language and has sparked debate about the place of ballet in French society. 'Ballet dancers[...] occupy a cherished position in the French imagination,' reports *The Washington Post*.¹⁵ 'The corps de ballet represents France through the world,' said former dancer Philippe Gerbet.¹⁶ The issue is not just a financial one but a question of cultural values and priorities in a changing society.

The implications for repertoire choice and musical meaning in national and collective identity also remain pertinent in today's society, both in academic and popular discussion. In September 2019, *The Conversation* published an article by ethnomusicologist Simon Keegan-Phipps to coincide with the BBC's Last Night of the Proms.¹⁷ There are 'questions to answer,' wrote Keegan-Phipps,

¹⁴ Julie Glassberg, 'In Paris, Even the Ballet Dancers Are on Strike.' *The New York Times*, 15 January 2020. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/13/arts/dance/paris-opera-ballet-strike.html?auth=login-email&login=email>

¹⁵ James McAuley, 'Why Paris Opera singers and ballet dancers are protesting Emmanuel Macron.' *The Washington Post*. 23 December 2019. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/why-paris-opera-singers-and-ballet-dancers-are-protesting-against-emmanuel-macron/2019/12/20/24c0df40-2292-11ea-b034-de7dc2b5199b_story.html

¹⁶ Quoted in Glassberg, 'Even the Ballet Dancers Are on Strike,' (2020).

¹⁷ Simon Keegan Phipps, 'Last Night of the Proms: flags and fanfare can't hide the divisions in Brexit Britain.' *The Conversation*. 13 September 2019. https://theconversation.com/last-night-of-the-proms-flags-and-fanfare-cant-hide-the-divisions-in-brexit-britain-123483?fbclid=IwAR287Fj7TuKaaDZ8IZw-wGBLhdUx7mKvM56Bllq01mytdNnRkl_bK-s6Q9k [Accessed 13 September 2019].

about the appropriateness of a state-funded festival continuing to sanction and celebrate naked statements of British – or is it English? – supremacy (Land of Hope and Glory, Rule Britannia, etc.) with unquestioning jollity during a moment of political crisis, increasing national division, racial tensions and rising xenophobia [...] since this festival of national identity falls at the peak of a national political crisis, the significance of diversity, and the way it's handled, will be especially open to interpretation.

State-funded institutions such as the BBC and the Paris Opéra have the potential – the *responsibility*, even – he argues, to reflect the social and political values of its audience. The performance of distinctly ‘national’ music carries deep political significance. This is a matter of cultural and political context – the Last Night of the Proms repertoire Keegan-Phipps cites (Elgar’s *Pomp and Circumstance* March No. 1 and Henry Wood’s *Fantasia on British Sea Songs*, among others) has not changed significantly since the 1950s. However, the circumstances surrounding its performance have given it a different cultural meaning. This is a time of rising national and political tension as individuals question – in this context – what it means to be ‘British,’ or ‘English,’ or ‘European.’ The audience bring their own cultural, political and social perspectives to the concert hall. At the Royal Albert Hall, a sea of flags display national allegiance to England, Scotland, Germany, Wales, the UK and the European Union. Today’s audience interprets meaning in the cultural offerings onstage – culture is more than just mere entertainment.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: BALLET SCENARIOS AND PROGRAMME DETAILS

This Appendix shows the details given in the first available full programme for each ballet. Ballet scenarios are included in their original French and in English translation (translations mine).

La Princesse au jardin (1941)

From the programme for the second presentation, Wednesday 16 July 1941, 6pm.
BnF BMO, Carton 2238: Programmes, 1941. Paris. Translations mine.

Story in one act by M. Émile Vuillermoz after a ballad by Ferdinand Freiligrath

Music by M. Gabriel Grovlez

Choreography by M. Serge Lifar

Décor and costume designs by M. Paul Bony, executed by M. Moulene

La Princesse

Mlle Darsonval

L'Iris

M. Serge Peretti

Le Solitaire

M. Efimoff

Corps de ballet: Mlles Dynalix, Didion, Grellier, Jhanyne, Leriche, Guillot, Dalloz, N.

Schwarz. MM. Ritz, Bozzoni, Duprez, Sauvageot, Guylaine, Ponti.

Chef d'Orchestre:

M. Louis Fourestier

Dans un jardin mystérieux habite un très vieux Solitaire, poète et quelque peu sorcier. Il ne se plait qu'en compagnie de ses fleurs, des fleurs géantes qu'il comble de soins et entoure de la plus respectueuse tendresse. Il sait, en effet, que dans les fleurs se réincarnent des âmes.

La jeune Princesse, passant par là, envahit le jardin avec ses pages. Elle veut acheter des fleurs. Le vieillard repousse avec horreur l'idée d'un pareil sacrilège. La Princesse fait chasser ce vieux fou, malgré ses obscures menaces.

Restée seule, elle saccage les parterres. Les bras chargés d'un fardeau embaumé, elle glisse au sommeil. La touffe des Iris noirs blessés s'agite. Un Iris devient un fier jeune homme qui anime les autres fleurs et les appelle à la vengeance. Elles obéissent, elles entourent la Princesse, l'enivrent, la paralysent. Enfin le Jeune Homme la saisit à demi pâmée, baise ses lèvres et la laisse retomber, expirante.

In a mysterious garden lives a very old Sage, poet and somewhat of a sorcerer. He likes to be only in the company of his flowers, giant flowers which he lavishes with care and surrounds with the most respectful tenderness. He knows, in fact, that souls are reincarnated in flowers.

The young Princess, passing by, invades the garden with her pages. She wants to buy the flowers. The old man rejects with horror the idea of such a sacrilege. The Princess chases away the old madman, despite his dark threats.

Left alone, she ransacks the flowerbeds. Arms loaded with a balmy load, she falls sleep. The clump of injured black Irises twist and turn. An Iris transforms into a proud young man who animates the other flowers and calls on them for revenge. They obey, they surround the Princess, intoxicating and paralysing her. Finally the Young Man grabs her half-fainting, kisses her lips and lets her fall, dying.

Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle (1941)

From the programme for the third presentation, Wednesday 16 July 1941, 6pm.

BnF BMO, Carton 2238: Programmes, 1941. Paris. Translations mine.

Ballet in one act by M. Serge Lifar

Music by Philippe Gaubert

Choreography by Serge Lifar

Décor and costumes designed by M. Cassandre, executed by M. G. Mouveau

Le Chevalier errant	M. Serge Lifar
La Damoiselle	Mlle. S. Schwarz
Les Damoiseaux	M. Serge Peretti
	M. Paul Goube
Une noble Dame	Mlle Chauviré
Un Damoiseau	M. Ritz
Biches	Mlle Kergrist
	Mlle Dynalix
	Mlle Didion
	Mlle Grellier
Un Berger	Mlle Bardin
Une Bergère	Mlle Ivanoff

Corps de ballet: Mlles Lopez, Barban, Jhanyne, Leriche, Guillot, Dalloz, Binder, Mail, Gerodez. MM. Bozzoni, Duprez, Sauvageot, Guylaine, Ponti.

Chef d'Orchestre: M. Louis Fourestier

L'action se passe au Moyen-Âge, en Bourgogne. La Princesse se trouve sous le pouvoir d'un sortilège: chaque nuit, elle est transformée en jeune biche. Elle ne sera délivrée qu'après avoir rencontré un homme qui lui aura fait connaître la souffrance.

Elle vit enfermée dans sa tour et, la nuit, court les forêts. Trois damoiseaux montent la garde pour veiller à ce qu'un chasseur ne frappe pas la Princesse pendant qu'elle est biche. Tous trois l'aiment passionnément, mais aucun n'a touché son cœur.

Premier Acte. – Au pied de la Tour, les trois damoiseaux jurent amour et fidélité à la Princesse. La nuit tombe. La jeune fille les prie de se retirer. Pendant qu'ils se dirigent vers le bois, elle descend et se transforme en une biche aux blanches cornes.

Le Chevalier Errant apparaît et observe, ravi, les ébats de la Biche. Celle-ci, d'un coup se corne, le blesse au cœur. Le Chevalier tire son poignard et la frappe au cœur à son tour. Immédiatement, elle se transforme en une radieuse jeune fille. Son extrême beauté émeut le chasseur. La Princesse sent qu'elle brûle d'amour. Mais ses forces l'abandonnent, elle défaille. Les trois Damoiseaux surgissent, emportent la Princesse et jettent leur gant au Chevalier Errant.

Deuxième Acte. – La Princesse, inconsolable, ne parvient pas à retrouver celui qu'elle aime. Elle organise un brillant tournoi auquel sont convoqués tous les Seigneurs, dans l'espoir de voir paraître son Chevalier Errant. La fête bat son plein. Le Chevalier Errant pénètre enfin dans la lice. Méconnaissable sous son heaume, il porte sur la poitrine l'emblème de la biche aux blanches cornes. La Princesse le reconnaît et l'invite à participer au tournoi. Les assistants demandent à voir son visage. Il enlève son heaume. Les trois Chevaliers servants sont frappés de stupeur à la vue de celui qui a blessé leur Dame. Ils se battent. Le Chevalier, vainqueur du Tournoi, reçoit la main de la Princesse.

The action takes place in the Middle Ages, in Burgundy. The Princess finds herself under a curse: every night, she is transformed into a young doe. She will only be released after meeting a man who can show her what true suffering feels like.

She lives locked in her tower and, at night, runs through the forests. Three young squires stand guard to ensure that a hunter does not hurt the Princess while she is doe. All three love her passionately, but none has touched her heart.

First Act – At the foot of the Tower, the three squires swear love and loyalty to the Princess. Night is falling. The girl persuades them to retire. As they head for the wood, night descends and she turns into a doe with white horns.

The Wandering Knight appears and observes, rapturous, the antics of the Doe. Suddenly, with a blow of the horn, she injures his heart. The Knight draws his dagger and hits

her to the heart in turn. Immediately, she turns into a radiant young girl. Her extreme beauty moves the hunter. The Princess feels that she is burning with love. But her strength abandons her, she faints. The three squires appear, take away the Princess and throw their gloves at the Wandering Knight.

Second Act - The inconsolable Princess cannot find the one she loves. She organizes a brilliant tournament to which all the Lords are summoned, in the hope of seeing her Wandering Knight appear. The party is in full swing. The Wandering Knight finally enters the arena. Unrecognizable under his helmet, he wears the emblem of the doe with white horns on his chest. The Princess recognizes him and invites him to participate in the tournament. The aides ask to see his face. He takes off his helmet. The three devoted Knights are astonished at the sight of the one who injured their Lady. They fight. The Knight, winner of the Tournament, receives the hand of the Princess.

Les Animaux modèles (1942)

From the programme for the first presentation, Saturday 8 August 1942, 6pm.

BnF BMO, Carton 2238: Programmes, 1942. Paris. Translations mine.

Ballet in one act, based on the fables of La Fontaine

Book and music by M. Francis Poulenc

Choreography by M. Serge Lifar

Décor and costumes designed by M. Brianchon, executed by M. G. Mouveau

Le Lion amoureux, le Coq noir	M. Serge Lifar
La Cigale, la Mort	Mlle Lorcia
La Fourmi, la Poule	Mlle S. Schwarz
Elmire	Mlle Chauviré
Le Coq blanc	M. Serge Peretti
Ours et Bûcheron	M. Efimoff
Arnolphe	M. Duprez
Deux Chasseurs	MM. Guylaine, Fenonjois
Deux Coquettes	Mlles. Yvanoff, Mail
La Nourrice	Mlle Gerodez
Paysans	MM. Sauvageot, Ponti, Decarli,
Milliand	
L'Homme entre deux âges	M. Jamet
Le Marchand	M. Petit

Chef d'Orchestre: M. Roger Désormière

Six fables de La Fontaine, librement transposées, servent d'argument à ce ballet qui se situe en Bourgogne, au XVII^{me} siècle, dans l'atmosphère champêtre d'une matinée du Juillet. Point n'est besoin de résumer des fables connues de tous; il suffira de les énumérer entre les deux épisodes familiers qui leur servent de cadre: "Le Petit Jour", "L'Ours et les deux Compagnons",

"La Cigale et la Fourmi", "Le Lion Amoureux", "L'homme entre deux âges et ses deux Maîtresses", "La Mort et le Bûcheron", "Les deux Coqs", "Le Repos de Midi" [sic].

Six fables by La Fontaine, freely adapted, serve as an argument for this ballet which is located in Burgundy, in the 17th century, in the country atmosphere of a July morning. There is no need to summarize fables that are known to all; it will suffice to list them between the two familiar episodes which serve as their framework: "Le Petit Jour", "L'Ours et les deux Compagnons", "La Cigale et la Fourmi", "Le Lion Amoureux", "L'homme entre deux âges et ses deux Maîtresses", "La Mort et le Bûcheron", "Les deux Coqs", "Le Repas de Midi."

Joan de Zarissa (1940; first presented at the Paris Opéra in 1942)

From the programme for the first presentation, Friday 10 July 1942, 6pm.

BnF BMO, Carton 2238: Programmes, 1942. Paris. Translations mine.

Ballet in four tableaux

Book and music by M. Werner Egk

Choreography by M. Serge Lifar

Décors and costumes designed by M. Yves Brayer, executed by M. G. Mouveau

Joan	M. Serge Lifar
Isabeau	Mlle Darsonval
La plus Belle	Mlle S. Schwarz
Florence	Mlle Chauviré
Un jeune Chevalier	M. Serge Peretti
Pérette	Mlle Ivanoff
Les Servantes	Mlle Bardin
	Mlle Dynalix
Le Chevalier géant	M. Ritz
Le fou	M. Guylaine
Le Duc de Fer	M. Duprez
Le Monstre	M. Efimoff
Les Rois captifs	M. Sauvageot
	M. Milliand

Chef d'Orchestre: M. Werner Egk

L'action se passe en France, au 14e siècle. Elle est dramatique comme le personnage principal, ce Joan aventureux, brave, sans scrupules, sorte de don Juan qui sème des malheurs et qui en est puni. Au cours d'une fête en l'honneur du duc de Fer, Joan tue un chevalier en duel. Puis, frappé par la beauté de la duchesse Isabeau, il danse avec elle. Son cynisme révolte le duc. Nouveau duel. Le duc est tué à son tour. Tel est le 1er tableau. Au second, Isabeau d'abord

éplorée, puis haineuse, est finalement conquise par Joan. Au 3e, Isabeau et Joan assistent à une pantomime dansée par la belle Florence. Joan s'enflamme aussitôt pour celle-ci. Une rixe éclate. Le dernier tableau est celui du châtiment. Après que Joan a joué aux dés, contre le Fou, sa maîtresse Florence, ses victimes lui apparaissent. Le spectre du duc les venge toutes. Ce ballet évoque la rudesse, la galanterie, la vaillance, toute la vie ardente et forte des temps médiévaux.

The action takes place in France, in the 14th century. It is as dramatic as the main character, the adventurous, brave, unscrupulous Joan, a sort of don Juan who sows misfortune and is punished for it. During a celebration in honour of the Iron Duke, Joan kills a knight in a duel. Then, struck by the beauty of the Duchess Isabeau, he dances with her. His cynicism revolts the duke. A new duel. The duke is killed. This is the 1st tableau. In the second, Isabeau is at first tearful, then hateful, and is finally conquered by Joan. In the 3rd tableau, Isabeau and Joan attend a pantomime danced by the beautiful Florence. Joan is immediately impassioned by her. A brawl breaks out. The last tableau is that of punishment. After Joan has played dice against Lefou and his mistress Florence, his victims appear to him. The spectre of the Duke avenges them all. This ballet evokes the harshness, gallantry, valour, all the fiery, strong life of medieval times.

Guignol et Pandore (1944)

From the programme for the first presentation, Saturday 29 April 1944, 6pm.

BnF BMO, Carton 2238: Programmes, 1944. Paris. Translations mine.

Ballet in one act by M. Serge Lifar

Music by M. André Jolivet

Choreography by M. Serge Lifar

Décor and costumes designed by M. Dignimont

Guignol	M. Serge Lifar
Guignolette	Mlle Lorcia
Pandore	M. Serge Peretti
La belle-mère	Mlle Ivanoff
La Juge	M. Ritz
Le bourreau	M. Efimoff
Les gendarmes	M. Petit
	M. Renault

Corps de ballet: MM. Duprez, Decarli, Sauvageot, Ponti

Chef d'Orchestre: M. Louis Fourestier

Une représentation de Guignol, telle qu'on en voit dans les jardins publics.

Le directeur du théâtre est une marionnette, et tous ses personnages sont des êtres humains, car ce sont eux qui vivent le drame, animés par les mains de l'impassible directeur.

Le galant Pandore, bicorne en tête et moustache de conquistador fait la cour à la belle et peu farouche Guignolette. Les deux amants sont surpris par Guignol, mari bafoué. Il s'ensuit une grande scène de famille qui coûte la vie à la belle-mère, survenue mal à propos, et au cours de laquelle Pandore est assommé.

Guignol, lui, est condamné par les juges à être décapité. Mais il est immortel: un geste du directeur suffira pour faire revivre les morts et donner le signal d'une ronde générale.

A representation of a Guignol play, as seen in public gardens.

The director of the theatre is a puppet, and all his characters are human beings, because it is they who live the drama, animated by the hands of the impassive director.

The gallant Pandore, bicorne hat and conquistador moustache, pays court to the beautiful and somewhat fierce Guignolette. The two lovers are surprised by Guignol, the scorned husband. Here follows a big family scene which costs the life of the mother in law, and during which Pandore is knocked out.

Guignol is condemned by the judges to be beheaded. But he is immortal: a gesture by the director suffices to revive the dead and gives the signal for a round dance.

APPENDIX B: BALLETS PERFORMED BY THE PARIS OPÉRA DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

This appendix details the ballets performed at the Palais Garnier by the Paris Opéra Ballet company during the Second World War. The information is collected from programmes in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, and Stéphane Wolff, *l'Opéra au Palais Garnier (1875-1962): Les Œuvres, Les Interprètes* (Paris: L'Entracte, 1962).

Title	Description (according to programme)	Premiere; revival at the Paris Opéra	Original company ¹	Composer	Music (source material)	Choreography (revival)	Décor/costumes	Argument/libretto
<i>Alexandre le Grand</i>	Ballet in 3 tableaux and an epilogue	1937, June 21	Paris Opéra	Gaubert	Original	Lifar	Larthe	Lifar
<i>L'Amour sorcier</i>	Ballet-pantomime in 1 act	1925; 1936; 1943, January 26	Paris Opéra	De Falla	Original	Argentina (Lifar)	Brayer	Martinez-Sierra
<i>Les Animaux modèles</i>	Ballet in 1 act	1942, August 8	Paris Opéra	Poulenc	Original	Lifar	Brianchon	La Fontaine, adapt. by Poulenc
<i>L'Appel de la montagne</i>	Ballet in 3 tableaux	1945, July 9	Paris Opéra	Honegger	Original	Peretti	Wild	Favre Le Bret
<i>Bohéro</i>	Ballet in 1 act	1928, 22 November	Paris Opéra	Ravel	Original	Bejart (Lifar)	Leyritz	Lifar/ Leyritz
<i>Castor et Pollux (ballet)</i>	Opera divertissement	1940, 1 March	Paris Opéra	Rameau	Opera divertissement	Guerra	?	[Opera]
<i>Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	Ballet in 2 acts	1941, July 2	Paris Opéra	Gaubert	Original	Lifar	Cassandre	Lifar

¹ I use Paris Opéra here for simplicity though the name of the company changed various times and it was not always based at the Palais Garnier.

Title	Description (according to programme)	Premiere; revival at the Paris Opéra	Original company ¹	Composer	Music (source material)	Choreography (revival)	Décor/costumes	Argument/libretto
<i>Le Cid</i>	Opera divertissement	1885; 1900; 1917; 1942, June 4(?)	Paris Opéra	Massenet	Opera divertissement	Méranthe (Aveline)	Favre/Duflot (?)	Gallet, Blau and d'Ennery
<i>Coppélia</i>	Ballet in 2 acts, 3 tableaux	1870, May 25	Paris Opéra	Delibes	Original	Méranthe (Aveline)	Larthe	E.T.A. Hoffman, adapt. by Nutter and Saint-Léon
<i>Les Créatures de Prométhée</i>	Ballet in 2 acts	1801; 1929, December 30	Burg Theater, Vienna	Beethoven	Original	Viganó (Lifar)	Quelvé	Based on a libretto by Viganó
<i>Daphnis et Chloé</i>	Ballet in 3 tableaux	1912, June 8	Ballets Russes	Ravel	Original	Fokine	Bakst	Longus, adapt. by Fokine
<i>Les Deux Pigeons</i>	Ballet in 2 acts and 3 tableaux	1886; 1919	Paris Opéra	Messenger	Original	Méranthe (Aveline)	Larthe	La Fontaine, adapt. by Regnier
<i>Elvire</i>	Ballet in 1 act	1937, February 8	Paris Opéra	Scarlati arr. Roland-Manuel	Arrangements of music by Domenico Scarlati	Aveline	Sigrist	Brimont
<i>Entre deux rondes</i>	Ballet (Duo chorégraphique) in one act	1940, April 24	Paris Opéra	Samuel-Rousseau	Original	Lifar	Landowsky	Samuel-Rousseau

Title	Description (according to programme)	Premiere; revival at the Paris Opéra	Original company¹	Composer	Music (source material)	Choreography (revival)	Décor/ costumes	Argument/ libretto
<i>Le Festin de l'araignée</i>	Ballet-pantomime in one act	1913; 1939, May 1	Théâtre des Arts	Roussel	Original	Staats (Aveline)	Leyritz	Fabre's 'Souvenirs entomologique s,' adapt. by Voisins
<i>Giselle</i>	Ballet in 2 acts	1841, June 28	Paris Opéra	Adam	Original	Coralli/Perrot	Cicéri	Gautier/Saint-Georges
<i>La Grisi</i>	Ballet in 2 acts	1935, June 21	Paris Opéra	Tomasi (variations on themes by Métra)	Original	Aveline	Dignimont	Téramond
<i>Gaïgnal et Pandore</i>	Ballet in 1 act	1944, April 29	Paris Opéra	Jolivet	Original	Lifar	Dignimont	Lifar
<i>Icare</i>	Légende chorégraphique in 1 act	1935, July 9	Paris Opéra	Lifar (rhythms); orchestrated by Szyfer and Honegger	Original	Lifar	Larthe	Lifar
<i>Impressions de Musée-Hall</i>	Ballet in 1 act	1927, April 6	Paris Opéra	Pièrné	Original	Nijinska	Dethomas	?
<i>Istar</i>	Poème dansé in 1 act	1912; 1924; 1941, December 31	Compagnie de Mme Trouhanova	D'Indy	Symphonic poem (variations, same name, 1896)	Clustine (Staats; Lifar)	Bakst	Izdubar adapt. by Bakst

Title	Description (according to programme)	Premiere; revival at the Paris Opéra	Original company ¹	Composer	Music (source material)	Choreography (revival)	Décor/ costumes	Argument/ libretto
<i>Jeux d'enfants</i>	Ballet in 1 act	1933; 1941, July 16	Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo	Bizet arr. Sevanti	Suite for four hands, <i>Jeux d'enfants</i> (1871)	Massine (Aveline)	Drésa/Dasté	?
<i>Joan de Zarissa</i>	Ballet in 4 tableaux	1940; 1942, July 10.	Berlin Staatsoper	Egk	Original	Lifar	Brayer	Egk
<i>Le Jour</i>	Selections from the film <i>Le Jour se lève</i> (Marcel Carné, 1939). Poème chorégraphique	1943, June 23	Paris Opéra	Jaubert	Choreographic poem for symphony orchestra (same name, 1931)	Lifar	Ernotte	Superveille
<i>Le Lac des cygnes</i>	Fragments from the ballet	1877; 1936, January 22	Bolshoi	Tchaikovsky	Original	Reisinger/Petipa/Bourmeister (Lifar)	?	Unknown
<i>Les Mirages</i>	Féerie chorégraphique in 1 act and 2 tableaux	1944, July 22 (dress-rehearsal); 1947, 15 December 15 (premiere)	Paris Opéra	Sauguet	Original	Lifar	Cassandre	Cassandre
<i>La Nuit ensorcelée</i>	Ballet in 2 actes	1923, November 12	Paris Opéra	Chopin arr. Aubert	Arrangements of music by Frédéric Chopin	Staats (Aveline)	Bakst	Bakst/Vuillermoz
<i>Oriane et le prince d'amour</i>	Drame-ballet in 2 acts	1938, January 7	Paris Opéra	Schmitt	Original	Rubinstein (Lifar)	Pruna	Based on a dramatic poem by Séran

Title	Description (according to programme)	Premiere; revival at the Paris Opéra	Original company ¹	Composer	Music (source material)	Choreography (revival)	Décor/costumes	Argument/libretto
<i>La Péri</i>	Poème dansé in 1 tableau	1912; 1921, June 20	Ballets Russes	Dukas	Originally called <i>Poème dansé en un tableau</i> (1911)	Clustine	Piot	Dukas
<i>Prélude à l'après-midi d'un Faune</i>	Tableau chorégraphique	1912; 1935, March 18	Ballets Russes	Debussy	Original	Nijinsky (Lifar)	Bakst	Inspired by the poem of the same name by Mallarmé
<i>La Princesse au jardin</i>	Ballet in 1 act	1941, July 2	Paris Opéra	Grovez	Original	Lifar	Bony	Vuillermoz
<i>Promenades dans Rome</i>	Divertissement chorégraphique in 1 act and 4 tableaux	1936, December 14	Paris Opéra	Samuel-Rousseau	Original	Lifar	Decarie/Zam beaux	Vaudoyer
<i>Roméo et Juliette</i> (ballet, Gounod)	Opera divertissement	1918, March 9	Théâtre Lyrique	Gounod	Opera divertissement	Aveline	?	Shakespeare, adapt. by Barbier/Carré
<i>Roméo et Juliette</i> (ballet, Tchaikovsky)	Poème dansé (extracts)	1945, February 27	Paris Opéra	Tchaikovsky	Overture fantasy (same name, 1880)	Lifar	?	Shakespeare
<i>Les Sautons</i>	Ballet in 1 act with solo and choir	1938, November 18	Paris Opéra	Tomasi	Original	Aveline	Hellé	Dumesnil
<i>Siang-Sin</i>	Ballet pantomime in 2 tableaux	1924, March 19	Paris Opéra	Hüe	Original	Staats	Piot	Jobbé-Duval
<i>Soir de fête</i>	Ballet in 1 act	1866; 1925, June 30	Paris Opéra	Delibes, arr. Busser	Delibes' <i>La Source</i> (1866)	Staats	Valdo-Barbey	Nuitter/Saint-Léon

Title	Description (according to programme)	Premiere; revival at the Paris Opéra	Original company ¹	Composer	Music (source material)	Choreography (revival)	Décor/costumes	Argument/libretto
<i>Le Spectre de la rose</i>	Tableau chorégraphique	1911; 1931, December 31	Ballets Russes	Weber, orch. Berlioz	Carl Maria von Weber, <i>Aufforderung zum Tanz</i> (1819)	Fokine	Bakst	Gautier, adapt. by Vaudooyer
<i>Suite de danses</i>	Ballet in 1 act	1913, June 23	Paris Opéra	Chopin orch. Messager and Vidal	Arrangements of music by Frédéric Chopin	Clustine/Aveline	Pinchon/Prun ^a	Clustine
<i>Suite en blanc (Namouna)</i>	Ballet in 1 act	1882; 1943, June 19	Paris Opéra	Lalo	<i>Namouna</i> (1882)	Lifar	Moulène	Lifar
<i>Sylvia</i>	Ballet in 3 acts and 5 tableaux	1876; 1941, February 5	Paris Opéra	Delibes	Original	Mérante (Lifar)	Brianchon	Barbier/Reinach
<i>La Tragédie de Salomé</i>	Ballet in 1 act	1907; 1919, April 1	Loie Fuller; 1912	Schmitt	Symphonic poem (same name, 1907)	Romanow	Soudaikine	Poem by d'Humières

APPENDIX C: FREQUENCY OF BALLET AND OPERA PERFORMANCES AT THE PALAIS GARNIER, 1937-47

This appendix details the frequency of ballet and opera performances by the Paris Opéra and Paris Opéra Ballet at the Palais Garnier in the period 1937-47. The information is collected from programmes in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, (Carton 2238), the Fonds Lifar in the Archives de la Ville de Lausanne, and the website *Chronopéra*.⁷⁵¹

Columns on the right refer to the following periods:

A = Overall period (1 Jan 1937 - 31 Dec 1947)

B = 1 Jan 1937–Outbreak of war (September 1939)

C = 1937–Armistice (June 1940)

D = World War II (September 1939-September 1945)

E = German occupation of France (June 1940-August 1944)

F = Liberation - 31 Dec 1947 (August 1944-December 1947)

		Composer	Premiere	A	B	C	D	E	F
<i>Adélaïde, ou le langage des fleurs</i>	Ballet	Ravel	1917	9	9	9	0	0	0
<i>Aeneas</i>	Ballet	Roussel	1935	10	10	10	0	0	0
<i>Aïda</i>	Opera	Verdi	1872	73	12	17	42	32	24
<i>L'Aiglon</i>	Opera	Honegger, Ibert	1937	26	26	26	0	0	0
<i>Alceste</i>	Opera	Gluck	1767	39	7	9	13	11	19
<i>Alexandre le Grand</i>	Ballet	Gaubert	1937	52	33	34	19	18	0
<i>L'Amour sorcier</i>	Ballet	De Falla	1915	24	0	0	24	24	0

⁷⁵¹ *Chronopéra* is run by the l'Institut de Recherche sur le Patrimoine Musical en France (IRMPF), Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the ministère de la Culture. Available at: <http://chronopera.free.fr> [Online].

		Composer	Premiere	A	B	C	D	E	F
<i>Les Animaux modèles</i>	Ballet	Poulenc	1942	51	0	0	29	29	22
<i>Antar</i>	Opera	Dupont	1921	14	0	0	0	0	14
<i>Antigone</i>	Opera	Honegger	1927	11	0	0	11	11	0
<i>Apollon musagète</i>	Ballet	Stravinsky	1928	8	0	0	0	0	8
<i>L'Appel de la montagne</i>	Ballet	Honegger	1945	20	0	0	6	0	20
<i>Ariane</i>	Opera	Massenet	1906	1	1	1	0	0	0
<i>Ariane et Barbe-Bleue</i>	Opera	Dukas	1907	40	22	22	0	0	18
<i>Le Baiser de la fée</i>	Ballet	Stravinsky	1947	9	0	0	0	0	9
<i>Le Barbier de Séville</i>	Opera	Rossini	1816	1	1	1	0	0	0
<i>La Belle au bois dormant</i>	Ballet	Tchaikovsky	1890	1	1	1	0	0	0
<i>Boléro</i>	Ballet	Ravel	1928	45	0	0	44	44	1
<i>Boris Godounov</i>	Opera	Mussorgsky (orch. Rimsky Korsakov)	1874	61	20	20	19	0	41
<i>Les Cantique des cantiques</i>	Ballet	Lifar, Honegger	1938	8	8	8	0	0	0
<i>Castor et Pollux</i>	Opera	Rameau	1737	3	0	0	3	1	2
<i>Castor et Pollux (ballet)</i>	Divertissement	Rameau	1940	28	0	2	9	3	23
<i>La Chartreuse de Parme</i>	Opera	Sauguet	1939	8	8	8	0	0	0
<i>La Chauve-souris</i>	Opera	Strauss, Johann	1851	9	0	0	9	9	0
<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	Opera	Strauss, Richard	1910	38	0	0	38	38	0
<i>Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	Ballet	Gaubert	1941	47	0	0	43	43	4
<i>Le Cid</i>	Divertissement	Massenet	1885	8	0	0	8	1	7
<i>Coppélia</i>	Ballet	Delibes	1870	113	18	20	70	49	44
<i>Le Coq d'or</i>	Opera	Rimsky- Korsakov	1909	4	1	1	0	0	3
<i>Les Créatures de Prométhée</i>	Ballet	Beethoven	1801	24	6	6	18	18	0

		Composer	Premiere	A	B	C	D	E	F
<i>Cydalise et le Chèvre-pied</i>	Ballet	Pierné	1923	12	0	1	1	0	11
<i>La Damnation de Faust</i>	Opera	Berlioz	1846	105	33	37	43	28	40
<i>Daphnis et Chloé</i>	Ballet	Ravel	1912	47	16	17	30	22	8
<i>David Triomphant</i>	Ballet	Rieti	1937	9	9	9	0	0	0
<i>Défilé du corps de ballet (Berlioz)</i>	Ballet	Berlioz	1946	9	0	0	0	0	9
<i>Les Deux Pigeons</i>	Ballet	Messenger	1886	59	0	0	43	30	29
<i>Diane de Poitiers</i>	Ballet	Ibert	1934	8	0	0	0	0	8
<i>Divertissement</i>	Ballet	Tchaikovsky	1932	1	1	1	0	0	0
<i>Divertissement d'Alceste</i>	Diverti- ssement	Gluck	1776	2	0	0	0	0	2
<i>Don Juan</i>	Opera	Mozart	1787	39	8	8	13	13	18
<i>Le Drac, sorcier de la mer</i>	Opera	Hillemacher	1896	6	0	0	6	6	0
<i>Elvire</i>	Ballet	Roland- Manuel	1937	116	33	37	62	43	36
<i>L'Enfant et les sortilèges</i>	Opera	Ravel	1925	6	6	6	0	0	0
<i>L'Enlèvement au sérail</i>	Opera	Mozart	1782	2	0	0	2	2	0
<i>Entre deux rondes</i>	Ballet	Samuel- Rousseau	1940	51	0	1	51	50	0
<i>Esclarmonde</i>	Opera	Massenet	1923	1	0	0	1	1	0
<i>L'Étranger</i>	Opera	d'Indy	1903	3	0	0	3	3	0
<i>Eugène Onégin</i>	Opera	Tchaikovsky	1879	3	0	0	3	3	0
<i>L'Éventail de Jeanne</i>	Ballet	Ravel, Ferroud, Ibert, Roland- Manuel, Delannoy, Roussel, Milhaud, Poulenc, Auric, Schmitt.	1929	7	7	7	0	0	0
<i>Faust</i>	Opera	Gounod	1859	201	57	64	97	75	62

		Composer	Premiere	A	B	C	D	E	F
<i>Le Festin de l'araignée</i>	Ballet	Roussel	1913	70	13	15	46	33	22
<i>Fidelio</i>	Opera	Beethoven	1805	72	15	15	44	40	17
<i>Fluorescences</i>	Ballet	?	?	5	5	5	0	0	0
<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	Opera	Mozart	1791	67	11	12	25	20	35
<i>Giselle</i>	Ballet	Adam	1841	84	10	14	46	27	43
<i>La Grisi</i>	Ballet	Tomais	1935	75	28	31	29	16	28
<i>Guignol et Pandore</i>	Ballet	Jolivet	1944	7	0	0	7	7	0
<i>Guillaume Tell</i>	Opera	Rossini	1829	1	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Gwendoline</i>	Opera	Chabrier	1886	8	0	0	8	8	0
<i>Hamlet</i>	Opera	Thomas	1868	9	9	9	0	0	0
<i>Hériodiade</i>	Opera	Massenet	1881	13	0	0	8	0	13
<i>L'Heure espagnole</i>	Opera	Ravel	1911	9	7	7	2	2	0
<i>Icare</i>	Ballet	Lifar, Szyfer and Honegger	1935	25	13	13	12	12	0
<i>Impressions de Music-Hall</i>	Ballet	Pierné	1927	42	0	0	28	14	28
<i>Istar</i>	Ballet	D'Indy	1941	59	0	0	34	34	25
<i>Jeux d'enfants</i>	Ballet	Bizet	1933	57	0	0	47	34	23
<i>Joan de Zarissa</i>	Ballet	Egk	1940	22	0	0	22	22	0
<i>Joseph</i>	Opera	Méhul	1807	6	0	0	0	0	6
<i>Le Jour</i>	Ballet	Jaubert	1943	10	0	0	10	10	0
<i>Le Lac des cygnes</i>	Ballet	Tchaikovsky	1877	43	13	13	1	1	29
<i>Lohengrin</i>	Opera	Wagner	1850	42	29	29	0	0	13
<i>Lucia di Lammermoor</i>	Opera	Donizetti	1835	4	2	2	0	0	2
<i>Les Maîtres Chanteurs de Nuremberg</i>	Opera	Wagner	1862	9	9	9	0	0	0
<i>Manon</i>	Opera	Massenet	1884	1	0	0	1	0	1

		Composer	Premiere	A	B	C	D	E	F
<i>Le Marchand de Venise</i>	Opera	Hahn	1935	11	11	11	0	0	0
<i>Mârouf, Savetier du Caire</i>	Opera	Rabaud	1914	37	11	12	26	19	6
<i>Médée</i>	Opera	Milhaud	1939	1	0	1	1	0	0
<i>Les Mirages</i>	Ballet	Sauguet	1944	4	0	0	1	1	3
<i>Monna Vanna</i>	Opera	Février	1909	11	7	7	0	0	4
<i>La Nuit ensorcelée</i>	Ballet	Chopin	1923	5	0	0	5	5	0
<i>La Nuit vénitienne</i>	Ballet	Thiriet	1939	9	9	9	0	0	0
<i>Œdipe</i>	Opera	Enesco	1936	3	3	3	0	0	0
<i>L'Or du Rhin</i>	Opera	Wagner	1869	24	11	11	13	13	0
<i>Oriane et le prince d'amour</i>	Ballet	Schmitt	1938	21	16	16	5	5	0
<i>Orphée et Eurydice</i>	Opera	Gluck	1762	1	1	1	0	0	0
<i>Othello</i>	Opera	Verdi	1887	43	10	10	16	10	23
<i>Padmavâti</i>	Opera	Roussel	1923	9	0	0	0	0	9
<i>Le Palais de cristal</i>	Ballet	Bizet	1947	5	0	0	0	0	5
<i>Palestrina</i>	Opera	Pfitzner	1917	13	0	0	13	13	0
<i>Pavane pour une infante défunte</i>	Ballet	Ravel	1947	1	0	0	0	0	1
<i>Peer Gynt</i>	Opera	Egk	1938	12	0	0	12	12	0
<i>Pénélope</i>	Opera	Fauré	1913	22	0	0	16	14	8
<i>La Péri</i>	Ballet	Dukas	1912	29	0	0	10	0	29
<i>Phèdre</i>	Opera	Lemoyne	1786	2	1	1	1	1	0
<i>Prélude à l'après-midi d'un Faune</i>	Ballet	Debussy	1912	37	12	12	14	14	11
<i>La Princesse au jardin</i>	Ballet	Grovez	1941	16	0	0	16	16	0
<i>Promenades dans Rome</i>	Ballet	Samuel-Rousseau	1936	30	22	22	8	8	0
<i>Relâche</i>	Ballet	Satie	1924	7	7	7	0	0	0

		Composer	Premiere	A	B	C	D	E	F
<i>Rigoletto</i>	Opera	Verdi	1851	140	32	37	75	55	48
<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	Opera	Lalo	1888	81	0	0	62	49	32
<i>Le Roi nu</i>	Ballet	Françaix	1936	3	3	3	0	0	0
<i>Rolande et la Mauvais Garçon</i>	Opera	Rabaud	1934	0	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	Opera	Gounod	1867	50	0	6	23	10	34
<i>Roméo et Juliette (ballet, Gounod)</i>	Divertissement	Gounod	1867	4	0	0	4	1	3
<i>Roméo et Juliette (ballet, Tchaikovsky)</i>	Ballet	Tchaikovsky	1945	1	0	0	1	0	1
<i>Le Rouet d'Armor (Rod Arvor)</i>	Ballet	Pirou	1936	4	4	4	0	0	0
<i>Salade</i>	Ballet	Milhaud	1924	6	6	6	0	0	0
<i>Salammbô</i>	Opera	Reyer	1890	22	16	16	6	6	0
<i>Salomé</i>	Opera	Strauss (Richard)	1905	14	14	14	0	0	0
<i>La Samaritaine</i>	Opera	d'Ollone	1937	7	7	7	0	0	0
<i>Samson et Dalila</i>	Opera	Saint-Saëns	1877	114	33	38	52	35	41
<i>Les Santons</i>	Ballet	Tomasi	1938	66	10	11	43	30	25
<i>Sérénade</i>	Ballet	Tchaikovsky	1947	11	0	0	0	0	11
<i>Siang-Sin</i>	Ballet	Hüe	1924	25	3	3	22	22	0
<i>Siegfried</i>	Opera	Wagner	1876	2	2	2	0	0	0
<i>Soir de fête</i>	Ballet	Delibes, arr. Busser	1925	39	9	9	17	10	20
<i>Le Spectre de la rose</i>	Ballet	Weber arr. Berlioz	1911	102	27	29	56	36	37
<i>Suite de danses</i>	Ballet	Chopin	1913	97	21	25	57	39	33
<i>Suite en blanc</i>	Ballet	Lalo	1882	45	0	0	17	17	28
<i>Sylvia</i>	Ballet	Delibes	1876	50	0	0	37	37	13
<i>Thaïs</i>	Opera	Massenet	1894	70	0	5	41	30	35
<i>La Tosca</i>	Opera	Puccini	1887	1	0	0	1	1	0

		Composer	Premiere	A	B	C	D	E	F
<i>La Tour de feu</i>	Opera	Lazzari	1928	12	5	5	2	0	7
<i>La Tragédie de Salomé</i>	Ballet	Schmitt	1913	4	1	1	3	3	0
<i>La Traviata</i>	Opera	Verdi	1853	9	2	2	7	7	0
<i>Tristan et Isolde</i>	Opera	Wagner	1865	6	4	4	2	2	0
<i>Les Troyens</i>	Opera	Berlioz	1863	8	7	7	0	0	1
<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	Opera	Wagner	1843	68	19	19	36	36	13
<i>La Valkyrie</i>	Opera	Wagner	1870	19	16	16	3	3	0
<i>La Vierge</i>	Opera	Massenet	1880	1	0	0	1	1	0

APPENDIX D: LIST OF PRESENTATIONS AT THE PALAIS GARNIER, 1939-45

This appendix lists the performances at the Palais Garnier during the period 1939-45, including special performances and visiting companies. The information is collected from programmes in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, (Carton 2238), the Fonds Lifar in the Archives de la Ville de Lausanne, and the website *Chronopéra*.

The type of presentation (Ballet, Opera, or Mixed) is indicated in the right-hand column. Premiere performances are in bold.

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
Jan	2	Monday	<i>Relâche</i>	B
1939	4	Wednesday	<i>Relâche</i>	B
	6	Friday	<i>Adélaïde, L'Heure espagnole, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	M
	7	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	9	Monday	<i>Aïda, Oriane et le prince d'amour, Les Santons</i>	M
	10	Tuesday	<i>Représentation au profit de la Caisse des Retraites</i>	
	11	Wednesday	<i>Suite de danses, Oriane et le prince d'amour, Les Santons</i>	B
	12	Thursday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	13	Friday	<i>Aïda, L'Heure espagnole, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	M
	14	Saturday	<i>Adélaïde, L'Heure espagnole, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	M
	16	Monday	<i>Lohengrin</i>	O
	18	Wednesday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	20	Friday	<i>Le Marchand de Venise</i>	O
	21	Saturday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	23	Monday	<i>Adélaïde, L'Heure espagnole, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	M
	25	Wednesday	<i>La Valkyrie</i>	O
	26	Thursday	Spectacle de Gala donné au profit de la Caisse des Retraites du Personnel de l'Opéra, <i>Aïda, Giselle</i>	
	27	Friday	<i>Lohengrin</i>	O
	28	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	30	Monday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
Feb	1	Wednesday	<i>Le Marchand de Venise</i>	O
1939	3	Friday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	4	Saturday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	6	Monday	<i>Le Marchand de Venise</i>	O
	8	Wednesday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	10	Friday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	11	Saturday	<i>Le Marchand de Venise</i>	O
	13	Monday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	15	Wednesday	<i>La Valkyrie</i>	O
	17	Friday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	18	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	20	Monday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	22	Wednesday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	24	Friday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	25	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	27	Monday	<i>Le Marchand de Venise</i>	O
Mar	1	Wednesday	<i>Le Rouet d'Armor (Rod Arvor), Les Santons, Giselle</i>	B
1939	3	Friday	<i>La Valkyrie</i>	O
	4	Saturday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	6	Monday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	8	Wednesday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Elvire</i>	M
	10	Friday	<i>Le Marchand de Venise</i>	O
	11	Saturday	<i>Lohengrin</i>	O
	13	Monday	<i>Promenades dans Rome, Elvire, Giselle</i>	B
	15	Wednesday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	16	Thursday	<i>La Chartreuse de Parme</i>	O
	17	Friday	<i>Samson et Dalila, La Nuit vénitienne, La Flûte enchantée</i>	M
	18	Saturday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	20	Monday	<i>La Chartreuse de Parme</i>	O
	22	Wednesday	<i>Lohengrin</i>	O
	24	Friday	<i>La Chartreuse de Parme</i>	O
	25	Saturday	<i>La Damnation de Faust</i>	O
	26	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila</i>	O
	27	Monday	<i>La Chartreuse de Parme</i>	O
	29	Wednesday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	31	Friday	<i>Elvire, Les Santons, Giselle</i>	B
Apr	1	Saturday	<i>Le Marchand de Venise</i>	O
1939	3	Monday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	5	Wednesday	<i>Rigoletto, La Nuit vénitienne</i>	M
	9	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	10	Monday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	11	Tuesday	<i>Adélaïde, Les Santons, Giselle</i>	B
	12	Wednesday	<i>Samson et Dalila, La Nuit vénitienne</i>	M
	14	Friday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	15	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	16	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, La Grisi</i>	M
	17	Monday	<i>La Tour de feu, La Nuit vénitienne</i>	M
	19	Wednesday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Les Santons</i>	M

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	21	Friday	<i>La Nuit vénitienne, Promenades dans Rome, Giselle</i>	B
	22	Saturday	<i>La Chartreuse de Parme</i>	O
	24	Monday	<i>Adélaïde, L'Heure espagnole, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	M
	26	Wednesday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	28	Friday	<i>Lohengrin</i>	O
	29	Saturday	<i>La Chartreuse de Parme</i>	O
May	1	Monday	<i>La Grisi, Le Festin de l'araignée, Giselle</i>	B
1939	3	Wednesday	<i>La Tour de feu, Le Festin de l'araignée</i>	M
	4	Thursday	Société des amis et artistes de l'Opéra (matinée): Mozart, Tomasi, Debussy, Mozart etc	
	5	Friday	<i>Adélaïde, L'Heure espagnole, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	M
	6	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	8	Monday	<i>La Valkyrie</i>	O
	10	Wednesday	<i>La Chartreuse de Parme</i>	O
	11	Thursday	<i>4 sonates de Mozart</i>	
	12	Friday	<i>Ariane et Barbe-Bleue</i>	O
	13	Saturday	<i>La Tour de feu, Le Festin de l'araignée</i>	M
	15	Monday	<i>Lohengrin</i>	O
	17	Wednesday	<i>Icare, L'Enfant et les sortilèges, Giselle</i>	M
	19	Friday	<i>La Tour de feu, Elvire</i>	M
	20	Saturday	<i>Ariane et Barbe-Bleue</i>	O
	22	Monday	<i>Alexandre le Grand, L'Enfant et les sortilèges, Le Festin de l'Araignée</i>	M
	24	Wednesday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Le Festin de l'Araignée</i>	M
	26	Friday	<i>Alexandre le Grand, L'Enfant et les sortilèges, Le Festin de l'Araignée</i>	M
	27	Saturday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	29	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	31	Wednesday	<i>Faust</i>	O
Jun	2	Friday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Le Festin de l'araignée</i>	M
1939	3	Saturday	<i>Rigoletto, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
	5	Monday	<i>Les Troyens</i>	O
	7	Wednesday	<i>Adélaïde, L'Enfant et les sortilèges, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	M
	9	Friday	<i>La Chartreuse de Parme</i>	O
	10	Saturday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Le Festin de l'Araignée</i>	M
	12	Monday	<i>Elvire, L'Enfant et les sortilèges, Oriane et le prince d'amour</i>	M
	14	Wednesday	<i>Les Troyens</i>	O
	16	Friday	<i>Icare, L'Enfant et les sortilèges, Siang-sin</i>	M
	17	Saturday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	19	Monday	<i>La Tour de feu, La Grisi</i>	M
	21	Wednesday	<i>Samson et Dalila, La Nuit vénitienne</i>	M
	23	Friday	<i>Les Troyens</i>	O
	24	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	26	Monday	<i>Siang-Sin, Le Festin de l'araignée, Oriane et le prince d'amour</i>	B
	28	Wednesday	<i>Ariane et Barbe-Bleue</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	28		<i>Gala de Danse organisé par Serge Lifar au profit de Nijinsky</i>	
	29	Thursday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose</i>	B
	30	Friday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
Jul	1	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
1939	3	Monday	<i>Rigoletto, Adélaïde</i>	O
	5	Wednesday	<i>Siang-Sin, Le Festin de l'araignée, Oriane et le prince d'amour</i>	B
	6	Thursday	Exposition: "Ballets Russes de Diaghilew" Organisée par Serge Lifar: Russian composers	
	7	Friday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Alexandre le Grand</i>	M
	8	Saturday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, La Nuit vénitienne</i>	M
	10	Monday	<i>Lohengrin</i>	O
	12	Wednesday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	15	Saturday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	17	Monday	<i>Alexandre le Grand, Le Festin de l'Araignée, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	B
	18	Tuesday	<i>Lohengrin</i>	O
	19	Wednesday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Elvire</i>	M
	21	Friday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, Elvire, Alexandre le Grand</i>	B
	22	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	24	Monday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
	26	Wednesday	<i>La Nuit vénitienne, La Grisi, Alexandre le Grand</i>	B
	29	Saturday	<i>Oedipe roi, Tannhäuser</i>	O
	30	Sunday	<i>Orphée et Eurydice</i>	O
	31	Monday	<i>Phèdre, Les Créatures de Prométhée</i>	M
Aug	2	Wednesday	<i>Lohengrin</i>	O
1939	4	Friday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	5	Saturday	<i>Rigoletto, Le Festin de l'araignée</i>	M
	7	Monday	<i>Elvire, La Grisi, Coppélia</i>	B
	9	Wednesday	<i>La Valkyrie</i>	O
	11	Friday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Elvire</i>	M
	12	Saturday	<i>Samson et Dalila, La Nuit vénitienne</i>	M
	14	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	16	Wednesday	<i>Rigoletto, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
	18	Friday	<i>La Valkyrie</i>	O
	19	Saturday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
	21	Monday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	23	Wednesday	<i>Lohengrin</i>	O
	25	Friday	<i>Rigoletto, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
	26	Saturday	<i>La Valkyrie</i>	O
	28	Monday	<i>Monna Vanna</i>	O
	30	Wednesday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
Sep	21	Thursday	<i>La Damnation de Faust</i>	O
1939	28	Thursday	<i>Samson et Dalila</i>	O
Oct	5	Thursday	<i>Faust</i>	O
1939	12	Thursday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	14	Saturday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	19	Thursday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	21	Saturday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	26	Thursday	<i>Samson et Dalila</i>	O
	28	Saturday	<i>La Damnation de Faust</i>	O
Nov	1	Wednesday	<i>Faust</i>	O
1939	4	Saturday	<i>Samson et Dalila</i>	O
	9	Thursday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	16	Thursday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, Alceste, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	M
	18	Saturday	<i>La Damnation de Faust</i>	O
	19	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	22	Wednesday	<i>Alceste</i>	O
	25	Saturday	<i>Rigoletto, Elvire</i>	M
	26	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Giselle</i>	M
	29	Wednesday	<i>Elvire, Alexandre le Grand, Grisi</i>	B
Dec	3	Sunday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
1939	4	Monday	<i>Rigoletto, Suite de danses</i>	M
	6	Wednesday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
	9	Saturday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	10	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	13	Wednesday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, Les Santons, Giselle</i>	B
	16	Saturday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	17	Sunday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	20	Wednesday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	23	Saturday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Le Spectre de la Rose</i>	M
	24	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	25	Monday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	27	Wednesday	<i>Roméo et Juliette, Aïda</i>	O
	31	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, Suite de danses</i>	M
Jan	10	Wednesday	<i>Mârouf, Savetier du Caire, Roméo et Juliette, L'Illustre Frégona</i>	O
Feb	8	Thursday	<i>Soirée au profit des Victimes Finlandaises</i>	
Mar	1	Friday	<i>Castor et Pollux (ballet), Coppélia, Elvire, Faust, Giselle, La Grisi, Suite de danses</i>	B
1940	3	Sunday	<i>Castor et Pollux (ballet), Coppélia, Elvire, Faust, Giselle, La Grisi, Suite de danses</i>	B
	20	Wednesday	<i>Cydalise et le chèvre-pied</i>	B
Apr	2	Tuesday	Musique de danse par l'Orchestre Philharmonique de la Côte d'Azur with Gaubert and Lifar and Adjemova	
1940	4	Thursday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	24	Wednesday	<i>Entre deux rondes</i>	B
	29	Monday	Soirée Artistique organisée par les élèves-aspirants au profit des œuvres de l'école	
May	8	Wednesday	<i>Médée</i>	O
1940	13	Monday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
			<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	26	Sunday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
June 1940	5	Wednesday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
Aug	24	Saturday	<i>La Damnation de Faust</i>	O
1940	25	Sunday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	28	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Entre deux Rondes, Alexandre le Grand</i>	B
	31	Saturday	<i>Samson et Dalila</i>	O
Sep	1	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
1940	3	Tuesday	<i>Prometheus, Coppelia, Pas de Deux, La Valse</i>	
	4	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Le Festin de l'Araignée, Alexandre le Grand</i>	B
	7	Saturday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	8	Sunday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Suite de danses</i>	M
	11	Wednesday	<i>Les Santons, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Giselle</i>	B
	14	Saturday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	15	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	18	Wednesday	<i>Entre deux rondes, Le Festin de l'araignée, Giselle</i>	B
	21	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	22	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Les Santons</i>	M
	25	Wednesday	<i>Suite de danses, Daphnis et Chloé, Alexandre le Grand</i>	B
	28	Saturday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	29	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
Oct	2	Wednesday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Giselle</i>	B
1940	4	Friday	<i>Castor et Pollux (ballet)</i>	B
	5	Saturday	<i>Rigoletto, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
	6	Sunday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Alexandre le Grand</i>	M
	7	Monday	<i>Castor et Pollux (ballet)</i>	B
	9	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Icare, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	B
	12	Saturday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	13	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	14	Monday	<i>Castor et Pollux (ballet)</i>	B
	16	Wednesday	<i>Siang-Sin, Entre deux rondes, Les Créatures de Prométhée</i>	B
	19	Saturday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	20	Sunday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	21	Monday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Le Festin de l'araignée</i>	M
	23	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Les Créatures de Prométhée</i>	B
	26	Saturday	<i>Castor et Pollux</i>	O
	27	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, Les Santons</i>	M
	28	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	30	Wednesday	<i>Suite de danses, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Alexandre le Grand</i>	B
Nov	1	Friday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
1940	3	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	4	Monday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Le Festin de l'Araignée</i>	M
	6	Wednesday	<i>Siang-Sin, Entre deux rondes, Giselle</i>	B

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	9	Saturday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	10	Sunday	<i>Mârouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	11	Monday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Les Santons</i>	M
	13	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Icare, Alexandre le Grand</i>	B
	16	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	17	Sunday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	18	Monday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	20	Wednesday	<i>Giselle, Les Santons, Les Créatures de Prométhée</i>	B
	23	Saturday	<i>Rigoletto, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
	24	Sunday	<i>La Damnation de Faust</i>	O
	25	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	27	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Entre deux Rondes, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	B
	30	Saturday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
Dec	1	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, Suite de danses</i>	M
1940	2	Monday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Le Festin de l'araignée</i>	M
	4	Wednesday	<i>Promenades dans Rome, Elvire, Giselle</i>	B
	7	Saturday	<i>Mârouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	8	Sunday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	9	Monday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	11	Wednesday	<i>Siang-Sin, Icare, Alexandre le Grand</i>	B
	14	Saturday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	15	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	16	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	18	Wednesday	<i>Promenades dans Rome, Elvire, Les Créatures de Prométhée</i>	B
	20	Friday	Grand gala au bénéfice du Secours national, Entraide d'Hiver du Maréchal Pétain et des Enfants victimes de l'exode: Entre deux rondes, Germain Lubin, l'Oiseau Bleu etc	
	21	Saturday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	22	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, Suite de danses</i>	M
	23	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	25	Wednesday	<i>Giselle, Les Santons, Alexandre le Grand</i>	B
	28	Saturday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	29	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	30	Monday	<i>Samson et Dalila, La Grisi</i>	M
	31	Tuesday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
Jan	1	Wednesday	<i>Les Créatures de Prométhée, Entre deux rondes, Coppélia</i>	B
1941	4	Saturday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	5	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, Suite de danses</i>	M
	6	Monday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	8	Wednesday	<i>Promenades dans Rome, Le Festin de l'araignée, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	B
	11	Saturday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	12	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	13	Monday	<i>Alceste</i>	O
	15	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Icare, Alexandre le Grand</i>	B

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	18	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	19	Sunday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	20	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	22	Wednesday	<i>Les Créatures de Prométhée, Elvire, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	B
	25	Saturday	<i>Alceste</i>	O
	26	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	27	Monday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	29	Wednesday	<i>Suite de danses, Entre deux rondes, Les Créatures de Prométhée</i>	B
Feb	1	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
1941	2	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, La Grisi</i>	O
	3	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	5	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Sylvia</i>	B
	8	Saturday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	9	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	10	Monday	<i>Rigoletto, Les Santons</i>	M
	12	Wednesday	<i>Elvire, Sylvia</i>	B
	15	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	16	Sunday	<i>Alceste</i>	O
	17	Monday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	19	Wednesday	<i>Alexandre le Grand, La Grisi, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	B
	22	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	23	Sunday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	24	Monday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	26	Wednesday	<i>Icare, Sylvia</i>	B
Mar	1	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
1941	2	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, Suite de danses</i>	O
	3	Monday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	5	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Les Créatures de Prométhée, Soir de fête</i>	B
	8	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	9	Sunday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	12	Wednesday	<i>Alexandre le Grand, Sylvia, Samson et Dalila, Elvire</i>	M
	16	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	17	Monday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	19	Wednesday	<i>Siang-Sin, Promenades dans Rome, La Grisi</i>	B
	22	Saturday	<i>La Traviata, Soir de fête</i>	M
	23	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	24	Monday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	26	Wednesday	<i>La Nuit ensorcelée, Sylvia</i>	B
	29	Saturday	<i>La Traviata, Soir de fête</i>	B
	30	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, Alexandre le Grand</i>	B
	31	Monday	<i>Alceste</i>	O
Apr	2	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Entre deux Rondes, Daphnis et Chloé, Les Créatures de Prométhée</i>	B
1941	5	Saturday	<i>Aïda</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	6	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	7	Monday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	9	Wednesday	<i>La Nuit ensorcelée, Sylvia</i>	B
	13	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	14	Monday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	15	Tuesday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	16	Wednesday	<i>SiangSin, Entre deux rondes, Alexandre le Grand</i>	B
	19	Saturday	<i>La Traviata</i>	O
	20	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, Elvire</i>	M
	21	Monday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	23	Wednesday	<i>Icare, Sylvia</i>	B
	26	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	27	Sunday	<i>La Traviata, Rigoletto, Soir de fête, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
	28	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	30	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Le Spectre de la rose, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	B
May	1	Thursday	<i>Coppélia, Le Spectre de la rose, Soir de fête</i>	B
1941	3	Saturday	Soirée de Gala à l'Opéra organisée par le Secours National au profit de la Famille du Prisonnier du Guerre: <i>Gwendoline, Entre deux Rondes, Le Roi d'Ys</i>	M
	4	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, La Grisi</i>	M
	5	Monday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	7	Wednesday	<i>La Nuit ensorcelée, Sylvia</i>	B
	8	Thursday	Les Grandes Conférences des Ambassadeurs: Soirée de Gala. Conférence de Serge Lifar. Centenaire de <i>Giselle</i>	
	10	Saturday	<i>Gwendoline, Alexandre le Grand</i>	M
	11	Sunday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	12	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	14	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Elvire, Les Créatures de Prométhée</i>	B
	17	Saturday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	18	Sunday	Représentations sous le patronage de L'Institut Allemand à Paris données par le Staatsoper Berlin, <i>L'enlèvement au sérail</i>	
	19	Monday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	20	Tuesday	Représentations sous le patronage de L'Institut Allemand à Paris données par le Staatsoper Berlin, <i>L'enlèvement au sérail</i>	
	22	Thursday	Représentations sous le patronage de L'Institut Allemand à Paris données par le Staatsoper Berlin, <i>Tristan et Isolde</i>	
	24	Saturday	<i>Gwendoline, Le Festin de l'araignée</i>	M
	25	Sunday	Représentations sous le patronage de L'Institut Allemand à Paris données par le Staatsoper Berlin, <i>Tristan et Isolde</i>	
	26	Monday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	28	Wednesday	<i>SiangSin, Entre deux rondes, Les Créatures de Prométhée</i>	B
	31	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
Jun	1	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
1941	2	Monday	<i>La Traviata, Suite de danses</i>	M

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	4	Wednesday	<i>La Nuit ensorcelée, Sylvia</i>	B
	7	Saturday	<i>Gwendoline, Elvire</i>	M
	8	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	9	Monday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	11	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Les Santons, Les Créatures de Prométhée</i>	B
	14	Saturday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	15	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, Entre deux rondes</i>	M
	16	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	18	Wednesday	<i>Entre deux rondes, Sylvia</i>	B
	21	Saturday	<i>La Traviata, Elvire</i>	M
	22	Sunday	<i>Alceste</i>	O
	23	Monday	<i>Samson et Dalila, La Grisi</i>	M
	25	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Alexandre le Grand, Les Créatures de Prométhée</i>	B
	28	Saturday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	29	Sunday	<i>Gwendoline, La Nuit ensorcelée</i>	M
	30	Monday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
Jul	2	Wednesday	Soirée organisée par les Amis des Croisières au Bénéfice des Marins Prisonniers: <i>La Princesse au jardin, Le Chevalier et la Damselle</i>	
1941	5	Saturday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	6	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	7	Monday	<i>Rigoletto, Soir de fête</i>	M
	12	Saturday	Représentation à la mémoire de Philippe Gaubert: <i>Alexandre le Grand, Le Chevalier et la Damselle</i> etc	B
	13	Sunday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, Entre deux rondes, Giselle</i>	B
	16	Wednesday	<i>La Princesse au jardin, Jeux d'enfants, Le Chevalier et la Damselle</i>	B
	19	Saturday	<i>Promenades dans Rome, La Princesse au jardin, Coppélia</i>	B
	20	Sunday	<i>Jeux d'enfants, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Sylvia</i>	B
	23	Wednesday	<i>Giselle, Le Chevalier et la Damselle</i>	B
	26	Saturday	<i>Siang-Sin, Jeux d'enfants, Les Créatures de Prométhée</i>	B
	27	Sunday	<i>Giselle, Le Chevalier et la Damselle</i>	B
	30	Wednesday	<i>La Princesse au jardin, Jeux d'enfants, Sylvia</i>	B
Aug	2	Saturday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Le Chevalier et la Damselle</i>	B
1941	3	Sunday	<i>Siang-Sin, Promenades dans Rome, Coppélia</i>	B
	6	Wednesday	<i>La Princesse au jardin, Entre deux rondes, Sylvia</i>	B
	9	Saturday	<i>Coppélia, Giselle</i>	B
	10	Sunday	<i>Les Créatures de Prométhée, Icare, Le Chevalier et la Damselle</i>	B
	13	Wednesday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	16	Saturday	<i>Rigoletto, Aïda</i>	O
	17	Sunday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	18	Monday	<i>L'Heure espagnole, Gwendoline</i>	O
	20	Wednesday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	23	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	24	Sunday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	25	Monday	<i>Rigoletto, Aïda</i>	O
	27	Wednesday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	30	Saturday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	31	Sunday	<i>Gwendoline</i>	O
Sep	1	Monday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
1941	3	Wednesday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	6	Saturday	<i>L'Heure espagnole, Gwendoline</i>	O
	7	Sunday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	8	Monday	<i>Rigoletto, Aïda</i>	O
	10	Wednesday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	17	Wednesday	<i>La Chauve-souris</i>	O
	18	Thursday	<i>La Chauve-souris</i>	O
	19	Friday	<i>La Chauve-souris</i>	O
	20	Saturday	<i>La Chauve-souris</i>	O
	21	Sunday	<i>La Chauve-souris</i>	O
	22	Monday	<i>La Chauve-souris</i>	O
	23	Tuesday	<i>La Chauve-souris</i>	O
	24	Wednesday	<i>La Chauve-souris</i>	O
	25	Thursday	<i>La Chauve-souris</i>	O
	29	Monday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	30	Tuesday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
Oct	1	Wednesday	<i>La Princesse au jardin, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Coppélia</i>	B
1941	4	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	5	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	6	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	8	Wednesday	<i>Giselle, Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	B
	11	Saturday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	12	Sunday	<i>Gwendoline, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
	13	Monday	<i>Rigoletto, Les Santons</i>	M
	15	Wednesday	<i>Siang-Sin, Entre deux rondes, Le Chevalier et la Damselle</i>	B
	18	Saturday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	19	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	20	Monday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Les Santons</i>	M
	22	Wednesday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	25	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	26	Sunday	<i>Coppélia, Fidelio, Giselle, Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	M
	27	Monday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	29	Wednesday	<i>Jeux d'enfants, Entre deux rondes, Sylvia</i>	B
Nov	1	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
1941	2	Sunday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Elvire</i>	M
	3	Monday	<i>L'Or du Rhin</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	5	Wednesday	<i>La Princesse au jardin, Jeux d'enfants, Le Chevalier et la Damselle</i>	B
	8	Saturday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	9	Sunday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	10	Monday	<i>L'Or du Rhin</i>	O
	12	Wednesday	<i>Giselle, Jeux d'enfants, Promenades dans Rome</i>	B
	15	Saturday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Soir de fête</i>	M
	16	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Elvire</i>	M
	17	Monday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Entre deux rondes</i>	M
	19	Wednesday	<i>Elvire, Jeux d'enfants, Le Chevalier et la Damselle</i>	B
	22	Saturday	<i>L'Or du Rhin</i>	O
	23	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	24	Monday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	26	Wednesday	<i>La Princesse au jardin, Le Spectre de la rose, Sylvia</i>	B
	29	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	30	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, Soir de fête</i>	M
Dec	1	Monday	<i>Don Juan</i>	O
1941	3	Wednesday	<i>Siang-Sin, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Giselle</i>	B
	6	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	7	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Soir de fête</i>	M
	11	Thursday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	13	Saturday	<i>Don Juan</i>	O
	14	Sunday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	15	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	17	Wednesday	<i>Giselle, Promenades dans Rome</i>	B
	20	Saturday	<i>Don Juan</i>	O
	21	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
	22	Monday	<i>L'Or du Rhin</i>	O
	24	Wednesday	<i>Les Santons, Le Spectre de la rose, Jeux d'enfants, Coppélia</i>	B
	25	Thursday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	27	Saturday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	28	Sunday	<i>L'Or du Rhin, Faust</i>	O
	29	Monday	<i>Don Juan</i>	O
	31	Wednesday	<i>Gala de danse à l'Opéra au profit du Secours national entr'aide d'Hiver du Maréchal: Entre deux rondes, Istar, Boléro, Oriane et la prince d'amour</i>	B
Jan	2	Friday	<i>Entre deux rondes, Jeux d'enfants, Coppélia</i>	B
1942	3	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	4	Sunday	<i>Don Juan</i>	O
	5	Monday	<i>L'Or du Rhin</i>	O
	7	Wednesday	<i>Entre deux rondes, Istar, Boléro, Oriane et le prince d'amour</i>	B
	10	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	11	Sunday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	12	Monday	<i>Rigoletto, La Grisi</i>	M
	14	Wednesday	<i>La Princesse au jardin, Boléro, Le Chevalier et la Damselle</i>	B

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	17	Saturday	<i>Don Juan</i>	O
	18	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Le Festin de l'araignée</i>	M
	19	Monday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Les Santons</i>	M
	21	Wednesday	<i>Siang-Sin, Boléro, Coppélia</i>	B
	24	Saturday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	25	Sunday	<i>Don Juan</i>	O
	26	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	28	Wednesday	<i>Istar, Entre deux rondes, Boléro, Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	B
	31	Saturday	<i>Rigoletto, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
Feb	1	Sunday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
1942	2	Monday	<i>L'Or du Rhin</i>	O
	4	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Istar, Elvire, Boléro</i>	B
	7	Saturday	<i>Don Juan</i>	O
	8	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	9	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	11	Wednesday	<i>Oriane et le prince d'amour, Istar, Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	B
	14	Saturday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	15	Sunday	<i>Don Juan</i>	O
	16	Monday	<i>Rigoletto, Siang-Sin</i>	M
	18	Wednesday	<i>Suite de danses, Boléro, Giselle</i>	B
	21	Saturday	<i>L'Or du Rhin</i>	O
	22	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	23	Monday	<i>Don Juan</i>	O
	25	Wednesday	<i>Sylvia, Istar, Boléro</i>	B
	28	Saturday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
Mar	1	Sunday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
1942	2	Monday	<i>Rigoletto, Siang-Sin</i>	M
	8	Sunday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
			Au profit du secours national sous le patronage du comité de propagande et des fêtes de Lyon	
	9	Monday	<i>L'Or du Rhin</i>	O
	11	Wednesday	<i>Oriane et le prince d'amour, Entre deux rondes, Istar, Suite de danses</i>	B
	14	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	15	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Les Santons</i>	M
	16	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	18	Wednesday	<i>Daphnis et Chloé, Jeux d'enfants, Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	B
	21	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	22	Sunday	<i>Don Juan</i>	O
	23	Monday	<i>Rigoletto, Elvire</i>	M
	25	Wednesday	<i>Istar, Boléro, Coppélia</i>	B
	28	Saturday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
	29	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Soir de fête</i>	M
	30	Monday	<i>Palestrina</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
Apr	1	Wednesday	<i>Palestrina</i>	O
1942	5	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	6	Monday	<i>Rigoletto, Siang-Sin</i>	M
	7	Tuesday	<i>Palestrina</i>	O
	8	Wednesday	<i>Istar, Boléro, Le Chevalier et la Damaoiselle</i>	B
	11	Saturday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	12	Sunday	<i>Palestrina</i>	O
	13	Monday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	15	Wednesday	<i>Oriane et le prince d'amour, Istar, Coppélia</i>	B
	18	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	19	Sunday	<i>Don Juan</i>	O
	20	Monday	<i>Palestrina</i>	O
	23	Thursday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	24	Friday	<i>La Traviata</i>	O
	25	Saturday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Elwire</i>	M
	26	Sunday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	27	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	29	Wednesday	<i>Istar, Le Festin de l'araignée, Sylvia</i>	B
May	1	Friday	<i>Palestrina</i>	O
1942	2	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	3	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
	4	Monday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	6	Wednesday	<i>Giselle, Le Chevalier et la Damaoiselle</i>	B
	9	Saturday	<i>Don Juan</i>	O
	10	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	11	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	13	Wednesday	<i>Istar, Coppélia, Entre deux rondes, Boléro</i>	B
	16	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	17	Sunday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	18	Monday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	20	Wednesday	<i>Daphnis et Chloé, Les Deux Pigeons, Boléro</i>	B
	23	Saturday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Le Festin de l'araignée</i>	M
	24	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, Siang-Sin</i>	M
	25	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	27	Wednesday	<i>Icare, Les Deux Pigeons, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	B
	30	Saturday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Suite de danses</i>	M
	31	Sunday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
Jun	1	Monday	<i>Palestrina</i>	O
1942	3	Wednesday	<i>Istar, Entre deux rondes, Les Deux Pigeons, Boléro</i>	B
	4	Thursday	<i>Centenaire de la naissance de Massenet: Phèdre, La Vierge, Les Erynnies, Thaïs, Esclarmonde, Le Cid</i>	O
	6	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	7	Sunday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	8	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	10	Wednesday	<i>Sylvia, Jeux d'enfants, Boléro</i>	B
	13	Saturday	<i>Palestrina</i>	O
	14	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Elvire</i>	M
	15	Monday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	16	Tuesday	<i>Gala Serge Lifar</i>	B
	17	Wednesday	<i>Les Deux Pigeons, Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	B
	20	Saturday	<i>Rigoletto, Siang-Sin</i>	M
	21	Sunday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Suite de danses</i>	M
	22	Monday	<i>L'Or du Rhin</i>	O
	24	Wednesday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, Istar, Giselle</i>	B
	27	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	28	Sunday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose, Thaïs</i>	O
	29	Monday	<i>Le Drac, sorcier de la mer</i>	O
Jul	1	Wednesday	<i>Sylvia, Entre deux rondes, Boléro, Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	B
1942			<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	4	Saturday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	6	Monday	<i>Le Drac, sorcier de la mer</i>	O
	8	Wednesday	<i>Daphnis et Chloé, Istar, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	10	Friday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Joan de Zarissa, Les Créatures de Prométhée</i>	B
	11	Saturday	<i>Rigoletto, Joan de Zarissa</i>	M
	13	Monday	<i>Suite de danses, Le Festin de l'araignée, Giselle</i>	B
	15	Wednesday	<i>Siang-Sin, Les Deux Pigeons, Boléro</i>	B
	18	Saturday	<i>Alexandre le Grand, Le Spectre de la rose, Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	B
	19	Sunday	<i>Sylvia, Coppélia</i>	B
	22	Wednesday	<i>Alexandre le Grand, Les Deux Pigeons, Boléro</i>	B
	25	Saturday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Icare, Elvire, Les Créatures de Prométhée</i>	B
	26	Sunday	<i>Les Deux Pigeons, Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	B
	29	Wednesday	<i>Istar, Entre deux rondes, Boléro, Coppélia</i>	B
Aug	1	Saturday	<i>Suite de danses, Le Festin de l'araignée, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
1942	2	Sunday	<i>La Grisi, Istar, Giselle</i>	B
	5	Wednesday	<i>La Princesse au jardin, Le Spectre de la rose, Sylvia</i>	B
	8	Saturday	<i>Suite de danses, Les Animaux modèles, Entre deux rondes, Boléro</i>	B
	9	Sunday	<i>La Princesse au jardin, Les Animaux modèles, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	11	Tuesday	<i>Giselle, Coppélia</i>	B
	12	Wednesday	<i>Istar, Les Animaux modèles, Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	B
	15	Saturday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	17	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	19	Wednesday	<i>L'Or du Rhin</i>	O
	22	Saturday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	24	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	26	Wednesday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	29	Saturday	<i>L'Or du Rhin</i>	O
	31	Monday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
Sep	2	Wednesday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
1942	5	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	7	Monday	<i>L'Or du Rhin</i>	O
	9	Wednesday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	12	Saturday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	13	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	14	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	16	Wednesday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	19	Saturday	<i>Le Drac, sorcier de la mer</i>	O
	21	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	23	Wednesday	<i>La Princesse au jardin, Sylvia, Boléro</i>	B
	26	Saturday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	27	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
			Secrétariat général a la jeunesse, section de l'éducation physique et des sports	
	28	Monday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	30	Wednesday	<i>Daphnis et Chloé, Jeux d'enfants, Giselle</i>	B
Oct	3	Saturday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
1942	4	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	5	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	7	Wednesday	<i>Les Créatures de Prométhée, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	10	Saturday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
	11	Sunday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Les Santons</i>	M
	12	Monday	<i>Le Drac, sorcier de la mer</i>	O
	14	Wednesday	<i>Suite de danses, Elvire, Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	B
	17	Saturday	<i>Palestrina</i>	O
	18	Sunday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	19	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	21	Wednesday	<i>Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Joan de Zarissa, Boléro</i>	B
	24	Saturday	<i>Rigoletto, Elvire</i>	M
	25	Sunday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose, Faust</i>	O
	26	Monday	<i>Palestrina</i>	O
	28	Wednesday	<i>Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Joan de Zarissa, Boléro</i>	B
	30	Friday	<i>Jeux d'enfants, Sylvia. Boléro</i>	B
	31	Saturday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
Nov	1	Sunday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
1942	2	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	4	Wednesday	<i>La Princesse au jardin, Le Spectre de la rose, Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	B
	7	Saturday	<i>Palestrina</i>	O
	8	Sunday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	9	Monday	<i>Aïda</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	11	Wednesday	<i>Elvire, Entre deux rondes, Jeux d'enfants, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
	14	Saturday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	15	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
	16	Monday	<i>Salammbô</i>	O
			Grand Gala Chorégraphique présenté sous le patronage de La Petit Grande au profit des prisonniers de Bordeaux	
	18	Wednesday	<i>Istar, Les Animaux modèles, Sylvia</i>	B
	20	Friday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	21	Saturday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	22	Sunday	<i>Salammbô</i>	O
	23	Monday	<i>Palestrina</i>	O
	25	Wednesday	<i>Jeux d'enfants, Siang-Sin, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
	28	Saturday	<i>Mârouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	29	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	30	Monday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
Dec	2	Wednesday	<i>Les Deux Pigeons, Les Animaux modèles, Boléro</i>	B
1942	5	Saturday	<i>Salammbô</i>	O
	6	Sunday	<i>Mârouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	7	Monday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	9	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Le Spectre de la rose, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
	11	Friday	Les Cahiers d'art et d'Amitié dirigés par Paul Mourousy	
	12	Saturday	<i>Salammbô</i>	O
	13	Sunday	<i>Palestrina</i>	O
	14	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	16	Wednesday	<i>Les Animaux modèles, Istar, Le Chevalier et la Damoselle</i>	B
	17	Thursday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	18	Friday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	19	Saturday	<i>Le Drac, sorcier de la mer</i>	O
	20	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	21	Monday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
	23	Wednesday	<i>Les Santons, Entre deux rondes, Sylvia</i>	B
	24	Thursday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	25	Friday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	26	Saturday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	27	Sunday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose, Rigoletto</i>	O
	28	Monday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	30	Wednesday	<i>Jeux d'enfants, Les Animaux modèles, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
	31	Thursday	<i>Rigoletto, Suite de danses</i>	M
Jan	1	Friday	<i>Faust</i>	O
1943	2	Saturday	<i>Mârouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	3	Sunday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	4	Monday	<i>Le Drac, sorcier de la mer</i>	O
	6	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Suite de danses, Le Chevalier et la Damoselle</i>	B

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	9	Saturday	<i>Rigoletto, Les Santons</i>	M
	10	Sunday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	11	Monday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Elwire</i>	M
	13	Wednesday	<i>Siang-Sin, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Les Animaux modèles, Boléro</i>	B
	16	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	17	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	18	Monday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	20	Wednesday	<i>Les Santons, Le Spectre de la rose, Elwire, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
	22	Friday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	23	Saturday	<i>Salammbô</i>	O
	24	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
	25	Monday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	26	Tuesday	<i>Antigone, L'Amour sorcier</i>	M
	27	Wednesday	<i>Les Animaux modèles, Entre deux rondes, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
	30	Saturday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	31	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
Feb	1	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	M
1943	3	Wednesday	<i>Sylvia, Elwire, Boléro</i>	B
	6	Saturday	<i>Daphnis et Chloé, Antigone, L'Amour sorcier</i>	M
	7	Sunday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	8	Monday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	10	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, L'Amour sorcier, Les Animaux modèles</i>	B
	13	Saturday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	14	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, La Princesse au jardin</i>	M
	15	Monday	<i>Elwire, Antigone, L'Amour sorcier</i>	M
	17	Wednesday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, Boléro, Le Chevalier et la Damoselle</i>	B
	20	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
			Grand Gala Chorégraphique et Symphonique donné par Les Étoiles du Corps de Ballet de l'Opéra de Paris	
	21	Sunday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
			Grand Gala Chorégraphique et Symphonique donné par Les Étoiles du Corps de Ballet de l'Opéra de Paris	
	22	Monday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Les Santons</i>	M
	24	Wednesday	<i>Istar, Entre deux rondes, L'Amour sorcier, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	26	Friday	<i>Salammbô</i>	O
	27	Saturday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	28	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys, Les Santons, Elwire, Coppélia</i>	M
Mar	1	Monday	<i>Antigone, Le Festin de l'araignée, Coppélia</i>	M
1943	3	Wednesday	<i>La Princesse au jardin, Suite de danses, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
	6		<i>Suite de danses, Elwire, Coppélia</i>	B
	7	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	8	Monday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	10	Wednesday	<i>Les Animaux modèles, Entre deux rondes, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	13	Saturday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	14	Sunday	<i>Pénélope</i>	O
	15	Monday	<i>Rigoletto, Siang-Sin</i>	M
	17	Wednesday	<i>Les Santons, L'Amour sorcier, Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	B
	20	Saturday	<i>Pénélope, Istar</i>	M
	21	Sunday	<i>Daphnis et Chloé, Antigone, Les Animaux modèles</i>	M
	22	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	24	Wednesday	<i>Sylvia, Elvire, Boléro</i>	B
	26	Friday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	27	Saturday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	28	Sunday	<i>Pénélope</i>	O
	29	Monday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Antigone, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	M
	31	Wednesday	<i>Les Animaux modèles, Les Deux Pigeons, L'Amour sorcier</i>	B
Apr	3	Saturday	<i>Pénélope</i>	O
1943	4	Sunday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	5	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	9	Friday	<i>Sylvia, Le Festin de l'araignée, Boléro</i>	B
	10	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	11	Sunday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	12	Monday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	14	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Entre deux rondes, Les Santons, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
	15	Thursday	Récital de Danse	
	16	Friday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Les Santons</i>	M
	17	Saturday	<i>Istar, Antigone, Coppélia</i>	M
	19	Monday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	21	Wednesday	<i>L'Amour sorcier, Suite de danses, Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	B
	25	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	26	Monday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	27	Tuesday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	28	Wednesday	<i>Les Animaux modèles, Impressions de Music-Hall, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
	30	Friday	<i>Le Dame de Pique (Tchaikovsky)</i>	
May	1	Saturday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
1943	2	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, Les Santons</i>	M
	3	Monday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Elvire</i>	M
	5	Wednesday	<i>Daphnis et Chloé, Impressions de Music-Hall, Boléro</i>	B
	7	Friday	Grand Gala de Danse donné par Serge Lifar et Solange Schwartz	
	8	Saturday	<i>Othello</i>	O
	9	Sunday	<i>Pénélope</i>	O
	10	Monday	<i>Othello</i>	O
	12	Wednesday	<i>Les Animaux modèles, Entre deux rondes, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	15	Saturday	<i>Antigone, Coppélia</i>	M

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	16	Sunday	<i>La Damnation de Faust</i>	O
	18	Tuesday	<i>La Valkyrie</i>	O
	19	Wednesday	<i>L'Amour sorcier, Impressions de Music-Hall, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
	20	Thursday	Au bénéfice du Secours National "Entr'aide d'Hiver du Maréchal": <i>La Valkyrie</i>	O
	22	Saturday	<i>La Valkyrie</i>	O
	23	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	24	Monday	<i>Othello</i>	O
	26	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Les Santons, Le Chevalier et la Damoselle</i>	B
	28	Friday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
			Ceuvre Nationale de Service Social aux Familles de Militaires	
	29	Saturday	<i>Pénélope</i>	O
	30	Sunday	<i>Thais</i>	O
	31	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
Jun	1	Tuesday	Organisé par les Centres d'entr'aide de Camp au bénéfice des Prisonniers de Guerre et de leurs Familles: <i>Le Lac des cygnes</i>	
1943	2	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, L'Amour sorcier, Impressions de Music-Hall, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
	5	Saturday	<i>Othello</i>	O
	6	Sunday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme, Istar</i>	O
	9	Wednesday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, Elvire, Entre deux rondes, Suite de danses</i>	B
	11	Friday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	12	Saturday	<i>Pénélope</i>	O
	13	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	14	Monday	<i>Rigoletto, Impressions de Music-Hall</i>	M
	16	Wednesday	<i>Les Deux Pigeons, Le Chevalier et la Damoselle</i>	B
	19	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	20	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
	21	Monday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	23	Wednesday	<i>Les Animaux modèles, Le Jour, Coppélia</i>	B
	26	Saturday	<i>Othello</i>	O
	27	Sunday	<i>Pénélope, Istar</i>	M
	28	Monday	<i>Othello</i>	O
	30	Wednesday	<i>Suite de danses, Le Jour, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
Jul	2	Friday	<i>Istar, Antigone, Siang-Sin</i>	M
1943	4	Sunday	<i>Thais</i>	O
	5	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	7	Wednesday	<i>Les Animaux modèles, Le Jour, Le Chevalier et la Damoselle</i>	B
	10	Saturday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	12	Monday	<i>Sylvia, Impressions de Music-Hall, Boléro</i>	B
	14	Wednesday	<i>La Princesse au jardin, Entre deux rondes, Elvire, Les Animaux modèles</i>	B
	16	Friday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, L'Amour sorcier, Le Festin de l'araignée, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	19	Monday	<i>Istar, Suite de danses, Le Chevalier et la Damoselle</i>	B

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	21	Wednesday	<i>Sylvia, Icare, Boléro</i>	B
	23	Friday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, L'Amour sorcier, Elvire, Suite en blanc</i>	B
	26	Monday	<i>Les Deux Pigeons, Le Chevalier et la Damoselle</i>	B
	28	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Les Animaux modèles, Le Jour, Suite en blanc</i>	B
	30	Friday	<i>Coppélia, Giselle</i>	B
Aug	2	Monday	<i>Suite de danses, Icare, Le Chevalier et la Damoselle</i>	B
1943	4	Wednesday	<i>Les Deux Pigeons, Entre deux rondes, Suite en blanc</i>	B
	6	Friday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Impressions de Music-Hall, Sylvia</i>	B
	9	Monday	<i>Giselle, Le Festin de l'araignée, Boléro</i>	B
	11	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Le Jour, Suite en blanc</i>	B
	13	Friday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	15	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	16	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	18	Wednesday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	20	Friday	<i>Pénélope</i>	O
	22	Sunday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	23	Monday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	25	Wednesday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	26	Thursday	Janine Charrat et Roland Petit: <i>Giselle, Mephisto Waltz etc</i>	
	27	Friday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	29	Sunday	<i>Pénélope</i>	O
	30	Monday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
Sep	1	Wednesday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
1943	3	Friday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	5	Sunday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	6	Monday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	8	Wednesday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	10	Friday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	12	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	13	Monday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	15	Wednesday	<i>Pénélope</i>	O
	17	Friday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	19	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Elvire</i>	M
	20	Monday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	22	Wednesday	<i>Sylvia, Impressions de Music-Hall, Boléro</i>	B
	25	Saturday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Le Festin de l'araignée</i>	M
	26	Sunday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	27	Monday	<i>La Damnation de Faust</i>	O
	29	Wednesday	<i>Les Animaux modèles, Le Festin de l'araignée, Entre deux rondes, Suite en blanc</i>	B
Oct	2	Saturday	<i>Othello</i>	O
1943	3	Sunday	<i>Pénélope</i>	O
	4	Monday	<i>Peer Gynt</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	5	Tuesday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	6	Wednesday	<i>Les Santons, L'Amour sorcier, Giselle</i>	B
	8	Friday	<i>Serge Lifar, Yvette Chauviré, Janine Charrat, Guy Lainé van de Opera van Parijs</i>	
	9	Saturday	Grand Gala de Danse donné par Serge Lifar et Yvette Chauviré, with Orchestre national de Belgique	
			<i>Peer Gynt</i>	O
	10	Sunday	Grand Gala de Danse donné par Serge Lifar et Yvette Chauviré, with Orchestre national de Belgique	
			<i>Fidelio, Le Festin de l'araignée</i>	M
	11	Monday	Grand Gala de Danse donné par Serge Lifar et Yvette Chauviré, with Orchestre national de Belgique	
			<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	13	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la Rose, Joan de Zarissa, Boléro</i>	B
	14	Thursday	La Croix rouge française donne au profit de ses œuvres de guerre: Mermoz	
			<i>Icare</i>	X
	15	Friday	Gala de l'Exposition "Commerce et Industrie"	
	16	Saturday	<i>Peer Gynt</i>	O
	17	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	18	Monday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	19	Tuesday	Gala de l'Exposition "Commerce et Industrie"	
	20	Wednesday	<i>Suite de danses, Le Jour, Le Chevalier et la Damoselle</i>	B
	22	Friday	<i>Le Festin du Charme</i> , organisé par le Prince A. Michaguine, au profit des centres d'entraide aux prisonniers de guerre des Stalags X	
	23	Saturday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	24	Sunday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	25	Monday	<i>Aida</i>	O
	27	Wednesday	<i>Les Animaux modèles, Entre deux rondes, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	30	Saturday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Elvire</i>	M
	31	Sunday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	31		<i>Faust</i>	O
Nov	1	Monday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
1943	3	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, L'Amour sorcier, Suite en blanc</i>	B
	6	Saturday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose, Aida</i>	O
	7	Sunday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	8	Monday	<i>Othello</i>	O
	10	Wednesday	<i>Suite de danses, Impressions de Music-Hall, Le Chevalier et la Damoselle</i>	B
	13	Saturday	<i>Peer Gynt</i>	O
	14	Sunday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	15	Monday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	17	Wednesday	Serge Lifar brings José Torrès, the famous Spanish dancer	
			<i>Istar, Entre deux rondes, Le Festin de l'araignée, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
	18	Thursday	Récital de Danse: Desta et Menen avec le concours d'André Dumas et des artistes de l'Orchestre du Theatre National de l'Opera	
	19	Friday	<i>Istar, Entre deux rondes, Impressions de Music-Hall, Le Chevalier et la Damoselle</i>	B

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	20	Saturday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Coppélia</i>	M
	21	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	22	Monday	<i>Peer Gynt</i>	O
	24	Wednesday	<i>Les Deux Pigeons, Le Jour, Suite de danses</i>	B
	27	Saturday	Serge Lifar: Maitre de Ballet, Premier danseur Étoile du Théâtre National de l'Opéra <i>Rigoletto, Impressions de Music-Hall</i>	M
	28	Sunday	Serge Lifar: Maitre de Ballet, Premier danseur Étoile du Théâtre National de l'Opéra <i>Faust</i>	O
	29	Monday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
Dec	1	Wednesday	<i>Les Santons, L'Amour sorcier, Giselle</i>	B
1943	3	Friday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	4	Saturday	<i>Peer Gynt</i>	O
	5	Sunday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	6	Monday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	8	Wednesday	<i>Suite de danses, Jeux d'enfants, Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	B
	11	Saturday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Les Santons</i>	M
	12	Sunday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	13	Monday	Récital de Danse: Olga Alexandrowicz and Christian Foye <i>Faust</i>	O
	15	Wednesday	<i>Daphnis et Chloé, Istar, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
	17	Friday	Das Ballet der Grossen Oper Paris mit Serge Lifar: Faune, Lalo, Schumann, <i>Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i> <i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	18	Saturday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	19	Sunday	<i>Thaïs, Rigoletto, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
	20	Monday	<i>Peer Gynt</i>	O
	22	Wednesday	<i>Sylvia, Les Santons, Boléro</i>	B
	23	Thursday	<i>Jeux d'enfants, Les Santons, Coppélia</i>	B
	24	Friday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	25	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	26	Sunday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Les Santons</i>	M
	27	Monday	<i>Othello</i>	O
	29	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Les Deux Pigeons, Entre deux rondes, Suite en blanc</i>	B
	31	Friday	<i>Rigoletto, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
Jan	1	Saturday	<i>Faust</i>	O
1944	2	Sunday	<i>Peer Gynt</i>	O
	3	Monday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	5	Wednesday	<i>Istar, L'Amour sorcier, La Grisi, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
	8	Saturday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	9	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
			Invitation: Grand Gala de Bienfaisance avec le concours de Serge Lifar et les artistes de l'Opéra Russe	

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	10	Monday	<i>Othello</i>	O
	12	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Daphnis et Chloé, Le Festin de l'araignée, Suite en blanc</i>	B
	14	Friday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Le Festin de l'araignée</i>	M
	15	Saturday	<i>Peer Gynt</i>	O
	16	Sunday	<i>Suite de danses, Elvire, Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	B
	17	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	19	Wednesday	<i>Istar, Entre deux rondes, L'Amour sorcier, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	22	Saturday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	23	Sunday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	24	Monday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
			Le Rideau Vert présente un récital de danse de Janine Charrat	
	26	Wednesday	<i>Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle, La Grisi, Boléro</i>	B
	29	Saturday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	30	Sunday	<i>Peer Gynt</i>	O
	31	Monday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
Feb	1	Tuesday	État Français, secretariat des camps: Grand Gala de la Danse	
1944	2	Wednesday	<i>Coppélia, Daphnis et Chloé, Boléro</i>	B
	4	Friday	Société Philharmonique de Bruxelles, Serge Lifar et quelques Etoiles de l'Opéra de Paris: <i>Les Animaux modèles, Entre deux rondes, Suite de Namouna</i>	
	5	Saturday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
			Société Philharmonique de Bruxelles, Serge Lifar et quelques Etoiles de l'Opéra de Paris: Beethoven, Poulenc, Lifar	
	6	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
			Société Philharmonique de Bruxelles, Serge Lifar et quelques Etoiles de l'Opéra de Paris: Lalo, Debussy, Gaubert	
	7	Monday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	9	Wednesday	<i>Les Deux Pigeons, Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	B
	11	Friday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	12	Saturday	<i>Alceste</i>	O
	13	Sunday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, La Grisi, Sylvia</i>	B
	14	Monday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	16	Wednesday	<i>Istar, Le Jour, Le Festin de l'araignée, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
	18	Friday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Le Festin de l'araignée</i>	M
	19	Saturday	<i>Peer Gynt</i>	O
	20	Sunday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose, Samson et Dalila</i>	O
	21	Monday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	23	Wednesday	<i>La Grisi, Entre deux rondes, Elvire, Suite en blanc</i>	B
	25	Friday	<i>Alceste</i>	O
			Grand Gala de Danse: <i>Giselle</i>	
			Yvette Chauviré: danseuse étoile du théâtre national de l'opéra	
	26	Saturday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	27	Sunday	<i>Alceste</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	28	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
Mar	1	Wednesday	<i>Le Jour, La Grisi, Les Animaux modèles, Suite de danses</i>	B
1944	3	Friday	<i>Alceste</i>	O
	4	Saturday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	5	Sunday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	6	Monday	<i>Rigoletto, Elvire</i>	M
	8	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, L'Amour sorcier, Coppélia, Boléro</i>	B
	9	Thursday	<i>Le Chevalier à la rose</i>	O
	11	Saturday	<i>Peer Gynt</i>	O
	12	Sunday	<i>Pénélope</i>	O
	13	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	15	Wednesday	<i>Istar, Daphnis et Chloé, Le Festin de l'araignée, Suite en blanc</i>	B
	18	Saturday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Impressions de Music-Hall</i>	M
	19	Sunday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	20	Monday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	22	Wednesday	<i>L'Amour sorcier, La Grisi, Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	B
	24	Friday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	25	Saturday	<i>Alceste</i>	O
	26	Sunday	<i>Les Deux Pigeons, Entre deux rondes, Les Animaux modèles</i>	B
	27	Monday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	29	Wednesday	<i>Les Animaux modèles, Elvire, Joan de Zarissa</i>	B
Apr	1	Saturday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
1944	3	Monday	<i>Samson et Dalila</i>	O
	4	Tuesday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	5	Wednesday	<i>Le Jour, Les Deux Pigeons, Suite en blanc</i>	B
	7	Friday	L'Association Nationale des ames des travailleurs français et Allemagne	
	9	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	10	Monday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	12	Wednesday	<i>L'Amour sorcier, Elvire, Le Chevalier et la Damoiselle</i>	B
	14	Friday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	16	Sunday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	17	Monday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	18	Tuesday	<i>Pénélope</i>	O
	19	Wednesday	<i>Daphnis et Chloé, Suite de danses, Les Animaux modèles</i>	B
	23	Sunday	<i>Suite de danses, Siang-Sin, Le Festin de l'araignée, Boléro, Le Roi d'Ys</i>	M
	24	Monday	<i>Alceste</i>	O
			Récital de Danse, Suzanne Sarabelle et Youly Algaroff	
	26	Wednesday	<i>La Grisi, Entre deux rondes, Impressions de Music-Hall, Suite en blanc</i>	B
	29	Saturday	<i>L'Étranger, Guignol et Pandore</i>	M
	30	Sunday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Elvire</i>	M
May	1	Monday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
1944	2	Tuesday	Gala des Etoiles au bénéfice du livret du prisonnier	

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	3	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Guignol et Pandore, Elwire, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	B
	6	Saturday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	7	Sunday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	8	Monday	<i>Cinq Visages de la Danse, au profit des sinistrés de Normandie</i>	
			<i>Antigone, Suite en blanc</i>	M
	10	Wednesday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, Guignol et Pandore, Boléro</i>	B
	14	Sunday	<i>Thaïs, L'Étranger, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
	15	Monday	<i>La Damnation de Faust</i>	O
	17	Wednesday	<i>Suite de danses, Guignol et Pandore, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	B
	21	Sunday	<i>Antigone, L'Étranger, Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	22	Monday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Impressions de Music-Hall, L'Amour sorcier</i>	B
	24	Wednesday	<i>L'Amour sorcier, Elwire, Suite en blanc</i>	B
	25	Thursday	<i>La Tosca</i>	O
	28	Sunday	<i>Faust, Fidelio</i>	O
	29	Monday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	31	Wednesday	<i>Entre deux rondes, La Grisi, Guignol et Pandore</i>	B
Jun	4	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto, Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
1944	5	Monday	<i>La Damnation de Faust</i>	O
	7	Wednesday	<i>Les Animaux modèles, Les Deux Pigeons, Boléro</i>	B
	11	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	12	Monday	<i>Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Coppélia, L'Amour sorcier</i>	B
	14	Wednesday	<i>Roméo et Juliette (ballet, Gounod)</i>	B
	18	Sunday	<i>Faust, Thaïs</i>	O
	19	Monday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Entre deux rondes, Sylvia, Impressions de Music-Hall</i>	B
	21	Wednesday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	23	Friday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	24	Saturday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	25	Sunday	<i>Le Vaisseau fantôme</i>	O
	26	Monday	<i>Le Chevalier et la Damoselle, Suite de danses</i>	B
	28	Wednesday	<i>La Damnation de Faust</i>	O
	30	Friday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
Jul	2	Sunday	<i>Guignol et Pandore, Coppélia, Suite de danses</i>	B
1944	5	Wednesday	<i>Les Animaux modèles, Elwire, Boléro</i>	B
	7	Friday	<i>La Tragédie de Salomé, Suite en blanc, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune</i>	B
	9	Sunday	<i>Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, La Tragédie de Salomé, Sylvia</i>	B
	10	Monday	<i>Unique Soirée de Danse</i>	
	12	Wednesday	<i>Entre deux rondes, Les Deux Pigeons, Suite de danses</i>	B
	14	Friday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Les Animaux modèles, Guignol et Pandore</i>	B
	16	Sunday	<i>Boléro, Les Deux Pigeons, Suite en blanc</i>	B
	19	Wednesday	<i>La Tragédie de Salomé, Sylvia, Suite de danses</i>	B
	21	Friday	<i>Les Animaux modèles, Coppélia, Suite en blanc</i>	B

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	22	Saturday	<i>Les Mirages</i> (dress rehearsal)	B
Oct	23	Monday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
1944	25	Wednesday	<i>Elvire, Suite de danses, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	27	Friday	<i>Samson et Dalila</i>	O
	30	Monday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
Nov	3	Friday	<i>La Damnation de Faust</i>	O
1944	5	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	6	Monday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	8	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Daphnis et Chloé, Giselle</i>	B
	10	Friday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	11	Saturday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	13	Monday	<i>Samson et Dalila</i>	O
	15	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, La Grisi, Jeux d'enfants, Coppélia</i>	B
	17	Friday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
	19	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	20	Monday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	22	Wednesday	<i>Daphnis et Chloé, Impressions de Music-Hall, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	24	Friday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	26	Sunday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Elvire</i>	M
	27	Monday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	29	Wednesday	<i>La Grisi, Jeux d'enfants, Giselle</i>	B
Dec	1	Friday	<i>Faust</i>	O
1944	3	Sunday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	4	Monday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	6	Wednesday	<i>Le Cid, Daphnis et Chloé, Coppélia</i>	B
	8	Friday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
			Les Soirées de la Danse	
	10	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Soir de fête</i>	M
	11	Monday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	13	Wednesday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, La Grisi, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	15	Friday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
			Evocation Romantique: Ballet Blanc, Suite Folklorique, Le Rossignol et la Rose: Charrat, Petit, Vyroubova, Jean-Michel Damase etc	
	17	Sunday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	18	Monday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
	20	Wednesday	<i>Le Cid, Les Santons, Giselle</i>	B
	22	Friday	<i>Othello</i>	O
			<i>Le Passé et le Présent</i>	
	24	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
			Festival de Danse Lycette Darsonval	
	25	Monday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	27	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Les Santons, Jeux d'enfants, Coppélia</i>	B
	29	Friday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	31	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
Jan	1	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
1945	2	Tuesday	<i>Boris Godounov, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	M
	3	Wednesday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, Les Santons, Giselle</i>	B
	5	Friday	<i>Othello</i>	O
	7	Sunday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	8	Monday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Elvire</i>	M
	10	Wednesday	<i>La Péri, Impressions de Music-Hall, Jeux d'enfants, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	12	Friday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
			Tous les Visages de la Danse: Janine Charrat	
	13	Saturday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	14	Sunday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	15	Monday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	17	Wednesday	<i>Le Cid, La Grisi, Coppélia</i>	B
	19	Friday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	22	Monday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	24	Wednesday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, La Péri, Giselle</i>	B
	26	Friday	<i>Othello</i>	O
	27	Saturday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys, Elvire, Roméo et Juliette, Giselle</i>	M
	29	Monday	<i>Othello</i>	O
	31	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Soir de fête, Elvire, Coppélia</i>	B
Feb	2	Friday	<i>Rigoletto, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
1945	5	Monday	<i>Samson et Dalila, La Péri</i>	M
	7	Wednesday	<i>Le Cid, La Péri, Les Deux Pigeons, Coppélia instead of Les Deux</i>	B
	9	Friday	<i>Othello</i>	O
	12	Monday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	14	Wednesday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, Impressions de Music-Hall, Giselle</i>	B
	16	Friday	<i>Samson et Dalila, La Péri</i>	M
	18	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	19	Monday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	20	Tuesday	<i>Suite de danses, Elvire, Coppélia</i>	B
	21	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, La Péri, Elvire, Coppélia</i>	B
	23	Friday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	25	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	26	Monday	<i>Othello</i>	O
	27	Tuesday	<i>Roméo et Juliette (ballet, Tchaikovsky)</i>	O
	28	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Suite de danses, Castor et Pollux, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	M
Mar	2	Friday	<i>Rigoletto, Impressions de Music-Hall</i>	M
1945	4	Sunday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	5	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	7	Wednesday	<i>La Grisi, Le Festin de l'araignée, Coppélia</i>	B
	9	Friday	<i>Hériodiade</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	10	Saturday	<i>Hériodiade</i>	O
	11	Sunday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	12	Monday	<i>Hériodiade</i>	O
	14	Wednesday	<i>Castor et Pollux</i> (ballet), <i>La Péri</i> , <i>Impressions de Music-Hall</i> , <i>Coppélia</i>	B
	16	Friday	<i>La Damnation de Faust</i> , <i>Impressions de Music-Hall</i>	M
			<i>Gala de Danse avec Lycette Darsonval</i>	
	17	Saturday	<i>Samson et Dalila</i>	O
	18	Sunday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	19	Monday	<i>Samson et Dalila</i> , <i>Elvire</i>	M
	20	Tuesday	Croix-Rouge Française: Janine Charrat: Tcherepine, Chopin, Liszt, Ravel, Debussy etc	
	21	Wednesday	<i>Suite de danses</i> , <i>Elvire</i> , <i>Giselle</i>	B
	23	Friday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	25	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	26	Monday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	27	Tuesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose</i> , <i>Elvire</i> , <i>Suite de danses</i>	B
	28	Wednesday	<i>Mârouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
Apr	1	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
1945	2	Monday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose</i> , <i>Suite de danses</i> , <i>Castor et Pollux</i> (ballet), <i>Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	3	Tuesday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	4	Wednesday	<i>La Grisi</i> , <i>Roméo et Juliette</i> (ballet, Gounod), <i>Giselle</i>	B
	6	Friday	<i>Hériodiade</i>	O
	7	Saturday	<i>Rigoletto</i> , <i>Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
	8	Sunday	<i>La Damnation de Faust</i> , <i>Elvire</i>	M
	9	Monday	<i>Mârouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	10	Tuesday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	11	Wednesday	<i>Le Cid</i> , <i>Daphnis et Chloé</i> , <i>Coppélia</i>	B
	13	Friday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	15	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	16	Monday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	18	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose</i> , <i>Soir de fête</i> , <i>Jeux d'enfants</i> , <i>Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	20	Friday	<i>Rigoletto</i> , <i>Elvire</i>	M
	23	Monday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	25	Wednesday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée</i> , <i>Les Santons</i> , <i>Giselle</i>	B
	28	Saturday	<i>La Damnation de Faust</i> , <i>Impressions de Music-Hall</i>	M
	29	Sunday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	30	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
May	2	Wednesday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i> (ballet, Gounod), <i>Soir de fête</i> , <i>Jeux d'enfants</i> , <i>Daphnis et Chloé</i>	B
1945	4	Friday	<i>Rigoletto</i> , <i>Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
	6	Sunday	<i>La Damnation de Faust</i> , <i>Castor et Pollux</i>	O
	7	Monday	<i>Hériodiade</i>	O
	8	Tuesday	<i>Hériodiade</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	9	Wednesday	<i>La Grisi, Le Festin de l'araignée, Giselle</i>	B
	11	Friday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	13	Sunday	<i>Mârrouf, savetier du Caire</i>	O
	14	Monday	<i>Pénélope</i>	O
	15	Tuesday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	16	Wednesday	<i>Les Santons, Castor et Pollux (ballet), Impressions de Music-Hall, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	18	Friday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Les Santons</i>	M
	20	Sunday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	21	Monday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	25	Friday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	26	Saturday	<i>Suite de danses, Jeux d'enfants, Coppélia</i>	B
	27	Sunday	<i>Héroidade</i>	O
	28	Monday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Castor et Pollux (ballet)</i>	M
	30	Wednesday	<i>Le Cid, Le Spectre de la rose, Daphnis et Chloé, Impressions de Music-Hall</i>	B
Jun	1	Friday	<i>Pénélope, La Péri</i>	M
1945	3	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	4	Monday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Le Festin de l'araignée</i>	M
	5	Tuesday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	6	Wednesday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, Les Santons, Giselle</i>	B
	7	Thursday	<i>Récital de Danse, Janine Charrat</i>	
	8	Friday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	9	Saturday	<i>Manon, Suite de danses, Coppélia, Le Spectre de la rose, Rigoletto</i>	M
	10	Sunday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	11	Monday	<i>Rigoletto, Suite de danses, Coppélia, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
	13	Wednesday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	15	Friday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	17	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Les Santons</i>	M
	18	Monday	<i>Suite de danses, Aïda, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
	19	Tuesday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Suite de danses</i>	M
	20	Wednesday	<i>Le Cid, Soir de fête, Coppélia</i>	B
	21	Thursday	<i>Récital de Danse avec Janine Charrat, Jean Babilée et al</i>	
	22	Friday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	24	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	25	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	27	Wednesday	<i>Héroidade</i>	O
	28	Thursday	<i>Soir de fête, Impressions de Music-Hall, Coppélia</i>	B
	29	Friday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
Jul	2	Monday	<i>Suite de danses, Elvire, Coppélia</i>	B
1945	4	Wednesday	<i>Impressions de Music-Hall, Jeux d'enfants, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	6	Friday	<i>La Grisi, Le Festin de l'araignée, Giselle</i>	B
	9	Monday	<i>Roméo et Juliette (ballet, Gounod), Les Santons, L'Appel de la montagne, Soir de fête</i>	B
	11	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Suite de danses, Coppélia</i>	B

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	14	Saturday	<i>Les Santons, Elvire, L'Appel de la montagne</i>	B
	16	Monday	<i>La Grisi, Jeux d'enfants, Giselle</i>	B
	18	Wednesday	<i>Impressions de Music-Hall, L'Appel de la montagne, Daphnis et Chloé</i>	B
	20	Friday	<i>La Péri, Les Santons, Coppélia</i>	B
	23	Monday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, L'Appel de la montagne, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	25	Wednesday	<i>Suite de danses, La Péri, Coppélia</i>	B
	27	Friday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, Impressions de Music-Hall, L'Appel de la montagne, La Grisi</i>	B
	30	Monday	<i>Les Santons, Elvire, Giselle</i>	B
Aug	1	Wednesday	<i>Le Spectre de la rose, L'Appel de la montagne, Giselle</i>	B
1945	3	Friday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	5	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	6	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	8	Wednesday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	10	Friday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	12	Sunday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	13	Monday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	15	Wednesday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	17	Friday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	19	Sunday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	20	Monday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	22	Wednesday	<i>La Tour de feu</i>	O
	24	Friday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	26	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	27	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	29	Wednesday	<i>La Tour de feu</i>	O
	31	Friday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
Sep	2	Sunday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
1945	3	Monday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	5	Wednesday	<i>La Tour de feu</i>	O
	7	Friday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	9	Sunday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	10	Monday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	12	Wednesday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, Elvire, Giselle</i>	B
	14	Friday	<i>La Tour de feu</i>	O
	16	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	17	Monday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Divertissement d'Alceste</i>	M
	19	Wednesday	<i>Les Santons, L'Appel de la montagne, Coppélia</i>	B
	21	Friday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	23	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	24	Monday	<i>Fidelio</i>	O
	26	Wednesday	<i>La Grisi, Suite de danses, Les Deux Pigeons, Samson et Dalila, Impressions de Music-Hall</i>	M
	28	Friday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Impressions de Music-Hall</i>	M

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	30	Sunday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
Oct	1	Monday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
1945	3	Wednesday	<i>L'Appel de la montagne, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Giselle</i>	B
	5	Friday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	7	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
	8	Monday	<i>La Tour de feu</i>	O
	10	Wednesday	<i>Istar, Jeux d'enfants, Impressions de Music-Hall, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	12	Friday	<i>Thais</i>	O
	14	Sunday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Jeux d'enfants</i>	M
	15	Monday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	17	Wednesday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, Elvire, Coppélia</i>	B
	19	Friday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	21	Sunday	<i>Istar, L'Appel de la montagne, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	22	Monday	<i>Pénélope</i>	O
	24	Wednesday	<i>La Grisi, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Giselle</i>	B
	26	Friday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	28	Sunday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	29	Monday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Divertissement d'Alceste</i>	M
	31	Wednesday	<i>Les Santons, Jeux d'enfants, Le Spectre de la rose, Coppélia</i>	B
Nov	2	Friday	<i>Pénélope</i>	O
1945	4	Sunday	<i>Le Roi d'Ys</i>	O
	5	Monday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	7	Wednesday	<i>Istar, Suite de danses, Impressions de Music-Hall, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	9	Friday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Le Spectre de la rose</i>	M
	12	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	14	Wednesday	<i>L'Appel de la montagne, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Giselle</i>	B
	16	Friday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O
	18	Sunday	<i>Le Festin de l'araignée, La Grisi, Coppélia</i>	B
	19	Monday	<i>Rigoletto</i>	O
	21	Wednesday	<i>Ariane et Barbe-Bleue</i>	O
	23	Friday	<i>Aïda</i>	O
	25	Sunday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	26	Monday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Soir de fête</i>	M
	28	Wednesday	<i>Istar, Soir de fête, Les Santons, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	M
	30	Friday	<i>Ariane et Barbe-Bleue</i>	O
Dec	1	Saturday	<i>Pénélope</i>	O
1945	2	Sunday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Castor et Pollux (ballet)</i>	M
	3	Monday	<i>Thais</i>	O
	5	Wednesday	<i>Suite de danses, Cydalise et le Chèvre-pied, Impressions de Music-Hall</i>	B
	7	Friday	<i>La Flûte enchantée</i>	O
	8	Saturday	<i>Ariane et Barbe-Bleue</i>	O

Month	Date	Day	Title	Type
	9	Sunday	<i>Samson et Dalila, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Giselle</i>	M
	10	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	12	Wednesday	<i>La Grisi, Jeux d'enfants, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Giselle</i>	B
	14	Friday	<i>Othello</i>	O
	15	Saturday	<i>Boris Godounov</i>	O
	16	Sunday	<i>Fidelio, Suite de danses</i>	M
	17	Monday	<i>Ariane et Barbe-Bleue</i>	O
	18	Tuesday	<i>Les Troyens, Défilé du corps de ballet (Berlioz)</i>	M
	19	Wednesday	<i>L'Appel de la montagne, Cydalise et le Chèvre-pied, Soir de fête</i>	B
	21	Friday	<i>Othello</i>	O
	23	Sunday	<i>Thaïs</i>	O
	24	Monday	<i>Faust</i>	O
	25	Tuesday	<i>La Damnation de Faust, Castor et Pollux (ballet)</i>	M
	26	Wednesday	<i>Elvire, Les Santons, Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune, Les Deux Pigeons</i>	B
	28	Friday	<i>Ariane et Barbe-Bleue</i>	O
	30	Sunday	<i>L'Appel de la montagne, La Grisi, Coppélia</i>	B
	31	Monday	<i>Roméo et Juliette</i>	O

APPENDIX E: COMPARISON OF PERFORMANCE FREQUENCIES BY YEAR, TIME PERIOD AND DAY

This appendix uses the information in my database of performances at the Paris Opéra in the period 1937-47 (part of which is shown in Appendix D) to quantitatively compare:

- i. The number of opera, ballet and mixed programme presentations per year.
- ii. The percentage of opera, ballet and mixed programme presentations per year.
- iii. The average percentage of opera, ballet and mixed programme presentations before the outbreak of war and before, during and after the German occupation of France.
- iv. The performance frequencies by day of the week.

The information is expressed here firstly in table format and, on the following pages, as graphs.

- i. **Number of opera (O), ballet (B), and mixed programme (M) presentations at the Paris Opéra per year, 1937-47**

	Opera	Ballet	Mixed programme	Total
1937	127	27	52	206
1938	127	21	62	210
1939	107	19	48	174
1940	45	25	13	83
1941	113	55	30	198
1942	125	58	28	211
1943	118	60	38	216
1944	98	56	18	172
1945	114	52	35	201
1946	153	56	28	237
1947	174	52	18	244

- ii. Percentage of opera (O), ballet (B) and mixed programme (M) presentations per year, 1937-47

	Opera	Ballet	Mixed programme
1937	61.65%	13.11%	25.24%
1938	60.48%	10.00%	29.52%
1939	61.49%	10.92%	27.59%
1940	54.22%	30.12%	15.66%
1941	57.07%	27.78%	15.15%
1942	59.24%	27.49%	13.27%
1943	54.63%	27.78%	17.59%
1944	56.98%	32.56%	10.47%
1945	56.72%	25.87%	17.41%
1946	64.56%	23.63%	11.81%
1947	71.31%	21.31%	7.38%

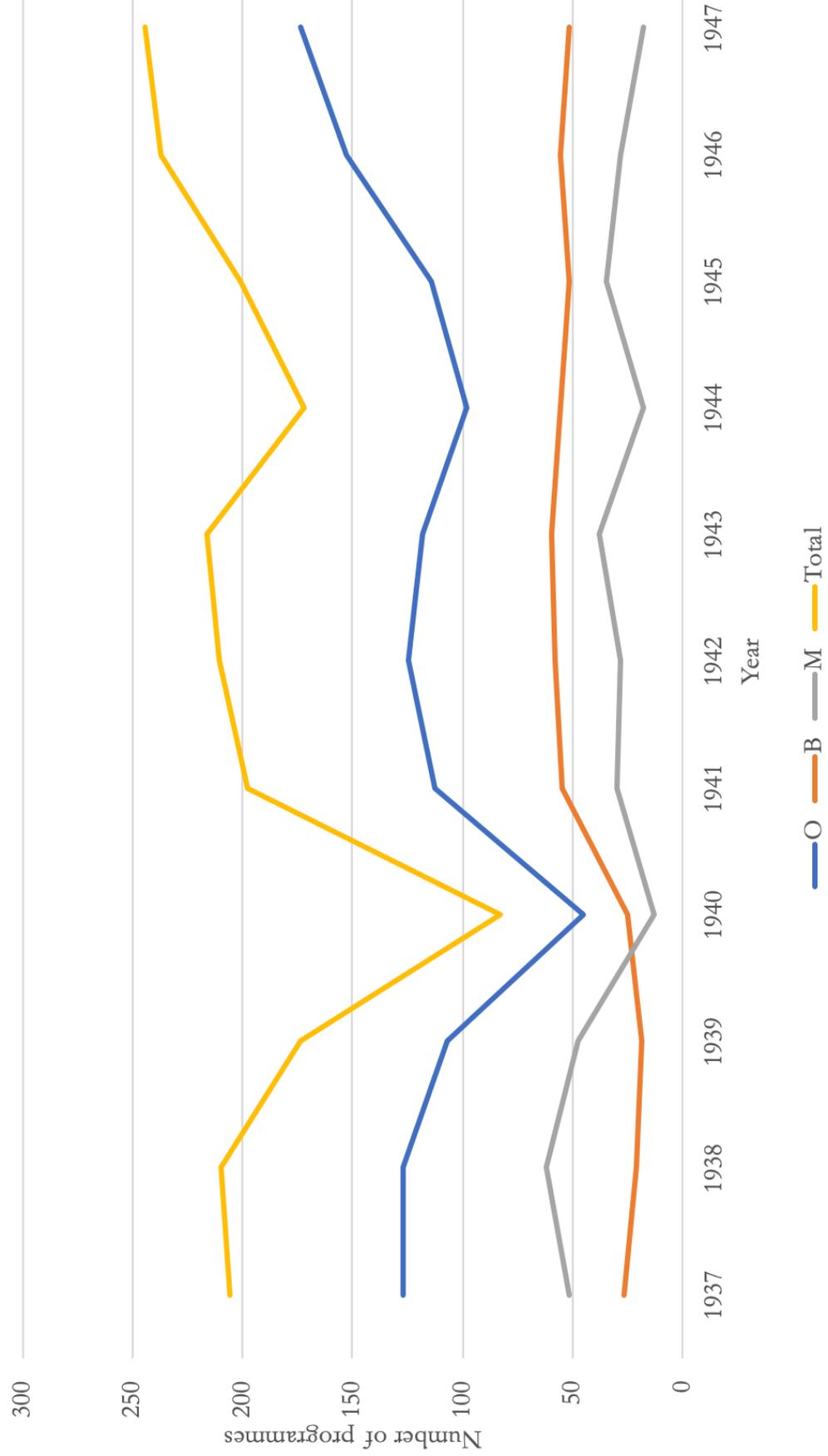
- iii. The average percentage of opera, ballet and mixed programme presentations before the outbreak of war and before, during and after the German occupation of France.

	Opera	Ballet	Mixed programme
Before World War II (01/1937-08/1939)	60.36%	11.59%	28.05%
Before the armistice (09/1939-05/1940)	67.67%	17.33%	5.00%
Occupation period (06/1940-08/1944)	54.08%	28.61%	13.26%
After the liberation (08/1944-12/1947)	59.09%	23.14%	10.45%

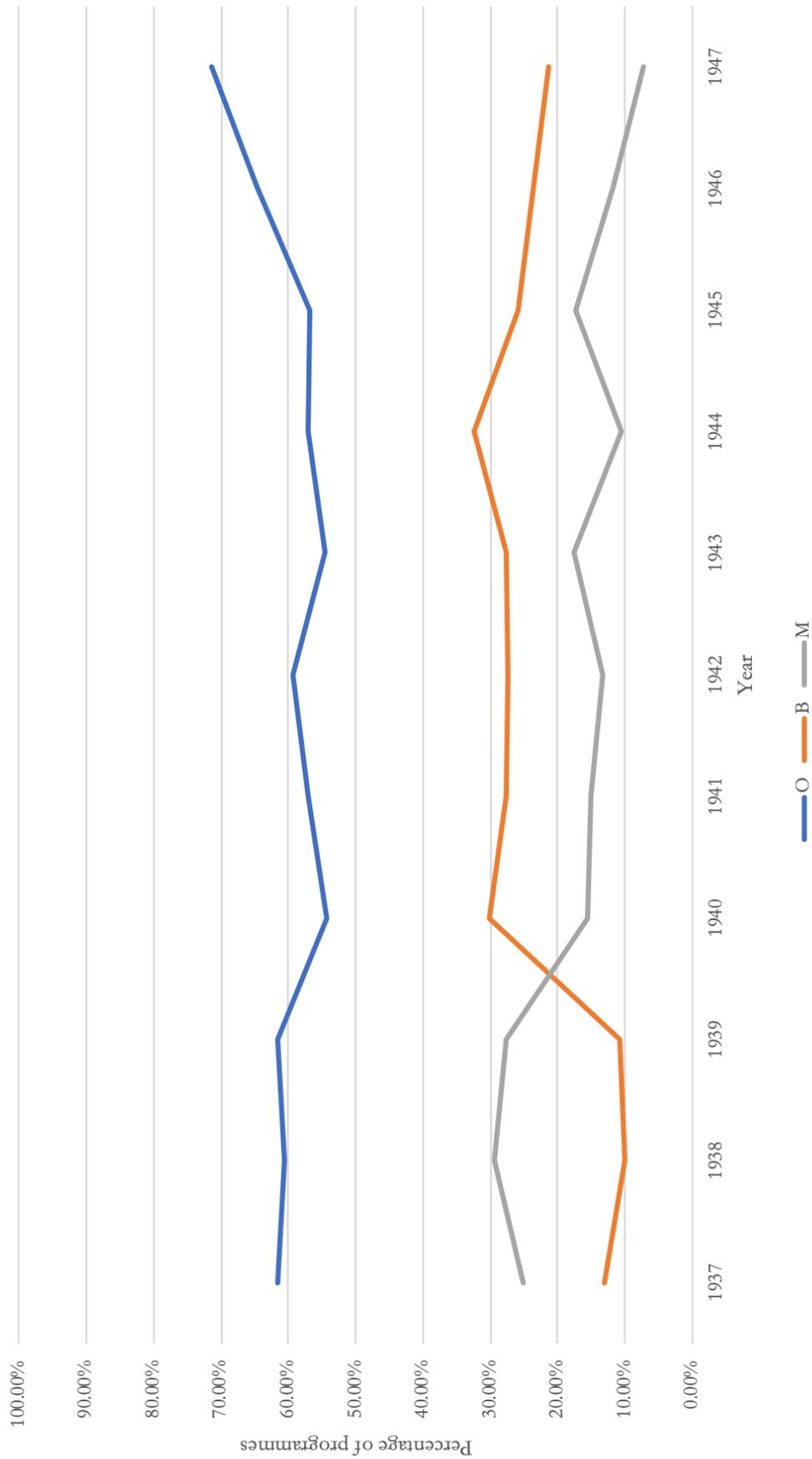
- iv. Frequency of opera (O), ballet (B), mixed programme (M) and total presentations by day of the week

	O	B	M	Total	Expressed as %
Monday	313	44	88	445	22%
Tuesday	34	6	6	46	2%
Wednesday	121	305	49	475	24%
Thursday	28	5	7	40	2%
Friday	210	41	60	311	16%
Saturday	279	18	67	364	18%
Sunday	229	23	66	318	16%

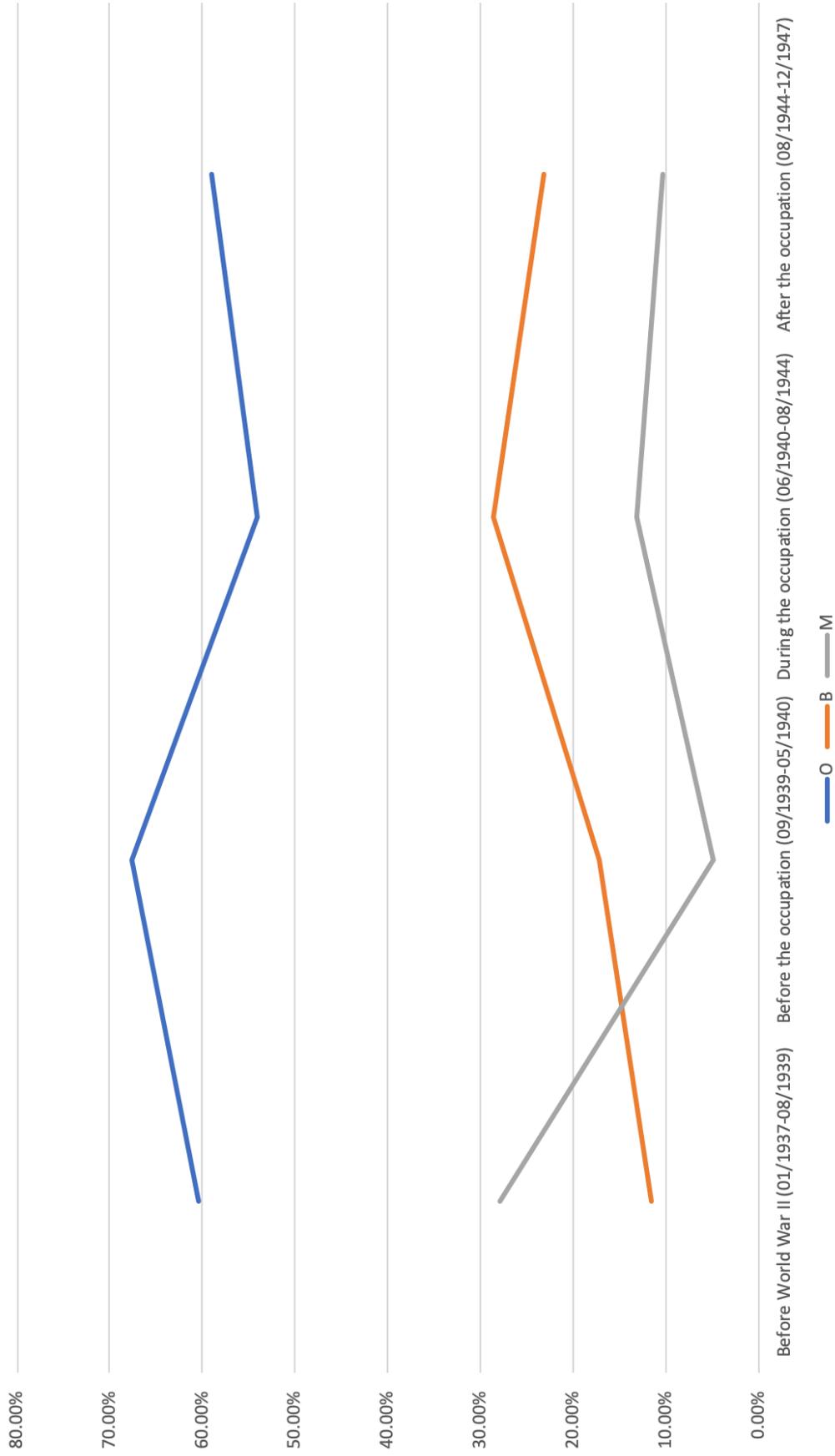
Graph I. Number of opera (O), ballet (B), and mixed programme (M) presentations at the Palais Garnier per year, 1937-47



Graph II. Percentage of opera (O), ballet (B) and mixed programme (M) presentations at the Palais Garnier per year, 1937-47



Graph III. Average percentage of opera (O), ballet (B) and mixed programme (M) presentations at the Palais Garnier before the outbreak of war and before, during and after the German occupation of France.



Graph IV. Frequency of opera (O), ballet (B), mixed programme (M) and total presentations by day of the week

