

## Serge Lifar and the Paris Opera during World War II.

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Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the popularity of opera as a genre had been declining in favour of ballet. Seizing on this new-found energy, from 1930 ballet at the Paris Opera underwent a revival thanks to the impetus of Serge Lifar. Following the success of his *Créatures de Prométhée*, this former lead dancer of the Ballets Russes was appointed choreographer, *premier danseur* and ballet master at the Palais Garnier by Jacques Rouché, director of the Paris Opera.<sup>1</sup> From that moment, Lifar thought of the Paris Opera House as his home and, with Rouché's encouragement, sought to rebuild its reputation for choreography.<sup>2</sup> To achieve this, he imposed specific rules on the dancers so that they might win both public respect and critical acclaim.<sup>3</sup> From 1930 to 1938, Lifar remodelled the *corps de ballet* of the Paris Opera in line with the neo-classical aesthetics he was formulating in the many works he created during this period.<sup>4</sup> The essence of his style resides in the notion that dance is a means of spiritualizing the soul, which is why he wanted this new *corps de ballet* – what we might think of as the mechanical, or technical, part of dance – to engender a new spirit which would bring about the rebirth of ballet.

With the outbreak of war in September 1939, Lifar's choreographic work was abruptly curtailed when the Paris Opera House was forced to close.<sup>5</sup> However, his urgent creative impulse, as well as his desire to revitalize the dance repertoire of the Palais Garnier, led him to continue his work in order to serve his country as well as his art. In an attempt to save members of the troupe from conscription, he organized a tour of Australia, quickly followed by a tour of Spain, to prove that the French spirit and French art were alive and well.<sup>6</sup> He returned in triumph, but was greeted by an unpleasant surprise.<sup>7</sup> The doors of the Palais Garnier were locked, and the entire administrative staff had fled to Cahors. Lifar, unable to leave Paris on account of a decree confining conscripted Parisians like himself to the capital, was summoned to a secret committee in Paris, which asked him to reopen the Palais Garnier on 17 June 1940 and which appointed him, albeit unofficially, to the post of acting theatre director until such time as Jacques Rouché should return.<sup>8</sup> Lifar then tried to bring together all the dancers who were still in Paris in order to take over the Opera House, thereby preventing the Germans from requisitioning the Palais Garnier and dictating what was done there. Dance classes started up again on 24 June with three teachers (Mlle Zambelli, Mme Mante and Serge Lifar), twenty-eight members of the *corps de ballet*, and a few students.<sup>9</sup>

Jacques Rouché returned to Paris on 26 June 1940, and, less than one month later, the season's programme opened with Berlioz's *La Damnation de Faust*.<sup>10</sup> The first ballets

were performed on August 28th, with the revival of *Alexandre le Grand* and *Coppelia*.<sup>11</sup> Throughout the Occupation, choreography flourished at the Opera House, and Lifar continued to enrich its repertoire of ballets: between 1940 and 1944, out of a total of twenty-five new works, sixteen were ballets (fifteen of them choreographed by Lifar).<sup>12</sup> This unprecedented state of affairs at the Palais Garnier can be explained, on the one hand, by the relative ease of creating a ballet compared to composing an opera and, on the other, by the traditional musical relationship between France and Germany, in which opera had always been associated with Germany, and ballet with France. We could argue that, by privileging ballet over opera, Jacques Rouché was trying to rescue this particular French art form from the hegemony of Nazi Germany.<sup>13</sup> Though France may have been defeated on the battlefield, it would seem that Rouché and Lifar wanted to make it clear that she remained undefeated in the realm of art, for the Palais Garnier was now once more secure in its status as both a temple of art and a monument to the French spirit.

Despite the conditions laid down at the Armistice stipulating that a minimum number of German works be performed in all State theatres, and thanks to the respect he commanded from the Germans, Rouché was able to favour the French repertoire when putting his programmes together.<sup>14</sup> Of the fifteen ballets choreographed by Lifar, only one was German: *Joan de Zarissa* by the contemporary composer Werner Egk.<sup>15</sup> Created at the request of the Nazis, the ballet was a success at its first performance on 10 July 1942, but was nevertheless performed only rarely thereafter. As if to blot out the memory of that imposed German work, Lifar and Rouché then presented a very French ballet, Francis Poulenc's *Animaux Modèles*, based on the fables of Jean de La Fontaine, in which the composer quotes the *Marseillaise*, as well as the song *Vous n'aurez pas l'Alsace et la Lorraine* ('You won't take Alsace and Lorraine'), in the *Lion amoureux* tableau.<sup>16</sup> Of the nine operatic works Rouché put on, only two were German: Hanz Pfitzner's *Palestrina* and Werner Egk's *Peer Gynt*.<sup>17</sup> This last contains a small piece of choreography designed and danced by Lifar, most probably as a mark of his friendship for the composer, with whom he had enjoyed working in 1942.

Although Lifar had created a new style in the 1930s by dreaming up new choreographies that were essentially for himself, during the war years this creator-choreographer<sup>18</sup> used his talents to enable the Paris Opera's *premières danseuses* and *danseuses étoiles*, as well as the whole *corps de ballet*, to shine just as brightly. On 31 December 1941, Yvette Chauviré displayed her technical and artistic prowess in a 12-minute solo designed by Lifar, which resulted in this *première danseuse* being promoted to *danseuse étoile*.<sup>19</sup> For *L'Amour Sorcier* (26 January 1943), Lifar broke all the rules of the Paris Opera and chose a *petit sujet* to dance the principal male role, rather than a *danseur étoile* or *premier danseur*.<sup>20</sup> This break with the traditions of the Palais Garnier gave Roland Petit his first major success. With *Sylvia* (1941) and *Suite en blanc* (1943), the war years also saw Lifar defining the 'grammar' of the neo-classical style he had developed in the 1930s.<sup>21</sup> His principal innovations were the sixth and seventh positions and the *arabesque décalée*.<sup>22</sup> With the neo-classical style

in which his dancers were now steeped, Lifar aimed to elevate ballet to the same level as Greek tragedy, for he considered that a dancer should also be an actor. Although Lifar did not respect the Aristotelian rule of the three Unities (in his eyes the essential things were the ballet's unity of style and unity of action), he nonetheless paid particular attention to librettos.<sup>23</sup> As he sought to refine his art and come up with new creative and artistic ideas, Lifar chose ballet librettos which would allow him to express his own quest as an artist: the quest for Beauty and the Absolute. Like the Greeks, Lifar considered the theatrical arts – and ballet in particular – to have a moral and ethical dimension, as well as an individual and collective cathartic function. In *Boléro*, *Istar*, *Joan de Zarissa* and *L'Amour Sorcier*, the creator-composer chose characters he could himself identify with, and he invited the audience to share in the characters' heroic quests through their representation in performance.<sup>24</sup> In relating ballet to tragedy, Lifar took up the Wagnerian quest for Total Art, something Jacques Rouché had been wanting to introduce into the Paris Opera since 1914, and which had in fact prompted him to select Lifar as choreographer and ballet master in 1930.<sup>25</sup> From 1939 to 1944, Lifar attained his creative maturity and forged new links between the arts.

In working with composers, Lifar tried to achieve harmony between music and dance. Unlike *Icare*,<sup>26</sup> for which the entire choreography was designed before Arthur Honegger was asked to provide the music, *Le Chevalier et la Damselle* was a collaboration, in which Philippe Gaubert's music was sometimes composed and then given to Lifar, and Lifar's choreography was sometimes prepared and then given to the composer.<sup>27</sup> In *La Princesse au jardin*, he created motifs in the choreography corresponding to Gabriel Grovlez's musical motifs.<sup>28</sup> In *L'Amour Sorcier* and *Le Jour*, Lifar had the principal characters 'dubbed' by singers to help the audience better understand the action and to highlight the dramatic art of his ballets, on the model of classical tragedy.<sup>29</sup>

Having completed his work with the musicians, Lifar would turn his attention to the set designers, encouraging them to think of the sets not as an end in themselves, but rather as something that should spring naturally from the drama of the ballet. For Lifar, the set designer should take his cue from the dance; the creator-choreographer should not have to take his inspiration from the set, and he insisted that the following two criteria be respected in set design. The first of these was that the fixed background set should establish the general emotional tone of the drama, with nuances introduced in the lighting. In *Joan de Zarissa*, Yves Bayer designed a massive, heavy set redolent of tragic sentiment, with lighting that underscored the subtly threatening atmosphere. His set creates an effect of immensity of scale perfectly suited to the ballet's overall tone, and, through the disproportionate size of certain features, even strikes a supernatural note to underline the tragic aspect of this ballet.<sup>30</sup> The second criterion was that the background set should focus the audience's attention on the dancers, who provide the dynamic foreground. Set designers had to ensure that costumes harmonized with the colours of their background sets. For *Le*

*Chevalier et la Demoiselle*, the set designer Cassandre used colour to reflect the tone of the ballet. The costumes and gloves of the squires ring the changes on three dominant colours (red, blue and yellow), while the Knight is dressed in black and the Princess in white. The aim was to direct the audience's attention to the ballet's main object, which, for Lifar, was the dancing. To this end, the set designer had to liaise with the creator-choreographer and the dancers in order to design practical and aesthetically suitable<sup>31</sup> costumes for them which would not impede their movements and which harmonized at all times with the unfolding drama in the choreography. For instance, in act I, scene ii and act II, scene x of *Le Chevalier et la Demoiselle*, Lifar had to find some way of enabling the *danseuse étoile*, dressed as the Princess in a heavy drape, to change into a doe and execute a graceful *pas de deux* with the Knight Errant with whom she falls in love, and then a second dance once her Knight has won the tournament.<sup>32</sup>

In continuing the work he had begun before the war, and by following in the footsteps of his master, Serge Diaghilev, Lifar was able to make ballet a total art form, raising it to the rank of serious art, worthy of a whole evening's performance at the Paris Opera House. Despite harsh working conditions due to food shortages and the lack of heating, and despite the tough financial realities of the job, Lifar always managed to motivate his dancers, and this allowed him to reach his artistic peak between 1940 and 1944.<sup>33</sup> Dance performances at the Paris Opera were always played to full houses of Frenchmen and German soldiers acclaiming these ballets touched by Lifar's transcendent genius. So successful and famous did Lifar become that Adolf Hitler invited him to be the choreographer for the Third Reich, an offer Lifar refused, claiming that his neo-classical ballet was incompatible with the way German choreography was developing.<sup>34</sup>

When Paris was liberated, Lifar had to leave the Opera House, despite his devotion to it. Taken together, his intense work throughout the Occupation, the various articles he published in *Comœdia*, which was regarded as a collaborator's journal, his friendship with Werner Egk and the Abetz family, as well as his frequent presence at the German embassy, had made him one of the leading figures to be thought of as collaborators.<sup>35</sup> Lifar was accused by the Comité d'épuration, the national committee responsible for investigating collaborators, of having been over-zealous in welcoming Hitler to the Opera House on 23 May 1940, of having choreographed *Joan de Zarissa* (10 July 1942) in collaboration with Werner Egk, as well as of having designed and performed the choreography for the opera *Peer Gynt*, also by Egk, on 9 October 1943. He was summoned before a tribunal to answer this charge and was eventually cleared on June 1946, there being no proof that he had collaborated as an artist.<sup>36</sup> Maurice Lehmann, appointed Administrator of the Réunion des Théâtres Lyriques Nationaux in June 1945, was 'called on to head up a detailed inquiry into slanderous remarks made concerning Serge Lifar's actions during the Occupation'. These remarks were unfounded, and Lehmann, with the formal agreement of the Comité d'épuration, made it possible for Lifar's name to reappear on the Opera's billboards. But the man who

prevented the Paris Opera from becoming a German theatre, and who used the occupying authorities' high regard for him as an artist to create numerous ballets which stand today as the pinnacle of the French art, was not allowed to return to his 'home' until 1946, when Georges Hirsch invited him back and he was once more able to present his works at the Palais Garnier.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Serge Lifar joined Serge Diaghilev's Ballets Russes in 1923. From 1924, he studied dance under Enrico Cecchetti and Nicolas Legat. His first solo role was in Léonide Massine's *Cimariosiana* in 1925, and he was appointed *premier danseur* in 1925. From then on, he continued to dance the leading roles in ballets choreographed by Mikhaël Fokine, Bronislava Nijinska, Léonide Massine and George Balanchine. While still dancing for the Ballets Russes, Lifar created his first piece of choreography shortly before Diaghilev's death: *Renard*, to music by Igor Stravinsky, was first performed on 21 May 1929. *Créatures de Prométhée* was first performed at the Paris Opera House on 30 December 1929, with music by Ludwig van Beethoven, set and costumes by François Quelvée and choreography by Serge Lifar. For more on the Ballets Russes and Serge Lifar, see S. Lifar, *Serge de Diaghilev, sa vie, son oeuvre, sa légende* (1954; repr. Editions d'aujourd'hui, Les Introuvables: Paris, 1982), see also S. Lifar, *A l'aube de mon destin, Chez Diaghilev, Sept ans aux Ballets Russes* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1949).

<sup>2</sup> From personal communication with Mme Fenwick, granddaughter of Jacques Rouché (4 September 2003).

<sup>3</sup> Lifar wanted the dancers to wear full theatrical make-up for performances, and had to teach them how to do it. The male dancers were not allowed to have a moustache, and no dancer could wear any jewellery that was not part of the costume, while real wigs were made compulsory for performances. Lifar insisted that his dancers be always at their very best, even in rehearsals. He had the chandeliers extinguished during performances, and, over time, denied season-ticket holders access to the *Foyer de la danse* so that the dancers could concentrate better. See I. Guest, *Le Ballet de l'Opéra de Paris, trois siècles d'histoire et de tradition*, tr. P. Alexandre (Paris: TNOP, 1976), pp. 168-9 and M.-F. Christout, *Le Ballet occidental, naissance et métamorphoses, XVI<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles* (La Mesure des choses: Paris, 1995), p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> Lifar's neo-classical aesthetic is evident in *Icare* (9 July 1935), *Le Roi nu* and *David Triomphant* (15 June 1936 and 15 December 1936), *Alexandre le Grand* (21 June 1937) and *Oriane et le Prince d'Amour*, *Cantique des Cantiques* and *Aeneas* (7 January 1938, 2 February 1938 and 4 April 1938). See S. Lifar, *Les Mémoires d'Icare* (Monaco: Sauret, 1993), pp. 352-5; S. Wolff, *L'Opéra au Palais Garnier (1875-1962)* (Paris & Geneva: Slatkine, 1983), pp. 236-87.

<sup>5</sup> Jacques Rouché managed to re-open the Opera House in October 1939, but it was forced to close again in June 1940 when German troops entered Paris. See Archives de la Bibliothèque de l'Opéra de Paris (ABOP), *Journal de l'Opéra de Paris*, microfilm September 1940. (Access to these archives is somewhat unusual. There are no page references on the microfilms, and the only way of consulting the archives is to ask the archivist for the *Journal de l'Opéra de Paris*, asking for the desired month and year.)

<sup>6</sup> Personal communication with Marielle Krempf (3 February 2000), dancer at the Paris Opera. The dancers of the Paris Opera left for their Australian tour on 16 December 1939 and returned sometime in January 1940. Musée de l'Archevêché, Lausanne, personal and professional archives of Serge Lifar (47.4: programmes 1939). The exact date remains unknown, but may well be revealed by further archival research. The troupe's Spanish tour ran from April to June 1940. S. Lifar, *Ma Vie* (Paris: Julliard, 1965), pp. 208-09. Musée de l'Archevêché, personal and professional archives of Serge Lifar (47.4: programmes 1940).

<sup>7</sup> Lifar and the Opera troupe returned to Paris by train on 9 June 1940, and Lifar discovered the doors of the Opera House locked the following day. See Lifar, *Ma Vie*, pp. 208-9; also from personal communication with Marielle Krempf (3 February 2000). On theatre life during

the Occupation, see S. Added, *Le Théâtre dans les années Vichy, 1940-1944* (Paris: Ramsay, 1992) and H. Le Boterf: *La Vie parisienne sous l'occupation* (Paris: France-Empire, 1997).

<sup>8</sup> This secret committee was set up by police chief Langeron and included such figures as Chiappe, Villet, Daras and Marchand. The committee 'intended to take the first emergency measures to do everything possible to save French possessions from being requisitioned and to maintain some sort of French authority within the occupied capital'; see Lifar, *Ma Vie*, p. 217. I have also had access to the private archives of André Hofmann (son of Michel-Rostislav Hofmann, who edited some of Lifar's writings) where I was able to consult Lifar's unpublished memoirs (n.d.), chapter II, pp. 17-8. See also letters from Gustave Roussy to Serge Lifar, 27 June 1940 and 29 July 1940, in S. Lifar, *Au service de la danse: à la recherche d'une science: la choréologie-archives-témoignages-réflexions* (Paris: Université de la danse, 1958), pp. 78-9. Louis Laloy was officially appointed acting director of the Paris Opera because only the signature of an important French citizen was officially valid, and Lifar was Russian, though he felt his duty was to defend France and French art from the invasion of Germanic culture. See letter from Louis Laloy to Serge Lifar in Lifar, *Au service de la danse*, p. 78.

<sup>9</sup> Private archives of André Hofmann, Serge Lifar's unpublished memoirs, chapter III, p. 38.

<sup>10</sup> ABOP, *Journal de l'Opéra de Paris*, microfilm year 1940, 24 August.

<sup>11</sup> ABOP, *Journal de l'Opéra de Paris*, microfilm year 1940, 28 August.

<sup>12</sup> The remaining ballet created during the war, *Jeux d'Enfants* (16 July 1941) was choreographed by Albert Aveline to music by Georges Bizet, set by Jacques Dréza and costumes by Marie-Hélène Dasté. See Wolff, p. 290.

<sup>13</sup> With Rouché's support, Lifar produced numerous works and instituted evenings of ballet, all Wednesdays from 1935 to 1944 as well as an entire month in summer given over solely to ballet from July 1941 to July 1944 and the Liberation of Paris. See ABOP, *Journal de l'Opéra de Paris*, microfilm years 1935-1944; see also Lifar, *Les Mémoires d'Icare*, pp. 351-8; Wolff, pp. 235-339; A. Schaïkevitch, *Serge Lifar et le destin du Ballet de l'Opéra* (Paris: La Revue Musicale, 1971), pp. 57-167.

<sup>14</sup> On cultural life in Paris and in France during the Occupation, as well as the intentions of the occupying authorities and the Vichy government, see H. Amoureux, 'Chantons sous l'Occupation', *Historama*, 299 (1976), pp. 31-41; W. Benz et al. (eds.), *Kultur, Propaganda, Öffentlichkeit, Intentionen deutscher Besatzungspolitik und Reaktionen auf die Okkupation* (Berlin: Metropol, 1998); B. Hildegard, *La Politique artistique du national-socialisme* (Paris: Maspero, 1980) and J.-P. Rioux (ed.), *La Vie culturelle sous Vichy* (Questions au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Paris, 1990).

<sup>15</sup> First performed on 1 June 1943, *Prière*, to the music of Beethoven's 7th Symphony, is something of an exception, as it is a solo ballet for Lifar, and the French considered Beethoven to be a universal (not just German) composer. See ABOP, *Journal de l'Opéra de Paris*, microfilm year 1943, June.

<sup>16</sup> *Les Animaux Modèles*, based on a libretto inspired by the *Fables* of La Fontaine, with music by Francis Poulenc and set and costumes by Maurice Brianchon, was first performed on 8 August 1942. See Wolff, p. 238, see also F. Poulenc, *Correspondance (1910-1963)* ed. M. Chimènes (Paris: Fayard, 1994), pp. 500-2, 509-31; and H. Hell, *Francis Poulenc* (Paris: Fayard, 1978), pp. 170-5.

<sup>17</sup> *Palestrina* is a musical fable based on a poem and music by Hans Pfitzner and was first performed on 30 March 1942 in a French translation by Roger Fernay, set and costumes by Adolphe Mahnke, directed by Bruno von Niessen. See Wolff, p. 168. For more on Hans Pfitzner, see M. H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era, eight portraits* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 144-82. *Peer Gynt* is an opera based on a poem and music by Werner Egk, inspired by Ibsen, and was first performed on 4 October 1943 in a

French adaptation by André Coeuroy, set and costumes by P. Lavoilley, directed by Pierre Chéreau. See Wolff, p. 171. For more on Werner Egk see also Kater, pp. 3-30.

<sup>18</sup> Creator-choreographer refers to Lifar's own term *choréauteur* which he first used in his *Manifeste du choréographe*, published in 1935, the same year he created *Icare*, his first ballet on pre-designed rhythms (i.e. where the choreography was designed before any music was composed for it). See S. Lifar, *Du temps que j'avais faim, suivi de Le Manifeste du choréographe* (1935; repr. Editions d'Aujourd'hui, Les Introuvables: Paris, 1981), pp. 9-38.

<sup>19</sup> *Istar*, with music by Vincent d'Indy, set and costumes by Léon Bakst, was choreographed by Lifar. For more on Yvette Chauviré and this ballet, see Y. Chauviré, *Je suis ballerine* (Paris: Du conquistador, 1961); F. Guillot de Rode, *Yvette Chauviré* (Paris: R. Fromentin & J. Driay, 1949) and G. Mannoni, *Yvette Chauviré. Autobiographie* (Strasbourg: Le Quai, 1997).

<sup>20</sup> Lifar's *L'Amour Sorcier*, a one-act ballet based on a libretto by Martinez Sierra with music by Manuel de Falla, set and costumes by Yves Brayer, was first performed on January 3 1940. See Wolff, p. 237; see also L. Vaillat, *Ballets de l'Opéra de Paris* (Paris: Compagnie française des Arts graphiques, 1947), pp. 127-34. The dancers of the Paris Opera are classified in ascending order as follows: second *quadrille*, first *quadrille*, *petit sujet*, *grand sujet*, *première danseuse*, *danseuse étoile*. Lifar and Rouché officially created the title *danseuse étoile* on 3 January 1940, when Lycette Darsonval was granted the distinction *étoile*. See L. Darsonval, *Ma vie sur les pointes* (Paris: France-Empire, 1988), p. 58.

<sup>21</sup> Lifar's new version of *Sylvia*, to music by Léo Delibes, set and costumes by Maurice Brianchon, was first performed on 5 February 1941; see Wolff, p. 329. *Suite en blanc*, based on extracts from Edouard Lalo's *Namouna*, set and costumes by Maurice Moulène, was first performed on 23 July 1943; see Wolff, p. 327; see also Vaillat, pp. 145-52.

<sup>22</sup> The sixth and seventh positions were not really Lifar's inventions, but revivals of positions that already existed in the eighteenth century, at the time of Jean-Georges Noverre, when there were not five but ten positions for the feet in classical ballet. For more on the sixth and seventh positions, see S. Lifar, *Traité de danse académique* (Paris: Bordas, 1940), pp. 40-2. For more on the neo-classical *arabesque*, see Lifar, *Traité de danse académique*, pp. 82-4.

<sup>23</sup> Unity of time, unity of place and unity of action.

<sup>24</sup> *Boléro*, with scenario by Lifar and Léon Leyritz, music by Maurice Ravel and set and costumes by Leyritz, was first performed on 31 December 1940. See Wolff, p. 246; see also M. Ravel, *Lettres, écrits, entretiens*, ed. A. Orenstein (Paris: harmoniques Flammarion, 1989), pp. 264-72, 363. Lifar's new version of *Istar*, based on a Sumerian poem, with music by Vincent d'Indy, set and costumes by Léon Bakst, was first performed on 31 December 1941. See Wolff, p. 289. For more on Vincent d'Indy, see L. Vallas, *Vincent d'Indy, T. I : La jeunesse (1851-1886)* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1946) and *T. II : La maturité, la vieillesse (1886-1931)* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1950). Lifar's new version of *Joan de Zarissa*, with music by Werner Egk, set and costumes by Yves Brayer, was first performed on 10 July 1942. See Wolff, p. 291.

<sup>25</sup> Before becoming director of the Paris Opera House, Rouché wrote his *Art Théâtral Moderne* in 1910, following time spent in Germany and Russia studying their respective theatrical innovations. From 1910 to 1913 he directed the Théâtre des Arts, and he was anxious to continue the reforms he had begun there when he took over direction at the Palais Garnier in 1914. In his *Traité de chorégraphie* (Paris: Bordas, 1952), in which he describes some of his own works, Lifar has occasion to refer to Rouché's monograph, as well as to Richard Wagner. For more on Total Art, see R. Wagner: *L'Oeuvre d'art de l'Avenir*, trans. J.-G. Prod'homme & F. Holl (Editions d'Aujourd'hui, Les Introuvables: Paris, 1982); J. Galard et al., *L'Oeuvre d'Art totale* (Gallimard, Art et Artistes: Paris, 2003).

<sup>26</sup> *Icare*, first performed on 9 July 1935, is the first of Lifar's ballets to have its choreography designed before a composer was asked to provide any music. The set and costumes were designed by Paul Larthe, while the music was composed by Arthur Honegger, but signed by



J.-E. Szyfer, on the rhythmical lines set out by Lifar. Arthur Honegger was chosen by Lifar to compose the score of *Icare*, but he was unable to put his name to it, owing to his having an exclusive contract with Ida Rubenstein who refused to allow him to collaborate on any ballets other than hers. It was therefore J.-E. Szyfer who both finished and signed the score. See M. Delannoy, *Honegger* (Paris: Pierre Horay, 1953), pp. 165-8; see also Schaïkevitch, pp. 67-76. *Le Chevalier et la Demoiselle*, libretto by Lifar, music by Philippe Gaubert, set and costumes by Adolphe Mouron ('Cassandre'), was first performed on 2 July 1941. See Wolff, p. 253; for more information about this ballet see also Lifar, *Traité de chorégraphie*, pp. 161-99.

<sup>27</sup> In act I, scene i, for example, Gaubert composed a Renaissance dance, the pavane, for the entry of the Squires who swear loyalty to the Princess. In act I, scene vi, Lifar designed a *pas de quatre* for the *premières danseuses* to give the *danseuse étoile* time to rest before dancing a variation. See Lifar, *Traité de chorégraphie*, pp. 164-6.

<sup>28</sup> *La Princesse au jardin*, based on a libretto by Emile Vuillermoz, with music by Gabriel Grovlez, set and costumes by P. Bony, was first performed on 2 July 1941. I have been able to carry out a comparative analysis of the choreography (which remains almost unstudied) and the music during interviews with *première danseuse* Paulette Dynalix (22 and 31 March 2000, 15 June 2000, 10 March 2001, 22 October 2002, and once a week during 2003 and 2004) and a telephone conversation with Lucien Dutoit, *danseur étoile* of the Paris Opera (10 September 2002).

<sup>29</sup> *Le Jour*, based on a libretto by Jules Supervielle, with music by Maurice Jaubert and set and costumes by Jacques Ernotte, was first performed on 23 June 1943. See Wolff, p. 291; see also Vaillat, pp. 135-52.

<sup>30</sup> M. Gropius & Servane, *A la rencontre de Serge Lifar* (Paris: La Sixaine, 1947), p. 138.

<sup>31</sup> Lifar uses the terms *pratique* and *plastique* in his *Traité de chorégraphie* when he discusses the practical and aesthetic nature of costumes. See Lifar, *Traité de chorégraphie*, p. 79.

<sup>32</sup> Lifar, *Traité de chorégraphie*, p. 172-3.

<sup>33</sup> From interviews with *première danseuse* Paulette Dynalix from 2000 to 2003; interviews with *danseuse étoile* Yvette Chauviré (11 October 2000 and 16 May 2002); interview with *première danseuse* Marielle Krempf (3 February 2000); interview with Mme Cerbonnet, former dancer at the Paris Opera (2 February 2000); interview with *première danseuse* Denise Bourgeois (26 March 2001).

<sup>34</sup> In 1930, Lifar had refused Stalin's offer to become director of dance for the USSR, maintaining that art should be totally independent from politics. See Lifar, *Ma Vie*, p. 296; also private archives of André Hofmann, Lifar's unpublished memoirs, chapter V, p. 54.

<sup>35</sup> Serge Lifar's articles in *Comoedia* during the German Occupation of Paris : 28 June 1941, 'Mes créations à l'Opéra'; 27 December 1941, 'Le Boléro à l'Opéra'; 4 July 1942, 'Un nouveau ballet à l'Opéra Joan de Zarissa'; 8 August 1942, 'Ce soir à l'Opéra Les Animuax modèles'; 28 November 1942, 'La Danse à l'Opéra'; 16 January 1943, 'L'Amour Sorcier'; 1 May 1943, 'Aux jeunes danseurs'; 19 June 1943, 'Le Jour à l'Opéra'; 17 July 1943, 'Examens de danse'; 24 July 1943, 'Parade d'étoiles à l'Opéra'; 7 August 1943, 'A propos d'un groupement corporatif de la danse'; 18 December 1943, 'Pour la défense de la danse'.

<sup>36</sup> See letter from the Comité National d'Épuration des Professions d'Artistes Dramatiques, Lyriques et de Musiciens Exécutants, Paris, 19 June 1946, in Lifar, *Les Mémoires d'Icare*, p. 92.

<sup>37</sup> See letter from M. Lehman to Serge Lifar, 29 May 1964, in Lifar, *Les Mémoires d'Icare*, p. 115.